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Gasparo Contarini's *Relazione* of November 1525 to the Venetian Senate on the divergent dynamics of the Spanish and Portuguese world empires.

Abstract.

This contribution seeks to both present Gasparo Contarini's diplomatic report (Relazione), made following three years in Venetian service in Spain between 1522-25 to unfamiliar readers (pp. 15-28), and elucidate its contents (pp. 1-14). It was a time when ground-breaking reports of the first global circumnavigation by Magellan/Elcano and conquests in the New World undertaken by Hernán Cortés were filtering back to the Spanish ruler, Charles V. Projects for the colonization of Brazil in neighbouring Portugal were afoot, as were attempts by other parties to reach the contested Spiceries by new routes. International juries were constituted to decide upon the division of the world's spaces, culminating in the Treaty of Saragossa, and controversial maps were drawn up both to make sense of potentially new continents like the Americas, and to plead different cases at the upcoming tribunals. It is asked why such a polarized picture of successful Spanish and unsuccessful Portuguese imperial fortunes is provided by Contarini, at a time of great rivalry between Spain and Portugal, and it is suggested that Contarini – who did not personally travel to Portugal – may be simply following a rhetorical precedent fashioned by previous diplomats like Ca' Masser, Vincenzo Quirini and Pietro Pasqualigo. Historical, personal and documentary context (Contarini's 400 dispacci, for example) is provided, and comparisons drawn to the letters and reports of other contemporary observers like the Polish diplomat Jan Dantyszek at the Spanish court, as well as contemporary travelers and businessmen like Jörg Pock in Lisbon.

Plate 1. Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, Museo Civico Correr, Venice.

The importance and authoritative tone to Venetian diplomatic reports from different European courts has been widely recognized, even though the profession was actively evolving in Contarini's period, and there were as yet no permanent postings (ambassadors in ordinary), whilst many of the emissaries were not trained diplomats but merely youthful city patricians in need of gainful employment.ⁱ The seriousness and application with which these ambassadors went about their business at the peripatetic Iberian courts of Spain and Portugal, however, renders their *dispacci*, or day-to-day correspondence, and *relazioni*, classified documents to be presented upon completion of their office in front of the Venetian Senate, key sources on domestic and imperial developments in this formative period, all the more so for the disasters afflicting domestic record-keeping, such as the burning of the old Portuguese archives in the Castelo São Jorge following the Lisbon earthquake in 1775. As a window from outside on to the unwinding of Iberian events, it is easier to establish the wider international and even global context, and we can use these sources to move on in the historiography from gauging the 'uncertain' or of 'blunted impact' of the Discoveries to new questions regarding the connectivity of various states and their institutions.ⁱⁱ The diverging fortunes of Spanish and Portuguese world empires prophesied by Contarini is a particularly interesting point of discussion.

Iberia itself constituted a problematic proposition in the sixteenth century, remaining a battleground of unifying and dividing voices. The period between 1580 and 1640, of course, was marked by the Union of the Two Crowns, and historians like Jean Aubin have looked for the roots of this union amidst the connectedness of Spanish and Portuguese fortunes via specific marriage strategies from the turn of the sixteenth century – 'Les arrangements [matrimoniales] ultérieurs vont enfermer le Portugal dans l'orbite espagnole'.ⁱⁱⁱ At the same time, Portuguese and Spanish imperial strategies appear to have remained strikingly different. This was not only in terms of the different parts of the world they chose to engage with, be it eastern or western hemispheres, but the physiognomies of empire they developed – the types of civic and ecclesiastical institutions that were built up overseas, whether printing houses and universities, as well as Spanish and Portuguese approaches to city-building, and the invasiveness of metropolitan powers from Lisbon and Madrid.^{iv}

The diplomatic reports of the Venetian nuncios Domenico Pisani de Giovanni (June 1501), Pietro Pasqualigo (August 1501), Ca' Masser (1506), Andrea Navagero (1524-6), Federico Badoer (1557), Michele Suriano (1559), Tron and Lippomani (1580), and Vincenzo Quirini (1506) have been used widely by historians alongside the

famous diaries of Marino Sanudo and Girolamo Priuli to make sense of the changing world order and challenges to centuries of Venetian dominance in the long-distance trades at the beginning of the sixteenth century.^v Gasparo Contarini's *Relazione*, delivered in front of the Venetian Senate on 16 November 1525, stands amongst these, and its author, belonging to one of Venice's most illustrious patrician families, was celebrated in a pen and ink portrait held in the Museo Civico Correr. Could we suggest he was overshadowed by colleagues like Andrea Navagero, who was the subject of a full-sized oil painting by Raphael housed in the Galleria Doria Pamphili in Rome, his diplomatic report became the subject of a posthumously published *Viaggio* and his *dispacci*, rather than squirreled away, also saw the light of day?^{vi} It is, at any rate, the task here to produce an annotated translation accompanied by a critical introduction in order to contextualize the report to the complicated political circumstances of its day, and understand better the *raison d'être* for Contarini's dispatch and the *Relazione's* fabrication. Contarini had been elected to the post on 24 September 1520 and was to attach himself to Charles's court, which followed the Emperor from his imperial coronation in Aix-la-Chapelle on 23 October 1520 to the Diet of Worms over which he presided between January and May 1521. These were climactic times, when Europe was torn into two rival political blocs reflecting the wars raging between France and the Empire, whilst Luther was splitting the fabric of Catholic Christendom asunder with his revolutionary pronouncements. Contarini's secret commission instructed him to establish links with the French ambassador at the imperial court as a counterweight to the treaty being negotiated between Charles and Pope Leo X to help Charles gain Milan, while the Pope took Parma, Piacenza and Ferrara.^{vii} For a diplomat just starting out, whom the Mantuan ambassador Giambattista Malatesta described as 'a very learned man, though not very expert in matters of state', Contarini did well to survive 56 months in Charles V's train, three years of which he spent in Spain. Other ambassadors like the Papal Legate Giovanni Salviati spent only 14 months at the imperial court.^{viii}

Set next to his predecessors', Contarini's is a worthy report, if frustrating to analyze for lack of dates, certain omissions (for example, the provincial cities sending deputations to the Cortes, or the name of the leader of the Manrique clan), and outright errors (the *Victoria*, the first ship to circumnavigate the globe between 1519-22, is ascribed the Portuguese, rather than Castile on page 48). Elsewhere, Contarini's analysis is a little general and static, with regard to Navarre for example, whose future was far from ascertained. And his account of revenues, which tallies extraordinarily closely with that gathered by historians like Ramón Carande, comprises only those of Castile, which accounted for only 49% of subsidies raised (corrected for inflation).^{ix} Yet Contarini, despite his useful analysis of the domestic upheavals besetting the kingdom, is not used in key studies on the *Comuneros*.^x Many of his interesting interpretive slants, like his consideration of Velasco and Manrico factions (*fazioni*) in Spain (p. 45) which are as if projecting ancient Italian Guelph and Ghibelline rivalries, are not pursued by mainstream historians.

Plate 2. Photograph of one of Contarini's sample *dispacci*. Source: 'Lettere al Senato, 1521-5', Ital. Cl. VII, 1009, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice

Contarini's *Relazione* among other contemporary narrative sources relating the impact of Spain's new worlds.

Contarini's *Relazione* needs to be set against the 400 *dispacci* now in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. Some have been either excerpted (Rawdon Brown), or else published with a view to illuminating particular topics, like the conquest of Mexico.^{xi} While not part of the *Esposizioni* archive, thousands of ambassadorial speeches, replies and subsequent conversations, assembled by secretaries of the Venetian Republic into 242 substantial files of 400-600 paper leaves each, the *dispacci* were set down chronologically in a register of letters received by the Senate.^{xii} While serious scholars in the nineteenth century ploughed through the collection, often complaining about the legibility of many of these documents, with a view to understanding the dynamics of European international affairs between 1515-1530, as did F. Dittrich ('der Gang der vielverzweigten Verhandlungen und Intriguen, die sich am Hofe des Kaisers abspielten'), more recent scholars simply pass them by in favour of the printed *Relazioni* from the nineteenth century.^{xiii} More recently, in an important new

book Davide Scruzzi dips in and out of Contarini's correspondence in a bid to show an increasing disconnect between Venetians' perceptions of themselves as centre of geographic knowledge and the evolving sinews of power.^{xiv} Ideally, then, the two need to be used in conjunction with each other, juxtaposing the later *Relazione* with Contarini's earlier first-reaction dispatches informing the doge, Antonio Grimani, of Cortes's arrival in Tenochtitlan. His letters, for example, are written in a more telegraphic style, and concentrate particularly on the wealth of the newly discovered lands, a subject of great interest to the Signoria. On November 24, 1522, he wrote, 'Hernando Cortès reconquered the great city of Tenochtitlan . . . [H]e sends back in ships a present for the emperor of pearls, jewels and other precious things from this land, which are worth 10,000 ducats'.^{xv} This immediate monetary assessment can also be detected in Contarini's reaction to the return of the Magellan expedition, where he promises the Doge to write more later and limits himself to relating that: 'they brought 600 *cantare* of cloves and samples of every other kind of spice'.^{xvi} There is, to be fair, a substantial amount of repetition: the Pearl Islands in the Pacific, mentioned in the *Relazione*, are also brought up in the letter sent on 24 November 1522 from Valladolid. We need, furthermore, to be aware of what materials and what possible sources were at Contarini's disposal: whilst the 'First Letter of Relation of Cortès', or rather a letter dictated by him and sent on by the new municipality of Vera Cruz, dated 10 July 1519, and which reached the Emperor at Tordesillas in early March 1520, was digested and reported by Contarini, the first extracts of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdes's *La Natural hystoria de las Indias*, published in Toledo in 1526, only come later with Contarini's replacement, Andrea Navagero, and are incorporated in books published in Venice like that of Delicado.^{xvii} Then there is the business of juxtaposing the overlap between Contarini's dispatches and those of his colleague Ser Francesco Corner, ambassador to Spain, who was the first to write of Cortes's exploits in a letter of March 26, 1520, reproduced in Sanudo.^{xviii}

Many travelers to Iberia in this period seem to have been too busy with their allocated tasks, whether in the service of education, like Clenardus, or in monastic reform, as with the case with Bronseval, to take stock of the 'Joyful news', to paraphrase John Frampton, of the New World.^{xix} But there were also a good number, fellow humanists and traveling diplomats, like the Polish envoy, Jan Dantyszek, who did produce similar sets of observations from their experiences at the Spanish court. Dantyszek and Contarini do not appear to have corresponded with each other, even though Dantyszek had *precari* like the Hebrew scholar from Louvain Joannes Campensis in his train, who eventually found employment in Rome in Contarini's household some time between 1534-38.^{xx} Both men, Dantyszek and Contarini, were fascinated in the world's affairs, and both held long conversations with Peter Martyr of Anghiera, busy writing up his *Decadas* in Madrid before his death in Granada in September or October 1526. However, none of the many hundreds of letters published in his *Opus epistolarum* were actually addressed to Dantyszek or Contarini, referring rather to the Venetians 'orators' and diplomats Joannes Beduarium and Cornaro, and handling Venetian state dispatches destined for the eyes of Vincenzo Quirini.^{xxi} While Contarini reports on the deeds of 'Fernando' Cortes in the New World, Dantyszek had the honour of actually meeting the man on his triumphal return to Spain in 1528, spending some pleasurable evenings with him in Valladolid drinking and carousing, and forming what Jerzy Axer calls an 'unusual Renaissance friendship'.^{xxii}

Dantyszek's reports reflect his constant movement across Spain – Antonio Fontan points out how 'per quinque continuos annos fere totam paeninsulam peragravit, regium comitatum sectando per provincias et urbes in quibus varii hispanorum regnorum Senatus'.^{xxiii} Contarini, himself moving in synch with the peregrinations of the Spanish court, nevertheless presents a far more static picture of Spain, less fixated on descriptions of places as Navagero was to undertake with respect to Seville, and I think it would be fair to say was more interested in people and the make-up of power.^{xxiv} If, for example, we compare Contarini's description of Charles V with that of another Venetian nuncio, Badoer, while the latter fixates on physical attributes like his rotten teeth and afflictions to his health, Contarini is interested in Charles' handling of power, attitudes to work, and prioritization of peace.^{xxv} Navagero, on the other hand, undoubtedly played a greater role than Contarini in the transmission and exchange of poetic styles and newly acquired plant lore from the Indies, which saw the light of day both in Navagero's translation of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, and in Francisco Delicado's *El modo de adoperare el legno de India occidentale*, 1529.^{xxvi}

Another set of observers could only form their impressions from afar, armchair travellers like the Venetian humanist Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), who tended to foresee the consequences of these recent geographic discoveries in his *Della historia Vinitiana*, published posthumously in 1551, in negative terms, these new lands

and trade routes constituting 'a misfortune' to Venice. He was in direct correspondence with the Spanish geographer of American discovery, Oviedo, and devoted Book 6 to the discovery of the New World. However, like Contarini, he characterized Tenochtitlan as a 'distinguished city, in a lake of salt water'; it has been suggested that the Aztec (or, as recent scholars seem to prefer, Mexica) capital fascinated Venetians, who saw it – a great urban powerhouse in the middle of a great salt lake - as a paradigm for Venice itself, and that plans were afoot on the Mexican model to construct aqueducts to bring sweet water to la Serenissima.^{xxvii}

Then there are travelers like the Venetian Antonio Pigafetta who, having traveled with Magellan around the globe, and having presented Charles V with 'a book written by my hand treating of all things that had occurred day by day on our voyage', returned to his homeland and his home city of Vicenza, where he 'established his abode forever', disseminating information on his return.^{xxviii} Denis Cosgrove argues that Contarini was responsible for securing Pigafetta's place on the Magellanic circumnavigation of 1519-21, although Pigafetta's own Prologue obliges rather the papal pronotary or legate Monsignor Francesco Chiericati, with whom Pigafetta originally travelled to Spain, as of direct instrumental importance. While it is unclear whether Contarini and Pigafetta met on Pigafetta's subsequent visit to the Spanish court in September-October 1522, Contarini does reproduce a letter from Elcano, signed 24 September 1522, suggesting he had access to privileged information regarding that voyage.^{xxix} Pigafetta's book was enormously important back home in Italy; it has been established that it is thanks to him that the eastern coastline of the New World and Magellan's route was incorporated into the planisphere in oval projection of 1536 in the Museo Civico Correr, and then the world atlas of 1542, of Battista Agnese working in Venice.^{xxx}

Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna was another such, whose East Indian travels were depicted in the world map of Sebastian Münster and Hans Holbein in 1532.^{xxxi} The readership of such travelers was far wider than was the case for diplomats, who produced semi-secret reports, but as honed politicians, they were able to often gauge inside stories and rumours often from personal meetings with returning *conquistadores* or navigators that free-wheeling *trotamundos* outside the spheres of power were not able to. In the case of Contarini, we can get closer to the dazzlingly intriguing career of the 'piloto mayor' Sebastiano Cabot, and the shadowy plans that he aired or which took shape under his wing. While Davide Scruzzi has recently speculated on Venetian plans to bring Cabot back into league with his home city and launch voyages for the Spices from the Baltic by way of the North-East passage, from Contarini's *Relazione* it becomes rather clearer that he was wanted by the Spaniards to conduct voyages of exploration down the east and west coasts of South America. This kind of intrigue, or quite simply spying, was rife in the 1520s and '30s as states and maritime powers jostled to capitalize on the new geographic realities and the opportunities they offered, and was not helped by Cabot's character, that of a 'genial and cheerful liar'.^{xxxii} Contarini's ideas however were put into action almost thirty years later when Cabot sailed with the English in search of a North-east passage, and it was ironically the Venetian compiler Ramusio who provides one of the best sources as to these endeavours.^{xxxiii}

Contarini's vision of an imperial Spain in ascendance, and an imperial Portugal in decline.

