

# A View of Venice

## Portrait of a Renaissance City

Kristin Love Huffman,  
EDITOR

# A VIEW OF VENICE

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# *A View of Venice*

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EDITOR

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**Cover art** Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice* (detail), ca. 1497–1500. Woodblock print on six sheets, 137.7 × 277.5 cm. The John R. Van Derlip Fund (2010.88), Minneapolis Institute of Art. Duke Digital Repository: 10.7924/G8MK69TH. Colorization created by Kristin Love Huffman, Ludovica Galeazzo, and Hannah Jacobs.

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*Illustrations*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

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### Libraries and Museums

#### ASPVe

Archivio storico del Patriarcato di Venezia, Venice

#### ASVe

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice

#### BMCVe

Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice

#### BnF

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

#### BNM

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice

### Venetian Archival Terminology

#### b.

busta (folder)

#### c./cc.

carta/carte (sheet/sheets)

#### cl.

classe (class or classification)

#### clm.

codices latini monacenses (collection of Latin codices)

#### dis.

disegno (drawing)

#### doc.

documento (document)

#### fasc.

fascicolo (fascicle)

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**fol.**

foglio (page or sheet)

**inv.**

inventario (inventory)

**ms./mss.**

manoscritto/manuscritti (manuscript/  
manuscripts)

**n.**

numero (number)

**proc.**

processo (legal record)

**prot.**

protocollo (record)

**qd.**

quondam (formerly)

**reg.**

registro (register)

*Abbreviations*

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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The many multifaceted exchanges that occur over the life of a large-scale, collaborative publication invariably net unimaginable riches. The conception, development, and completion of this volume, with its complex network of authors, organizations, and now readers, is no exception. It is my hope that those who peruse its contents—text and images—intuit these dynamic and synergistic exchanges: a confluence of viewpoints and disciplinary methodologies among scholars made possible by the intersecting magnanimity of museums, institutions, and nonprofit granting foundations. It is also an aspiration that the collective volume and its individual essays express an overarching passion for Venice and the iconic image, more than five hundred years old, that forms its focus.

First, I would like to thank the authors of this volume, who not only contributed their scholarly expertise but also demonstrated indefatigable patience during the editing and review process, which largely occurred over the challenge of the COVID pandemic. The following authors also offered precious guidance at various moments: Karen-edis Barzman, Patricia Fortini Brown, Stanley Chojnacki, Tracy Cooper, Blake de Maria, Holly Hurlburt, and Mary Pardo. Cherished colleagues and students provided editorial and imagery assistance at the very moments when their talents were most needed: a special thanks to Dana Hogan for her insightful rec-

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Important museums and institutions deserve special acknowledgment for their facilitation of this in-depth study on the *View of Venice*. These include the Museo Correr (part of the Musei Civici di Venezia) and its director, Andrea Bellieni, and senior curator, Valeria Cafà. I remain grateful to the Minneapolis Institute of Art for the loan of the *View* for my exhibition in 2017 and to Rachel McGarry, who orchestrated its arrival at Duke University; a debt of gratitude to the Nasher Museum of Art and its then director, Sarah Schroth, who graciously hosted the exhibition and a scholarly symposium for our academic and broader community. Finally, I would like to thank the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, and colleagues there, namely Jonathan Bober, Michelle Facini, Ginger Hammer, Peter Lukehart, Steven Nelson, and Eve Straussman-Pflanzer, for their encouragement of this project and my work on Jacopo de' Barbari. Duke University, Trinity College of Arts and Sciences, the Department of Art, Art History & Visual Studies, and its Digital Art History & Visual Culture Research Lab (formerly Wired!) provided institutional infrastructure and initial financial support; in particular, I would like to thank Caroline Bruzelius, Sheila Dillon, Paul Jaskot, Neil McWilliam, and Gennifer Weisenfeld. *Visualizing Venice* / *Visualizing Cities* colleagues also played a role in early intellectual exchanges; they include Donatella Calabi, Ludovica Galeazzo, Andrea Giordano, Gianmario Giudarelli, Cosimo Monteleone, and Elena Svalduz. While I have greatly benefited from above-mentioned individuals and their various insights, any outstanding need for improvement with the book remains solely my own.

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*Acknowledgments*

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## Story of the Edited Volume

Jacopo de' Barbari's *View of Venice*, first published in 1500 under the direction of the German merchant Anton Kolb, visually captured the Renaissance city as a moment suspended in time (plate 1). A monumental woodcut print, the *View* features Venice's urban fabric gracefully interwoven with its aqueous environment—a tessellation of over 120 small, interconnected islands. The siting of buildings and their orientation adapted to requisite aquatic access to, and movement throughout, the city. The woodcut's refinement draws attention to Venice's architecture and distinctive features: ornamented government spaces, churches with expansive gardens, palaces with frescoed façades, elaborately engineered bridges, boats that point to

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the city's maritime tradition. The printed cityscape presents an urban phenomenon that seemingly defies the imagination, even today.

*A View of Venice: Portrait of a Renaissance City* is the culmination of a collaborative, multidimensional digital humanities project related to the *View of Venice*. An exhibition at Duke University's Nasher Museum of Art in 2017, *A Portrait of Venice: Jacopo de' Barbari's View of 1500*, featured seven digital displays as companions to the extraordinary woodcut print prominently on view—a new installation prototype. The original work of art, with its meticulous description of the urban fabric and idiosyncratic details, inspired engaged looking. Layer upon layer of curated content contained within the interactive displays, visual and written, encouraged further exploration of the woodcut print. The touchscreens not only brought Venice and its history to life for a broad and varied public, but they also celebrated the print's extraordinary visual content and the context of its production. Innovative visualization tools and strategies were as important for the *View's* conception and dissemination as they have been for the realization of this project, including the exhibition and this edited volume.

The occasion of the Nasher exhibition provided an exceptional opportunity to convene a symposium with international, interdisciplinary scholars of early modern Venice. Many essays here expand on those early, engaging presentations and ongoing conversations. Additional essays solicited from specialists complement this content as related to two broad themes: the *View* as a printed cartographic and artistic phenomenon; and the woodcut as a reflection of Venice and Venetian life. In addition to the original woodcut, scholars had access to the high-resolution image produced for the exhibition: the largest, highest-quality version available for study (Duke Digital Repository image 10.7924/G8MK69TH). The ability to look in an optimized way resulted in novel discoveries. The Nasher exhibition also created an opportunity to form a collaboration between Duke University and the Musei Civici di Venezia, including the Correr Museum in Venice, home to the six wooden blocks (matrices) used to print the *View* and two of the twelve extant first-state woodcuts. This partnership permitted a team of colleagues from *Visualizing Venice*, an international consortium of art and architectural historians, architects, engineers, and visual and media specialists, along with the staff from the Correr Museum, to conduct light laser scans of the wooden matrices. An installation featuring newly designed content from the original exhibition and analyses of scanned data will be on

Huffman and  
Bellieni

display at the Correr alongside the wooden blocks and the woodcut print, a project realized by the authors of this prologue.

