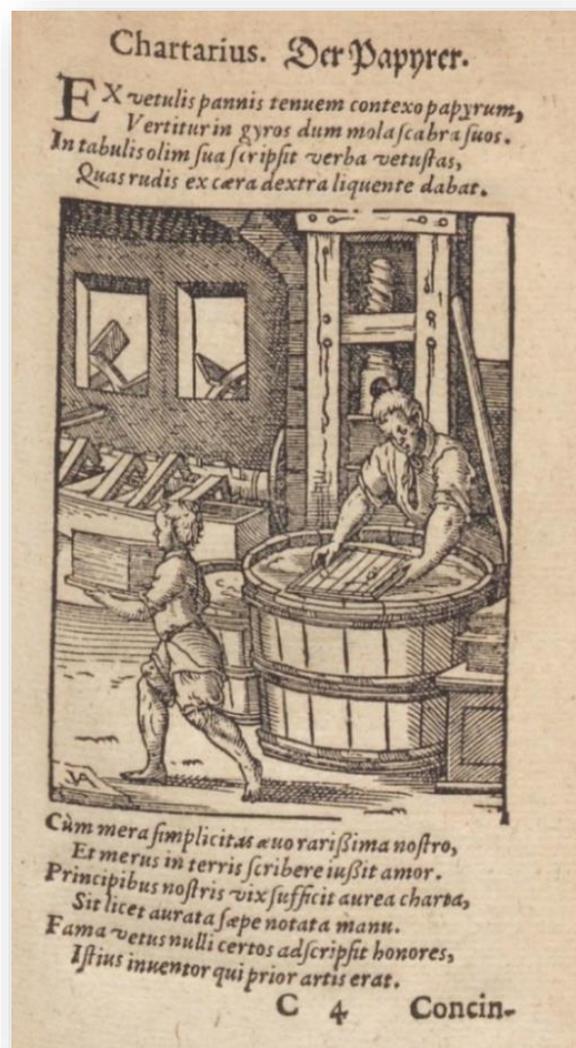


PAPER: MATERIAL AND SEMIOTIC MOBILITY ACROSS THE GLOBAL MEDITERRANEAN

PIMo SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE
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LIST OF PRESENTERS, ABSTRACTS AND BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

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From Romania to Russia and never back ‘home’: the peculiar travels of the Bulgarian translation of Dimitrie Cantemir’s *The System of Muhammedan Religion*

The Bulgarian translation of Dimitrie Cantemir’s treatise *The System of Muhammedan Religion* was performed by Bishop Sophroniy Vrachanski (1739-1813) – a prominent figure of the Balkan and Bulgarian Enlightenment. The manuscript was compiled together with other three texts in a codex. From the four texts in this codex three were translated treatises and one original piece by the Bulgarian bishop. The first treatise was in favor of the Christian Orthodox faith (by Peter Mogila), the second one against Judaism (by Paulo Medici) and the third against Islam (by Dimitrie Cantemir). At the end of the codex the writer attached his autobiography, and on one of the front pages of his book he drew a portrait of himself in official attire.

My presentation has three main points of discussion. First, I will make a brief comparative analysis of the initial text and the Bulgarian translation/adaptation. The second aspect of discussion is the trajectory of travel of this manuscript in times when Bulgarians were under Ottoman rule and far behind the establishment of their own educational and archival institutions that can handle such a treasure. Instead, in the 19th c. the Russian scholars in Slavic Studies were crossing the Balkans in search of relics from the Medieval past in support of the imperial desire of expansion of influence over the peoples in Eastern Europe. In the 1840s one of them, Victor Grigorovich, has found the forgotten work by Sofroniy and took it to Odessa and Moscow. Only by the mid of the 19th c. Bulgarian intellectuals begin to seek for parts of the codex. Their main interest was the fourth text – the autobiography of Sophroniy Vrachanski, which has been promoted as a major literary work in the Bulgarian 19th c. history.

In as much as it is about a comparison of texts, this presentation is also a reflection on the projection of power relations onto textual heritage. Until the present day the codex, so crucial for the Bulgarian history of the Enlightenment, is kept in the St. Petersburg National Library of Russia. Only few Bulgarians have seen it, and besides the first treatise on the Christian Orthodox faith, the other two parts of the codex that deal with Judaism and Islam have been known only partially. Recently, there is an evolving fresh interest in them, and the Bulgarian scholars are hoping for easier access to the original Russian repository, or to its digital version... As happy news in the dark times of the coronavirus pandemic, the digital version of the codex just appeared on the website of St. Petersburg National Library.

Nadezhda Alexandrova is an associate professor at the Faculty of Slavic Studies at Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, Bulgaria. Her interests are focused on Ottoman and Balkan literature and culture of the 18th and the 19th cs. She has published three monographs on various entanglements between writing and traveling of people and ideas that happened in the Ottoman space during that period. She is the head of the

Bulgarian Society for Eighteen-Century Studies part of ISECS, and a board member of The Bulgarian Association of University Women. She is also at the editorial board of Brill publishing series “Women Writers in History”.

Anastácio, Vanda – University of Lisbon (vandaanastacio@mail.telepac.pt)

The Stories Paper Tells: One Look at the Paper used by the Alorna Family during the Years of Incarceration (1769-1777)

Between 1769 and 1777 the 2nd Marquis of Alorna, his wife and children were considered prisoners of state. The Marchioness parents were executed and charged with a crime of *lese-majesté*, and therefore a shadow of suspicion was cast upon their close relatives. The Marquis was sent to prison and his wife and daughters were incarcerated in a convent in the outskirts of Lisbon. In spite of the fact that they were not supposed to communicate with each other, they found a way of exchanging letters, in all secrecy. In this paper we propose to study the types and qualities of paper used by the various members of the family in this context, and to make an analysis of the ways in which paper, its availability or the lack of it interfered on the circulation and even shaped the contents of the letters.

Vanda Anastácio is an Associate Professor at the University of Lisbon. She has published extensively on Portuguese Early Modern Literature and on the trajectory and works of Leonor de Almeida Portugal, the Marchioness of Alorna (1750-1839). Recently she has published an anthology of Portuguese women’s writing (*Uma Antologia Improvável (secs. XVI-XVIII)*, Lisbon, Relógio d’Água, 2013), an anthology of the poetic works of the Marchioness of Alorna, (*Obras Poéticas. Antologia*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2015) and a volume about the Poet Luís de Camões (*Leituras potencialmente Perigosas*, Lisbon, Caleidoscópio, 2020).