There is the question why Contarini, who held such positive auguries for the New World which he thought 'promises great things for the future' (*et prometenno gran cose et intrade per l'advenir*), came away with such a negative impression of Portugal's imperial future, postulating inept leadership, bankruptcy, investment in the wrong areas, and making themselves widely disliked overseas. Such early pessimism is both surprising and worthy of investigation. Usually it is associated with the Portuguese at a later date, with the *viragem structural* afflicting the empire from the 1550s; indeed, contemporaries were actively making parallels between the 'Queen of Cities' Seville and Lisbon in 1554, and we continue to find eulogies of the 'grandezza et magnificenza' of the city of Lisbon till the end of the sixteenth century and beyond^{xxxiv}. It was a fact that Lisbon had become the largest town in the Iberian peninsula from the reign of D. Manuel I, to the extent that demographics constitute a yardstick of success.^{xxxv} The triumphal embassy to Pope Leo X in 1514 had just been staged, a showcasing of the manifold wealth of the Indies, and King João III had had himself portrayed as a new Jupiter next to his wife Catherine in Bernard van Orley's remarkable tapestry 'Earth under the protection of Jupiter and Juno' (1525) which was set to accompany a similar tapestry entitled *Hercules carrying the Heavenly Spheres* and which João had sent to Madrid probably as part of the double marriage celebrations and to reaffirm his feeling of entitlement to the Moluccas after the inconclusive Badajoz negotiations.^{xxxvi}

Gasparo Contarini had of course not visited Portugal during his sojourn in the Emperor's retinue, unlike his family predecessor, the ambassador Giacomo Contarini, who proceeded from Barcelona to Portugal in July 1496 to congratulate King Manuel on his marriage to Isabella of Spain. Contarini was seen by the king at Torres Vedras, where he was knighted and received a civet cat (*gato di zibeto*) and a gold medal as gifts.^{xxxvii} Thus Gasparo must have depended on hearsay for his report, specifically the *uomini praticissimi* he mentions in his *Relazione* whoever they were.^{xxxviii} While later Venetian diplomats like Suriano specifically avoided commentary on the Portuguese Indies 'which have nothing to do with this report', Hillgarth has noted how in general impressions of Portugal were negative, more so than foreigners' impressions of Spain.^{xxxix} Baldassare Castiglione's reports of the Portuguese who arrived in Seville for Charles V's wedding to Isabella, by all accounts a beautiful and virtuous lady, are marked by explicit racism for the small, swarthy Portuguese courtiers that accompanied the trip, though the Portuguese side upholds both the beauty and the intelligence of their princess, who was much loved by Charles V and the subject of a fine portrait by Titian (1548).^{xl} Contarini, admittedly, eschewed Castiglione's explicit disdain for Isabella, describing her as 'neither ugly, nor beautiful, lacking the arrogance of Spanish women, an archetypical Fleming', but criticized her brother João III's lack of 'diligence', suggested the Portuguese were disliked in their empire, insisted on developing Brazil, which was a colony 'of little use', and could not sustain the spiralling costs of her armadas and overseas forts.^{xli}

Rivalry, of course, had been a primary conditioner of relations between Portugal and Venice. Venice had been a yardstick against which Portugal repeatedly measured its commercial successes from the mid-fifteenth century, and the famous words of Tomé Pires concerning the Portuguese taking of Malacca in 1511 as a means of strangling Venetian long-distance trade 'quem for Sor de Malaga tem a mao na garganta a Veneza' must have resonated with Contarini.^{xlii}

Further ideas for the reasoning behind Contarini's report are apparent from other sources. The papers of the Venetian Council of Ten reported in 1521 how 'various deals have been proposed, and to our great advantage we have been asked to come and take spices from Portugal'.^{xliii} It was interpreted then as an indication of Portuguese weakness that it needed its old antagonist, the Republic of Venice, to help with the job of European distribution, given the losses of shipping to piracy and *avarias* (damages) on the re-export route up to Antwerp.^{xliiv}

In the international economy it was indeed a time when foreign merchant communities were re-assessing their trading links with Portugal in light of capriciously shifting legislation and confiscations of private cargoes in the wake of the 1505 decree, which redefined the conditions of Eurasian trade and set down the royal monopoly in spices and other principal goods. Little previously, Venetian emissaries like Ca' Masser had been quick to praise the king for leaving 'far la mercadanzia à marcadanti, che la sanno fare' and thus allowing him to 'a conserver el suo stato'. The cargo carried by three privately owned vessels under the command of Baltasar Sprenger, whose participation in the Almeida fleet (which departed March 25, 1505) had been agreed by Lucas Rem, an agent for the Welsers, had on the cargo's return to be unconditionally re-sold to the King's officials at the Casa da India at a set price. An indemnity for the confiscated spices in the form of 12.000 arrobas of Madeiran sugar, equivalent to 10.450 cruzados or 475 quintals of pepper, was offered them, but not immediately forthcoming; in 1510, it appears that the King still owed them 6.693 arrobas. The German trading community sought redress in civil proceedings, the documents from the Corpo Cronológico in the Arquivos Nacionais do Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, suggesting that the payback was a slow and interrupted one.^{xlv} Free-wheeling merchants like Giacomo Tagliapietra, who went to Lisbon to petition Manuel to go on a Portuguese East Indies fleet were refused.^{xlvi} The problem of confiscations reoccurred when the Portuguese king froze the assets of the German jewel trader in the Indies, Jörg Pock, upon his death, which led to another protracted law suit that raged during the 1530s.^{xlvii} But by this time the High Germans, for one, had shifted their interests to Spain and were in the 1520s busily engaged with seeking out market possibilities under the protective carapace of the Spanish Crown in Venezuela, or 'little Venice' as it became known; they were helped by the rescinding of the exclusive rights to American trade on Spanish nationals in 1524.^{xlviii} The tone of Contarini's account is that of a decline from the times of Manuel I 'the Fortunate' – it was generally thought that his successor, John III, was not as capable, or diligent (p. 49, 'non usa la diligenza') as his father. For someone to form these opinions without meeting the individual concerned, however, begs the question as to where these ideas came from. Pock's letters from Lisbon between 1518-20 relate the disappearing horizons of the 'great times' of Albuquerque, and moral strain in Portugal Índico: disloyalty, problems with discipline, covetousness, lies and cheating.^{xlix} As a businessman,

Pock reported on the poor returning cargo of pepper, which had to be priced down by as much as 70%. Pock was himself obliged to keep his reports secret from other German factors, the point is whether and how they widely circulated. But the defections of Fernão de Magalhães and Cristóbal de Haro, who was formerly involved in the Portuguese *trato de S. Lioa*, can only have spread the gloom.ⁱ

By contrast, as Contarini elaborates in his *Relazione*, Spain and Venice were too far apart geographically and with too little common history for there to have been strong mutual feelings, whether negative or positive. If anything the symbiosis was a good one, Italian chroniclers such as Peter Martyr happy to proclaim a new Spanish age, and Spaniards and Venetians sharing the tasks of combating the infidel on the frontiers of Europe after the treaty of 23 July 1523 by which an alliance was formed between Charles, Ferdinand, Henry VIII, the Pope and Venice. While Michael Jacob Levine has suggested Venice tended to disappoint the Spanish Habsburg imperial plans for Italy, Charles V still exhorted his son to 'keep good friendship [with the Venetians] favouring them as good allies as much as possible'.ⁱⁱ Commercial plans to exploit the New World were afoot which involved both parties: by the end of 1530, Giovan Battista Ramusio and Fernández de Oviedo signed an agreement to establish a company trading in American products funded by the Venetian merchant Antonio Priuli.ⁱⁱⁱ Flashpoint issues during Contarini's embassy, such as the Venetian galleys impounded in Almazaron in January 1525 on the indictment of the Inquisition with suspicions of harbouring heterodox books could be speedily resolved, though for a free-thinking Venetian the Inquisition smacked of a terrible and perverted institution.^{liii}

As state matters of international importance, information regarding the New World also filtered through to other European countries, as we find in the *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*.^{liv} But secret discussions between Contarini and the *piloto mayor* at the Casa de la Contratación, Sebastian Cabot, regarding a new joint venture 'circa le cose de le spezierie', fell under the international radar and would indeed have constituted high treason for the ex-Venetian at that time in Spanish employment. While historiography sees these negotiations as centered on a purported voyage to the Americas, the plan may have been rather to forge a North-East passage to the Indies.^{lv} An awakening of Venetian interest in this part of the world is evidenced by the publication of Olaus Magnus's *Charta marina* (1539), the publication of the late fourteenth-century Zeno brothers' adventures in these northern regions in 1558, and Giovanni Battista Ramusio's account of the shipwrecked Pietro Querini from 1431 in his *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (1550). On this occasion, these plans led to nothing, Scruzzi believes primarily due to the disinterest of the innately conservative Consiglio dei Dieci, although Contarini himself can be seen to take a more progressive, 'can do' position, which may have been part of a utopian side to his character and thought. In any case, his political position back home was not a sufficiently strong one to drive change.^{lvi}

If we turn to compare literary echoes and epistolary propaganda, it is clear that Spain was able to celebrate its achievements somewhat earlier than was the case with Portugal. This is strange given that Portuguese emergence on the world stage is usually thought to precede that of the Spanish. Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* published the eight separate *Decadas* in 1530, but a volume of *Opera* including versions of the early *Decadas* had already come out in 1511.^{lvii} All comparable Portuguese works came out later in the 1550s at a time the nation had started to question its way and major 'structural changes' were starting to afflict the economy: de Gois's *Chronica de Dom Manuel* (1555), Barros's *Decadas* which come out in the 1550s, Castanheda's *Historia*, which came out in 1551, or Correia's *Lendas*, which came out shortly after his death in 1563.^{lviii} Duarte Galvano, accredited with being the first to present a comprehensive report of all the leading voyages and explorers up to 1550, only had his manuscript published in 1563.^{lix} While much of the triumphalism was cloaked in allegory (Barros's *Clarimundo*, set in a far-away kingdom in the distant past, which was published for the first time in Coimbra in 1522), a lot of the literary output prioritized social themes such as marriage strategies (António Ferreira's 'comédia', *Bristo*, for example) to a backdrop of one or two whiffs of the *fumos da Índia*, while some explicitly incorporated a negative view on Empire, as we find in Sá de Miranda, or Gil Vicente's *Auto da Índia* (1509), where a wife abandoned during her husband's absences on trading voyages to the East takes casual lovers. The more triumphal or bombastic works like Gil Vicente's *Auto da Fama* (1520) or *Cortes de Jupiter* (1521) provided stridently positive impressions of empire, but were confined to the court milieu. Some courtiers or literati like Garcia de Resende, however, commented on the performances in other contemporary texts like his *Cancioneiro Geral*.^{lx}

In Contarini's account, it is noteworthy how Brazil is referred to as 'di poca utilità', in contrast to places of 'grande importanza' like Malacca and the Moluccas, five islands which the Spanish were about to sail on to in order to claim for the Spanish Crown from Corunna (La Coruña). It is interesting that this is not the line contained in Pigafetta's account which we might have expected Contarini to have relied on; for Pigafetta, while a land of gentiles, 'beasts' and cannibals, Brazil nevertheless 'abounds in all good things'.^{lxi} Contarini's negative interpretation seems to reside on the slow start the Portuguese made to getting Brazilian colonization underway (only from 1530 is it acknowledged to have started with the Pero Lopes de Sousa expedition), and the negative press which circulated on the basis of hostile and barbarous Indians later popularised (from around 1570) in the ditty 'sem fé, sem rei, sem lei'.^{lxii} Recent expeditions such as that of Estevão Fróis, sent out to scout the northern shores of Brazil in 1513, had failed in the face of hostile *indígenas*.^{lxiii} We can presume that a man of Contarini's intelligence and outlook was less concerned than *religiosos* with supposed factors like 'the baleful influence of the moon'.^{lxiv} On the other hand, brazilwood and canafistula was being actively gathered from 1511 (3rd expedition under Vespucci), although it was from 1502 contracted out to private associations of merchants of the likes of the Marrano Loronha with family histories of commercial contact with England and Flanders, where these goods could be conveniently sold on.^{lxv} By 1516, the haphazard *feitoria* system was considered to be in decline, and French (and Spanish) interloping was making a mockery of Portuguese pretensions to dominion.^{lxvi} These were the reasons, as Martim Afonso de Sousa relates in his *Autobiography* of 1557, which led to the King braking with his predecessor's policy and assembling 'uma armada pera o Brasil' in 1530.^{lxvii}

Contarini is generally hailed for the applicability of his geographic concepts – he accredits for example the East and West Indies as two separate entities, which overturns the elisions of Java and Cuba, and thus of America and Asia, in the maps by Giovanni Matteo Contarini (Florence 1506) and Johan Ruysch (Rome 1507), though of course not the case with Martin Waldseemüller's precocious map of 1507. As late as 1522, Alessandro Geraldini thought Mexico was the Golden Chersonese.^{lxviii} The historian Weiser (following Beccadelli) lauds Contarini on the precocity with which he appeared to have recognized the date-line conundrum, although this appears as evident in Pigafetta's account.^{lxix} Then there is the correct reference to the city of Tenochtitlan, which as late as Battista Agnese (1536) went down as Timitistan.^{lxx}

Contarini is a particularly useful aid in understanding the contortions surrounding the remarkable career of Sebastiano Cabot, and particularly the motivations and changes made to his 1526 voyage. Contarini sees him hunting for a straits across the Americas and into the Pacific, just as Hernando Cortés had been given instructions to do on his departure from Cuba in February 1519, or Giovanni da Verrazzano was doing in 1524 albeit at a more northerly latitude. In many ways, this had been the inspirational problem of Spanish exploration in the western hemisphere ever since Columbus, and one reinforced by cosmographers like Martin Waldseemüller who consistently sketched a caesura in the north and south American landmasses as if to bait further exploration in precisely that direction. Other mapmakers like Vesconte de Maggiolo did likewise as late as 1527.^{lxxi} Cabot then sailed a thousand miles up the River Plate and as far as its headwaters would allow precisely to resolve this conundrum. David Loades is thus on the wrong track in thinking that the purpose of the voyage was 'to wrest the initiative from the Portuguese', with the apparent founding of a fort at San Salvador (above present-day Rosario on the western shore of the Paraná River) and a visit to the Amazon estuary. If it was true that Cabot (Guaboto in Portuguese) had been sent by Charles V specifically to back-up García Joffre de Loaísa's missing expedition of 1525 to lay claim to the Moluccas for Spain following the Badajoz 'conference' (*junta*) in 1524, Cabot clearly insisted on using this instruction to resolve some cosmographical issues in his own mind.^{lxxii} I also think there are complications with Filipe Fernández-Armesto's ascribing Cabot primarily pecuniary motivations and the claim that the three years 'prospecting for precious metals' he sees inland of the River Plate followed a fortuitous meeting with the ill-fated Juan de Solís in which the myth of attainable riches was strongly emphasized.^{lxxiii} While the only thing Cabot may have come back with were some llamas to entertain the royal court, his failure to bring back gold was of less importance in his ensuing captivity than his failure to reach the Moluccas. Moreover, Solís (also dealt with here in footnote 120) is thought to have died in 1516; his 'resurrection' seems to have been a deliberate falsification as part of the protracted enquiry following Cabot's return to Europe.^{lxxiv}

Some misunderstandings, however, also appear. Contarini argues, for example, that the coast from the Mar Meridionale went up to the Yucatan peninsula (this is a confusion, Yucatan is on the eastern coast, but see

Roukema's point in footnote 142), and then there is a debate as to whether Yucatan was really an island or a peninsula. This was a common source of perplexity at the time; the peninsula is depicted with an interrupted coastline on the world chart of Gerolamo da Verrazano of 1529, for example, although Contarini had himself asserted more confidently in a letter of November 10, 1522 that Yucatan, 'which he had believed to be an island, was joined to the mainland, which continued on the west'.^{lxxxv} Other places like Florida, or Brazil were also considered in some quarters to be islands right up until 1565, the latter largely on the hopeful basis that there might be a natural frontier between the rival empires separated by the Treaty of Tordesillas.^{lxxxvi} Contarini also fails to provide details of the voyage of Alonso Álvarez de Pineda's trip to Florida-Tampico in 1519, which produced a map of the entire Gulf coast,^{lxxxvii} or Francisco Gordillo in 1521, and the Florentine in the service of the French Giovanni da Verrazano, who returned to France after his first voyage in July 1524, more than a year before Contarini made his report to the Venetian Senate.^{lxxxviii} Much more was to be revealed shortly thereafter in the Verrazano world map of 1529, which also shows the Ecuadorian coast, and the so-called Ramusio map of 1534, which depicted the north-western coast of South America and south-western South America albeit with a gap still in between.^{lxxxix}

Although historical literature dwells on Contarini as an intellectual figure favoured for a life of *otium*, Bouwsma typifying him as a 'conservative idealist',^{lxxx} Contarini demonstrated some remarkable and radical plans, trying on one occasion to recruit Sebastian Cabot to Venetian service for a planned expedition to America.^{lxxxxi} Although this plan never came off, and may be part of a utopian side to his character and thought,^{lxxxii} it reflects a determined resistance on the part of Venice to simply accept an historical eclipsing by its Iberian competitor, which Guido Detti had predicted twenty years earlier would lead to Venetians being reduced to 'mere fishermen'.^{lxxxiii} Davide Scruzzi's conclusions point to a hapless Venice unable to take stock of the opportunities the discovery of New Worlds offered them, or rather more interestingly a Venice

which gave itself the illusion of being geographers, sea voyagers, discoverers, entangled in erudite conversations about things which in reality had been clarified centuries before. Why not expose this effort [Contarini's plan] as ludic? A nice game, in order to wile away the time. A safe game, that also catered for domination over the world's seas, thanks to the representation of the world in word and above all indeed in picture.^{lxxxiv}

This picture needs to be countered by taking on board practical plans such as Contarini's to keep Venice at the heart of global strategies of commerce. These issued in conjunction with policies of deliberate abstention from the Habsburg-Valois war for Italy, whilst using its forces to protect its own territories, and a generalised Grittiian renewal from 1523 until that doge's retirement from civic life in 1538.^{lxxxv} The revival of the Eurasian overland spice trade and through the port of Venice, so widely observed from the 1530s, was not simply about shortcomings in the running of the Portuguese oceanic commerce and a crisis in investor confidence in the *avarias* and shipping lost on the Cape route. Venice shifted its chief colony in Syria from Damascus further north to Aleppo, which was nearer the overland route to Baghdad and Basra. Then, in 1552 Venice obtained permission to trade in Cairo, which gave them another trading advantage over other Mediterranean rivals. Finally, freight switched from the merchant galleys of the fifteenth century to the round ships typified by Alessandro Magno's *Croce* in April 1561.^{lxxxvi} Contarini's vision of an active role for Venetian shipping beyond the Mediterranean basin, of course, failed to materialise. The man Contarini had placed at the centre of the scheme, Sebastian Cabot, was a notorious opportunist, turncoat and self-promoter, who probably tried to dupe Venice on the basis of both his position and his ancestry.