This edited volume is intended for anyone with a curiosity about Venice—from individuals with a recently adopted interest to those with a long-standing passion for the city. In addition, it may attract those interested in European history, the Renaissance, urban studies, and art and architectural history. The essays present original material and engaging content as they demonstrate the relevance and intrigue of an image published over five hundred years ago. The volume also reflects the serendipitous opportunities, remarkable exchanges, new findings, and privileged understandings of its many contributors, all of whom continue to derive great pleasure from the wonders Venice offers.

*Prologue*

*June 2022*

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# Plates

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Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*, ca. 1497–1500. Woodblock print on six sheets, 137.7 × 277.5 cm. The John R. Van Derlip Fund (2010.88), Minneapolis Institute of Art.

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## 2 OPPOSITE TOP

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Detail of Piazza San Marco from Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*, ca. 1497–1500. Woodblock print on six sheets, 137.7 × 277.5 cm. The John R. Van Derlip Fund (2010.88), Minneapolis Institute of Art.

## 3 OPPOSITE BOTTOM

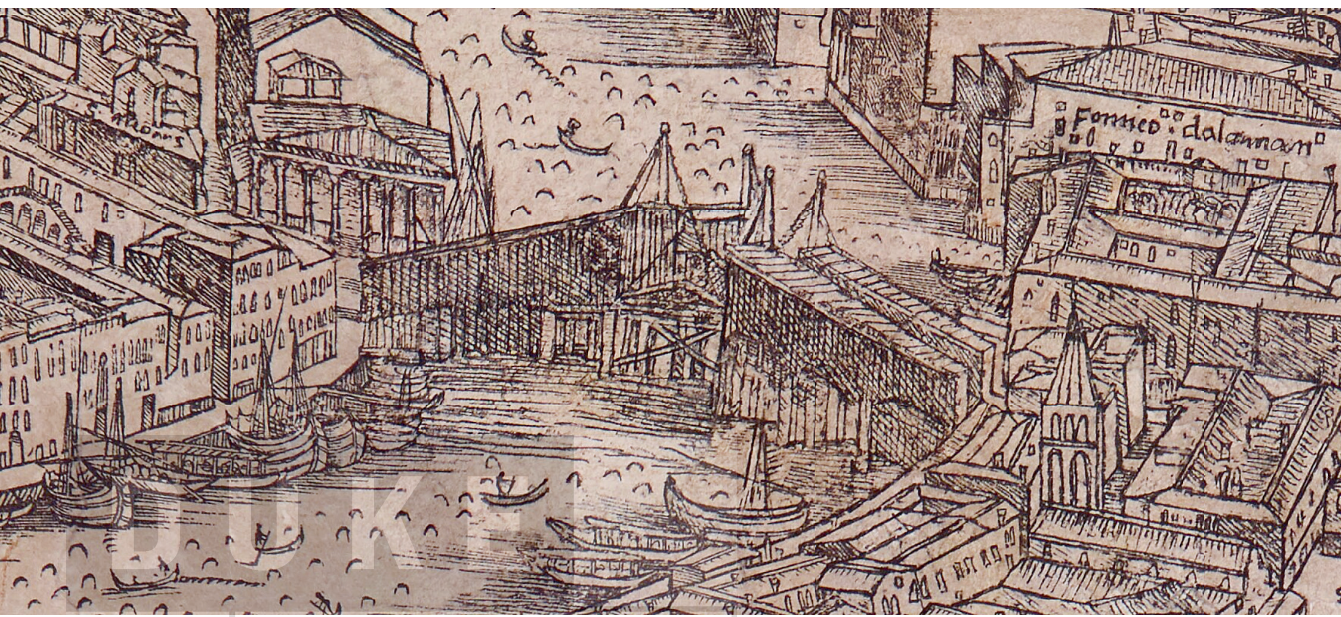
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Detail of the Customs House from Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*, ca. 1497–1500. Woodblock print on six sheets, 137.7 × 277.5 cm. The John R. Van Derlip Fund (2010.88), Minneapolis Institute of Art.

## 4

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Detail of the Rialto from Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*, ca. 1497–1500. Woodblock print on six sheets, 137.7 × 277.5 cm. The John R. Van Derlip Fund (2010.88), Minneapolis Institute of Art.



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Detail of the Mercerie, highlighted,  
from Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*,  
ca. 1497–1500. Woodblock print on  
six sheets, 137.7 × 277.5 cm. The  
John R. Van Derlip Fund (2010.88),  
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Detail of the Arsenal from Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*, ca. 1497–1500. Woodblock print on six sheets, 137.7 × 277.5 cm. The John R. Van Derlip Fund (2010.88), Minneapolis Institute of Art.

7 OPPOSITE

Details of Mercury (*above*) and Neptune (*below*) from Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*, ca. 1497–1500. Woodblock print on six sheets, 137.7 × 277.5 cm. The John R. Van Derlip Fund (2010.88), Minneapolis Institute of Art.



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## 8 PREVIOUS SPREAD

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Detail of the Winds, enlarged and  
appearing clockwise from upper right:

SEPTENTRIO;

AQUILO—FVLTURNVS;

SVBSOLANVS;

EVRAVSTER—EVRVS;

AVSTER;

AFFRICVS—AVSTERAFFRICVS;

FAVONIVS;

CORVS—CIRCIVS.

Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*,  
ca. 1497–1500. Woodblock print on  
six sheets, 137.7 × 277.5 cm. The  
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## Introduction

### The *View* as an Urban Portrait

THE *VIEW OF VENICE*, ca. 1497–1500, is one of the greatest artistic and technological masterpieces of its time—a portrait of a distinctive Renaissance city (plate 1).<sup>1</sup> In unprecedented fashion, the woodcut print portrays Venice's unique morphology within an aqueous setting as it meticulously describes the city's urban fabric and idiosyncratic details. Additional pictorial elements promote the *View*'s message as a glorification of the Venetian state. The ancient gods, Mercury and Neptune, align to safeguard the city, while inscriptions accompanying them make clear their protection over the state's commercial interests and its maritime dominion (plate 7). The mountainous landscape that frames the top includes toponyms to indicate Venetian territorial possessions on the mainland and passageway to

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northern Europe. Personified winds, including the blindfolded Tramontane blowing down from the Alps and Apennines in the North, surround the periphery of this bird's-eye view like a map's compass rose (plate 8). Framing the lower border, islands such as those of the Giudecca and San Giorgio are tilted and magnified to reveal luxurious gardens otherwise hidden behind private villas and monastic complexes. A conspicuously labeled regatta on the lower right showcases the leisure activities that only the most thriving of Renaissance cities could afford. Venice is here jubilantly triumphant: visible evidence of its wealth and power recorded with timeless splendor.