Artan, Tülay – Sabancı University (tulay.artan@sabanciuniv.edu)

Kağıthane (the Paper Mill): Myths and Realities about Paper Production in Istanbul, the Capital of a Paper Empire

In a very strong sense, the Ottoman Empire was a paper empire. The Ottoman bureaucracy was limited by modern standards, but quite large for pre-modern times. And it operated with paper, producing a huge amount of archival documents, registers for various purposes, including especially land tenure (tax and population surveys) as well as court records, important decisions and affairs, books of revenue, plus rules and regulations sent out to provincial judges and governors. Multiple copies were made of each, in detailed and summary forms.

All in all, a huge consumption of paper was involved, which however does not seem to have rested on a comparably productive paper industry. On the contrary, it seems that Ottomans hardly ever produced paper before the 19th century. This is an enigma. For Istanbul, there are scattered references to paper-mills at a location at the far end of the

Golden Horn –not very far from the imperial palace; yet it seems that there was nothing there except for a name: Kağıdhane (paper mill). The name referring to the valley through which a stream flowed is said to have come from Byzantine paper mills that were still visible at the mouth of the stream even in the 1550s. Early-seventeenth century travelers noted that the “little river, formerly Barbyses” was then called “Chartaricon” by the Greeks (χάρτης *khártēs*, papyrus, paper), and “Chay” (Çay) by the Turks. Included in this group who spotted the remains of a paper-mill is Evliya Çelebi, arguably the most observant Ottoman who explored Istanbul and beyond in the early 1600s. But in the lack of any further evidence, archival or material, where does the modern researcher have to turn to study the flow of enormous amounts of paper into the Ottoman capital to feed its bureaucrats, artists and craftsmen?

Tülay Artan is a Professor in the History Program, Sabancı University, İstanbul. She works on prosopographical networks of the Ottoman elite and their households; antiquarianism, collecting, and material culture; consumption history and standards of living; 17th -18th century Ottoman arts, architecture, and literature in a comparative perspective. She is the director of a three-year TUBITAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) project on the manuscript collection of an early 18th century grand vizier, Şehid Ali Paşa. Recent publications include: "The First, Hesitant Steps of Ottoman Protocol and Diplomacy into Modernity (1676-1725)," eds. Carolina Armenteros, Charlotte Backerra and Peter Edwards, *The Court Historian. Special Issue: Monarchy and Modernity since 1500*, 2021 (forthcoming); "Horse Racing at the Ottoman Court, 1524-1728", eds Sinclair Bell, Christian Jaser and Christian Mann, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 37/3-4, 2020, 246-271; "Contemplation or Amusement? The Light Shed by *Ruznames* on an Ottoman Spectacle of 1740-1750", eds. Kate Fleet and Ebru Boyar, *The Ottomans and Entertainment* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2019, 22-42).

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Henry Oldenburg and the Iberian Correspondence of the Early Royal Society of London

The emerging new science in the early modern age depended greatly on epistolary exchanges for distribution of knowledge and ideas, and the correspondence of the Royal Society of London is a most striking example of that. It was run by the Society's first secretary, Henry Oldenburg, whose daily efforts of “intelligencer” connected numerous natural philosophers throughout Europe and beyond. Oldenburg corresponded with the Mediterranean as a part of this effort, and the correspondence has been studied in some good measure, but a chunk of it, his Iberian correspondence, has avoided sufficient scholarly scrutiny so far. It is the aim of this paper to analyze the letters Oldenburg exchanged with men of science in Spain and Portugal in order to estimate how it contributed to the advancement of knowledge championed by the Society, and to the mobility of ideas, people, and objects involved in the process.

I shall start by pointing out to examples of scientific information originating from the peninsula, which Oldenburg received in a roundabout way via other European correspondents, and then shall move on to discuss the strange case of the election of two Portuguese men of learning, António Álvares da Cunha and Gaspar de Mere de Souza, as Fellows of the Society. I shall also pay attention to the astronomical dispute between John Flamsteed, the English Astronomer Royal, and Juan Cruzado, a mathematician from Seville, a dispute which Oldenburg moderated. But the bulk of my paper will be committed to the attempt to use the Iberian correspondents as informers on the natural history of the overseas lands. It is in this part of the correspondence where Oldenburg met with the most (albeit, mixed) success, acquiring information he was not able to get otherwise. This will result in appreciation of his contacts with the Jesuits as well as with his mobile fellow Englishmen, (diplomats, merchants), who mediated his correspondence with the peninsula.

Iordan Avramov took his MA in Philosophy at the Sofia University “Kl. Ohridski” (1989) and his PhD in Science Studies and History of Science at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (1994). He is a researcher at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences specializing in history of science and intellectual history of early modern time. His main interests are focused on early modern scientific communication, especially in the context of the English natural philosophy of the seventeenth century. He is an expert on Henry Oldenburg (c.1619-77), the first secretary of the Royal Society of London. He has also researched - via collaborative international projects – Robert Boyle (1627-91), the history of the early learned journals, and the digital humanities involved in our-day attempts to reconstruct the early modern Republic of Letters.

Bellingradt, Daniel – Friedrich Alexander University
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Moving materials. On the hidden flows of the paper business in early modern Europe

This paper will highlight the dealings of the paper trade behind all early modern writing and publishing activities. These yet hidden material flows are of importance when making sense of handwritten and printed communications "on paper". The mobilities behind paper usages of the period are in focus: from rag transport, recycling networks to shipping agencies and beyond

Daniel Bellingradt received his Ph.D. in 2010 (Free University of Berlin) and is Professor at the Institute for the Study of the Book at Erlangen-Nuremberg University, Germany. Co-editor of the journal 'Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte', Daniel has published several monographs, edited volumes and many articles. His interests are rooted in cultural history and are centered on the materiality, sociality and spatiality of communication flows. <https://buchwissenschaft.phil.fau.de/institut/teammitglieder/daniel-bellingradt/>

Bozok, Ela – European University Institute (Ela.Bozok@eui.eu)

What Letters Reveal: “An Interpreter, a Diplomat, and a Friend”. Dragoman Ali Bey and Early Sixteenth Century Cross-Cultural Relations in the Eastern Mediterranean