The factionalism of Venetian politics may be another way forward to understanding both the styling of Contarini's report, and its lack of enduring influence. The pro-imperial stance of Contarini's notorious political enemy Alvise Mocenigo may have affected Contarini's report, who otherwise tended like Gritti to pro-French positions.^{lxxxvii} A further factor to consider is Contarini's relationship with his secretary on the embassy. Secretaries often filled in the lacunae in diplomatic reports, as was the case most glaringly with Giovanni Matteo Camerino's note announcing Cabral's discovery of Brazil in a separate missive to the official report filed by the ambassador Pisani.^{lxxxviii} Here Contarini would have had to avoid his secretary Zuan Negro's scathing view upon Spaniards as a 'rude and uncivilized nation'. Otherwise, comparative work may suggest that a lot of Contarini's discourse is merely following conventions of Italian diplomatic rhetoric, his belittlement of Portugal stemming from rhetorical precedent, something we can already detect in Ca' Masser when he had earlier

referred to Portugal's king as a 'minucciolo Re', or when Quirini commented on the fiscal unsustainability of the Indies voyages.^{lxxxix} This superciliousness, it has been suggested, may not even be specific to Portugal but a generalised feature of Venetian diplomatic reports with regard to other nations, such as England, which went described as underpopulated, the people slave-like, and with so many robbers that no one dared to go out alone.^{xc}

The text selected for translation covers about one quarter of the entire *Relazione*, as can be judged from the summary box of contents here following. Contarini himself in the first paragraph of his *Relazione* offers a tripartite structure: the first to do with the kingdoms and provinces subject to Charles; the second, his councillors; and the third, the person of the Emperor, but in reality these are constant themes which colour the entire text, so that even in the selection reproduced here we find a description of Spain's constitutive kingdoms and peoples, a description of the organs of central government, and Charles' character and type of leadership, before a section devoted to matters of overseas conquests and discoveries. These would have constituted the backbone of the *Geographia*, a work produced by Contarini which has sadly been lost.^{xcj} It is in this last section that the comparison between Spain's and Portugal's imperial futures is posited. Some textual amendments will be necessary in the translation, like the artificial creation of paragraphs, to break the steady flow of text.

Plate 3. Gasparo's Contarini's embassy to Spain, 23 September 1520 - 16 November 1525.

A full resumé of Contarini's *Relazione*.

11. Author presents the structure of his *Relazione*, to be pursued in three parts. Inheritances, and links(via Maximilian) to the House of Austria
12. General division of the Duchy of Austria (provinces, lords, prelates)
13. Charles' donation of lands to Ferdinand.
14. Moves from the affairs of the Duchy of Austria to those of the Imperial Crown, Germany and Bohemia.
15. Duchies, their revenues, chief prelates and princes.
16. Free cities and barons. The Fuggers, and Augsburg.
17. Manner of ruling Germany as determined at the Imperial Diet of Worms.
18. Council of Justice.
19. Account of the Imperial Diet.
20. Swabian League. Lawlessness and measures to bring it to heel. Revenues of His Majesty from Germany.
21. German people and their characteristics. The German lands possessed by his Imperial Highness.
22. Cities of the Low Countries, and their characteristics.
23. Lords in the Low Countries and their revenues.
24. Governance in the Low Countries.
25. Revenues and political outlook [of the Low Countries]
26. Crown of Aragon [Ferdinand's inheritance].
27. Lords and their position in Aragon.
28. Prelates, King, Viceroy.
29. Council of Aragon [peculiarities of Catalonia].
30. Cortes of Aragon, and their rights.
31. Possessions in Italy as part of the Aragonese inheritance [Sardinia, Sicily]
32. Naples
33. Attitudes of various subjects towards their king. Castile.
34. The military orders, their relationship with the Crown.
- 35 & 36. Bishops and Archbishops. The nobility and their revenue.
- 37 The responsibilities of the nobility.
38. Description of the kingdom.
39. The various councils.

[the intervening pages are translated in full in the course of this article]

54. Instruments through which the Emperor governs his realms. Their personalities.
55. How the Emperor handles state business and correspondence. Role of chancellery.
56. Personal affections towards the Duke of Milan, the Governor of Brescia (Bressa), Count of Nassau, the Viceroy, Signore di Borbone [Carlo III di Borbone-Montpensier?].
57. Signor di Beaurain. View of French and the Italians. The Spanish *oratore* in Portugal negotiating Charles' wedding. The Grand Master of the Order of St. James. Don Ugo di Moncada.
58. Account of the divided council and how its division plays out on policy towards France and Italy.
60. A description of the person of the emperor.
61. How the emperor spends his time. His opinions about the world and its peoples.
62. The emperor's modesty. Relations with his family. Doesn't forget injuries done him easily.
- 62-3. The Archduke his brother. His sisters and their marriages / revenues.
64. His aunts and mother.
65. Account of the two months spent with Contarini's successor, Andrea Navagero and Lorenzo de' Priuli, sent after the Battle of Pavia.
66. Contarini's return journey via Madrid, where he meets the Viceroy and the French king.
67. Saragossa, and meeting with the papal legate, Salviati. Discusses Italian wars.
68. Barcelona, where enforced wait for passport. Meets Beaurain, who exorts Contarini to confirm his alliance with the Emperor. Perpignan – Avignon, where Contarini hears of twenty year peace between France and England. Travels on up the River Rhône to the Dauphinate of Valence, where he meets Andrea Doria. In Lyon meets Sig. Teodoro Trivulzio.
70. Meetings with Sig. di Prato, and Sig. di Vandomo.
71. Savoy, St. Jean de Maurienne, where meets with Duke of Ferrara.
71. Arrives in Turin, and visits Duchess of Savoy. On to Milan, where he meets up with the Venetian ambassador there. Visits Marquis of Pescara.
72. Eulogy to Contarini's secretary Trevisano. Thanks to His Excellent Lords and to God.

Translation of relevant excerpts from a manuscript copy of Contarini's *Relazione* once held at the Reale Archivio di Corte di Torino, published in as part of the *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 1st. ser., vol. 2 (Florence, 1840), pp. 1-73.

[p. 38] 'The territory universally known as Spain, with the exception of Andalusia, which is renowned for its fertility, is very arid, and has few people, with respect to the size of the country.^{xcii} With respect to the government of Castile, on top of the *corregidores* in each city, that is to say the officials of the king, or otherwise those elected by the city, according to the privileges which they have been granted, and besides the governors (*adelantadi*) and viceroys of the provinces, are two principal chancelleries: one of these resides in Valladolid, to which pertains [jurisdiction for] the whole of Old Castile; the other resides in Granada, which is responsible for New Castile, with the exception of the city of Seville, which manages its own justice. In Galicia similarly, there is another chancellery specifically for its subjects, so that they are not constrained to travel long distances to settle their grievances.^{xciii} These chancelleries are called parliaments in France, and senates in Milan. One can appeal all sentences issuing from lesser judges in these chancelleries provided the claims amount to more than 16 ducats, and when there are two identical sentences from the chancelleries there is no longer any possibility of appeal, other than to the general council of the realm.^{xciv} In this case, the appellant must deposit 1500 ducats, which if he loses the appeal, he then forfeits. The president of each chancellery is a bishop, since in Spain many prelates become involved in the justice system and affairs of the realm.

Other than chancelleries, there are usually five councils in the Kingdom of Castile: one generally for matters of justice and other issues that come up in the kingdom, the second is for war, the third for the Indies, the fourth for the Inquisition, and the fifth for state matters. Of the latter, we will say more further on, where we will speak of the instruments, in other words the councilors, through whom his Imperial Majesty governs his realms.

The Council of Justice is the one appeals from the chancelleries are directed to, on deposit of 1500 ducats. The president of the council is the Archbishop of St. James, who is currently of good standing (*di buona vita*).^{xcv} The second council, that of war, is constituted of five or six persons; that is to say, the Grand Master of the Order of Santiago, who is the head [of the Council], Don Diego Vitado^{xcvi}, Don Ugo [Hugo] de Moncada^{xcvii}, Don César Fieramosca, the Deputy Viceroy of Naples, who [also] holds the office of Knight-in-Chief.^{xcviii} The Chief Majordomo also participates in this council, and together they are responsible for overseeing and providing for all the things necessary for war.^{xcix}

[p. 39] The President of the Council of the Indies^c is the Bishop of Osma, the confessor to Charles V, a Dominican friar, who was the head of that order at one time.^{ci} He was elected to that episcopate by the Emperor, he is [the Emperor's] confessor, then he was made president of that council. He is a man of great talent (*ingegno*).^{cii} He had the reputation of being a worthy man of the cloth, nonetheless after having these titles conferred upon him, he has shown himself to be very ambitious, and to have a rather restless spirit, such that he has lost a lot of credit with all and sundry, and from what I have learnt, in the eyes of the Emperor he has gained nothing.

The fourth council is that of the Inquisition, [set up] against heretical depravity. The president of this council is the Archbishop of Seville, a man of noble blood, of the Manrico faction, and of a good reputation and good mind.^{ciii} This council is of such authority and such veneration that all fear it. In its way of doing things, it proceeds with greater severity and means of terror than has been the tradition by the Council of Ten in our most excellent republic. To my mind, it seems to exert a real tyranny upon those poor New Christians^{civ}, against whom they have inflicted such massacres that one cannot say more.

Other than these councils, three deputies always follow the royal court in order to see to petitions, which are presented to the King. These are Doctor Caravagio^{cv}, Don Giovanni di Padilla, now the Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava^{cv}, and the Secretary Covos.^{cvii}

The King also has his treasurers, and put together a council [to deliberate] monetary issues, which however no longer exists.^{cviii}

It remains for me to narrate the way the Cortes are summoned when His Imperial Majesty requires 'services' (*servizj*) from the kingdom.^{cxix} All of Castile, that is to say all the vassals of those particular gentlemen named above, are linked to eighteen principal cities, with their districts (*cittadi*); and thus, when the king wants to summon the Cortes of the kingdom, he writes to these eighteen *cittadi*, each one of which elects two representatives (*procuratori*), and sends them to court with ample authority to pledge and to conclude affairs according to the will of their respective *cittadi*. The *cittadi* are the following: Burgos, León, Valladolid, Cuenca, Segovia, Cordoba, Granada, Seville, Toledo^{cx}; and up to this point no more needs to be said about the manner in which Castile is governed.

Now I will relate the revenues (*entrata*), which His Imperial Majesty can count on from Castile, and his ordinary outgoings.^{cxii} The first revenue is the *alcabala* and the third of the *decima*. The *alcabala* is a duty which is paid on the sale and purchase of transportable as well as immobile goods, as often as it is called for [*toties quoties*], and is 10%, even though it is not collected very precisely, each city considering it pays a lot of *alcabala*.^{cxiii} The third part of the *decima* was conceded the Kings of Castile by the Pope to finance the costs of the continuous wars against the Moors. This [ordinary income] amounts to 1,040,000 ducats, but a lot of this has been 'alienated' in previous times, in other words conceded out to various lords, or else sold according to the King's needs, so that with the sums lost, the King now only has access to 586,000 ducats.^{cxiiii} From the domains of the Grand Masters of the Orders of St. James of Calatrava and Alcantara, which are now annexed to the royal crown,^{cxv} he receives around 100.000 ducats, which is usually cut down to 60.000 or 80.000. Then there are extraordinary revenues, which are usually forthcoming ordinarily, from the 'crusades'^{cxvi} and [church] taxes^{cxvii}; this amounts to 500.000 ducats every three years, or around 170.000 ducats each year. These are indulgences and concessions similar to the *confessionali* here in Italy, and this was conceded for the wars against the Moors. Now to be honest there is a great cruelty and tyranny involved in this towards the poor counties and humble folk in that when these levies are declared all are required to go and hear their proclamation [and buy these indulgences], although there are those who have to attend to their professions and earn a living, but they are forced to go, having no option but to buy the indulgences, and in this way the money is raised.^{cxviii}

Every three years the kingdom grants furthermore an income (*servizio*) of 400.000 ducats, which goes up every year by about 130.000 [ducats]. The king also has a right to 20% of the gold that comes out of the Indies, which can amount to about 100.000 ducats a year. All of this revenue amounts to approximately 1.100.000 ducats.^{cxviii}

Now we will start on the costs. They previously wanted to keep 1300 armed men in Castile, but they were badly paid and badly disciplined. Now they have been reduced to 1000; there are 1000 light cavalry. There used to be 3000 infantrymen stationed on the French frontier, in the kingdom of Navarre, now they are reduced to a small number, and are around 1000. All these expenses, inclusive of their uniform and everything else, was purported to be 213.000 ducats a year. Then the costs of the guards to the fortresses of Castile amounted 33.000 ducats a year, and many of them have been thrown out, since many of the fortresses are useless, nor of any profit whatsoever to the kingdom, but only to those who possess them. Then they spend 32.000 ducats on the salaries of those of the council and on subsidies, which the king gives to many people, who incur greater costs than their ordinary salary. In couriers and gifts, which are made to the ambassadors of the princes, who wait upon the Emperor, 40.000 ducats are spent. The expenses of His Imperial Majesty's household, including the guard, the chapel, and chamberlains amount to 200.000 ducats a year. The cost of four light galleys, which are kept armed so as to guard the coast from the Moors, even though it is not always galleys, but other types of ship which are kept here, are said to cost 23.000 p.a. Then there are costs in maintaining Oran^{cxix}, and the other places in Africa, 67.000 ducats per annum. Then there are the so-called 'continuous' gentlemen of His Imperial Majesty, who receive different amounts according to their rank, and they are 200 strong; altogether the cost is 27.000 ducats. The King in Castile is also obliged to make certain gifts and concessions, as this is an ancient custom of the realm; indeed, previous kings conceded so many grants that a great part of the royal crown's revenue has been lost. 40.000 ducats are caught up in these grants per annum. The king also makes provision to many, the poor and the mediocre, the old and young alike, who are obliged to fulfill certain tasks for the realm; and in these go 26.000 ducats. These are the ordinary expenses of the kingdom of Castile, which

amount to 703.000 ducats; once you subtract the expenses from due revenue, around 380.000 ducats remains. But the extraordinary expenditure, as anyone who runs a family will know, carries off all this excess, so that you can say that at the beginning of the year he is at the beginning of his salary, most of all since that now matters are no longer so orderly, indeed since the Emperor acquired these kingdoms, one disorder has followed on from another, into civil war, and from civil wars into foreign wars. [44]

Of the nature of the Spaniards, who have had continuous dealings with Italy for many years, I think Your Lordships (*signorie*) will be well aware.^{cxx} They are of a melancholic disposition; everyone has a body apt for exercising arms, and ready to suffer. They are ingenious men, moreover, and prize honour, something which for them resides uniquely in the exercise of arms; however, they are naturally as apt as any other nation in the exercise of arms.^{cxxi} They are not many of them however in Castile, who are currently good at such endeavours, nor any good captains. And this follows from not having been duly exercised, which is something we witnessed two years ago, when his Imperial Majesty went in person to Pamplona in Navarre, where men of arms and infantry made a procession in front of him, but were all out-of-shape and unsuitable.^{cxxii} Nonetheless they are, as I have said, disposed by nature to get into shape through training. They are men who are fairly reserved in their speaking, but in their gestures and movements proud (*altieri*), and of little charity to their neighbours, and full of envy. These are the good and bad sides to the Spaniards.