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Also known as *Venetie MD*, an emblematic title emblazoned at the top to signal a printing date at the turn of a demi-millennium, the iconic image celebrates Venice at the peak of its international authority. Yet the printed image is far more than a celebration of the city's mythical identity; it is also a manifesto of Renaissance thought. As an innovative print, it embodies the city's cultural status as a center for the production of knowledge, capitalizing on the new technology of the printing press to circulate and promote information (real and imagined) in written and visual terms. A groundbreaking scientific and artistic invention, the *View* was printed on six separate sheets of high-quality paper, the largest produced in Europe at the time, from six exquisitely carved, large-scale wooden blocks known as matrices. Its monumental composite dimensions (more than 1.35 by 2.75 meters), its complexities of production, and its groundbreaking scientific and artistic invention signal the scope of the project. Its elusive but well-connected artist, Jacopo de' Barbari (ca. 1460/70–1516), and its ambitious German sponsor, Anton Kolb (ca. 1471–1541), suggest a large-scale collaborative enterprise with an international agenda. Recognizing the *View*'s magnitude, novelty, and prowess, in October 1500 the Venetian state granted Kolb one of the earliest known copyright permissions for a printed image (see appendix 2).

The *View of Venice* assumes the general characteristics of a Renaissance portrait in its tension between perceived realism and idealization. Visual enhancements and optical alterations include a composite of multiple viewpoints that enliven and enrich a viewer's observations. De' Barbari manipulated the bird's-eye view to distinguish Venice's unique *forma urbis* and to emphasize site-specific locations, permitting more of the city to be seen. Piazza San Marco with the Ducal Palace, seat of Venetian governance on the square's eastern edge, appears almost straight on (plate 2). Not only did the architecture and its decorative detail in this principal civic space confirm the mythic identity of Venice, but it also flaunted Venetian confidence

and awareness of its natural lagoon defenses. The two columns featuring the city's Christian patron saints, Saint Theodore and Saint Mark, boundary markers that signal the formal entrance into Venice, highlight the absence of traditional, fortified gates enclosing most other Renaissance city-states.

The Arsenal, a companion locus to the Ducal Palace for securing state secrets, is inclined so as to permit onlookers to peer over its walls (plate 6), otherwise not visible if rendered according to Renaissance codes of linear perspective. There, military ships for Venetian fleets and mercantile vessels intended for voyage to exotic places, such as Alexandria and Beirut, Flanders and India, were built with scientific acumen and noteworthy speed. While many ships were routinely anchored there, select vessels coming into the city would have first stopped at the Customs House, where taxes were paid on merchandise for trade carried deeper into the city by smaller barges (plate 3). Visibly moving up the Grand Canal, many of these smaller barges traveled to the Rialto Bridge, the only link across the Grand Canal connecting the city's two halves (*de ultra* and *de citra*) and the focal point of a densely concentrated commercial zone (plate 4). This location, also angled for better viewing, connects back to San Marco via an economic corridor of paved, interconnected streets lined with over three hundred shops, the Mercerie (plate 5). Its triumphal entryway from Piazza San Marco is framed by the Clocktower, a technological and artistic marvel of its own, realized in the same years as the *View*. In addition to the visual manipulation of vital administrative and commercial centers, optical enhancements recommence as the eye meanders into the city's interstices to follow the pathways of interconnecting and intersecting streets, squares, and canals.

The *View of Venice*, in capturing such intrinsic detail, has continued to incite awe and intrigue among scholars and the general public despite conundrums surrounding its production—the exact “how” and “why” it was made. This edited volume contributes new considerations and enhances understandings about Jacopo de' Barbari's and Anton Kolb's iconic woodcut impression of Venice and its many cultural facets. It also presents original scholarship and new archival evidence about Renaissance Venice. As the essays in this volume highlight, the epic portrait of Venice constitutes a cartographic exercise, a documentation of important places and spaces *and* a work of art that calls attention to its own artifice and technical expertise. At the same time, it celebrates a unique city. The *View* implicitly signals, as select essays maintain, the life of a vibrant Renaissance city, its regulatory patterns and governance (secular and ecclesiastic), and the intersecting networks of

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## I.1

Venice, page  
from the *Nu-  
remberg Chron-  
icle* or *Liber  
chronicarum*  
(Nuremberg:  
Anton Ko-  
berger, 1493).

people who resided there and experienced it, natives and foreigners alike, much like Jacopo de' Barbari and Anton Kolb.

The volume is therefore divided into two parts. The first, centripetally conceived, contains essays that delineate the *View* as an advanced product of the artistic, humanist, and scientific culture of the Renaissance world. The essays that form the second part, more centrifugally conceived, relate to the urban systems and lived experiences of early modern Venice—its unique identity and idiosyncrasies, its social, political, and economic infrastructures, and its cosmopolitan residents. Using de' Barbari's image as a point of departure, each of the essays has been conceived as stand-alone even though interrelated themes weave throughout the two parts and across them.

## I.2

Erhard Reu-  
wich, *Civitas  
veneciarum*, from  
*Peregrinatio in  
Terram Sanctam*  
by Bernhard  
von Breyden-  
bach (Mainz,  
1486).

### The *View* as a Printed Cartographic and Artistic Visualization (Part I)

The essays in part I expand understandings of the scientific strategies as well as artistic and theoretical paradigms for interpreting the cooperative elements of this extraordinary and, at the time, incomparable representation of a city. The *View of Venice*, published as a set of six woodcuts to form a monumental composite image, shows that there was a receptive, culturally sophisticated market for innovative topographical prints. Its more than three-year realization highlights the woodcut as a product of technological advancements in printmaking and international collaboration. Part I contextualizes the *View's* artistic genesis and offers insights into Jacopo de' Barbari, whose elusive career in Venice remains undocumented. De' Barbari's *View*—a visual record of Venice *and* a timeless view—gives full expression to the kaleidoscope of places that constitute the city and sheds light on its artistic communities. As the essays in this part make known, the world of Jacopo de' Barbari represents a moment of rich transnational cultural exchange—one that spurred artistic and scientific invention across the Alps, notably in Nuremberg: works on paper were the ideal vehicles for the circulation of imaginative expression.

Venice and Nuremberg, the native city of Anton Kolb, were two of the most vibrant cultural centers in the world. An important north–south land route across the Alps connected the cities, an axis that facilitated not only trade but also the steady flow of ideas. The circulation of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (*Liber chronicarum*, 1493) exemplified this flow of knowledge.