Derived from Assyrian as a word and passed into different languages from Arabic to Italian, ‘dragoman’ meant ‘interpreter.’ Especially in the sixteenth century when diplomatic rules were in process of evolving, dragomans ‘positioned themselves as mediators adept at crossing political and ethno-linguistic boundaries.’ Ottoman court interpreter Ali Bey (d.1525) presents us an interesting example of what a dragoman could become in early decades of the sixteenth century. Born as a Christian and possibly as a Venetian subject in the island of Santa Maura and in command of several languages, including Latin, he was a colourful personality whose activities went beyond “interpreting”. He did not only oversee important diplomatic activities such as acting as an envoy to Republic of Venice (1514, 1517) and Kingdom of Poland (1517) or as an intermediary in the Ottoman court between foreign representatives and palace officials; he also participated in several important events that shaped Ottoman political scene: the succession crisis in 1511, the decisive Battle of Çaldıran (1514) between Ottomans and Safavids and the conquest of Syria (1516) during the reign of Selim I. The correspondence of this diplomat, eyewitness and source of information also sheds light on the diverse personal relations he cultivated during his official duties. By looking at certain letters penned by Venetian officials and Ali Bey himself within several volumes of *I Diarii* of Marino Sanudo, which covers the period between 1496-1533, this paper is an attempt to reconstruct the complex network of diplomatic relationships that oscillate between personal and official in East Mediterranean during early sixteenth century.

Ela Bozok is currently a third-year PhD researcher at European University Institute, Florence. Her research focuses on the production and the dissemination of news and rumours about the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth century. Previously, she worked as a researcher in the state-funded history database project “Ottoman Empire and the Circulation of Information in the Mediterranean in the first half of 16th Century” (2014-2017). Her publications resulting from this project are “From Venice to Istanbul, Istanbul to Venice during 1520s: Ambassador Marco Minio” (2018) and “Impressions and Reactions of Venetian Merchants in the Eastern Mediterranean upon the Conquest of Syria and Egypt” (2017) and “Islands as Transit Posts in the News Networks of Early Sixteenth Century” co-authored with Dr. Zeynep Nevin Yelce (forthcoming 2021).

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Mobility of the paper medium and dynamics of writing in Montesquieu’s drafts

The conspicuous corpus of drafts by Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu (1689-1755) give a contrasted image of early 18th century handwriting practices. From the point of view of paper history, it is tempting to take advantage of such a large array of writing paper samples to merely set up a panorama of sizes and

qualities available to the nobility living in Bordeaux as well as in Paris. Yet a codicological approach to the manuscripts allows us to learn not only which papers have been used by the philosopher and his amanuenses, but how this material was used during the complex composition process, or throughout his correspondence. In the case of Montesquieu, collecting written data provided by the watermarks have led to reconsider the story of his published works, in particular *l'Esprit des Lois*, and amend the list of his secretaries. By so doing, we capture the actual mobility of a “monument” of the French cultural heritage: Montesquieu is not merely a forerunner of the Enlightenment, his use of paper shows unexpected dynamics underlying his intellectual working process.

Claire Bustarret (PhD 1989, Université Paris 7) is a CNRS research engineer in the Centre Maurice Halbwachs (CNRS-EHESS-ENS, Paris). A specialist of modern and contemporary codicology (18-20th c.), she has published since 1994 over 60 essays on paper, studied as a material for writers’ work and as evidence for the history of manuscript practices. She has developed with S. Linkès (Univ. La Rochelle) the database *MUSE* for the description of 17-20th c. papers and is a member of the Inventaire Condorcet team [www.inventaire-condorcet.com]

Caciur, Dana – N. Iorga Institute of History
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The men who carried the letters. Small agents of big diplomacy in Dalmatia and Wallachia (16th century)

During the long 16th century the Balkan world assisted at the confrontation between the Christian and Islamic powers and at the struggle of the traditional European powers to fight the Ottoman raising threat. The conquest of lands and resources was replaced with the constant fight to control the commercial routes, to obtain and manipulate the information and to demonstrate the force of some traditional values expressed in the name of faith. Dalmatia and Wallachia were during this period the spaces that bordered the two worlds, Christian and Islamic, one toward the Western Catholic Europe and the other toward the Eastern Orthodoxy. These lands, situated at the peripheries of the great powers (no matter what was their political status) were crossed by countless men carrying and applying the decisions taken by the central authorities.

My paper aims to present some portraits of individuals, officially appointed by the state to bring in this remote provinces the documents issued by the interested power (Venice, Constantinople, Budapest/Transylvania) containing decisions of significant importance for them. Moreover the focus falls on the struggle of these messengers, charged not only with the delivery of the documents but with a role in negotiations, to use necessary letters to support their argument. An interesting game of power is played at the regional level when the Venetian Daniele di Ludovico collected all the letters issued by the Hungarian and Bosnian Kings in order to justify the Venetian right over some villages on the border; or the efforts of the Ottoman representatives from Bosnia who lose or change the letters favourable for Venice in order to delay their outcome just to fulfil some personal interest. On the other side, there were many *çavus-i* (rom. Ceauș; messenger) who gained greater powers through the network they created in the

Romanian principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia) and Transylvania and managed to influence the political decisions in the area of influence.

Dana Caciur, PhD, researcher at the Nicolae Iorga Institute of History. In 2017, I defended the PhD thesis “The Morlachs of Dalmatia during the 15th and 16th centuries” at the Faculty of History, University of Bucharest. Between 2012 and 2014 I had a research scholarship in Venice, Italy at the Romanian Institute of Culture and Humanistic Research in Venice. In the years that followed the research continued in the Venetian Archives, and also in the National Archives of Zadar in 2019. Between 2014 and 2017 she was assistant manager in the EEA Grant Project “Digitization of the medieval documents from the National Archives of Romania” project that made available online all the medieval documents from the Romanian archives (up to 1600). My main research topics are: the Morlachs of Dalmatia; Uskoks; social aspects of the rural possessions of the Venetian *Stato da mar*; migrations toward the Venetian lands; coexistence between Venetian and Ottoman subjects.

Chessa, Maria Alessandra – (chessa.alessandra@gmail.com)

Asbestos Paper and the Rise of Paper Technology

In 1646 ca. a scientific illustration of asbestos, now in the Royal Collection at Windsor, was depicted for the Paper Museum of the Lincean Cassiano dal Pozzo. The drawing showed the different artefacts that the mineral’s stringy matter could be turned into. However, at a close inspection, that drawing presents a remarkable characteristic. Being depicted on a visibly fibrous paper, its material support reverberates vividly with the subject itself. What could such an apparently negligible detail have meant to Cassiano?