In Spain, they make strong judgements, which tend to descend however into cruelty rather than any clemency. Their attitudes towards His Imperial Majesty are not good, indeed I would do better to say they are terrible, as much amongst the grandees as lower down the social hierarchy. The reason for this is primarily in the competition that they have with the Flemish, whom they see as intimate with the Emperor.^{cxxiii} The latter only entrusts himself to the care of these people, who have free rein over the Emperor, and which is not the case with the Spanish, whom they [the Spanish] cannot tolerate.^{cxxiv} The other reason is the Emperor's nature, who does not know how to be tender with anyone, which is reason for few to love him. But their paths do cross in that, even if they feel hatred towards him, on meeting him, his straightforwardness (*natura*) prevails, but their ways of doing things tire him, even though he tries to dissimulate such a feeling. With respect to Your Serenity I cannot say that they [the Spanish] are badly disposed, nor do they have, generally speaking, any particular affection; on account of being far distant, and for not having been in competition with this state in the past, and for having heard the arguments for our wars against the Turks, as happened to them against the Moors. In short, as I have said, there is neither particular affection, nor the contrary.

In Castile there are two ancient factions, the one called Velasco, the other Manrico. The head of the Velascos is the Constable^{cxxv}; on the part of Manrico is the Duke of xxx^{cxxvi}, who is one of those dukes with the smallest income, although from an ancient noble family. Besides these, there are new factions amongst the populace, and the nobility, which got worked up when the Emperor was in Spain for the first time with Lord Chièvres.^{cxxvii} As His Majesty reaped large sums of money, whether to have himself elected emperor, as well as to distribute amongst his Flemings, the word got out that he wanted to make levies on the kingdom.^{cxxviii} And when the representatives got back from the Cortes, those from Segovia tore their representative to shreds, because he had consented to providing him with more than their due. When the Toledan representative returned [from the Cortes of Valladolid] he was greatly honoured, as he had constantly denied the petitions of the king.^{cxxix} At which point Antonio Fonseca wanted to punish Segovia [which rose up 29-30 May 1520 and murdered the town representative Rodrigo de Tordesillas for having voted the *servicio*] by bringing in the king's artillery, which were in Medina del Campo [brought there by the *gente de ordenanza*].^{cxxx} But the city of Medina did not want to permit him their removal [out of fear of the *Vulgo*, the common people], so that he then set fire to a part of the land, which caught on, and burned a large part of it, including merchants' goods, which were at the fair, and in this way the communities rose up.^{cxxxi} In the beginning, the nobles detected the tumult against the king, and remained quiet, but the populace, with their arms in hand, took it upon themselves to say candidly that the king should help [himself to the finances of the] kingdom, and that these wanted to spend their energies and their lives in honouring their king, when he had no honour of his own. It was right that the King should help himself first of all, and recover so much of what was lost to the lords, and in this way they turned their arms on the lords, who in turn rose up turning towards the king, and in this way there was large-scale ruin, as is most pertinent to Your Greatness [the Venetian Doge], which only stopped with killing and damage to the populace, and little remuneration to the nobles, amongst both of whom the Emperor was held in little gratitude. One can say that because of the competition that exists between one and the other parties, the

present Emperor Charles V has greater authority than any king ever had in Castile, because with one word he is able to chase out all the lords from their lands, and thus obtain the benevolence of the populace. The lords are subjugated and rendered impotent despite their desire for power (*li signori stanno molto bassi contro il voler loro*). And with this we have said enough with regard to the kingdom of Castile.

[p. 46] Annexed to the Castilian Crown are the kingdoms of Navarre, which I have already explained is a part of Castile, and the Indies. The kingdom of Navarre is a small kingdom situated in the Pyrenean mountains, and descends into the French plain, situated between the kingdom of Aragon, Castile and France.^{cxxxii} His Imperial Majesty only has limited revenues from these kingdoms, and the little which he gains he spends on [his]officials, that is to say Viceroy, and others, whom he keeps there, and on the fortress at Pamplona. Nonetheless, the kingdom is of great importance, in that it is the key to Castile. The principal city is Pamplona, which is to be counted amongst the Spanish cities [previously, Contarini explains how Navarre slopes down into France], and is fairly good. Cardinal Cesarini holds the bishopric there^{cxxxiii}; it used to be worth 5000 ducats, but now it is worth more owing to the diligence of the cardinal's aide (*commesso*). In this kingdom, there are two factions, the Agramontese, at whose head is the Grand Marshal, and these are French; the other is that of the Pamplonese, who favour the Castilians. The head of this faction is the Constable of Navarre, who is the Count of Lerin.^{cxxxiv} Without any exceptions, the populace of this kingdom hate the Spanish and desire their natural king, the Lord of Albret. The Constable and Count of Lerin has a revenue of around 8000 ducats; the Marshal 4-5000. The two Castilian factions are linked to the two in Navarre; the Agramontese faction with that of Velasco, the head of which is the Constable of Castile; the Pamplonese with that of Manrico. Nothing else of note is worth saying of Navarre.

[p. 47] The Indies are similarly annexed to the Crown of Castile.^{cxxxv} There are two, the Oriental and the Occidental.^{cxxxvi} Regarding the East Indies there are now differences between the King of Portugal and that of Castile, since some time ago, at the time of the Genoese Columbus, who rediscovered^{cxxxvii} the lands of the West Indies, with similar Portuguese navigations the world was divided with the authority of the Pope, now Alexander VI, as your Excellencies already know, so that by drawing a line from our Arctic Pole to the Antarctic, which is a meridian line, which passes through the Canary Islands, everything which lay inside the line was to belong to the Portuguese King while all that lay to the other side belonged to the King of Castile. But now the Portuguese, having sailed so far to the East that they have passed India and the Chinas (*Cini*), which they today call China,^{cxxxviii} and the Moluccan Islands, and having had their ship the *Vittoria* (*Victoria*) circumnavigate the world, as I wrote to Your Holinesses [*celsitudini*] three years ago,^{cxxxix} they have come to dispute not only the Moluccan Islands, and China, but equally Malacca^{cxl}, which is Aurea-Chersonesus of the Ancients, as to whether [these places] fall to Portuguese jurisdiction or to Castile, that meridian line completing a finite circle according to the geography of Ptolemy, as to which controversy I do not expect ever to see an end, or it fully verified.^{cxli} But the King of Portugal, wanting the land of Brazil, which is of little use, has placed those which are of great importance in difficulty, especially Malacca, which is a port city, and principal emporium of the whole Aurea-Chersonesus.^{cxlii} Of the Moluccan islands, which are five, and on them, but in no other place, grow cloves, which is of great importance; and already at la Coruña an armada of five ships has been put together to sail off there to claim them for the Castilians, though, given the preparations for the marriage between the Emperor and the Infanta of Portugal, the departure of the said armada has been suspended.^{cxliii}

At this point, I do not want to fall silent if only because of the information I have gleaned regarding the affairs of the Portuguese [p. 49]. First of all, I believe, as has been affirmed by skilled men (*uomini praticissimi*) of that realm, that their king has but a fraction of the money that is generally believed, since he spends a fortune in maintaining those Indies voyages, and he needs to uphold various fortresses, and various armadas, which cost him a heap (*pozzo*) of gold. Furthermore, I believe that his Indies voyages are about to diminish rather than grow. Despite this massive expense, as I have outlined, the Portuguese are disliked across the East Indies, with the natives watching [the Portuguese] fortifying themselves little by little, and making themselves lords of the land.^{cxliv} From credible sources I know that two years ago five Portuguese ships were ruined (*rovinate*), and taken by Chinese, who constructed themselves an armada from these.^{cxlv} Thus, being despised and emigrating from their motherland and getting themselves employed in navigating and in fighting, I think that every day the problem only gets worse. Furthermore, this new young king does not possess the perseverance (*diligenza*) that his father did^{cxlvi}, and already his captains, who are in the Indies, start to compete amongst themselves, and start fights.^{cxlvii} And this is enough as regards the East Indies.

Then there are the West Indies. This is a huge territory, at least what has been discovered hitherto, and every day as the boundaries are pushed farther back, still more is revealed. These [Indies] are divided into islands and terra firma. The smaller islands are numerous, but three are sizeable. The first and principal one is Hispaniola [Isola Spagnuola], situated almost underneath the Tropic of Cancer, almost two thousand miles away from Spain, and is huge. Some [scholars] contend it is a little smaller than Spain; it has mountains and many rivers. The Spanish have built three settlements on this island, the largest of which is called S. Domenico (Santo Domingo), in which the Admiral lives, and the royal council. This admiral is the son of the Genoese Columbus, and great jurisdictions were conceded to his father, even though many have been usurped, and others are continuously usurped even now.^{cxlviii} I left him at the court, where he went to vindicate himself (*per espedirsi*). This island used to be highly populated, so much that Peter Martyr, who is Milanese and on the Council of the Indies, and has undertaken to write the history of these lands and the journeys to them,^{cxlix} assures me that between Hispaniola and Jamaica, which is not far, there used to be, on their discovery by Columbus, a million souls or more; now, following the cruel treatment at the hands of the Spaniards whether through the great labours they have imposed upon those poor men to mine for gold, or from death out of despair, which was such an issue that mothers have been found who have murdered their own children, the place is quite empty.^{cl} So that now on Hispaniola there are not even 7000 souls, and now they purchase black slaves from Barbary, and send them to the mines, of whom many, just shortly before I left court, joined together with some natives, and fled together into the mountains.^{cli}

The other principal island, which is to the west of Hispaniola, is the island of Cuba. Here there is a governor who [rules] in the name of the emperor^{clii}, and [it was] from here that Fernando Cortes set off, who rediscovered Yucatan, as I will explain below. Of this island, not as much is to be said as of Hispaniola, from which as I have omitted to state, flows besides gold, a great quantity of cassia,^{cliii} of sugars, liquors, and similarly good quality horses, something which did not originate in that island, but the Spaniards brought them there, and now are bred to perfection. Only wheat does not grow well, it comes out really big due to the thickness of the earth, and is soft, which is lost as grass (*che si perde in erba*). The island of Cuba is not as fertile as Hispaniola.^{cliv} The third island, that of Jamaica, is not so large when compared with these, but even it is fairly large and fertile. Further to this there are innumerable small islands, many of which are inhabited by cannibals, proud men, who not only eat men but hunt for men, just as one goes to hunt for wild beasts.^{clv}

The *terraferma* is otherwise a huge territory, which starts at a cape, called Cape St. Augustine,^{clvi} which is about 150 miles from Spain (Hispaniola?), or a little more, and which is beyond the 4th parallel from the equator. From this cape, the coast leads in two directions. One coast leads towards the Antarctic pole, [or rather towards the equinoctial],^{clvii} declining however a little towards the west, and this coast proceeds until 52 degrees, or rather, 54 degrees from the equinoctial, at which point the ship *Vittoria* found that strait, which is 500 miles long from east to west.^{clviii} Beyond it is not known how much further the coast continues towards the Antarctic.^{clix} In the first section of this coastline is the land of Brazil, possessed by the Portuguese. Then further southward live the Patagonians, proud men, and a good size larger than men like us, as those of the ship *Vittoria* have related.^{clx} The other coast begins from Cape St. Augustine, and proceeds somewhere between the west and the north, along which 5000 miles of coast have been navigated. Of this coast, part is inhabited by anthropophagous cannibals, as I have said, and part by more tame (*mansueti*) men. It is worth knowing that this territory, almost in the middle faces up to Hispaniola and then squeezes round so much that from this northern Ocean Sea to the southern Ocean Sea is not more than around fifty miles. In this Spanish strait two towns have already been built, one on the this northern sea, named Hombre de Dios, and the other on the southern sea called Panama, where it is to be noted that halfway along this land of Panama there is an island not far from the terra firma called the Island of Pearls (which are brought to Seville, as many of our merchants know, who have bought them)^{clxi} and in this way the coast carries on to Yucatan, which is a peninsula like that of the Morea, although many affirm it is an island,^{clxii} but the sea between it and the terra firma is so low that you cannot cross it, except in very small boats.^{clxiii}

From this Yucatan on to more favourable land a little further to the west, Fernando Cortes disembarked five years ago, and penetrated inland, where he found many different peoples and many cities, amongst which one province called Tolteche, which was staunchly hostile to the King of Tenochtitlan, over which with many wars and many false promises, he has become lord.^{clxiv} This city is marvelous for its size and site and man-made achievement, situated in the middle of a lake of saltwater, with a circumference of around two hundred miles,

and from one end it is joined to another lake of sweet water. It is not, however, very deep, and the water rises and falls every day twice, just as it does in Venice. From the dry land to the city some roads are built across (*fondate*) the lake. The inhabitants are idolatrous, like everyone in these lands, they eat men, but not all, they only eat their enemies who are captured in battle. In this way, they sacrifice men to their idols.^{clxv} They are more industrious in producing things, and I have seen several vases of gold, and others which have come from there, very beautiful and very well worked.^{clxvi} Nor do they have iron, but work certain stones in place of iron. I have seen of such like mirrors made of stone. They work further birds' feathers, which are miraculous.^{clxvii} To be sure, I have not seen any embroidery, nor any work of particular subtlety, to rate with their craftsmanship on the feathers and quills, which is particularly in demand, by which they seem to be of different colours, according to the type of light, as we can perceive in the necks of doves.^{clxviii}

Now this Fernando Cortes is penetrating even deeper, and has already discovered around 200 miles from Yucatan in a southerly direction the southern sea, and many other cities, and he has discovered a very abundant stretch of sweet water, between which and the southern sea there is a land, only two miles wide, and it is thus hoped that this sweet water will lead also shortly to this other northern sea, which, when it is found, it is thought can lead with great ease those navigating to the Moluccan islands, and other places in the East Indies to access the spices without mixing with the Portuguese. Then, from Panama towards the south, where that strait mentioned above, discovered by the *Vittoria (Victoria)* is to be found, nothing is to be known.^{clxix} And now His Royal Highness has put together an armada of five ships in Sicily,^{clxx} and made Captain Sebastian Cabot his pilot major, who is of Venetian origin, to go and investigate that entire stretch of coast, so that he may continue to the Indies, which, as I have said, are annexed to the Castilian crown.^{clxxi} And I have already arrived at the end of the first part proposed to me, which was to talk of the realms in the possession of his Imperial Majesty. [54]

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ⁱ Ammirato, *Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito*, 235; Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*. Mattingly explains how the tradition of using churchmen for diplomatic tasks almost entirely disappeared by the end of the sixteenth century. Recent historiographical attention has dwelled on the connections between the orality of diplomatic practice and its transcription, de Vivo, 'Archives of Speech'; cf. the author's earlier book *Information and Communication in Venice*. Lazzarini's *Communication and Conflict. Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance* has been billed as 'the first overall study of diplomacy in Early Renaissance Italy since Garrett Mattingly's pioneering work in 1955', attempting to sidestep the 'grand narrative' of the birth of resident embassies while asking how it was that specifically Italian forms of diplomacy came to play such a central role, not only in the development of international relations at the European level. It is also worth drawing attention to Frigo's edition of collected essays *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy. The structure of diplomatic practice*, which tries to shift the discussion away from Venice and the role of figures like the papal nuncio to smaller statelets on the peninsula like Modena and Mantua.