A masterpiece of early printing, the book was also the most extensively illustrated incunabulum (among the earliest books printed prior to 1501), a task undertaken by Michael Wolgemut (ca. 1434/37–1519). The illustrations included early city views in the form of profile renderings such as that of Venice (fig. I.1). Wolgemut's modestly scaled representation of Venice in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* derives from his understanding of Erhard Reuwich's *Civitas veneciarum* (fig. I.2) in *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, a book by Bernhard von Breydenbach, first published in Mainz in 1486. This woodcut image, a large-scale panoramic view of Venice, first established the type. Reuwich's illustration, measuring around 30 by 163.5 centimeters and printed on four sheets that folded out from the book containing it, highlighted Venice as a port of passage for pilgrims en route to the Holy Land.

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Karen-edis Barzman's essay opens part I, placing the *View* within the early history of city views, like Reuwich's, and of state-sponsored representations of Venetian territorial possessions. She has identified a pivotal year, 1460 (1459 *more veneto*<sup>2</sup>), and a government mandate that disclosed a desire by Venetian state officials to have informed geographic knowledge about the world and Venice's place in it. Barzman has discovered a treasure trove of state-commissioned maps of Venetian sites that constitute an early geographic archive, or analog GIS (geographic information system). These "eyewitness" visuals, often bird's-eye views, verified and supplemented the narrated accounts about the terrain and natural features of territories within the state's dominion. Such chorographic representations, or descriptive mapping, emerged as part of the ancient Ptolemaic tradition. In addition, understandings of Strabo's *Geography* (written ca. 7 BCE–17 CE), first translated into Latin in 1458 under the sponsorship of a Venetian patrician and government official, informed the labeling identifiers and units of measurement that became keys to reading these maps. Given this context, Barzman argues that the *View of Venice* and its seemingly ancillary features, such as the naming devices and winds, point to its mapping impulses.

Piero Falchetta furthers understandings of these maplike tendencies within the *View*. He first presents the historiography of the mapping debate among scholars regarding the *View*, leading readers to a consideration of Venice as a city of the world. He discusses the inclusion of the eight winds as a Ptolemaic convention to represent the world as a sphere and to help explain the distorted surfaces in the *View* that, according to him, scholars have misunderstood as indications of technological limitations. Rather, the application of this precept resulted in an invention—the first Ptolemaic perspective map of a city. Unsurprisingly, the mathematical plotting of fixed coordinates would have proven invaluable to a city that relied on seafaring trade and movement among maritime places. This value placed on mathematics as part of the scientific and artistic backdrop of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Venice is outlined by Cosimo Monteleone in his essay. Indicating artists' access to known ancient mathematical treatises in the state's library, bequeathed to Venice in 1460 by Cardinal Bessarion (1403–72), along with contemporary manuscripts and printed books, he notes that the basic mapping of space would have used geometric models to translate measurable reality. Artists such as Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72), Piero della Francesca (ca. 1416/17–92), and de' Barbari's contemporary, Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), codified these approaches in written and visual form.

Perspective and its geometric principles offered structure for divine perfection and cosmic order.

Directional order can also come through social networks as mapped within the *View*. Giorgio Tagliaferro offers a theoretical model for thinking about the *View* not merely as a topographical record but also as part of a lived experience, understood through the interconnections of spaces. He considers the movement of people and objects, focusing on the intrinsic qualities of a unique habitat. This would be important with respect to the artistic community and their interconnected professional and personal relationships. For painters, such as Giovanni Bellini (ca. 1431/36–1516) or Vincenzo Catena (ca. 1470/80–1531), the places where they resided, worked, and purchased materials necessary for their craft generated a series of social networks connected to place. In this, Tagliaferro offers a new way for art historians to think about the field, one that extends beyond technical or aesthetic questions.

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Artists absorbed new trends via their circulation in Venice. A sense of shared community and exchange of ideas, even if not fully accounted for in surviving documents, is palpable in the interconnections of artistic communities. Although in Venice each craft organized and managed its own guild, collaborative projects would have brought artists and artisans together—painters with wooden frame makers, printmakers with artisans of paper, stone carvers with architects, and so forth. And while the guilds generally protected native Venetian artistic work from any perceived competition by foreign artists, at times, sojourns by those who traveled there and received occasional commissions within the city could also make an impact on the broader artistic community. Albrecht Dürer was one such artist, having apprenticed in Nuremberg with the illustrator of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, Wolgemut, prior to making his first trip to Venice shortly after the book's publication in 1493. He, along with Jacopo de' Barbari, and their skills and knowledge, would have crossed the Alps via the Brenner Pass. Anna Christine Swartwood House points to the neglect of the margins in understanding the entirety of the *View's* message, not just the urban form that tends to be the focus of scholarly considerations. In particular, the mountainous landscape that anchors the upper register of the *View* also functions as a mapping indicator, with named cities as guideposts that formed the trade route for the movement of people across the Brenner Pass, from Venice to the north. This was not only the route that people would have taken but also the guided path for the movement of objects and luxury goods, including

printed materials—quite possibly the six sheets of the *View* and most certainly the *Nuremberg Chronicle*—to reach an export market abroad.

About sixty years before the *View*'s publication in 1500, the printing press was invented in Germany, and by the time early copies of the woodcut print were sold, Venice had become a leader in the industry. Immediately following the introduction of printing in Mainz, Germany, twelve other cultural and commercial centers established large book printing industries. While these urban centers each made contributions to book production, Venice stood as the leading manufacturer and trade center, qualitatively and quantitatively. By 1500, the more than two hundred print shops were publishing the largest number of books of any European city. Subjects included philosophy, law, religion, classics, and science. The city's numerous foreign communities meant that texts were published in a variety of languages, some of which required the construction of new movable type for letters, such as Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, distinctive from publications in Latin and the European vernaculars. Within these books of wide-ranging language and subject, printed text quickly aligned with woodcut imagery to illustrate content in novel ways and generate a growing artistic and aesthetic interest. Art and technology united to open new possibilities for the transmission of knowledge, written and visual.

Text and image about the Venetian state mutually reinforced one another. Monique O'Connell contextualizes the *View* as a part of the tradition in Venice of recording "truths" in written form. Humanist chronicles included the documentation of broader patterns of the Venetian past, such those written by Marcantonio Sabellico (1436–1506) and Bernardo Giustinian (1408–89), along with the diaries of Marin Sanudo (1466–1536) that detailed quotidian Venetian life, prosaic and extraordinary. These two literary approaches to documenting Venice's history—general praise and propaganda as well as detailed realism—are present in the *View*. O'Connell, however, leads us to a question that challenges traditional interpretations of the image: Was it a representation of the state at the peak of its prosperity or, rather, visual expression to occlude a watershed moment? In the years prior to the *View*'s publication, wars on two fronts, the eastern Mediterranean and the mainland, threatened Venetian hegemony, while the Portuguese's circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope endangered the Venetian economy, namely its monopoly over the lucrative spice trade. This, she indicates, had an impact on the city's culture of communication. Like the many ships represented in the *View*, vessels for maritime commerce and symbolic of

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Venetian prosperity, the image itself functioned as a self-contained vessel of communication about Venice. It formed part of a network of political communication, written and visual, that asserted the state's persistent strength despite any political and economic challenges.