Based on a thread of correspondences between the Lincean and a Genoese businessman, the presentation delves into a fertile exchange of knowledge, overlapping the spheres of interests of naturalists and artisans. That overlooked episode uncovers a dialogue with the know-how of papermaking in the Ponente district of Genoa, a prime hub of paper manufacture in Italy. The circumstance led to the crafting of the first sample of asbestos paper ever made. Since then, samples of asbestos paper are indeed documented as circulating in the hands of some European collectors of wonders, from Cardinal Barberini to Ole Worm.

The case clearly follows a longstanding interest in the secrets of asbestos’ arcane nature. Nonetheless, it also suggests an overlooked intersection with a rising awareness on paper’s matter: one overturning a most common perception that considered paper primarily as a byproduct of processing humble rags. The asbestos drawing thus leads us to reflect on the emerging appreciation of the fibrous nature of paper and on how such an understanding could have determined a novel engagement with paper as a thorough and versatile medium. Moreover, the episode not only demonstrates the actual meaning of “Paper Museum” for the Lincean Cassiano, but it also reveals the role that such a material was having in establishing a core technology of visualisation for the new science.

Alessandra Chessa is an Italian-born design historian currently living and working between London and Sardinia. Alessandra's research interest focuses on materials in early modern Italy and the European context. She recently concluded a PhD at the Royal College of Art in London, funded by a doctoral award for a collaboration with the Victoria & Albert Museum, titled: *A Silent Evolution: Material Engagement and Knowledge behind the rise of paper technology across Italy and England (1590-1800)*. Her last publication, "*The Substance of Divine Grace: Ex-votos and the Material of Paper in Early Modern Italy*", drew the attention of scholars on a little-known collection of three-dimensional ex-votos, in which the study of paper's medium revealed a wealth of religious and social meanings. More recently her study of a recipe for artefactual coral, "*Counterfeit Coral*", contributed to the digital critical edition of a sixteenth-century French manuscript in the context of the Making and Knowing Project led by Pamela H. Smith at Columbia University. While in Italy, soon after her degree in art history, Alessandra had collaborated as a fashion historian specialist and research assistant at the University of Bologna, where she ran annual seminars and published on medieval fashion and costume history. Her current interest in the material of paper was first inspired by the fact that the same worthless matter of worn out linen textiles, once collected as rags, subsisted in the form of the valuable raw material for paper: the most precious matter on which history itself could be transmitted to us.

Cohen, Oded – University of Haifa (odedco.81@gmail.com)

"For this Wisdom has been Hidden for Many Years": Rare Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Transition between The Land of Israel and Amsterdam

In the middle of the eighteenth-century, Mordechai Tama, a Jew from Hebron, left his hometown carrying a manuscript containing his grandfather's commentary on Midrash Mekhilta (one of biblical exegesis written by ancient Judaic authorities), with the aim of printing it in Amsterdam. That plan was unsuccessful, but once in Amsterdam, Tama did become a member of scholarly circles of the Spanish-Portuguese Jewish community in Amsterdam. He absorbed that community's blend of Rabbinic learning and Iberian Jews' literary tastes and, in turn, was valued for his knowledge of Arabic and for his ability to proofread and prepare to print some manuscripts of medieval Iberian Jews' classics, which until then had been hidden in private collections. Thanks to Tama they were now brought to the printing press in order to be saved from oblivion. The proposed lecture ask to discuss the encounter in Amsterdam between Iberian Jews and Levantine Jewish learned cultures by a close reading of the paratexts of the two books Tama produced in Amsterdam, published there in 1765: *Pe'er ha-Dor* – "The Glory of his Generation", a Hebrew translation of the Responsa of Maimonides from a Judaeo-Arabic manuscript, and *Maskiyot Kessef* – "Silver Locketts", a medieval glossary of homonyms by the Spanish Jewish poet Solomon b. Meshullam Dapiera.

Oded Cohen received his doctorate in 2017 from Tel Aviv University, where he wrote a dissertation on the cultural world of the 18th-century Rabbi Haim Yosef Azulai (HIDA). He is currently a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Haifa and has held a research fellowship at the University of Aix-Marseille, France, the Center for the study of Conversion & inter-religious Encounters in Ben Gurion University of the Negev and

at the Haifa Center for Mediterranean History. His research deals with rabbinical emissaries and itinerant Jews in the Early Modern period. His publications include: "Non-Kosher Beliefs, Kosher Books: Rabbi Haim Yosef Azulai's Approach to Sabbateanism", *Zion* 83, no. 3 (2018): 323-350 [in Hebrew] and "Eager to Belong: A Palestinian Jew in 18th Century Amsterdam", *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 46, 1-2 (2020), pp. 211-228. His Book: *'Ever Turning Blows the Wind': Cultural Spaces in Rabbi Haim Yosef David Azulay's World*, based on his dissertation, accepted for publication by The Hebrew University Magnes Press.

D'Amora, Rosita – University of Salento (rosita.damora@unisalento.it)

The Bureaucracy of Freedom: The Papers Bringing Captives Home. A view from 17th-century Naples

Privateering, both Christian and Muslim, throughout the early modern period, was a widely spread practice in the Mediterranean. Thousands of people were innocent victims of the incursions that Muslim and Christian pirates and corsairs were conducting against each other both at the sea and along the coast. The main economical reason for capturing slaves was, in this historical and geographical context, asking a ransom for their release. In Christian Europe the task of ransoming slaves, through the payment of the price requested by their capturers, was mostly carried out by secular or, more often, religious institutions that felt a moral obligation to rescue their coreligionists from the danger of losing the true faith and embracing Islam.

Each institution developed its own procedure to ensure that the slaves to be freed were true Christians and had no economical means to personally provide for their ransom. The slaves had then to be located and identified, purchased and brought back home where they had to prove again their identity and the fact that the ransom had actually taken place. This process produced a large number of papers written by the different actors taking part in the ransom procedure, and often travelling with the slaves during the long and complicated journey back home.

In this paper, I will analyse the rich documentation in different languages (Ottoman, Italian, French) produced during the ransoming of slaves promoted by the Pio Monte della Misericordia, a charitable institution operating in Naples starting from the beginning of the 17th century.

Rosita D'Amora is an Associate Professor of Turkish Language and Literature at the University of Salento (Lecce, Italy). Her research interests range from Ottoman social history to contemporary Turkish literature, addressing issues related to different forms of representation and auto-representation of Ottoman and Turkish society. More recently her research has focused on the cultural exchange and interconnections between Southern Italy and the Ottoman Empire starting from the 17th century, the analysis of the politics of masculine headgear, and the turban in particular, in the Ottoman Empire and on the most recent trends that have emerged in Turkish language literature, especially those that investigate gender, linguistic and cultural differences, and borders.