ⁱⁱ 'Between 1492 and 1650, Europeans had discovered something about the world around them, and a good deal more about themselves. Ironically, the impact of this discovery was blunted by the very extent and completeness of their successes overseas. These successes ministered to the vanity of Europe, or at least of the official Europe of sovereign nation-states, which placed a high premium on the virtues of political and social stability, and conformity. Such a Europe was unlikely to show itself unduly receptive to new impressions and experiences.', Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650*, 104. Subrahmanyam takes the new view in 'Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640', expanded into *Impérios em Concorrência: Histórias conectadas nos séculos XVI e XVII*, a collection of essays on the comparative historical trajectories of Timurid India and *Índia Portuguesa*.

ⁱⁱⁱ Aubin, 'Le Portugal dans l'Europe des années 1500', 220. The researcher is aided here by Piot's publication of 'La correspondance politique entre Charles V et le Portugal de 1521 à 1522'.

^{iv} The most systematic comparison hitherto remains that of Lyle N. McAlister, and confined to the Americas. *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700*. But there are also some informative reflections in Lynn Smith, 'The Changing Function of Latin American Cities', 72-6.

^v 'Copia et sumario di una lettera di dier Domenego Pixani, el cavalier, orator nostro in Spagna, a la Signoria', in Fulin et al. eds., *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto, 1496-1533*, vol. 4, 99-102; Ca' Masser, 'Relazione di Leonardo da C.M. alla Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia sopra il commercio dei Portoghesi nell'India dopo la scoperta del Capo di Buona Speranza (1497-1506)'; Vincenzo Quirini, 'Relazione delle Indie Orientali', in *Le Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti*, ed. E. Alberi; Weinstein, *Ambassador from Venice, Pietro Pasqualigo in Lisbon, 1501*; Suriano 'Relazione di Filippo II, Re di Spagna' of 1559; Tron and Lippomani's report is in Herculano's *Opúsculos*, vol 6, pp. 119-133; Federico Badoer's 'Relazione delle persone, governo e stati di Carlo V e di Filippo II' is in Alberi, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori*, 174-330; s. 2, V, *ibid.* 1858, pp. 377-406; Fulin, *Diarii di Marino Sanuto, 1496-1533*. Extracts have been published by Labalme, *Venice, Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*; Priuli, *I Diarii, 1494-1512*. Two recent anthologies of primary documents by Symcox, *Italian Reports on America, 1493-1522*, the first dedicated to letters, dispatched and papal bulls, the second accounts by contemporary observers, encompass some of these texts. Contarini's diplomatic missions have been studied by Ferrara, *Gasparo Contarini et ses missions*, although the end result dismissed as a work of 'vulgarization' by its English reviewer, who also indicates numerous errors, H.O. Evennett, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 72, No. 282 (Jan. 1957): 165-166.

^{vi} Delicado, *Viaggio fatto in Spagna et in Francia; Dispacci di Andrea Navagero*.

^{vii} Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Collegio, Secreta, *Commissioni*, 1513-59, fol. 53r.

^{viii} There is no biography of Salvati but his movements from this mission to Spain can be traced from his seven letters in the Bibliothèque Nationale, some of which are reproduced in Fraikin, *Nonciatures de Clément VII*, esp. in vol. I.

^{ix} Carande, *Carlos y sus Báuqueros*: specifically, rents ordinaries vol. II, 91; services, vol. II, 536-7; *maestrazgos*, vol. II, 378-425; subsidies, vol. II, 466-86; the crusade, vol. II, 435-64. Carande's figures are used by James Tracy in 'War, Finance and Fiscal Devolution in Charles V's realms'.

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- x Pérez, *La Révolution des Comunidades de Castille*.
- xi HARRISSE, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, 'Additions', xxxiv ff.; BROWN, *Calendar of State Papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice*, vols. III and IV. There are three dispatches by Contarini from 1522 in Geoffrey Symcox et al., *Italian reports on America, 1493-1522: letters, dispatches and papal bulls*, 136-9 (and in translation, 84-8).
- xii 'Lettere al Senato, 1521-5', Ital. Cl. VII, 1009, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice.
- xiii DITTRICH, *Gasparo Contarini, 1483-1542*; GLEASON, *Gasparo Contarini* is one of the recent historians tending to avoid manuscript sources. HARRISSE complains about 'the almost illegible volume of manuscript epistles bequeathed to the Marciana by Signore Girolamo Contarini in 1843', *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, xxxiv-xl. Contarini's *Relazione* was published in a systematic 15 volume collection of Venetian ambassadorial reports by Eugenio Alberi, which was divided into three series (1) European states outside Italy (2) Italian *relazioni* (3) reports from the Ottoman empire. in 1840. The original manuscript copy was once kept in the Reale Archivio di Corte di Torino, Alberi ed. *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 1st ser., vol. 2, 1-73.
- xiv SCRUZZI, *Eine Stadt denkt sich die Welt*.
- xv FULIN, *Diarii di Marino Sanuto, 1496-1533*, vol. 33, col. 557: 'Fernando Cortese ha recuperate la gran cita di Temistitan, con tutti quelli paesi et provincie che vi ho mandate in nota . . . Manda su in queste nave un presente a l'Imperator, di perle, gioie et alter cose precise de quell paese'. Cited in Symcox ed., *Italian Reports on America, 1493-1522, Letters, Dispatches, and Papal Bulls*. There are various spelling variations of Temistitan, including Tenuscitan and Tenusitan, while the Fulin edition of Sanudo's *Diarii* printed Temiscitan.
- xvi 'Letter of September 24, 1522, in Valladolid', reproduced in Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii*, vol. 33, col. 501-3.
- xvii CORTÉS, *Letters from Mexico*; DELICADO, *Viaggio fatto in Spagna et in Francia, dal Magnifico M. Andrea Navagiero* (Venezia: Domenico Farri, 1563).
- xviii MARINO SANUDO, *I Diarii*, vol. 28, pp. 375-6, repr. in Labalme et al., *Venice, Città Excelentissima*, 198.
- xix *Correspondence de Nicholas Clénard*, ed. A. Roersch, (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1940), vol. 1; BRONSEVAL, *Peregrinatio hispanica (1531-3)*; JOHN FRAMPTON, *loyfull newes out of the newe founde worlde*.
- xx M. DE WIT, 'Dantiscus and the Netherlands', in Jozef Isewijn & Wouter Bracke, *Joannes Dantiscus (1485-1548): Polish ambassador and humanist*, 34-5.
- xxi *Petrus Martyr Anglerius und sein Opus Epistolarum*, ed. Heinrich Heidenheimer (Berlin: Oswald Seehagen, 1881).
- xxii Jerzy Axer & R. Tomicki, 'Joannes Dantiscus and Hernán Cortés', in Isewijn et al., *Joannes Dantiscus (1485-1548): Polish ambassador and humanist*, 68. One of Dantyszek's retinue was the Augsburg medal-maker Christoph Weiditz, who produced detailed ethnographic testimony of the Aztecs Cortés brought back to Spain with him, *Christoph Weiditz. El códice de trajes*. Cortes had decided to return to Spain to clear himself of accusations surrounding the death of Ponce de León, Tomás Ortiz and the Duke of Béjar, to present himself to the King 'a cara descubierta', and to remarry and produce legitimate offspring to whom he could leave his inheritance, Bennisar, *Hernán Cortes, el conquistador de lo imposible*, 170-78.
- xxiii A. Fontan, 'Ioannis Dantiscus et Hispaniae optimates', in *Joannes Dantiscus (1485-1548): Polish ambassador and humanist*, 63.
- xxiv NAVAGERO, *Viaje a España*.
- xxv Textual extracts presented in Charles Dufay, *Un érudit du XIXe siècle*, 81.
- xxvi LÓPEZ DE MENESSES, 'A. Navagero, traductor de G.F. de Oviedo', 63-71; Antonello Gerbi, 'Oviedo and Italy' in idem, *Nature in the New World*, section XV.
- xxvii Cf. *Opere del cardinale Pietro Bembo*, 347: 'Alla città, da cotali incomodi percossa, un maie non pensato da lontane genti e regioni eziandio le venne'. Ibid., p. 359: 'Con que'popoli, che di sopra detti abbiamo, Messico, nella contrada Temistiana città egregia, in un laco di salsa acqua'. One can see the plans afoot in 'Riconstruzione di Venezia Cinta da Mura in acqua secondo la proposta di Alvise Cornaro', repr. in Tafuri, *Venezia e il Rinascimento*, Plate 117.
- xxviii ANTONIO PIGAFETTA, *Magellan's Voyage. A Narrative Account of the First Navigation*, 158-9.
- xxix SYMCOX, *Italian Reports on America, 1493-152, Letters, Dispatches, and Papal Bulls*; DENIS COSGROVE 'Mapping New Worlds: Culture and Cartography in Sixteenth-Century Venice', 72; ANTONIO PIGAFETTA, *Magellan's Voyage*, 27.
- xxx PIERO FALCHETTA ed., *Battista Agnese's Atlante (1554-1556)* (Italy: Canal Multimedia, 1996).
- xxxi This two-page woodcut was published in S. Grynaeus and J. Huttich. *Novus Orbis Regionum ac Insularum Veteribus Incognitarum*, 1532 [the map 'Nova et Integra Universi Orbis Descriptio' is at pages 54-55

of a digital version at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k52509z>]; *The travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508.*

^{xxxii} 'To the New World', *Times Literary Supplement*, Friday 16 July 1971, 1. On this genre of intrigue, see Giancarlo Casale's analysis of the double-dealing of the once thought to be Venetian spy and intermediary, 'Duarte Catanho (Cattaneo)', *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 63-8, drawing on Dejanirah Couto, 'L'itinéraire d'un marginal: la deuxième vie de Diogo de Mesquita'. *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian*, 39 (2000): 9-35. Antonio de Silva Rego's understanding of the stakes here has been substantially overhauled, 'Duarte Catanho: Espião e Embaixador', *Anais* (second series), 4 (1953): 123-40. Dejanirah Couto has elsewhere studied spying from the perspective of the *linguas*, or translators, 'The Role of Interpreters, or *Linguas*, in the Portuguese Empire during the sixteenth century', *E-Journal of Portuguese History*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Winter 2003) [online]. The Rijeka exhibition 'Piri Reis – Kartograf Sulejmana Vel' (closed 30 August 2013) prioritised how news of the Discoveries was avidly sought after across the Ottoman world .

^{xxxiii} Ramusio. *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, vol. 4.

^{xxxiv} The 'structural crisis' is set out by V.M. Godinho, 'Flutuações económicas e devir estrutural do século XV ao século XVII', 189. The eulogy of Lisbon is by Damião de Góis, *Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio Eborae*: apud Andream Burge[n]sem, 1554. See also Giovanni Battista Confalonieri. *Grandezza et magnificenza della città di Lisbona (1593-6)*.

^{xxxv} 'Lisboa em fins do reinado de D. Manuel', V. M. Godinho, *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial*, 508-9.

^{xxxvi} Brussels tapestry from *The Spheres* series, Royal Palace of Madrid. Note that while Jerry Brotton dates the tapestry to João III's marriage to Catherine of Austria in 1525, *A History of the World in Twelve Maps*, London: Allen Lane, 2012, Figure 29, Thomas Campbell prefers 1530-35, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: art and magnificence*, Metropolitan Museum of Art / Yale University Press, 2002, 268. This would alter the explanation for the tapestry's presence in Madrid, which Campbell sees anyway as having been commissioned by João's wife Catherine rather than to emulate the collection of Catherine's elder brother, Charles V. This concurs with Annemarie Jordan's view that 'although not recorded in contemporary inventories, this series probably hung in the Paço de Ribeira palace, and was later removed by either Philip II or Philip III and taken to Spain between 1580 and 1619', 'Portuguese Royal Collecting after 1521: The Choice Between Flanders and Italy', in Kate Lowe ed., *Cultural Links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 290. More generally, see Buescu, *D. Joaõ III*.

^{xxxvii} Sanudo, *Diarii*, I, cols 261, 418. This meeting at Torres Vedras is also mentioned by Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, I, 36-7.

^{xxxviii} Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, ser. I, vol. II, 49.

^{xxxix} Michele Suriano, in Davis, *Pursuit of Power. Venetian Ambassadors Reports*, 43; J.N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: the formation of a myth*, Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 2000, 40.

^{xl} Abate Perantonio Serassi', *Lettere dei negozi del Conte Baldassare Castiglione*, Padova: Comino, 1769-71. More generally, Julia Cartwright, *The Perfect Courtier, Baldassare Castiglione; his life and letters, 1478-1529*, New York: Dutton, 1927. The Titian portrait was painted after Isabella's death, in Augsburg.

^{xli} Manuel Fernández Alvarez, 'La Emperatriz Isabel' is an obsequious paper made on the occasion of his appointment to the Portuguese Academy, and anyway turns on Charles V's love for his wife rather than what outsiders made of her.

^{xlii} Prospero Peragallo ed. , 'Copia de uma carta de el-Rei de Portugal enviada ao Rei de Castella acerca da viagem e successo da India', 13; Tomé Pires, *The Suma oriental*, ed. Armando Cortesão, London: Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, no. LXXXIX, 1944, vol. II, 285.

^{xliii} Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Consiglio dei Dieci, reg. XXX, f. 49; published in Samuele Romanini, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, Venezia: P. Naratovich (1853-61), vol. IV, 538.

^{xliv} 'Estatística da Carga e dos Barcos Portugueses Entrados com Avarias no Porto de Antuérpia, de 1535 a 1551', taken from Livro no. 209, feitoria de Flandres and published by V. Rau, Apêndice H, p. I, *Exploração e Comércio do Sal de Setúbal* (1951). If we turn to Portuguese sources, however, here the chronicle of Dom Manuel's reign (1495-1521) written by the humanist Damião de Góis, we find opposing interpretations of these deals, where the whole tone of the passage seems intended to underline Venetian subservience. Chapter 81, 'De quomo hos Venezeanos mandaram çinquo galeaças ha çidade de Lisboa, & da commisam que ho Capitam dellas trazia', *Chronica do Rey Emanuel*, fol. 338 ff, Lisbon (Francisco Correia: 1566-67). There is a further version of this episode in a parallel chronicle of the period by Osorius, *De rebus Emmanuelis*. ., 366. Apparently, a Venetian general, Alexandro da Pesaro, leading five galeasses on the Flanders *mude*, was given written

instructions (*comissam*) to stop in Lisbon to discuss the eventuality of a spice contract for the supply of the European market through the traditional mechanisms at Venice. The upshot was polite refusal, if accompanied by a show of great courtesy and, perhaps with some irony, even modest gifts of those very goods the Venetians had hoped to contract. What we are to make of this may come from corroborating accounts copied into the diary of Marino Sanudo, where details of public discussions held in the Collegio are detailed and letters of instruction to commanders of the Flanders-bound *mude* reproduced word for word. Sanudo, *I Diarii*, ed. R. Fulin (1879 edition), vol. XXX, cols. 116-7, 198, 282-3.

^{xlv} Fernanda Jasmins Pereira, *Documentos de Madeira no Corpo Cronologico. Analise documental*, Lisbon: Arquivos do Torre do Tombo, 1990. Cf. the overblown positions taken in the jingoistic monograph by F. Hümmerich, *Die erste deutsche Handelsfahrt nach Indien*, Munich, 1922.

^{xlvi} Tagliapietra returned to Venice in February 1518, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, t. XXV, 164.

^{xlvii} For details, see Christine Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World. Renaissance Encounters*, University of Virginia Press, p. 180. See also Christa Schaper, 'Die Hirschvogel von Nürnberg und ihre Faktoren in Lissabon und Sevilla', in *Fremde Kaufleute auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*. Köln ; Wien [u.a.] : Böhlau 1970.

^{xlviii} Enrique Otte, 'Die Welser in Santo Domingo', in *Festschrift für Johannes Vincke*, 2, pp. 475-518, Madrid, 1963. For a recent summary of German involvement in the Spanish New World, see Felix Hinz, 'Venezuela – the search for El Dorado' in *The Routledge History of Western Empires*, Abingdon: 2014, p 22-24.

^{xliv} Hedwig Fitzler, 'Jorg Pock's Briefen aus Lissabon, 1518-20', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, 1968, v. 55, pp. 137-84.

ⁱ Many of the problems in the Portuguese East are also related by Barros in the third *Decada*, and by Damião de Gois in his *Chronica*, but these were works which only came out in the 1550s.

ⁱⁱ Levine, *Agents of Empire*, ch. 1; Stübel, 'Die Instruktion Karls V für Philipp II vom 25 Oktober 1555', 248.