The print industry had primacy in the dissemination of hyperbolic messages about the Venetian state. Bronwen Wilson offers a consideration of the *View* as a tool for mapping the business of print. Venice—a crossroads of import and export for printing—was, as has been noted, the leading center of the industry around 1500. Wilson demonstrates how directional indicators, such as Neptune's trident, guide viewers now (and guided early modern visitors then) to the places, commercial printing establishments and presses, noteworthy for illustrated books and maps. The business of print benefited from transnational networks and international investments clustered near the Rialto, Piazza San Marco, and the axis that connected the two principal sites, the Mercerie. The Frezzaria, a street running just west of Piazza San Marco, had a concentration of immigrants and print shops at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Foreigners and printing often went together; many early recorded printers actively working in Venice were immigrants, primarily Germans, a community required by the Venetian state to reside in their warehouse near the Rialto Bridge, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, the longtime residence of Anton Kolb.

While the German merchant Kolb likely orchestrated the production of the *View of Venice* as its financier, Jacopo de' Barbari as the artist would have coordinated the components necessary for its artistic realization. Without doubt it was an enormous, collaborative undertaking that legitimized the prints' high cost of three florins: a luxury good for a market with ready buyers. Yet beyond these two major players, documentary evidence has not yet come to light to reveal the names of the specialized labor force necessary to realize such an ambitious project. The woodcarvers, along with the surveyors, the artisans responsible for the specially commissioned, large-scale paper, the craftsmen who procured the pearwood and then pieced and primed the custom-made blocks for the woodcarvers, and, finally, the printmakers necessary for its publication and the print shop or perhaps multiple venues for its sale, still remain a scholarly enigma. De' Barbari would have interpreted and assembled the surveyor's records to design the urban portrait, and to the city's general forma urbis and the image's compositional arrangement, he would have added the mountainous background that anchors the upper sections; the winds to indicate directional orientation and

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its mapping ancestry; the pagan gods to suggest divine protection; and many different types of water vessels to further characterize a city seemingly built atop water. The artist would then have passed along the overall image to woodcarvers responsible for extracting the detail in reverse into the six corresponding wooden blocks, the four corner impressions inverted (upper left sheet corresponding to upper right block, lower right sheet corresponding to the lower left block, and so forth).

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Discussed by Valeria Cafà, the matrices, the sculptural artifacts used to print the *View*, and their exacting detail, indicate the effort and value of the three-year project. As works of art in their own right and not simply functional objects, they have maintained a history and presence within Venice, having been passed along as part of the collections of esteemed residents. These include the Tassis, a citizen family of Bergamese origins, who held state-appointed posts, and later the patrician Teodoro Correr (1750–1830), who bequeathed them to the city. The display strategies of Correr within his palazzo on the Grand Canal, namely the presentation of the wooden blocks next to the print and therefore visually connecting the two works of art, woodcut and matrices, continue today in the Correr Museum in Venice.

No official documentation of the *View*'s highly trained woodcarvers has yet come to light. Nor have any documents related to Jacopo de' Barbari's career in Venice. As the editor of this volume discusses, however, while de' Barbari has remained in the shadow of his contemporaries—Andrea Mantegna (1430/31–1506), Giovanni Bellini, and Albrecht Dürer, to note three with international acclaim—his invention in the graphic arts is noteworthy. This is especially recognizable with the woodcuts he created just prior to the publication of the *View* and the engravings and watercolor produced in the years immediately following. The objects and their analyses reveal information about his engagement in a visual repartee among contemporary printmakers regarding the medium's inherent potential for artistic invention. His adoption of Hermes's/Mercury's caduceus as his signature, featured in most attributed prints and select paintings, is one such example of his clever erudition. While scholars have maintained that the earliest of these signatures appears in the *View* through the noteworthy presence of Mercury, the woodcuts completed earlier already indicate his identification with the god.

Mary Pardo's essay places de' Barbari's realization of the *View* in the context of artistic representational strategies. She points out that the "*fan-*

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*tasia*” or imaginative invention in the conception of distant landscape views by distinguished Venetian artists such as Giovanni Bellini formed part of an artistic tradition traceable to Jan van Eyck (ca. 1395–1441). Venetian connoisseurs had long appreciated northern artists, such as van Eyck, whose paintings hung within palaces in the Veneto. The artist’s panoramic topographies within his paintings, including the one visualized in the Ca’ d’Oro *Crucifixion*, offered models for portrait-like urban depictions and bird’s-eye projections; the deliberate uptilting to visualize topographical detail is recognizable in the *View*. De’ Barbari’s illusionistic rendering of urban stereotomy, or descriptive geometry, indicates not only his sophisticated understanding of van Eyckian visual strategies but also his place among celebrated contemporaries like Bellini, recognized by prestigious patrons for his *fantasia*.

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Jacopo de’ Barbari’s northern clientele, eminent rulers and their courts, recognized the artist’s theoretical understandings and capabilities. Before the *View of Venice* was officially published in late 1500, de’ Barbari had already departed for the court of the Holy Roman Emperor in Nuremberg, the first Italian to receive this prestigious invitation and appointment as court artist. There, for a few years, de’ Barbari and Dürer would have had opportunities to learn from each other, excelling in the arts of painting, woodblock prints, and engraving that, along with the artists’ development of theoretical principles, affected artistic practice throughout northern Europe. De’ Barbari was, as outlined by Rangsook Yoon, an urbane humanist who demonstrated an uncanny adaptability as he moved among prestigious courts in northern Europe. She indicates the ways he remained in demand with cultivated patrons and highlights his expansive awareness and international influence.

That the *View* persisted for over two hundred years as the quintessential image of Venice—a memory legacy of the city—further attests to its iconic status, cultural relevance, and graphic value. Subsequent representations of the city adopted the *View*’s visual strategies as *the* mode of visualizing Venice to the world until the eighteenth century. Not until 1729, when the printer Giuseppe Baroni (d. 1730) published Ludovico Ughi’s plan of Venice, was the *View of Venice* superseded in printed form. Ughi’s eighteenth-century map marked the transition to standard mathematically charted representations, geo-rectifiable within digital platforms, and, therefore, relatable to nineteenth-century modern cadasters and today’s contemporary maps. Until then, the *View* was *the* view of Venice.