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The Value of the Written Word: Waqf Endowments Enshrined on Paper in the Ottoman Legal System

This presentation studies paper as a medium which conveys the symbolic but also the tangible power of a judicial system in relation to the system itself as well as in regard to the political structure which institutionalized that system and which recognizes the jurisdiction of it. In doing so, the central political infrastructure and its corollary regional and local representative branches recognize the authoritative information contained within the documents, i.e. the paper (and sometimes parchment) registered within its courts.

The symbolic and real value of the court-registered paper, which thereby becomes a legal document on which subsequent actions are based and secured, is also pertinent material on the level of the individual whose activities are registered with the judicial system. In other words, men and women, who, by obtaining a written document registered with the courts functioning with a given state-recognized judicial system, validate the legal certification of an action or a fact which occurred in their past or present lives and which, if desired, can act as a basis for a guarantee, for a future action.

Drawing from my research in the Ottoman-era Damascus archives, examples presented in this talk will explore the above concepts within the context of the Ottoman legal system. These case studies will be examined with the aim of analyzing the range and impact of a court-registered piece of paper, written by a court-appointed scribe in the presence of court-certified witnesses and validated by a court-appointed judge. Specific examples include 18th and 19th century documents which register the creation of a waqf endowment (*waqfiyya*), which is a type of trust fund, whose objective is to financially support designated beneficiaries such as local mosques or churches (the waqf endowment is an instrument used by different religious communities) or individuals, usually but not exclusively belonging to the endower's family.

This written document, the *waqfiyya*, which registers the creation of a waqf endowment is a repository of value-laden information upon which future actions related to the management of the endowment is based. It is the aim of this presentation to study this document, of which three certified copies (*ṣaḥḥ*, *ṣaḥîḥ*) are produced by the court (for the endower, for the endowment's administrator and for the court), as a material and tangible piece of evidence, a valuable piece of paper, which physically moves between the court and the endower's domicile as well as, in some cases, between the provincial courts and Istanbul.

Randi Deguilhem holds a PhD from NYU and a Habilitation (HdR) from the University of Provence (Aix-Marseille U.), France. She is research professor (Directrice de Recherche) with the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), France. An institutional member of the research unit, TELEMMe, she was formerly with IREMAM, Aix-Marseille U., Aix-en-Provence, where she directed DEA and MA seminars (1998-2010) as well as supervising over 20 doctoral dissertations on topics related to the modern and contemporary history of the eastern and southern Mediterranean Muslim world. She has created and directed numerous international research programs including « The Law of Waqf » program with the Islamic Legal

Studies Program, Harvard Law School (2005-2008), the CNRS GDRI WAQF Foundations international research network which she established in 2012 with partners from universities and research institutes in Algeria, Japan, Malaysia, Palestine, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates as well as with French institutes (TELEMMé-MMSH, AMU; EHESS Paris; IFPO Amman-Beirut-Damascus-Jerusalem) and other international and national programs. She is a member of several boards including that of PIMo / COST, Brussels (2019-22). She created the monthly waqf foundation seminar at IISMM-EHESS Paris which functioned from 2010 to 2016 and on which several of her doctoral students participated. As part of the GDRI WAQF program, an interactive Digital Humanities data base gathering together information from documents studied by the GDRI partners has been created and is currently being worked on. From 2008-2012, she was an elected member of the CNRS Comité National 33 and an elected Board member of the CNRS Conseil SHS. From 2015-20, she has created and directed the AMU university research network, *GenderMed: Thinking Gender in the Mediterranean*. Her personal major research interests focus on legal, social, political, religious and gendered aspects of the waqf foundations in modern and contemporary Syria. She has extensively published on this and other topics.

Gradeva, Rossitsa – American University in Bulgaria / Institute of Balkan Studies (rgradeva@gmail.com)

Paper Consumption and Circulation in the Ottoman Balkans: the View from Sofia in the 17th and 18th Centuries

Bureaucratic procedures were part of the lives not only of the ruling elite but also of all Ottoman subjects – Muslims and non-Muslims, men and women, rich and poor: they would receive title deeds for any transactions they would carry out, receipts for payments of taxes or loans, and for a number of other reasons. While in these cases paper came from the official institutions – central or local, paper was also needed for private use as well.

In my paper, on the basis of preserved *tereke defters* from Sofia I shall offer a picture of the presence of paper in the lives of Sofians – as private papers, books, but also as an object of commerce. The probatory records have many deficiencies and cannot and may not be used as a source for “statistics” which I shall not discuss here. My goal rather is to identify and speculate on general trends and phenomena.

Dr Rossitsa Gradeva, is Professor of History at the American University in Bulgaria and Associate Professor at the Institute for Balkan Studies and the Centre of Thracology, at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. She has published widely on Ottoman legal, administrative and military institutions, on Muslim and non-Muslim communities, and everyday life in the Balkans. She is the author of *Rumeli under the Ottomans 15th-18th Centuries: Institutions and Communities* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2004); *War and Peace in Rumeli 15th to beginning of 19th century* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2008); *Frontiers of Ottoman Space, Frontiers in Ottoman Society*, (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2014).

Hathaway, Ian – Centre for Global History, LMU München, & IEG Mainz (Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte) (Ian.Hathaway@eui.eu)

Informing, Controlling, Protecting: Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean Travel Patents as Vehicles of Diplomatic and Administrative Communication

Throughout the sixteenth century, a veritable sea of papers flowed across the Mediterranean, building bridges between administrations, circulating information, and creating the basis for mobility, trade, and exchange. Among these papers were the portable, privilege granting letters patent (*litterae patentes*). By the sixteenth-century letters patent, or open letters (*litterae apertae*), were a well-established document archetype both in terms of their formulas and physical appearances. The importance of patents as portable conveyers of diplomatic and administrative information already emerges in their opening formulae, which administrators often addressed “To each and every one who shall inspect, hear, or read our letter” (*Universis et Singulis qui presentes nostras litteras visuris audituris et lecturis*). This feature made patent letters ideal travel instruments, and multiple Mediterranean administrations experimented continuously with their use. Indeed, administrations deployed a whole subgroup of letters patent, which I refer to as “travel patents,” to bolster Mediterranean mobility, support the rights of protected travellers, and foster cross-cultural trade. However, what types of information did these letters convey as they circulated across the Mediterranean? What were the limits of their circulation and validity? How did those who viewed travel patents issued by a foreign prince interpret the information they conveyed? The current paper explores these questions through the comparative analysis of thousands of Italianate travel patents and the exploration of supporting diplomatic correspondence.