ⁱⁱⁱ see José Pardo Tomás, 'Obras españolas sobre historia natural y material médica', *Asclepio*, vol. 43 (1991): 51-84. It is interesting that Dantyszek, Tomicki believes, was interested by the prospect of a trading career at around this time.

^{liii} Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, pp. 32, 35-6.

^{liiv} Sanudo, *I Diarii*, vol. XXIX, cols. 337-8; *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, London & Calcutta (1891), p. 174.

^{liv} G. Fragnito, 'Gasparo Contarini', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 28, pp. 172-192; Charles Hayward, 'Life of Sebastian Cabot', in *Library of American Biography*, vol. 9, p. 89-162; Ugo Tucci, 'Sebastiano Caboto', in *Dizionario degli italiani*, t. XV, Rome 1971. See also Marcantonio Contarini's report to the Senate on Sebastian Cabot's Voyage (1536), repr. in James Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1962, Document 55, p. 270..

^{lvi} For this side to his character, see Elisabeth Gleason, 'Reading between the lines of Gasparo Contarini's Treatise on the Venetian State', in *Historical Reflections* 1988 15(1): 251-270; F. Tarducci, *Di Giovanni e Sebastiano Caboto*, Venezia: Visentini, 1892, 156.

^{lvii} Erich Woldan, *Opera: Legatio Babyonica, De Orbe Novo decades octo, opus epistolarum*, Graz: 1966, Vorwort.

^{lviii} Godinho, Vitorino Magalhães, 'Flutuações económicas e devir estrutural do século XV ao século XVII', in *Ensaio*, Lisbon: Sá de Costa, 1978, t. II, 245-80.

^{lix} *Tratado que compôs o nobre & notauel capitão Antonio Galuão, dos diuersos & desuayrados caminhos, por onde nos tempos passados a pimenta & especearia veyo da India às nossas partes, & assi de todos os descobrimentos antigos & modernos, que são feitos até a era de mil & quinhentos & cincoenta*, Lisboa 1563 [digital copy provided by Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal Digital].

^{lx} João de Barros, *Clarimundo*, ed. by Prof. Marques Braga, Lisbon: Clássicos Sá da Costa, 1953, 3 vols; Adrien Roig, *La comédie de Bristo*, 1973; Jack Horace Parker's survey of the lyric dramatic poet, *Gil Vicente*, New York: Twayne, 1967, covers each of his plays, but is rather cursory, pp. 76-7, 134.

^{lxi} Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage*, Chapter VII.

^{lxii} Scholars have borne witness to how the early Edenic visions of the Vaz da Caminha letter (where the locals were presented as a *povo docil* and if without religion, then fodder for conversion), were replaced by issues of *diversidade* and *estranheza*, as found in Gabriel Soares de Souza's *Tratado Descritivo do Brasil*, published in 1587, to hostile 'imagotypes' to be found in texts like that of Pêro Magalhães de Gândavo from 1570, *História da Província de Santa Cruz*. In Luís Albuquerque ed., *O Reconhecimento do Brasil*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, pp. 67-130. Cf. Maria Cecília Guirado, 'Primeiros Confrontos entre Portugal e Brasil: o Diário

de Navegação de Pero Lopes de Sousa (1530-1532)', *Anais de Historia de Alem-Mar*, December 2000, Vol. 1, p221-232. As a general survey, see Rogério Miguel Puga, 'O Olhar através do Género: A Imagem do Índio Brasileiro na Literatura Portuguesa de Quinhentos', in Fernando Cristóvãoed. *O Olhar do Viajante. Dos Navegadores aos Exploradores*. Coimbra: Livraria Almedina-Centro de Literaturas de Expressão Portuguesa da Universidade de Lisboa, pp. 177-230.

^{lxiii} Fróis wrote a letter back to D. Manuel from Porto Rico in 1514, where he was captured by Spanish authorities for having touched Spanish land. Together with his crewmen he was transported to Seville, but was duly released in 1517. F. Contente Domingues *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, Lisboa: Caminho, 1994, vol. 2, p. 971.

^{lxiv} Fernão Cardim, S.J. *Tratados da Terra e gente do Brasil* ed. Capistrano de Abreu et al., Rio de Janeiro, 1950 (transl. in Samuel Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, pp. 1289-1325 of the 1625 edition).

^{lxv} Marcondes de Souza, *Amérigo Vespucci e suas viagens*, São Paulo 1949, 270. Fernão de Loronha was the largest importer of spices and foodstuffs to the Feitoria de Flandres over the period August 1488-March 1494, A.N.T.T., *Cartas de quitação de D. João III*, no 221.

^{lxvi} King Manuel's *alvará* of 1516, in the Arquivos Nacionais do Torre do Tombo, Livro das Reformações da Casa da Índia, fol. 25v. More generally, John L. Vogt Jr., *Portuguese Exploration in Brazil and the Feitoria System, 1500-1530: the first economic cycle of Brazilian history*, University of Virginia, Ph.D., 1967; Regina Tomlinson, *The Struggle for Brazil. Portugal and the French Interlopers (1500-1550)*, 1970. Spanish interloping was haphazard, often a result of trading voyages heading for the Caribbean which got blown off course through navigational error or the weather, see for example the expedition of Alonso Vélez de Mendoza, in L.A. Vigneras ed., *The Discovery of South America and the Andalusian Voyages*, Chicago 1976. Other abortive attempts were made by explorers like Diego de Ortaz to establish colonies along the River Amazon in 1531 but Pinzon, who had been given the rights to land to the south of the Amazon by Ferdinand of Aragon in 1501, did not follow up on this opportunity.

^{lxvii} Luís de Albuquerque, *Martim Afonso de Sousa*, Lisboa: Alfa, 1989.

^{lxviii} Geraldini, 'Itinerary to the Regions Located Below the Equator', 1522 (repr. in Symcox)

^{lxix} F. Weiser, 'Ein Bericht des Gasparo Contarini über die Heimkehr der Victoria von der magalhaes'schen Expedition', in *Mitteilungen der Institut für österreichischer Geschichtsforschung*, 5, 1884, pp. 446-50; Lodovico Beccadelli, *Vita del Cardinale Gasparo Contarini*, Brescia: Rizzardi, 1746, pp. 6-7.

^{lxx} Agnese is reproduced in S. Biadene ed., *Carte da navigar: portolani e carte nautiche del Museo Correr 1318-1732* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1990).

^{lxxi} Repr. in *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano*, Pierpoint Morgan Library, 1970, Plate 19.

^{lxxii} Loades, 'Sebastian Cabot, explorer and cartographer', in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online edition], URL consulted 4 June 2013, 6pp. There is a good summary of proceedings at the Badajoz conference in Jerry Brotton, *A History of the World in Twelve Maps*, Penguin Books, 2012, pp. 199-201

^{lxxiii} Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Times Atlas of World Exploration*, London (1991), p. 133.

^{lxxiv} José Toribio Medina, *El Veneciano Sebastián Caboto al servicio de España*, Santiago de Chile, 1908, vol. 1, 182.

^{lxxv} Letter reproduced in Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii*, vol. 33, cols. 501-3.

^{lxxvi} Christian Brannstrom, 'The river of silver and the island of Brazil', *Terrae Incognitae* 27: 1-14.

^{lxxvii} Robert S. Weddle, 'Alonso Alvarezde Pineda,' *Handbook of Texas Online*

(<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fal72>), accessed June 13, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

^{lxxviii} Lawrence Wroth, *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano, 1524-8*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

^{lxxix} See Marica Milanese, 'Arsarot oder Anian? Identität und Unterscheidung zwischen Asien und der Neuen Welt in der Kartographie des 16. Jahrhunderts (1500-1570)', in Adriano Prosperi, Wolfgang Reinhard eds. *Die Neue Welt im Bewußtsein der Italiener und Deutschen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1991, pp 15-69.

^{lxxx} Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defence of Republican Liberty*, pp. 144-53; Stephen Bowd, *Reform before the Reformation. Vincenzo Quirini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy*, Leiden: Brill (2002) reminds us that both Contarini and Quirini were intellectuals, slow to enter public service.

^{lxxxi} G. Fragnito, 'Gasparo Contarini', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 28, pp. 172-192; Charles Hayward, 'Life of Sebastian Cabot', in *Library of American Biography*, vol. 9, p. 89-162; Ugo Tucci, 'Sebastiano Caboto', in *Dizionario degli italiani*, t. XV, Rome 1971.

^{lxxxii} For this side to his character, see Elisabeth Gleason, 'Reading between the lines of Gasparo Contarini's Treatise on the Venetian State, in *Historical Reflections* 1988 15(1): 251-270.

^{lxxxiii} 'Letter of 10 August, 1499', reproduced in *Voyages de Vasco da Gama. Relations des expéditions de 1497-99, & 1502-3*, ed. Paul Teyssier & Paul Valentin, Paris: Chandeigne (1995), pp. 183-8.

^{lxxxiv} Scruzzi, 239. See also the discussion in a review written by Achim Landwehr, in *Sehepunkte*, Ausgabe 10 (2010), Nr. 5 [www.sehepunkte.de/2010/05/17819.html].

^{lxxxv} There is amazingly no monograph on this powerful (tending to authoritarian) political figure. Manfredo Tafuri, *Venezia e il Rinascimento: religione, scienza, architettura*, §2 'La renovatio di Andrea Gritti: auctoritas, tecniche, architettura', Torino: Einaudi, 1985, pp. 162-9. The political and intellectual life of the city under Gritti is explored in Achille Olivieri, 'Il Principe e la formazione del consenso sociale: intellettuali e architetti alla 'corte' di Andrea Gritti', *Annali della Facoltà di Scienze Politiche: Materiali di Storia*. 1980, Vol. 17 Issue 5, p37-55. Robert Finlay, 'Fabius Maximus in Venice: Doge Andrea Gritti, the War of Cambrai and the Rise of Hapsburg Hegemony, 1509-30, *Renaissance Quarterly*, December 2000, Issue 4, pp. 988-1031 looks at Gritti's policy for the survival of Venice in the midst of the Italian Wars.

^{lxxxvi} Frederic Lane, 'The Mediterranean Spice Trade. Further Evidence of its Revival in the sixteenth century', *American Historical Review*, 45, 3, (1940), pp. 581-90.

^{lxxxvii} William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defence of Republican Liberty*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1968, pp. 144-53.

^{lxxxviii} 'Carta de João Matteo Crético, 27 junho de 1501' in Amado & Figueiredo, *Brasil 1500*, pp. 177-8. For more context, see Alida Metcalf, *Go-between and the colonization of Brazil*, Texas 2005, p. 39.

^{lxxxix} Ca' Masser's report is in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, MS ital., cl. VII. 877 (=8,651), fos. 308r-314v. Alongside the *Archivio Storico Italiano* 1845 edition, his text has been reproduced as an Appendix to D.S. Chambers, 'Venetian Perceptions of Portugal, c. 1500', in Kate Lowe, *Cultural links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 39. Overall, Manuel was presented by Ca' Masser as a 'suspicious, irresolute, avaricious and bigoted king', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 17, p. 86 (cf. the abridged biography of Manuel I provide in 'Carta de el-Rei D. Manuel ao Rei Catholico narrando-ilhe as viagens portugezas a India desde 1500 ate 1505', in *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500 - 1900*, vol. 6, ed. David Thomas). Quirini's comments are in *Le relazioni*, p. 13.

^{xc} See here C. A. Sneyd ed., *A Relation of the Island of England with sundry particulars of the customs of these people, and the royal revenues under King Henry the Seventh, about the year 1500*. (Camden Society: London, 1847), esp. 31, 34-6.

^{xc1} See Paola Mildonian, 'La conquista dello spazio Americano nelle prime raccolte venete', in *L'impatto della scoperta dell'America nella cultura veneziana*, ed. Angela Caracciolo Arico, Rome: Bulzoni, 1990, p. 118, no. 9.

^{xcii} The Polish magnate, Jakub Sobieski, who visited Spain in 1611, amazed at the vast spaces of forest, olive groves, orange orchards and cypress trees in Andalusia, see García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, Madrid: 1959, vol. II, 330. Andalusia was sparsely inhabited for its size, but outstripped the general population rise over the first half of the sixteenth century as to be observed in Spanish cities like Barcelona and Toledo. Seville's population, for example, close to trebled to 120.000 by the time of the census of 1597.

^{xciii} Galicia, both distant and tribal, was always poorly integrated into the rest of the peninsula, see Pierre Chaunu, *L'Espagne de Charles Quint*, vol. 1, p. 201.

^{xciv} This is not the Royal Council and Cabinet of Castile, but the Council of Justice (see further on)

^{xcv} Known in Spanish as the *Real y Supremo Consejo de Castilla*, or more simply, and in an earlier period, as the *Consejo Real*. By St. James, Contarini means Santiago de Compostela. He refers to Juan Pardo de Tavera (1472-1545), who was a cardinal (from 1531) and was Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain (1534-1545), Grand Inquisitor of Spain (1539-1545), Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela (1524-1534), Bishop of Osma (1523-1524), and Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo (1514-1523).

^{xcvi} Vitado de Mendoza, imperial ambassador to Venice, later Rome and then in 1547 appointed Governor of the Republic of Siena until the Spanish garrison was expelled from the city up an uprising of the town's citizens in league with the French in 1552.

^{xcvii} Moncada (1476-1528) was General of Ocean and Land, fighting in many campaigns such as at Tournai, Toulon, Hyères and Fréjus, then Viceroy of Sicily (1509-17) and of Naples (1527-28).

^{xcviii} Fieramosca, or Ferramosca, was Deputy Viceroy of Naples between 1524-6.

xcix This might have been Pedro González de Mendoza, who was recorded as majordomo and chief accountant of rents for the Holy Roman Emperor in a royal cedula of April 1528, Archivo del Monasterio Cisterciense de Santo Domingo de Silos 'El Antiguo', leg. 3/9. A general survey of this council exists, see Juan Carlos Dominguez Nafria, *El consejo real y supremo de guerra (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2001, but I have not been able to consult it.

c The Council of the Indies was a privy council which some historians date back to 1510, which Charles V was referring to already in 1519, although only formally created on August 1, 1524. See Ernesto Schäfer, *El Consejo real y supremo de las Indias: su historia, organización y labor administrativa hasta la terminación de la casa de Austria*, Seville: 1935-47, vol. I, 43 ff.; Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra, *Política Indiana*, Madrid: M. Sacristan, 1648, lib. V, cap. 15.

ci Eugenio Albèri appears to have made a mistake here. Contarini is referring to Garcia de Loaisa (Loaysa) (c.1495-1546), who was General of the Dominicans, was nominated President of the Consejo de Indias, and was Bishop of the cathedral city of Burgo de Osma, not Osuna (Ossuna). Martín de Salinas, *Cartas*, pp. 131-9 in Rodríguez Villa, *El Emperador Carlos V y su Corte*, Madrid 1903. It is not Fray Francisco de Osuna who wrote the *Ley de Amor* (published in Seville in 1530), with a Prólogo dedicated to Charles' secretary, Francisco de los Cobos. Loaisa's star in the council rose just as that of Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, waned (he died at the end of 1524).

cii Machiavelli prefers the word *virtù* for talent, Ch. 21 'How a ruler should act to gain reputation'.

ciii Alonso Manrique de Lara (1476-1538), Bishop of Córdoba between 1516-23, Archbishop of Seville from 1523 and who held the position of Gran Inquisidor from 1523 until his death. Rodrigo Manrique was another prominent member of this family, a member of the Consejo de Guerra.

civ Alberi seems to think Contarini means to say Protestants here, but I do not agree. If you look at 'Les cibles principales' for the Inquisition of Toledo, as computed by Bartolomé Bennassar, then Protestantism only became a target with more than ten cases over a five-year period after 1555, while 'Judaism' was regularly the subject of 70-80 trials for the five-year period of 1481-5, if declining a little thereafter, *L'Inquisition Espagnole, XVe-XIXe siècle*, Hachette, 1979, p. 23.

cv Dr. Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal (doctor iuris), an old Castillian councillor of Ferdinand and author of Avisos de lo que convendría hacerse para evitar algunos abusos en el gobierno, in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, Madrid: Miguel Ginesta, 1887, vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 504-6. There is a digital copy of this rare work here: <http://www.heuristiek.ugent.be/sites/default/files/codoin/codoin.88.pdf>. He is also author of 'Parecer del doctor Carvajal sobre lo que el Emperador deve hacer para ausentarse y cómo debe quedar lo de los consejos y quién yrá con el Emperador', Egerton MS. 307, fols. 159-163, British Library, London.

cvi Hugh Thomas prefers 'President' to 'Grand Master'. Don García de Padilla, another former councillor of Ferdinand and patron of de los Cobos, also held the position of advisor to the King between 1523-42. Padilla was instrumental on the Spanish side in the negotiations for the Saragossa Treaty in 1529.

cvii Francisco de los Cobos, also Secretary of the Council of State between 1528-46, and Secretary of the Council of the Indies, 1518-47. Hayward Kenniston, *Francisco de los Cobos, secretary of the emperor Charles V*, Pittsburgh University Press, 1959, p. 126.

cviii A Council of Finance was formally put together in 1523. Authors like Kenniston insist that finance increasingly 'became a matter for the secretaries to straighten out', 1959 ed., p. 333.

cix Contarini draws from the Spanish term *servicios* here.

cx The manuscript fails to mention the other nine. At the Cortes of 1566, 13 *contadi* participated, including Murcia, Jaén, Salamanca, Ávila, Toro, Zamora and Madrid, see 'Legislation and Consent to Taxation in the 'Cortes' of 1566', Document VI, dated 15 June 1567, in G. Griffiths, *Representative Government in Western Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, Oxford U.P., 1968, p. 41. The two remaining unaccounted for are Soria and Guadalajara. This representation is somewhat archaic in that only five of these cities are from the South or in territories acquired after 1225.

cxii Cf. 'Revenue Structure of Charles V's lands', James D. Tracy, 'War Finance and Fiscal Devolution in Charles V's Realms', in Wim Blockmans & Nicolette Mout eds., *The World of Emperor Charles V*, Amsterdam 2004, 73.

cxiii The suggestion here is that the low rate of collection reflects the perception on the part of the *cittadi* that the levy was a high one. Prior to the Catholic Kings, the *alcabala* was a 5% levy.

cxiiii This is explained by Ramón Carande 'Déficit chronique et injustice fiscale', in Pérez, *L'Espagne du XVIe Siècle*, Paris: Armand Colin, 1973, fn. 1, p. 204, and by Wim Blockmans & Nicolette Mout, who see this

alienation in terms of returns on loans provided by banking-houses at the time of Charles V's election to Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, *The World of Emperor Charles V*, 5. This alienated income was referred to as *situados*. 'Ordinary income' also comprised tolls and agrarian dues.