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## The *View* as a Reflection of Venice and Venetian Life (Part II)

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The *View* visualized Venice's mythic identity on a monumental scale, a detailed description of a city built on water. The essays in part II highlight the many ways this iconic image represented (and presented for circulation) Venice in stately glory and as a world apart—an archipelago of many islands within an expansive lagoon. Seeming to defy natural physical laws, the city gracefully rose up and extended across its aqueous environment, a coexistence of man-made ingenuity within a mutually fortifying ecosystem. Sites highlighted within the woodcut call attention to documented “truths” about Venice's mythical qualities—not only as Queen of the Adriatic, suggesting sovereignty over a vast maritime domain, but also as the beauteous mythological goddess Venus, born of the sea. Another of these enchanting narratives was that the city's divine claims, both classical and Christian, meant that it remained untouched and unblemished by foreign attack for over one thousand years. Reality in this case supported mythology. The lagoon's waterways provided Venice with natural defenses: the channels were navigable almost exclusively by the city's savvy mariners, who understood their fluctuating depths according to the tides and winds.

The *View*, along with contemporary written chronicles and personal accounts, reinforced the notion of Venice as a city of marvel, miraculous and divine. In the woodcut print, hundreds of bridges connect a mosaic of islands defined by canals. While palatial architecture announced boundless riches, churches embedded within the city's dense urban fabric as parish posts and scattered around the periphery as larger complexes affirmed the notion of piety; this was reaffirmed by their great number and international reputation as repositories of sacred and highly venerated relics. The architecture in the zones around Piazza San Marco and the Rialto, principal sites of governance and commerce, promoted a distinctive civic identity and reflected the concordant sociopolitical infrastructure. The singularity of Venice recorded in the *View*, along with the specificity of its many exceptional details, served to underscore the power, wealth, and exceptionality of a harmonious Venetian state, otherwise known as La Serenissima (the most serene Republic).

The initial impression of a city built atop water seemingly subverts the realities of its practical and, at times, tedious urban expansion. Yet on closer

observation, while the *View* visualized the city's inimitable *forma urbis*, the print's details reveal its highly sophisticated infrastructure and point to it as a product of man-made ingenuity. Much of the city's "land" had been reclaimed by filling in the water with collected debris and staking out a subterranean forest of timber pilings. The edifices sitting atop this constructed land have their own unique features. Buildings, typically three to four stories high, principally face out onto the canals, their main entryways accessed via water. The unique architectural features of Venice appear not only in the siting and design of larger structures, such as palaces and churches, but also in myriad details—idiosyncratic chimney pots to reduce flying cinders, a cistern network marked by wellheads to provide fresh water in a brackish lagoon, its many bell towers signaling a rhythmic, even if at times discordant, soundscape.

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The essays in part II open with the systems and networks, the organization and provisioning necessary for a city that prided itself on its uniqueness and international status as an entrepôt—the invisible ingenuity necessary for a city built in a lagoon. Richard Goy introduces readers to the process of expansion and land reclamation, a dynamic phenomenon recognizable in the *View* on the western and eastern edges of the city, an evolving process over the Quattrocento. Urbanization remained a balance between public and private interests, secular and religious. Specifically with the construction of palaces, there is an investment in the city that displays patriotic pride. As Goy points out, Marin Sanudo, one of the city's great chroniclers, noted that palaces were built in "our mode," underscoring local identity, pride of place, and the unique building strategies necessary for construction. By the time de' Barbari's *View* was published in 1500, the overall form of the city and its networks of communication had been established. Land reclamation would not cease in an effort to ease congestion, notably along the northern rim of the city in the sixteenth century, but the general shape of the city's curvilinear perimeter was complete. In this, as Goy shows, the print showcased the command of the Republic over its natural environment, and by extension, its management implied measured control over the city's divine destiny.

Like palaces as embodiments of personal urbanistic interventions, the sculpted wellheads distributed within the city provided subsistence even as they functioned as loci for personal encounters. While the below-ground cistern network for collecting fresh water was largely hidden, the wellheads as markers for access to it were highly visible. Discussed by Patricia Fortini Brown, the more than fifty ornamental wellheads identified in the *View*

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marked the locations for access to fresh water, essential for quotidian life in a brackish lagoon. While practical and invaluable, close analysis reveals that the decorative style of wellheads mirrored the changing tastes in architecture and sculpture over time in Venice. As decorative markers, carved imagery indicated the history of a site, at times connoting a specific individual or corporation with coats of arms, or, more generally, the importance of place.

The wellheads were not the only distinctive features that structured daily life; the many bell towers with architecturally unique belfries had the same effect. The more than one hundred bell towers scattered throughout Venice, all connected to churches, have, like the wellheads, been documented within the *View*. While the notion of piety is marked by Venice's many churches (and its foundational mythology), the bells in their towers, as examined by Jonathan Glixon, organized the life of the city. This daily framework included bell ringing for religious services to peals that marked the beginning and ending of the working day. This sonic environment structured the rhythm of everyday life—religious and civic—and occasionally signaled celebratory as well as catastrophic moments. With the exception of the coordinated workday bells at the Rialto church of San Giovanni Elemosinario and the Arsenal with those at the Campanile in Piazza San Marco, the independent determination of bell ringing, notably among the churches, generated a soundscape that resounded across the city from dawn until dusk—its asynchronous sonic vibrations effectively reverberating across spaces, given that water amplifies sound.

The essays within part II also highlight the visibility and invisibility of residents in Venice and the lives lived within its many walls. Four of the following essays place into relief the active, dynamic role select groups residing within the city—those typically perceived as located in the margins (figuratively or literally)—played within the political, economic, and religious life, and overall social vitality of early modern Venice. Saundra Weddle focuses on convents and the nuns who lived behind their enclosed walls— isolation that may have begun in the margins but, with urban growth, resulted in their embeddedness within Venice's urban fabric. She discusses two convents in close physical proximity, the Dominican nuns at Corpus Domini and the Augustinians at Santa Lucia, to show how growth over time led to a perception of encroachment; potential disruption to devotional life, such as with the sonic resonances of nearby bells; and financial repercussions due to the ownership rights and devotional attraction of sacred relics. She reminds readers that the *View* visually documented a historic moment

prior to when church and civic authorities imposed rigorous convent reform, notably Counter-Reformation and post-Tridentine enclosure in the sixteenth century.

The tension between the enclosed life of monastic and conventual devotional practices and the practical contributions they made to sustain the city can also be understood through a close reading of the *View*. Ludovica Galeazzo highlights the functions of monastic and conventual complexes as connective, urban hubs. These complexes form a notable ring around the periphery of the city, occupying the margins that included more extensive properties. Within these sites, in addition to a built complex (church, cloisters, dormitories, outbuildings, and sometimes libraries and hospitals), religious communities cultivated sizable green spaces that contained medicinal plants, along with vineyards and edible fruits and vegetables. The economic connection to the outside world, however, did not end with the production and provisioning of plants, fruits, and vegetables to Venice's inhabitants; it also had an impact on sociocultural forces within the city. Larger complexes such as the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, featured prominently in the lower border in the *View*, were important sites for hosting visitors to the city. Other complexes, through their enterprising nature, rented building spaces as storage facilities or leased landholdings to local industries such as cloth dyeing and sail manufacture. This dynamic interplay of religious institutions in service to their communities and the city as a whole illustrates the connective nature of the city's various residents.