Ian Hathaway holds a doctorate in History and Renaissance Studies from Yale University and was a Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute during the academic year 2019-2020. In 2020-2021, he will hold a Research Fellowship with the Centre for Global History at LMU München, and then a Postdoctoral Fellowship at the IEG Mainz (Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte). Ian’s work explores issues of mobility, protection, diplomacy, and state-building in the early modern Mediterranean from a comparative and connected perspective. His research focuses on several Mediterranean polities, including the Republic of Venice, the Grand Duchy of Florence, the Order of St. John of Rhodes and Malta, the Republic of Ragusa/Dubrovnik, and the Ottoman Empire.

Lelkova, Iva – Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic - (lelkova@flu.cas.cz)

How paper traveled between Rome and Prague: Athanasius Kircher and his correspondence with the Czech lands

The Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher lived most of his life in Rome, where he anchored himself as a fugitive of the Thirty Years' War. Over the course of his life, he wrote more than thirty voluminous works, ran a famous museum, restored ruined temples, deciphered hieroglyphics, built a sundial, created a code language, and among others sought universal knowledge. At the same time, because of his grounding in the

Jesuit order, he created what was probably the first truly global scholarly correspondence network, reaching as far as China or South America. With nearly 3,000 surviving letters, the correspondence was comparable to that of Marin Mersenne, Jean-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, Samuel Hartlib or Henry Oldenburg. Kircher, with the help of correspondence, organized international astronomical observations or measurements of magnetic declination. At the same time, he saw his correspondence not only as a tool to gather information and disseminate his works, but as an artifact in itself, which was on display in his museum bound in twelve volumes. It is interesting that in the early days of his Roman career, Prague and Central Europe in general played a key role in his correspondence. In this paper, I want to focus on the ways of paper communication between Kircher and his Czech correspondents. That is, not only how the letters traveled between them, but also the bills, books, recommendations, or for example, the still undeciphered Voynich manuscript.

Mgr. Iva Lelková, Ph.D. received her Ph.D. at Charles University in Prague in 2011. She took part in the Mapping the Republic of Letters project as a Fulbright grantee at Stanford University where she worked on Athanasius Kircher's correspondence. She was a Comenius fellow in the Oxford University Cultures of Knowledge project between 2010 and 2015 working on correspondence of J. A. Comenius and prosopography of the Samuel Hartlib's circle. Since 2010 she is a research fellow at the Department of Comenius Studies and Early Modern Intellectual History at the Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences. She is interested in early modern intellectual history, correspondence networks and their visualization. She published two books in Czech and various studies in Czech and English. She edited correspondence catalogues of Athanasius Kircher, Philip Jakob Sachs von Löwenheim and Amandus Polanus of Polansdorf in EMLO (Early Modern Letters Online). She recently published a collaborative study on Athanasius Kircher's correspondence with Central Europe: Lelková, I., Sutherland, S., Findlen, P. „Kircher's Bohemia: Jesuit Networks and Habsburg Patronage in the Seventeenth Century“, in: *Erudition and the Republic of Letters*, 5 (2020), 2, p. 163–206.

<http://komeniologie.flu.cas.cz/en/people/research-fellows/mgr-iva-lelkova-ph-d>

Müller, Lothar – Humboldt University (lothar.mueller@sueddeutsche.de)

The Birth of the Newspaper. The Paper Revolution in Early Modern Europe and the Rise of the Public Sphere

My speech will start with some remarks about the term communication, in order to connect the communications revolution and the paper revolution in Early modern Europe. Then I will proceed to a short summary of the historic moment, when in autumn 1605 in Strassburg Johann Carolus transformed his handwritten news, the *Relationes* into the first printed newspaper. The comment on this event will focus on its most important preconditions: the paper trade and paper production, the postal system and the news circulation and the printing press. Looking back on the origins and the making of the first newspapers I will emphasize the spatial and temporal implications of the new medium and reflect on its relationship to one of the neighbour-newcomers in early 17th century, the telescope. One section of our conference will discuss the role of

paper in the process of the codification of emotions. By presenting the “Quidnunc”, the news addict, as a prominent 18th-century-character I will try to show that the newspaper is – as the letter – one of the powerful agents of forming the modern self. The speech will end with an outlook on the newspaper as the founding medium of the public sphere and its detachment from paper in the digital age.

Lothar Müller took his PhD in German Literature at the Philipps University in Marburg (Lahn) in 1985. He was Lecturer at the Institute of Comparative Literature at the Freie Universität Berlin and Researcher at the Humboldt University Berlin. From 1997 to 2020 he was Editor in the staff of German daily Newspapers, first the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, then the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Since 2010 he is Honorary Professor at the Humboldt University Berlin. He is interested in the History of Literature, the History of Ideas and Media Theory.

Pérez Fernández, José María – University of Granada (jmperez@ugr.es)

Intelligence, propaganda, news: documentary genres and information management in Early Modern Europe

This presentation will explore the continuum in material formats and documentary genres between manuscript diplomatic correspondence, which circulated around private political networks, and the public distribution of information in print, which usually pushed political agendas and furnished controversies in the republic of letters. I shall use a few samples, principally from the collections of William Trumbull the Elder (ca. 1576/80 – 1635), an English diplomatic agent in Brussels and a highly efficient intelligencer during the period that led to the onset of the Thirty Years War and the early phases of the conflict. Trumbull’s archive is a copious source of manuscript information which resulted from his exchanges with a large and heterogeneous international network of fellow diplomats, political patrons, informers, and other assorted correspondents. Alongside his manuscript papers, his collection of printed pamphlets provides a cross-section of the sort of information and the documents that made up the European public sphere and the international republic of letters during the early years of the seventeenth century.

The first in a series papers which I intend to present as part of PIMo events, this presentation will focus mainly on printed pamphlets. A second presentation will look into samples of Trumbull’s manuscript documents, and a third one will address how Trumbull’s activities as an art and book collector feature in his manuscript correspondence.

I am Professor of English Literature at the University of Granada in Spain. My research on translation and comparative literature started with a doctoral dissertation on Henry Howard’s English rendering of books II and IV of Virgil’s *Aeneid*. Recent publications and current work in progress have embraced a more interdisciplinary approach to translation and early modern cultural studies, with a focus on different aspects of translation and communication—such as the joint impact of paper and print, the development of an international news market, the generation and transmission of

knowledge throughout transnational networks, and how financial and mercantile processes mirrored the ways in which information exchange took place within Europe and beyond its borders.

