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Editorial assistance  
Viktoriya Kolp

Informatic editing  
Răzvan Adrian Marinescu

# The Far East in the Early 16th Century: Giovanni da Empoli's Travels

NUNZIATELLA ALESSANDRINI

University of Alberta, Lisbon

## ABSTRACT

Following the 1498 voyage that established sea links between Europe and Asia, there was an increase in the information available about the Asian world in the form of reports, letters, etc. Drawing upon the accounts of the Florentine merchant, Giovanni da Empoli [John of Empoli], this chapter briefly traces the development of European perceptions of Asian world, as they gradually expanded beyond the purely economic to include civilizational aspects of the Other, thereby revealing a new conception of alterity.

*Após a viagem que, em 1498, estabeleceu a ligação marítima entre a Europa e a Ásia, vai-se delineando, através da redacção de relatos, cartas, etc., um gradual conhecimento do mundo asiático. Estas páginas pretendem, brevemente, seguir a evolução da percepção do mundo asiático pelos Europeus. Seguimos, através da narração do mercador florentino Giovanni da Empoli, a deslocação do interesse que, do âmbito meramente económico, vai progressivamente abranger os aspectos civilizacionais do Outro, revelando uma nova percepção da alteridade.*

Sempre a quel ver ch'ha faccia di menzogna.

Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*

There have been many studies on the impact of the Portuguese discoveries on Europe, and as a result, new perspectives and approaches to the subject have opened up.

After the historic voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1498, which established the first direct sea link between Europe and Asia, the Portuguese came into contact with a world of which they had only the haziest of notions and that was in many respects completely different from the one they knew. Indeed, the general scarcity of information about this new reality generated all kinds of misunderstandings and confusions between the two civilizations, as can be seen in Álvaro Velho's<sup>1</sup> account. However, these misunderstand-

ings were gradually attenuated by subsequent voyages, which provided new information conduits, enabling the most significant aspects of this new reality to be decoded. Hence, the European perception of alterity slowly transcended mere economic concerns, as attention began to focus upon other aspects of the civilizations encountered.

This gradual shift in perception reached its apogee at the end of the first decade of the 16th century, by which time interest in the Other was no longer limited to economic matters, but had begun to focus on broader aspects of daily life, considerably extending the range of information available concerning Asian civilization. This was the period of Afonso de Albuquerque's political strategy, which resulted in the creation of Portuguese outposts in the East, following the capture of Goa (1510) and Malacca (1511). It now became urgent for the Portuguese to gather as much information as possible about the customs and beliefs of these peoples, new to them, as such knowledge would have a direct bearing upon their success in obtaining their commercial and political goals and exercising power.

During this period, two works appeared that considerably broadened European knowledge of this Other, as attention was focused upon aspects of social and religious life. These were the *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, as it is known in the Anglophone world (*Livro das Cousas do Oriente*, or literally "The Book of Eastern Things" by Duarte Barbosa), and the *Suma Oriental* [Summa of the East] by Tomé Pires, works written between 1511 and 1516. Both were included, in Italian translation, in the first volume of Giovan Battista Ramusio's 1550 collection<sup>2</sup>, several centuries before they were finally published in Portuguese (in 1813 and 1978, respectively). Indeed, Italy had, from the outset, shown considerable interest in the Discoveries and in any news emanating from the Iberian peninsula, and this was manifested by the widespread dissemination of two 16th-century collections, Ramusio's, already mentioned, and another by Fracanzio de Montalboddo published in 1507<sup>3</sup>.

Following their rediscovery of the Classics, the Italian humanists were eager for information that would allow them to confirm, correct or reject traditional wisdom. Thus, they wanted to compare the writings of authors such as Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo, etc., with the real-life experiences of those men who were now in the East.

The Florentine merchant, Giovanni da Empoli (John of Empoli), clearly shared these impulses, and his letters contributed considerably to the European construction of "the East", a concept that only really gained solid contours as a body of texts, languages and civilizations in the second half of the 18th century<sup>4</sup>. Western culture also acquired a more clearly-defined identity of its own when set against that of the East, and Giovanni's 1514 account not only offers one of the first Western accounts of the distant East, but also constructs Asian alterity through a mechanism of comparison or contrast with the known reality of the European world.

In order to understand fully the significance of the Asian discovery for this Florentine merchant, some preliminary background information is required about Giovanni da Empoli's texts, his personality and the context in which he was operating. It should

be pointed out that much travel writing, whether in the form of single letters or more complex texts, has a certain interdisciplinary character, which has meant that it has been used in many different ways; in particular, Giovanni da Empoli has been an important source of information about the products of international trade<sup>5</sup>, the actions of Viceroy Afonso de Albuquerque in India<sup>6</sup> and the conquest of Malacca<sup>7</sup>. In fact, since the last decades of the 20th century, the figure of Giovanni da Empoli has been restored to his rightful place by Italian historiography: in 1983 a colloquium was organised in Rome to celebrate the 5th centenary of his birth, and an important study was devoted to him in 1984 by the historian Marco Spallanzani (reprinted in 1999<sup>8</sup>). In contrast, he has been largely neglected by Portuguese historiography, despite being cited in texts about the Portuguese expansion – though this lacuna has now been remedied to some extent by the contributions of the Portuguese historian, Rui Loureiro<sup>9</sup>.