Venice's inhabitants—men and women, natives and foreigners, patricians, the bourgeois citizen class, and general populace—while largely hidden within the *View* nonetheless reinforced state interests as they advanced their own. Holly Hurlburt argues for the reconsideration of women as integral to politics, visible with civic ritual and honorary processions throughout the city. She outlines specific ceremonial events in the last decade of the fifteenth century that involved female heads of state, such as Caterina Cornaro (1454–1510), queen of Cyprus, or leading consorts, such as Eleonora of Naples (1450–93), Duchess of Ferrara, and Beatrice Sforza (1475–97), Duchess of Milan. The patrician women of Venice who received these foreign female dignitaries dressed lavishly for such occasions and processed throughout civic spaces as living pageantry in visual demonstration of the city's wealth. Palaces also served as loci for political strategizing. A comingling of women and men at weddings and *ridotti*, rooms in palaces for

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pleasurable pastimes such as gambling, offered celebratory moments ripe for advancing political agendas. Public events within civic and semiprivate spaces reinscribed women not only as contributors of the state but also as necessary for its successful continuation.

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In his essay, Stanley Chojnacki tracks residential variety among patrician families. While some families stayed in one parish for decades, others, such as the Vitturi family, moved around to reside in six different ones. Chojnacki traces the peripatetic movement of Cateruzza Vitturi within the city (and to Treviso, a Venetian mainland territory) to enact her loyalties and also protect her self-interests. While women typically had fewer choices than men, Cateruzza demonstrates the determination and maneuverings of a woman to mediate her interests within the socially constrained obligations of marital life. Married twice, her second union less fortunate than her first, Cateruzza nonetheless ended her circuit where she began, that is, taking up residence in the longtime parish of San Moisè, that of her first husband, Moisè Venier. The culmination of the protagonist's movement, enhanced with the fortuitous inheritance of properties from both marriages, points to the simultaneity and balance of female agency within societal expectations.

Visible wealth—in the form of architectural commissions lining the canals within the woodcut print or even the *View's* tangible embodiment as a luxury good in its own right—bestows impressions of Venetian prosperity. Of the more than five hundred boats depicted, almost half were cargo or merchant ships, presenting a picture of Venice's robust position within the global market. By 1500, Venice had experienced a centuries-long history as sovereign of an Italian state, a powerful oligarchic Republic with expansive territorial and maritime possessions. Yet at this moment the Venetian state, more wide-reaching than the city's administrative epicenter alone, had reached its zenith. The maritime hegemony that had fueled its dramatic expansion was fatally undermined by the rising Ottoman Empire and European monarchies along with the accelerating expansion of trade routes outside the Mediterranean. Columbus's discovery of the Americas in 1492 led to the reconceptualization of a new world and a shift in the international market. By 1500, the Portuguese had already circumnavigated the Cape of Good Hope.

Nonetheless, market demands and the steady import/export of traded goods, including luxury items, formed one of the persistent features of early modern Venice's economic vibrancy. Networks of individuals and commodities reflected global markets. Giada Damen lends insight with her focus on

Domenico di Piero (1406–97), a jeweler and antiquarian who not only sold lavish merchandise, such as gems, in Venice and Damascus but also outfitted high-profile clientele, including the popes in Rome, the Medici in Florence, and the Este in Ferrara. A member of the citizen class, Domenico di Piero's wealth and status allowed him to contribute to the embellishment of the façades at the Scuola Grande di San Marco and his palace on the Grand Canal. Both of these late fifteenth-century structures, encrusted with expensive colored marbles and decorative sculptures, visibly reflected the trade this citizen-merchant practiced, the jewels he sold, his social standing, and the noteworthy prestige of his international clientele.

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Discussed by Blake de Maria, this global network included the manufacture, trade, and retail of luxury goods in Venice, including items overlooked today, such as soap, alongside more commonly prized items, such as gems, which could hail from as far as Myanmar in Southeast Asia. The sale of luxury goods could be self-reflexive. Merchant families contributed not only to the decorative embellishment of the city via palatial architecture but also to the infrastructure necessary for growing and maintaining their commercial enterprises, such as the construction of row housing and rental units for workers. De Maria, in addition to noting the mutually beneficial enterprise of luxury trade, traces its concentration from the Rialto to Piazza San Marco: gemstones, textiles, paintings and their gilt frames. While the boutiques that lined the Mercerie had these lavish items for sale year-round, feast days and their festivals, such as that of the Sensa (Venetian for Ascension), resulted in the erection of ephemeral stalls in central locations to accommodate the throngs of visitors and their desire to make significant purchases.

Retail production and trade could also be highly specialized and localized. Julia A. DeLancey focuses inward on the movement of goods and materials via the waterways in Venice to consider coloring materials, in particular the manufacture and sale of lead white. She identifies clusters of activity, such as the series of buildings lining Campo San Bartolomeo near the Rialto Bridge, and the connection of coloring materials to the luxury goods of paintings, glass, and textiles displayed in this zone. Lead white produced in Venice, not only necessary for local goods, dominated the global market. This seemingly prosaic retail item made select individuals highly wealthy, including citizen-merchants who could compete with patrician standards of living. Despite social rigidity with a strictly fixed class system, an individual's economic prominence permitted mobility; economic fluid-

ity allowed resourceful individuals to prosper in an otherwise hierarchically fixed state.

The *View*, while celebrating the wealth of Venice and the affluence of select patricians and merchant citizens, also subtly indicates the grittiness of a port city via unexpected details. In Piazza San Marco on the front façade of the Beccaria (butchery and meat market), the building to the left of the two entry columns and therefore front and center, de' Barbari visibly highlights a hole from which ruinous cracks radiate (plate 2). The building would soon be demolished as part of a larger architectural campaign to transform Piazza San Marco in both visual form and suitable function. This urban renewal, spearheaded under the direction of Doge Andrea Gritti (r. 1523–38) following the Wars of the League of Cambrai and Venice's political and economic losses, would effectively rearticulate the state's message of a Venice Triumphant, much as the *View* had done at the turn of the century.