In 2013 I edited James Mabbe's *The Spanish Bawd* (the first full English translation of Fernando de Rojas' *La Celestina*) for the Modern Humanities Research Association Tudor and Stuart Translations series. I am the co-author, with Edward Wilson-Lee, of *Hernando Colón's New World of Books: Towards a Cartography of Knowledge* (forthcoming with Yale UP, 2021), and I am also one of the general editors of the forthcoming edition of the *Libro de los Epítomes*, one of Hernando Colón's most important catalogues—a project that has just taken off with the support of the Danish Carlsberg Foundation. Also with Edward Wilson-Lee I co-edited a collection of essays (*Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe*) for Cambridge University Press in 2014.

In 2019 I joined the PIMo COST Action as leader of its work group "Paper in Motion". Early in 2020 I curated an exhibition with Giovanni Tarantino, the leader of the COST Action, at the *Biblioteca Riccardiana* in Florence, prepared the catalogue, and wrote one of the essays which were published with it ("Communication and Mobility across the Mediterranean", Florence: Bandecchi & Vivaldi, 2020, available online at https://issuu.com/pimocostaction/docs/encounters_at_sea).

Silva Tavim, José Alberto R. – University of Lisbon
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The Baroque writer Manuel de Leão at the end of the eighteenth century: emotional despair in an unpublished and strikingly stylistic set of letters

The Stadarchief of Amsterdam keeps in its collections a peculiar correspondence sent in the late 1690s by Manuel de Leão to the powerful businessman Manuel Levy Duarte (1631-1714), both of them Jews living between Antwerp and Amsterdam.

Manuel Mendes Levy Valle [Duarte] was born in Amsterdam in a family connected with jewel trade. However, we know that he was also interested in the world of art, since he invested in paintings made by renowned painters, and perfected his role as a courtier through his contacts in Amsterdam, namely with Manuel de Leão.

According to Harm den Boer, Manuel de Leão came from Portugal a few years before he wrote a panegyric in Portuguese dedicated to Antonio Lopes Suasso: *Certamen das musas*, printed in Amsterdam around 1693. However, as his *Trivmpho lvsitano* was published 'clandestinely' by David de Castro Tartás in Brussels in 1688, that means that he most likely lived there for a few years before moving to Amsterdam.

This unpublished and strikingly stylistic set of letters sent by Manuel de Leão to Manuel Levy Duarte reveals not only a tumultuous relationship between patron and artist but also how Antwerp remained a favorite place for Amsterdam's businessmen and artists of Iberian descent, who never ceased to be immersed in Iberian cultural values and ethos.

Our aim, however, is to analyze the letters as a vehicle of emotion, when the bodies are "absent", not only in the "corporeal" sense of the word but also by distance. We have

one of the rather rare expressions of passion for someone of the same gender before our contemporaneity, where paper and writing take the place of bodies, sex, and their narrative descriptions. It is foreseen in this case that the highly elaborated style is the vehicle of sincerity, that even the use of upper and lower case letters of different sizes accompany the rhythms of the "states of the soul", and that there is a need to clarify the true emotion in the misunderstanding coded expressions of social appreciation or etiquette. Can we advance that the high artistic elaboration in letters written for the intimacy, without any intention of publication, was the way to demonstrate love for a person of the same sex - a notion still difficult to codify, even privately, at the end of the Early Modern Age?

José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim got a PhD in Portuguese Studies by the Universidade Nova de Lisboa and he is Senior Researcher and Professor at the Centro de História, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa, as also Collaborator Member at the Research Center CIDEHUS, in Évora University (Portugal). He is also the Chair of the seminar "Jews in Portugal and in the Diaspora" in Lisbon University. He was a Visiting Professor at Universidade Nova de Lisboa, the Aix-Marseille University, and the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, also getting a postdoc scholarship in the last institution. He belongs to the scientific board of the collection "Iberia & Berberia" of "Seminario de Estudios Árabo-Románicos de la Universidad de Oviedo", and published two books on the Jews and the Portuguese Expansion. He is the author of more than 60 articles published in Portuguese, Castilian, French, English, Hebrew, Turk, and Arabic, and participated in *The Encyclopaedia of the Jews in Islam*, published by Brill, by invitation of Professor Daniel Schroeter. He also belongs to the Executive Board of the Society Sefarad (see www.sefarad-studies.org/) and presided over the project "Portuguese Jewish Mediaeval Sources" (Évora, 2015-2017) (<http://www.pjsmt.cidehus.uevora.pt/>). Together with professor Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros, he is the editor of *Hamsa: Journal of Judaic and Islamic Studies* (http://www.hamsa.cidehus.uevora.pt/index_pt.htm). José Alberto Tavim was also several times evaluator requested by the European Research Council.

Simonutti, Luisa – Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche
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The "Magliabechi case": some Islamic manuscripts in Baroque Europe

In Rome and then in Florence between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a unique experience for the time: the creation of the Medici Typography. Approximately one hundred years later Antonio Magliabechi, emblematically, collected several of the manuscripts and books coming from this *Stamperia*. The Medici printing factory started up in 1584, in Rome, and was the first to print books and writings in many Oriental languages to be spread both in Europe, in Northern Europe and in the East. The printing activity and many manuscripts were moved to Florence in 1614 after the death of Raimondi. The *Stamperia Medicea* was an extraordinary enterprise that for thirty years was at the center of important cultural events. Still today the texts, codes etc. can be found in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana and at the National Library of Florence, as well as in the National Library of Paris. What was the cultural project

inspired by Giovanni Battista Raimondi? He was philosopher and mathematician but certainly also a connoisseur of many Middle Eastern languages. What fascinated, one hundred years later, the cultured collector of books Antonio Magliabechi? He does not limit himself to preserving a large part of this very important heritage of codes and printed texts produced by the Medici Typography. In which cultural context he brings the Arabic, Persian and Oriental texts of which he was certainly a careful custodian in his "poor Libreriuola"? In this paper I would like to analyze the cultural project of Giovanni Battista Raimondi and of Antonio Magliabechi.