^{cxiv} Charles V was recognized as 'perpetual administrator' of the three orders by his erstwhile tutor, Pope Adrian VI, see Hermann Kellenbenz, *Die Fuggersche Maestrazgopacht (1525-42)*, Tübingen 1967, 2-6. In practice, this meant that Cobos acted as secretary for the orders of Calatrava and Alcántara, while Juan Bázquez de Molina, Comendador de Guadalcanal was nominated by Charles V to run the Order of Santiago, María Jesús Álvarez-Coca González, 'El Consejo de las Ordenes Militares', in *Cuadernos de historia moderna*, Nº 15, 1994, p. 303.

^{cxv} The *cruzada*, a tax established in 1484 and authorised by the Pope, to grant plenary indulgences in return for financial contributions to the war against infidel Granada. See Alberi, vol. I, p. 39, note. In Italy, indulgences were usually authorised, and their winnings distributed by the Pope, for such ends as maintaining the hospital of Gesù Cristo at Sant'Antonio, Venice, 22 July 1487, ASV Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, b.107, processo 255. The *cruzada* was still being levied at the time of Suriano's report in 1559.

^{cxvi} Castile's clergy was constrained to pay an annual tax or *subsidio* to the crown, with the amount to be determined by negotiation.

^{cxvii} Contarini reverts to Venetian here, particularly with the phrase 'quelli che colle buone non le vogliono torre'. "Torre" apparently means "prendere" in Venetian. For the *questione della lingua*, whether Venetian was a language or mere dialect (a straightforward answer for which she evades), see Anna Lepschy, 'The Language of Sanudo's Diarii', in *War, Culture and Society in Renaissance Venice*, London: Hambledon Press, 1993, pp. 199-212. The shift of the *cittadi's* fiscal provisions from *alcabala* to *servicios* derived also benefited the wealthy trading class and rentiers to the detriment of the common people.

^{cxviii} By 1559, Suriano reported a rise in ordinary revenues to 1.500.000 ducats (in gold). The largest share of this increase in revenue (500.000) was borne by gold from the Indies, in Davis, p. 42. Silver from Potosí revolutionised fiscal arrangements in the second half of the sixteenth century.

^{cxix} Captured by an army of 10.000 men in May 1509, and held until 1732. In 1559, 59.272 ducats were spent on soldiers' salaries; taxes on trade raised less than half that amount. Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier, a history of the sixteenth century Ibero-African frontier*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978, 38-9, 43.

^{cxx} Refers to the Italian wars, culminating in the infamous Sack of Rome (1527).

^{cxxi} Cf. the comments of Pierre de Brantôme observing the *tercios* on their way up the Spanish Road (1566). He commented on 'this kind troupe of brave and valliant soldiers.. all old and war-hardened, so well kitted out in uniform and arms that one would mistake them for captains rather than plain soldiers.. and [one] would have said they were princes, they were such rogues, marching arrogantly and with grace', in Marcelin Defourneaux, *La Vie Quotidienne en Espagne au siècle d'or*, Hachette, 1964, 'La Vie Militaire', p. 219. This sense of honour can be discerned in many of the writings produced by the conquistadores. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, for example, author of *Verdadera Historia de los sucesos de la conquista de Nueva España*, writes in ch. ccxii how he was motivated 'by the pride his children and descendants would feel from his heroism'.

^{cxxii} This visit followed an unsuccessful French invasion of Navarre in April/May 1521, defeated by Aragonese troops, but French pretensions to the area remained, see Nicolas de Bordenave, *Histoire de Béarn et Navarre*, 17.

^{cxxiii} This sentiment culminated in the Comuneros' demand that 'Offices in the royal house must be given to persons born and baptized in Castile, and the king, while he is in Castile, cannot make use of persons who are not born in Castile', Don Martín Fernández Navarrete, Don Miguel Salvá and Don Pedro Sainz de Baranda eds., *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vol. I, Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Calero, 1842, pp. 272-83. The chronicler Nicolas de Bordenave refers to the 'inhumanité de ses sangsues estrangères', *Histoire de Béarn et Navarre*, ed. Paris: chez Mme. Ve. Jules Renouard, 1873, p. 5.

^{cxxiv} Note the text's address for Charles V as 'Cesare'. Italians were quick to move on to familiar forms of address, even first-name terms (in Italian Cesare is a first name), as oppose to the Germans, as we can see from correspondence with King Manuel I of Portugal (1495-1521), or even the Spanish, who preferred an address reflective of the political distance between subject and ruler. Cortés and Charles' own brother Ferdinand, for example, addressed their letters to Charles as 'Your Highness' or 'Your Majesty' (V.M.), Charles' ambassador Lope Hurtado as S.C.C.M. For the Portuguese case, see Stefan Halikowski Smith, *Portugal and the European Spice Trade, 1480-1580*, Ph.D. thesis of 2001 (European University Institute, Italy), p. 176.

^{cxv} The Constable of Castile, a powerful position that became hereditary. In Contarini's day it was held by Don Iñigo Fernández de Velasco (1462-1528), who was promoted to the three-headed government of June 1520 alongside Cardinal Adrian and Admiral Fadique Enriquez de Cabrera.

^{cxvi} Left empty in the manuscript, but should be filled with 'Duke of Nájera'. The famous boast of the family went 'we do not descend from kings, but kings descend from us'.

^{cxvii} Guillaume de Cröy, Sieur de Chièvres (1458 – 28 May 1521), chief tutor and First Chamberlain to Charles V. The purpose of this first visit (autumn 1517-1520) was a tour of Charles' kingdoms and a collection of *servicios* at the Cortes of Valladolid.

^{cxviii} There was the problem that the *encabezamientos* were not rising in line with price inflation, despite a freeze agreed at the Cortes of Valladolid. The King proposed to scrap them and replace them by putting the *alcabalas* to auction.

^{cxix} On Toledo's protests in October and November 1519 against the *puja* of Barcelona (putting up the *alcabalas* for auction), run-in with the Chancellery on the (re-)wording of the king's title, and plans on what to do if the king left Spain and got himself crowned in Aachen, see Joseph Pérez, *L'Espagne du XVIe siècle*, 1973, pp. 47-9. The *corregidor* ultimately had to abandon the city on 31 May, 1520, see Chaunu, *L'Espagne de Charles Quint*, I, 235, after Toledo had boycotted the Cortes opened at Santiago de Compostela on 26 March 1520.

^{cxx} In the 1520s, Fonseca was leader of the royal army, here operating alongside the commander Ronquillo. Later member of the Council of State between 1554-6; President of the Royal Council and Cabinet of Castile, 1553-6. Be careful not to confuse him, as Chaunu does in his *L'Espagne de Charles Quint*, with Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos. For detail on the Segovian uprising, see Pérez, *La Révolution des Comunidades de Castille*, 168-9.

^{cxxi} Chaunu writes of the campaign against Medina which took place 21-22 April 1520 as 'une operation conduite correctement au plan technique, mais psychologiquement d'une manière désastreuse', vol. I, p. 239. Fonseca fled to Portugal, and the royal army was disbanded.

^{cxxii} An army under Federico of Toledo, Duke of Alba, invaded Navarre in 1512; the kingdom of which Contarini speaks, based around the city of Pamplona, was annexed (what Elliott would call 'accessory union', the example by which Wales was incorporated into the English legal system by the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1543, John Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past and Present*, no. 137 (November 1992), pp. 52 & 60) in the Treaty of Noyon in 1516. A rump 'kingdom' to the north remained under the sovereign lords of Béarn, the counts of Foix. initially Henri d'Albret (1502-1555). He organised an attack on Navarre in 1521 under André de Foix, seigneur d'Esparros, hoping the Comuneros would serve as a pretext for a general uprising.

^{cxxiii} The Italian Alessandro Cesarini was appointed Apostolic Administrator to Pamplona between 1520-38.

^{cxxiv} Don Louis de Beaumont, d. 1529. See Nicolas de Bordenave, *Histoire de Béarn et Navarre*, Paris: Renouard, 1873, p. 7. Gregorio Monreal; Roldan Jimeno. *Conquista e Incorporación de Navarra a Castilla*. Pamplona-Iruña: Pamiela, 2012.

^{cxxv} This is another example of 'accessory' union, see fn. 127.

^{cxxvi} This interpretation of the separateness of the two Indies was still very new, although shared by some contemporary observers like Jan Dantyszek, see R. Tomicki, 'Wczesne Zrodla Wiedzy o Ameryce w Polsce', *Etnografia Polska*, t. XXXIX, 1995, issue 1-2, p. 79, fn. 5. Older interpretations were much more hazy, indeed Beckingham has written of the 'extraordinary confusion' which persisted throughout the 14th and 15th centuries by which 'Anywhere vaguely south of the Muslim countries was liable to be called India', 'The Quest for Prester John', repr. In Felipe Fernández-Armesto ed., *The European Opportunity*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1995, pp. 183-4. More highly evolved concepts, like 'South America', we find only later, HARRISSE tracing it back to a gloss on Pigafetta's manuscript presented to Charles V, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. xxxiv.

^{cxxvii} Note the formulation 'rediscover'

^{cxxviii} Contarini's qualification shows that George Percy Badger, editor of *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1863, p. 224, fn. 1 is quite wrong to equate *Cini* with Siam.

^{cxxix} This letter has been unearthed and published by F. Weiser, 'Ein Bericht des Gasparo Contarini über die Heimkehr der Victoria von der Magalhaes'schen Expedition', in *Mitteilungen der Institut für österreichischer Geschichtsforschung*, 5, 1884, pp. 446-50.

^{cxli} The navigator João Dias de Solis sailed for Malacca on behalf of Ferdinand of Aragon in 1512, see the letter from D. Manuel to D. Fernando, 20 September 1513, A.N.T.T. gaveta 2, m. 10, n. 12, which speaks of the 'armada que me foy dito que se faziq em Sevilha de certos navios que emviaveys ha Malacca'. For context, A.A. Banha de Andrade, *Mundos novos do mundo: panorama da difusão, pela Europa, de noticias dos descobrimentos geograficos portugueses*, Lisbon: Junta de investigacoes de ultramar, 1972, p. 867. The

negotiations culminating in the Treaty of Saragossa (1529) set the meridian far to the east of Malacca at 17 degrees east of the Molucca archipelago, see Giménez Fernández, *Las Bulas Divisorias*, 1944; Manuel Hidalgo Nieto, 'La Cuestión Hispano-Portuguesa en torno a las Islas Molucas', in *Revista de Indias*, Madrid, 1943; A. Teixeira da Mota, 'A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a Questão das Molucas', in *Actas do Colóquio Luso-Espanhol de História Ultramarina*, Lisboa: CECA, 1975.

^{cxli} Spain claimed that those islands were within its western hemisphere. In 1523, the Treaty of Vitoria called for the Badajoz Junta to meet in 1524, at which the two countries tried to reach an agreement on the anti-meridian, but failed. They finally agreed in a treaty signed at Zaragoza (April 22, 1529) that Spain would relinquish its claims to the Moluccas upon the payment of 350,000 ducats of gold by Portugal to Spain. To prevent Spain from encroaching upon Portugal's Moluccas, the anti-meridian was to be 297.5 leagues or 17° to the east of the Moluccas, passing through the islands of Las Velas and Santo Thome. In the year of the treaty, the cosmographer at the Casa de la Contratación in Seville, Diogo Ribeiro, was still producing planispheres depicting contested sovereignty over the Moluccas, see his 'Carta Uniuersal En que Se contiene todo lo que del mundo..' [a.k.a. the Borgia chart], Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Borgiano III.

^{cxlii} Aurea Chersonesus was a construct worked out by Josephus in his *Antiquities of the Jews* (second half of the first century), and one of the key features of the vision of the world as per Ptolemy's *Geography*. While it was still depicted by Sebastian Münster on the 1538 map from an edition of Solinus' *Polyhistory*, Giacomo Gastaldi did without the myth in his map of Southeast Asia 'India Tercera Nova Tabula' published in 1548. It is interesting that Contarini neglects the conflation of the Moluccan Islands with biblical Ophir, mentioned in Genesis 10.

^{cxliii} Not true. The marriage took place on 10 March 1526, while theseven-ship Garcia Jofre de Loáisá expedition departed from Corunna on 24 July 1525 both to rescue the *Trinidad*, the flagship of the Magellan expedition, and to colonize the Spice Islands. Only Urdaneta and 24 other men survived to land in the Spice Islands. They were returned to Spain under Portuguese guard in 1536.

^{cxliiv} Witness the untitled Malay text from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century describing the Portuguese arrival at the great Southeast Asian port-city of Melaka, Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, 'La prise de Malaca par les Portugais vue par les Malais (d'après le manuscrit Raffles 32 de la Royal Asiatic Society)', in *Studies on Cultural Contact and Textual Interpretation*, Leiden KTLV, 1986.

^{cxliv} Probably the two ships lost in the Luso-Chinese 1522 naval encounter after the breakdown of Portuguese trading initiatives ashore. Details vary according to the source, but China also captured some artillery later duplicated for her war junks, Roderich Ptak, 'Sino-Portuguese Relations circa 1513/14 until the 1550s', in idem, *China, the Portuguese and the Nanyang*, Aldershot: Variorum, 2004, p. 24. Tonio Andrade has recently analysed this so-called Sino-Portuguese war for what it tells us about military change: 'Cannibals with Cannons. The Sino-Portuguese Clashes of 1521-2', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 19 (2015), pp. 311-35.