Despite this curious detail at the Beccaria, the *View* generally represents the state's mythologized sociopolitical serenity, an ideological vision of Venetian society. Maartje van Gelder and Claire Judde de Larivière point to state strategies for maintaining social harmony, which at times masked the realities of unrest and civil discord centered on Piazza San Marco; these were also replicated in microcosmic territorial jurisdictions, such as the island of Murano. The state granary—a superstructure to the left of the Beccaria within Piazza San Marco—stands out as the largest edifice in Venice. Originally over 350 feet long and four stories high, it functioned as an administrative complex as well as storage facility to house grain and flour imported from near and far. The grain and flour for bread, basic sustenance for the majority of Venetians, and its availability, had a direct correlation with social harmony: feast ensured peace, while famine led to unrest. Government policy and management of essential needs, centrally controlled in Venice but also overseen in satellite Venetian territories, could either maintain or disrupt social cohesion. Murano, important to the glassmaking industry, offers a case study. While in close proximity to Venice proper, it functioned as an independent, yet interdependently governed dominion, like other Venetian territorial possessions including Padua and Bergamo, Cyprus and Crete. Murano had its own governance via a podestà (state appointed representative) who oversaw it. As the authors of this essay discuss, the Muranese podestà, like the state, was at times subjected to severe disapproval on the part of local citizens who effectively made clear their dissatisfaction.

Despite periodic moments of civic unrest, Venetians and foreigners

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alike contributed to the promotion of Venice as a mythical and marvelous city: a most serene Republic. Visits from the constant influx of merchants and pilgrims, not to mention international movement of Venetians to far-away lands, kept its reputation alive—unique in origins, visible wealth, and sociopolitical harmony. As noted in part I, while published historical chronicles, documented diaries, and pilgrim's accounts expressed this through the written word, the *View of Venice* visualized it. An important travel destination due to its prosperity and prominence as a commercial entrepôt and holy site, Venice was a model melting pot. Here, the city's native residents, foreign dignitaries conducting state affairs, merchants transacting business, and pilgrims passing en route to the Holy Land, rubbed elbow to elbow in densely trafficked zones such as Piazza San Marco and the Rialto. Venice stood at a crossroads of worldly encounters, including those who established residential communities, such as the Germans and Jews, together with foreigners traveling to and fro, far and wide—east, west, north, and south. Martina Massaro discusses the cosmopolitan nature of Venice and government tactics for welcoming (and containing) foreigners. Examining the case of Jewish residents who formed the first permanent foreign community in 1516, she discusses a series of mandates that led to the relocation of non-Venetians from guesthouses near Piazza San Marco to other sites in Venice. The concomitant shift of economic activity to cluster predominantly at the Rialto facilitated state control over foreign communities and provided steady sources of tax revenue to the city. As Massaro describes, the establishment of the three ghettos in Venice between 1516 and 1630 created a cosmopolitan microcosm within a cosmopolitan city. The end of the Venetian Republic and the subsequent opening of the Ghetto following Napoleon's occupation of Venice in 1797 led to the Jews' acquisition of property in Piazza San Marco and re-habitation there, recalling the historic hostelries that originally welcomed the city's immigrants to foreground a reversal of social and economic sway.

The volume concludes with Tracy E. Cooper's epilogue, in tandem with short entries of key sites in Venice and visible elements of the *View* in appendix 1. Cooper considers the importance of the woodcut print as an artifact that mediates past and present—visualization of the Renaissance city that permits rediscovery of a lost Venice. The *View* encourages close and slow looking, which in turn prompts comparative analyses and authorizes understandings and interpretations of Venice now and then. Enhanced abilities to "see" have been furthered by digital tools, such as the high-resolution image

produced in conjunction with *A Portrait of Venice*, the exhibition from which this edited volume emerges. The woodcut's technological achievement in the late fifteenth century is amplified by the application of twenty-first-century digital technologies in this expansive project (see the prologue).

One of the woodcut's mesmerizing charms is that it entices onlookers to access it from any number of locations, the eyes moving across sites to rest periodically on curious details. The essays mirror this varied, richly complex, and dynamic approach to looking in their consideration of documented historic realities. Via its many scholarly contributions, the volume's examination of the sociopolitical and cultural context of early modern Venice, and its presentation of original insights about this iconic image, offer readers new content, varied perspectives, and tantalizing curiosities about a complex and distinctive Renaissance city and the portrait view that preserves its memory.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For select publications with content related to the *View*, see Jay A. Levenson, "Jacopo de' Barbari and Northern Art of the Early Sixteenth Century" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1978), 278–81; Juergen Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," *Art Bulletin* 60, no. 3 (1978): 425–74; Piero Falchetta, "La misura dipinta: Rilettura tecnica e semantica della veduta di Venezia di Jacopo de' Barbari," *Ateneo Veneto* 178 (1991): 273–305; Martin Kemp, "Jacopo de' Barbari: *View of Venice*," in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, exhib. cat., ed. Jay A. Levenson (Washington, DC: National Gallery

of Art, 1991), 253–55; Deborah Howard, "Venice as a Dolphin: Further Investigations into Jacopo de' Barbari's *View*," *Artibus et Historiae* 18, no. 35 (1997): 101–11; Giselle Lambert, *Les premières gravures italienne: Quattrocento du cinquecento. Inventaire de la collection du Département des Estampes et de la Photographie* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1999), 331–33; Giandomenico Romanelli, Susanna Biadene, and Camillo Tonino, eds., *A volo d'uccello: Jacopo de' Barbari e le rappresentazioni di città nell'Europa del Rinascimento*, exhib. cat. (Venice: Arsenale, 1999); Corrado Balistreri-Trincanato and Dario Zanverdiani, *Jacopo de Barbari: Il racconto di una città*, 2 vols.

(Venice: Cetid, 2000); Gert Jan van der Sman, “De eeuw van Titiaan: Venetiaanse prenten uit de Renaissance,” in *Le siècle de Titien: Gravures vénitienes de la Renaissance* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2003), 40–41; Simone Ferrari, *Jacopo de’ Barbari: Un protagonista del Rinascimento tra Venezia e Dürer* (Milan: B. Mondadori, 2006), 150–54; Vanna Bagarolo and Vladimiro Valerio, “Jacopo de’ Barbari: Una nuova ipotesi indiziaria sulla genesi prospettica della veduta *Venetie MD*,” in *Cartografi veneti: Mappe, uomini e istituzioni per l’immagine*

*e il governo del territorio*, ed. Vladimiro Valerio (Padua: Editoriale Programma, 2007), 118–35; Beate Böckem, *Jacopo de’ Barbari: Künstlerschaft und Hofkultur um 1500* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2016), 32–33, 39–50, 428–29; Kristin Love Huffman, “Jacopo de’ Barbari’s *View of Venice* (1500): ‘Image Vehicles’ and ‘Pathways of Culture’ Past and Present,” *Mediterranea* 4 (2019): 165–214.

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**2** *More veneto* (m.v.) refers to dates that signal the Venetian calendar, with each new year beginning March 1.

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