Luisa Simonutti is Research Director in philosophy at the Italian National Council for Scientific Research (CNR) in Milan. Her interests cover numerous aspects of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophy and religion. Her focus concerns thinkers such as Spinoza, Locke or Bayle and Hume, and figures still largely consigned to the fringe of scholarship in spite of their importance in the field of the history of emotions in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. She particularly focuses on the political-theological debate in modern times and on the cultural transfer between Europe and the Mediterranean Basin. She is the editor of numerous books including, recently, *Barbarie in età moderna e contemporanea*, (Milan, FrancoAngeli 2018), *John Locke: les idées et les choses. Avec le manuscrit inédit Notes upon Mr. John Lock's Essay Concerning Human Understanding de William Whiston fils*, (Milan, Éditions Mimésis 2019), *Locke and Biblical Hermeneutics. Conscience and Scripture*, (Springer 2019) (<http://www.ispf.cnr.it/componenti/simonuttiluisa>)

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‘Un libro Para Mover Tempestades’: Trajectories of an Ottoman Travel Account in Sixteenth-Century Menorca

Across the sixteenth century, the authorities of the Spanish island of Menorca were confronted to the problem of renegades, individuals whose mobility across the Christian and Islamic Mediterranean disrupted established confessional boundaries. In the early modern period, thousands of Menorcan crossed the sea – whether voluntarily or not – and settled across Ottoman territories and converted to Islam. Some of them, however, later returned to their native island where they sometimes brought back objects – from clothes, religious artifacts to manuscript volumes – that bore witness to their time in the Dar al-Islam. This paper explores the peculiar case of Juan Seguí, an ex-captive from Constantinople who returned to Menorca in 1582 with a small volume, detailing his daily experiences in the Ottoman city. Denounced by his neighbours for possessing such scandalous writings, Seguí was apprehended by the Inquisitorial authorities. Through an analysis of this dense inquisitorial trial, this paper explores the reactions of the different actors that were confronted with his memoirs. From a manual of sorcery to a collection of funny jokes, the entire entourage of Seguí, vecinos of the island and the judges themselves speculated on the true nature of the writings. However, this paper also focuses its analysis on the material qualities of Seguí's volume itself. Found annexed to the trial file, the folios preserved by the inquisition reveal to be a unique testimony of an intimate Menorcan experience of the early modern Ottoman empire.

Thus, in examining the case of travelling material culture, this presentation sheds light on the diversity of conceptions of Ottoman lands in sixteenth-century Spain.

Ana Struillou is a second-year PhD researcher at the EUI's Department of History and Civilisation working under the supervision of Giorgio Riello and Giancarlo Casale. Her doctorate explores the material culture of cross-cultural travel across the early modern Christian and Islamic Mediterranean realm. In this project, she examines the ways in which individuals adapted their practices while on the move and how religious identity may have affected these processes. Her previous research, at Exeter College (Oxford) focused on the material culture of Morisco diplomacy across early modern France and Spain. Her research interests include, amongst others, material culture, mobility and cross-religious relations in the early modern Mediterranean.

Thomson, Ann – European University Institute (Ann.Thomson@eui.eu)

From Granada to London via Barbary

In 1723, an obscure writer and translator called Joseph Morgan published by subscription in London the first volume of a work called *Mahometism Fully Explained*, which was the translation of poem by Mohamed Rabadan de Aragón (1580? -?), *Discurso de la luz*. Morgan explained that this was the translation of a rare manuscript written in Spanish in Arabic characters that he had bought at Tessatore, a small town west of Tunis, from a certain Hamoda Bussisa Tibib in September 1715. This first volume was dedicated to Lord Harley, to whom Morgan gave the manuscript, which is now in the British Library. Morgan's aim in publishing the work was to make Islam better known to the British public and was part of his aim of countering British prejudices against the Muslims. The second volume of the work contains an account of the sufferings of the Moriscoes (the Muslims expelled from Spain), in the course of which Morgan provides extracts from another manuscript that he had borrowed while in North Africa; it belonged to a Moor whose grandfather, the author, had been expelled from Granada in 1610. In this paper I would like to reflect on these manuscripts (in particular the second one which we no longer possess), their travels across the Mediterranean, and use by Joseph Morgan to defend the Muslims and denounce the sufferings of the Moriscoes at the hands of the Christians.

Ann Thomson is Emerita Professor of Intellectual History at the European University Institute. She works on the intellectual history of the long eighteenth century, in particular on the 'natural history of man' and the circulation of ideas and cultural exchange. Recent works include *Diderot et la politique, aujourd'hui*, edited with Marie Leca-Tsiomis (Paris : L'Atelier Société Diderot, 2019), *The Enlightenment in Scotland: National and International Perspectives*, edited with Jean-François Dunyach (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015), *L'âme des Lumières* (Seysse: Champvallon, 2013), *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century*, edited with Simon Burrows and Edmond Dziembowski (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010), and *Bodies of Thought: Science, Religion, and the Soul in the Early Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

A dangerous book in the war of papers (Venice, 1611)

After the controversy of 1606-7, when the pope Paul V launched an interdict on Venice, the relationship between Rome and the Republic remained instable: a war of papers started. In this strange war, a pamphlet written by James I had a crucial role. My paper intends to trace how Rome and Venice tackled this new challenge, through religion, politics and new communication strategies. This case brings the book beyond Venice and London: several documents and letters focused on it. Venice, faithful to her freedom, disappointed Roman hopes.

Michaela Valente is Associate Professor in Early Modern History at the Università del Molise. Her research is in religious and political history, focusing on the Roman Inquisition and on the religious toleration, on the demonology and witch hunting in Early Modern Europe.

DAMASCO 10.

Spese hanno Carte d'ogni sorte

P er Fattoriazo da Barutto.	20.	p bal.
P er dretto da Barutto.	12½	p cap.
P er Luger quello costa.		
P er dretto del Turciman.	5.	p bal.
P er danno d'oti pagando li drettj.	5.	p d. v.
P er spese d'offera per balla di risme 10.	10.	p bal.
P er Macademo et bastasi di risme 10.	10.	p bal.
P er fitto di magaz en di risme x.	10.	p bal.
Et da un'anno in suso alrotanto a ragio di ano.		
P er spese 'istraordinarie'.	10.	p bal.
P er sansacia.	A	i. p cto
P er consolazo.	10.	p cap.
P er faz scriuer le' carte uenden a tte.	90.	p car.
P er danno di monede.	A	½ p cto
P er consolazo.	10.	p cap.
P er Provision.	A	2. p cto

Tariffe mercantili del Levante. 16th-c. Ms, fol. 10r. 'Damasco Spese: hanno Carte d'ogni sorte' (Biblioteca Riccardiana 2523, with permission)