^{cxlvi} Traditional biographies of João III celebrate the 'milhares de cartas sôbre os mais variados assuntos' he wrote and which are still to be found in the Gavetas and Corpo Cronológico series of the Torre do Tombo archives, Alfredo Pimenta, *João III*, Livraria Tavares Martins, 1936, p. 332, while Aude Viaud, *Correspondance d'un ambassadeur castellan au Portugal dans les années 1530: Lope Hurtado de Mendoza*, Paris: Publications du Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 2001 and *Lettres des souverains portugais à Charles Quint et à l'Impératrice (1528-1532) : suivies en annexe de lettres de D. Maria de Velasco e du Duc de Bragançe : conservées aux archives de Simancas*, Paris/Lisbon 1994 points out that John's letters are 'souvent brèves et concises' and generally 'de faible nombre', p. 57. This, however, is a result of the 'refroidissement des relations diplomatiques', especially with Spain, p. 21. Diplomatic reports on João may be more astute (Monsieur de la Xaus [the Fleming Charles de Poupet, Seigneur de La Chaulx], who was sent by Charles as ambassador in 1522, Juan de Zuñiga (1524-6), the imperial secretary Christophe Barroso,, or D. Sancho de Córdova, sent by the same on 1 December 1556). Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán, a courtier sent by Charles to Lisbon to arrange the wedding, reported that he met a 'fat monarch, rather short, with a very small beard, youthful and not very discreet', *Libro de la vida de Alonson Enriquez de Guzmán*, ed. Howard Keniston, Madrid 1960, p. 72.

^{cxlvii} this refers to the breakdown of royal authority and discipline under the governorship of Dom Duarte de Meneses (1521-4), of whom Correia writes 'the King was very indignant with him for his evil deeds', the dispatch of Vasco da Gama to replace him, and the ensuing 'luta' of 1526, see Henry E.J. Stanley ed., *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, and his Viceroyalty from the Lendas da India of Gaspar Correia: accompanied by original documents*, Ashgate: Hakluyt Society series, 2010, 385. H.V. Livermore, 'The Crisis in Portuguese India of 1526', in *Essays on Iberian History and Literature*, Aldershot: Ashgate / Variorum, repr. 2000, chap. IX.

cxlviii 'Diego Columbus held the title of governor. The affairs of the Indies, however, were directed by Fonseca and the King through their own men overseas, the royal treasurer Pasamonte, the Audiencia of Santo Domingo and officials in other islands and of Tierra Firme', Carl Sauer, *The early Spanish Main*, 1966, p. 292.

cxlix This is *De orbe novo Decades III* written in Latin and an extremely rare work. It was translated into French and printed in Paris in 1532 by Simon de Collines.

cl While Peter Martyr would recur to the first explanation for the depopulation (*Enchiridion de nuper sub D. Carolo repertis insulis*, Basel: Adam Peters, 1521, p.42), Contarini's is still an early text to speak so explicitly of 'cruelty' prior to the New Laws of the Indies in 1542-3. The figures Contarini presents are clearly drawn from the second chapter of Martyr's *Third Decade*, which Las Casas corroborates. Colonists and even viceroys emphasised other reasons for the 'great turmoil and need in this land'; however, rather than shortage of labour, they argued that the king should 'send away part of the Spanish population and the mestizos and the Negroes, of whom there is such an excessive number here, on some conquest somewhere', Viceroy Luis de Velasco, Letter to King Charles, 1553 in *Cartas de Indias*, Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1977, pp. 263-69. For some general description, see Carl Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main*, Berkeley: 1966, pp. 206-7.

cli In 1518, Pedro de Córdoba, Dominican Provincial, reported there to be 10 or 12.000 Indians, male and female ['on these islands']. By common consent, there will be none left in four or five years', in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de America y Oceanía*, Madrid, 1864-84, vol. XI (of 42), pp. 217-20. The slave insurrection Contarini writes of happened in December 1522 on the Isabela River sugar plantation (*ingenio*) of Diego Colón. Columbus himself rode out to Nizao to bring them to heel and hung the most *comprometidos*, see Carlos Larrazaibal Blanco, *Manual de Historia de Santo Domingo y otros temas históricos*, Archivo General de la Nación, vol. CCXXXIX, p. 139. López de Velasco, in his *Descripción y demarcación de las Indias Occidentales* (1574) reported 12-13.000 blacks and 1000 Spaniards, quoted in Carl Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main*, p. 295. Cf. Mario J. Sturla, *The Forgotten Colony: Spanish Colonial Challenges on the Island of Hispaniola, 1516-1586*, Brown University M.A. thesis, 2003.

clii Diego Vélazquez de Cuéllar (1465-1524).

cliii A false cinnamon, introduced from the mainland. For more on this plant, see Halikowski Smith, 'History of Spices Known and Used in Europe during the 16th Century', in *Reinterpreting Indian Ocean Worlds*, ch. 8, p. 171-2. Cuban cassia ('of absolute perfection') was much praised by Agostino Giustiniani, a Genoese prelate and scholar who published annals of Genoa (*Castigatissimi Annali di Genova*) posthumously in 1537, repr. In Symcox.

cliv The abundance of Hispaniola was much commented upon, see for example the report otherwise on judicial reform by Alonso de Zauzo, 'Real Cédula a los oficiales de la Isla Española', May 7, 1519, Barcelona, AGI, Panamá 233, L. 1, f. 230r; Father Bernabé Cobo was another one, *Obras*, Madrid: Atlas, 1964, vol. 1, 11 ff.

clv This sounds like the famous passage from Vespucci's letter *Mundus novus*, published in Augsburg 1505, which describes how, 'among other kinds of meat, human flesh is a common article of diet' among the peoples he discovered on his second voyage down the east coast of South America between Guyana and Cape São Roque, returning via Hispaniola, *The Mundus Novus in Translation*, ed. George Tyler Northup, Princeton University Press: 1916, p. 5. Also, Hans Wolff and Susi Colin eds., *America: Das frühe Bild der Neuen Welt*, Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1992.

clvi Cabo de São Roque, at 5 degrees, 28 minutes south is today considered the 'bend' in the South American coastline, and the point in South America closest to Africa. Sixteenth-century navigators plotted Cape St. Augustine at 8¼ degrees south. The Spanish Cabo de San Agustín, originally christened Cabo de Santa María de la Consolación, and today the Cabo de Santo Agostinho in Pernambuco, which was the place Vicente Yáñez Pinzón arrived at in Brazil on 26 January 1500, three months before Cabral, is the place referred to here. His voyage was commemorated in Peter Martyr's 'Libretto de tutta la navigatione de re de Spagna de le isole et terreni novamente trovati', Venice 1504, ch. 29 (repr. with intro. by Lawrence C. Wroth, Paris, 1929). See also 'El primer viaje de Vicente Yáñez al Brail (1499-1500) in Décadas del Nuevo Mundo del milanés Pedro Martír de Angleria', in Juan Manzano Manzano, *Los Pinzones y el Descubrimiento de América*, Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 1989, vol. 3, pp. 39-44. There is an entry for Cabo de Santo Agostinho in F. Contente Domingues *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, Lisboa: Caminho, 1994, vol. 2, p. 971.

clvii This interjection needs to be disregarded.

clviii This is of course the Magellan Straits. The measurements Contarini reports are of great accuracy; the straits are 350 miles long, and situated at around 53 degrees south.

clix Cf. 'In passing amongst wee plainly discovered that the same terra australis, left or sett down to bee terra incognita before we came there, to bee no Continent (and therefore no Streight), but broken Islands and large passages amongst them' (1578), in *World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake : Being his next voyage to that to Nombre de Dios. Collated with an unpublished manuscript of Francis Fletcher, chaplain to the expedition*, ed. Vaux, William Sandys Wright, Hakluyt Society, First Series, Volume 16, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2010, p 72.

clx Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage. A Narrative Account of the First Navigation*, London: Folio Society, 1975, Chapter XI, including a Glossary entitled 'Words of the Patagonian Giants'.

clxi Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert suggests unhelpfully that while pearls constituted 'one of the principal pillars of the Indies trade', they were farmed principally off the Venezuelan coast (island of Cubagua, 1504-late 1520s, and then the Marguerita islands, 1535-1600s), 'Pearls' (Bell Library, University of Minnesota), URL no longer in service. The problem is that he relies on Sanford A. Mosk, 'Spanish Pearl-Fishing Operations on the Pearl Coast in the 16th century', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 18, no. 3 (August 1938). Here, however, it clearly refers to the Islas de las Perlas, over one hundred islands in the Gulf of Panama, discovered by Nunez de Balboa in 1513, and whose Indian population was largely exterminated by Gaspar de Morales with African pearl divers being brought in subsequently. The fisheries became prey to pirates like Oxenham, Scarles, Sawkins, Swan, Davis and Harris, see Peter Gerhard, *Pirates on the west coast of New Spain, 1575-1742*, 1960.

clxii The 1521 Basel edition of Peter Martyr refers to 'insulam ingentem', which in the *De orbo nouo* (Alcalá de Henares: M. de Equia, 1530) edition becomes 'terram amplissimam'. Contarini ignores the contentious origin of the toponym Yucatan, which was apparently 'I do not understand you' in the native tongue.

clxiii It is conventionally held that Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar, supported by the Governor of Cuba, organized an expedition commanded by Francisco Hernández de Córdoba to explore the seas west of Cuba departing February 1517, and duly discovered the Yucatan. The 1508 Vicente Pinzon and Díaz de Solís expedition, once attributed this accolade by the Argentinian historian Torre Revello, is thought now not to have arrived that far north, David W. Tilton, 'Latitudes, errors and the northern limit of the 1508 Pinzón and Solís voyage', *Terrae Incognitae*, January 1993, vol. 25, pp. 25-40. However, Edzer Roukema brings the date of Yucatan's discovery forward to one prior to 1503 on the basis that the land on the extreme upper left of the Cantino planisphere and on following maps is Yucatan and the Gulf of Honduras, 'A discovery of Yucatan prior to 1503', *Imago Mundi*, vol. XIII13 (1956): 30-3.

clxiv This province is written Tsalteca (Tlaxcola) in Cortès's *Second Letter*, but there is no mistake: 'the province of Tsalteca, whose inhabitants were Montezuma's enemies and were always at war with him' (pp. 57-8); 'Finally, they offered themselves as vassals in the Royal Service of your Majesty and offered their persons and fortunes and so they have remained until today' (p. 67), *Letters from Mexico*, Grossman publishers (1971). Contarini himself mentions Tlascalca (actually transcribed as Scalteza by his editor, Sanudo) in a letter of November 10, 1522, which he describes as a 'very large city' and 'governed communally', repr. in sanudo, vol. 33, cols. 501-3. The Toltecs were of course a pre-Aztec civilisation that merged before the close of the seventh century, and whose chief city was at Tula, north of the Mexican Valley, see William H. Prescott, *The World of the Aztecs*, London: John Gifford, 1970, 10-11.

clxv While there is universal agreement that some Mesoamerican people practiced human sacrifice, there is a lack of scholarly consensus as to whether cannibalism in pre-Columbian America was widespread. At one extreme anthropologist Marvin Harris, author of *Cannibals and Kings: the origins of cultures*, London: Fontana, 1978, has suggested that the flesh of the victims was a part of an aristocratic diet as a reward, since the Aztec diet was lacking in proteins. According to Harris, the Aztec economy would not support feeding them as slaves and the columns of prisoners were "marching meat". At the other extreme, William Arens doubts whether there was ever any systematic cannibalism, see Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.. Contarini's report, although extremely cursory, does seem accurate.

clxvi Cf. Martyr 'I do not marvel at the gold and the jewels, but I stand amazed at the skills and flair / training demonstrated in the way the object marks the material. I have seen a thousand shapes and figures, which I am unable to describe. In my judgement, I have never seen anything whose beauty had the same power to attract men's gaze' (1521 ed., 37). Some of these vases were so large a man could not encircle them with his arms; they often imitated the figures of animals and could combine gold and silver in working very small details.

clxvii It is probable that Contarini saw Montezuma's head-dress (*quetzalapanecáyotl*) during the 1520 exhibition of Montezuma's treasures in Valladolid alongside Las Casa and Peter Martyr. It later made its way to Brussels where Albrecht Dürer saw it and wrote 'And I never saw anything my whole life which pleased my heart as much as this thing', quoted in Elisabeth Scheicher, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkamern der Habsburger*, Wien-Munich-Zürich:Molden Edition, 1979. The head-dress went on to the Kunstkammer of Count Ulrich von Montfort in 1575 and thence to a home in Archduke Ferdinand's castle of Ambras near Innsbruck. The object is now in Vienna's Ethnology Museum (Museum für Völkerkunde), Inv. 10.402. It is 116cm high, and composed of *quetzal* and other feathers mounted on a base of gold and studded with precious stones. Charles V is reputed to have worn it, or at least shown it to Henry VIII at their meeting in 1520 as a symbol of his universal monarchy, Karl Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V*, Munich: F. Bruckmann Verlag, 1937, p. 148. Aztec featherwork (*plumaje*) generally was widely cultivated and greatly admired. According to Ana Elena González-Treviño, 'the airiness of certain plumes also represented the worth of the wearer by endowing him with a spiritual halo through the connection to a superior realm in which birds and trees were recognised as inhabiting physically higher spaces', "Kings and their Crowns". Signs of Monarchy and the Spectacle of New World Otherness in Heroic Drama and Public Pageantry', in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 2013, vol. 42, pp. 103-21. Indian head-dresses were generally a commonly brought home memento from the Americas, often displayed in European fêtes and festivities such as that put on for Pope Leo X in Florence on his way to Bologna in 1515 and which may have formed the inspiration for Leonardo da Vinci's famous drawing of a 'Young Man in a Festival Costume' currently in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, W. 12575. For this dating and interpretation, see Kenneth Clark & Carlo Pedretti, *Leonardo Da Vinci's Drawings in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle*, Phaidon, 1969 (2nd edition), I, p. 112; II, W12575. Alongside headdresses were feather shields given as presents by the Aztec King Montezuma, presumably to please his conquerors, a good example of which can be found today in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.

clxviii Elsewhere, in a letter of November 10, 1522, copied by Sanudo (vol. 33, cols. 501-3), Contarini writes of the Mexican homes as 'comfortable and nicely decorated with cloths', describes the use of small rare fruit as currency for barter, discusses their food ('they eat bread made of Indian grain and meat and drink a potion similar to beer'), their alphabet ('they write the most important things with pictures of animals or other things, in the manner used by the ancient Egyptians. These characters, however, are not adequate for all matters'), and goes on to call the Mexica 'very civilized'.

clxix The discovery of the Inca world followed that of the Aztecs, with Pedro Pizarro's expedition leaving Panamanian waters in December 1530, and amounting to conquest in 1543. For a recent account, see Hugh Thomas, *Golden Age. The Spanish Empire of Charles V*, Penguin 2011, Book II, pp. 217-360. One of the vessels on the Loaísa expedition, sent out in July 1525, the *Santiago*, sailed north from the Magellan Straits up the west coast of America, arriving in Mexican waters in July 1526.

clxx This must be a slip for Seville? There is no reason why Sicily should have served as the point of departure for this voyage, indeed in one of his letters copied by Sanudo Seville is written 'Sybillia'. Between this and 'Sicilia', one can imagine that it would have been easy to make a mistake. There was no Spanish shipbuilding to speak of in Sicily, see Abbott Usher, 'Spanish Ships and Shipping in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in E.F. Gay, *Facts and Fiction in Economic History*, Harvard U.P, 1932, pp. 189-213.

clxxi Cabot was *piloto mayor* at the Casa de la Contratación in Seville. Davide Scruzzi has recently analysed the correspondence surrounding discussions held between Contarini and Cabot between September 1522 and March 1523 for some undertaking on behalf of the Serenissima. Scruzzi thinks this had to do with a far-fetched scheme to forge a North-East passage to India and China, with shipping setting out from a safe harbour in the Baltic. Scruzzi's primary evidence for this is the fact that Cabot turned his attentions to this scheme when working for the English in 1548. It came to nothing, if only for the low esteem Cabot was held in official Venetian circles. Davide Scruzzi, *Eine Stadt denkt sich die Welt. Wahrnehmung, geographische Räumung und Globalisierung in Venedig von 1490 bis um 1600*, Oldenbourg Akademieverlag (13. Januar 2010), Chapter 4.3 'Sebastiano Caboto's Angebot'. What actually transpired from all these plans was that Cabot left Spain in 1526 as chief pilot of an expedition to the Moluccas. Among the 67 merchants who financed the expedition was Robert Thorne, originally from Bristol but at the time a resident of Seville, having inherited his father's home there. Two other English pilots, Henry Latimer and Roger Barlow, accompanied Cabot, see Boies Penrose, *Tudor and Early Stuart Voyaging* and R.C.D. Baldwin, entry on Robert Thorne in the *Dictionary of National Biography* [online edition]. Cabot's expedition, however, never reached the Moluccas; instead he explored the Río de la Plata in South America. When he returned he was put in jail and later (1532) condemned to exile in Morocco for four years.