As regards Giovanni's descriptions of his visits to the East, there are two ancient unsigned copies of each account (relating to the trips undertaken in 1503-1504 and 1510-1514 respectively) in the National Central Library of Florence. Both are in the form of long letters written to his father, Leonardo. The first was included in Volume I of Giovan Battista Ramusio's 1550 collection, and also in the editions of 1554, 1563 and 1588. In this chapter, I use Marco Spallanzani's transcriptions<sup>10</sup>, which have resulted from the scrupulous comparison of the different copies kept in the National Central Library in Florence, with Ramusio's version, based upon the lost original.

In order to understand Giovanni da Empoli's perceptions of alterity, two facets of his character should be borne in mind. Firstly, there was his strong humanistic streak (having been born in Florence on 27 October 1483, he had had considerable contact with the humanists of his time); secondly, we should remember that he was first and foremost a merchant, rather than a 'man of letters' properly speaking.

One of the events which had a strong influence on his life and helped define his future took place in 1492, a pivotal year in world history, a year of major upheavals with far reaching effects. The death of Lorenzo il Magnifico on 8 April 1492 sparked off a fresh spate of sermons from the Dominican Friar Girolamo Savonarola from Ferrara, who launched a series of invectives against corruption and the church. Giovanni, who was then nine years old, was studying grammar and literature with the greatest masters of the time, Girolamo del Maestro Luca, Guasparre Massani and Francesco da Urbino; and his father had given him a book of Holy Scriptures. Between 1495 and 1496, when he reached the age of 13, he had already acquired a good knowledge of Latin and some Greek. At this time, the fame of the friar from Ferrara had reached its peak and the Convent of San Marco in Florence, in addition to possessing a good library, was frequented by the leading scholars of the age, including Angelo Poliziano, Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and others. When, in 1495, Savonarola decided to recruit young men to help him in his "crusade", Giovanni was amongst the chosen and his spiritual life was refined within this elite atmosphere. However, Savonarola's adventures ended

on 24 May 1498 when he was sentenced to death (and burnt at the stake) in the Piazza della Signoria, and the life of Giovanni, who had been thinking of becoming a friar, changed dramatically. Following in his father's footsteps, he learned how to buy gold, change money and evaluate jewels. At the age of 17, on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1500, his father sent him to the city of Siena, where he met travellers from all over Europe – Hungarians, Germans, Flemish, French, Spanish and Portuguese – and learned to count in different languages and recognize different currencies. The Florentine merchant flourished in this cosmopolitan atmosphere, although his character had been moulded primarily by a humanist culture, so that his education extended far beyond the horizons of trading.

On 14 March 1502, Giovanni was in Bruges with the Gualterotti & Frescobaldi commercial company. As this company required an agent in Calicut, they sent him to Lisbon, whence he would set sail to India. His brief stay in Lisbon appears to have been very useful in that he learned a great deal about commercial practices. He was lodged in the house of the rich and famous merchant from Cremona, Gian Francesco Affaitati. Affaitati had gained his wealth through trade in sugar from the island of Madeira and in merchandise from India, often in partnership with the equally rich Girolamo Sernigi from Florence. While living with Affaitati Giovanni met and made friends with Luca Giraldi, a young Florentine who a few years later was to become a central figure in the Portuguese economy, establishing close ties with the Portuguese royal house and giving rise to an important financial dynasty in the kingdom. In little more than a year, then, Giovanni was able to establish contacts with eminent Florentine families, whose capital was to be fundamental for the success of the long-distance trade promoted by the Portuguese monarchy.

Thus, on 6 April 1503, the young Florentine (aged only 20 at the time) left the Portuguese capital in a fleet of four ships, captained by Afonso de Albuquerque. Just as Giovanni embarked on his overseas adventure, the Portuguese were sounding out the route to the East, gradually advancing their knowledge of this part of the world, just as they had done, over half a century before, with the discovery of the western coast of Africa.

On his three voyages to the East (though there is no account of the last one, as he never returned to tell of it), Giovanni came face-to-face with lands that were entirely unknown to Europeans, as “no-one had so far been to discover it”<sup>11</sup>. He also witnessed many of the key events marking the Portuguese expansion in the East, phases that were crucial for the construction of the Portuguese Empire.

The account of the first trip is mostly a description of the sea crossing, with few references to the settlements or people encountered. Priority is given to the economic concerns motivating the trip, thereby continuing a tradition that had begun with the first accounts of voyages written immediately after the discovery of the Cape Route.

However, throughout the letter, there are glimmers of interest in the habits and customs of the peoples encountered, and we see Giovanni grappling to find models within the domain of his own knowledge and experience with which to interpret this new reality.

The speed with which Giovanni describes the events and encounters that punctuated his journey as he sailed across and down the Atlantic, along the coasts of Africa and before he reached the Indian subcontinent, shows that he was mainly interested in being able to recount his novel experiences in India. The African coasts did not seem to him to merit much attention. He reported that they were inhabited by “bestial people”<sup>12</sup>. In his opinion:

The men have no air; their scalps are scabby and ugly; they have rheumy eyes, and their bodies down to the waist are covered with shaggy hides. They carry their private parts in a hairy pouch like a sheath always upright. The women wear a similar cloak of skins, and to this they attach a hairy tail from the same animal, which they hang before and behind to cover their shame. They have very long breasts which look very deformed<sup>13</sup>.

Proceeding along the east coast of Africa, they reached Sofala “where lies the mine of gold, and where the king has built a well fortified castle in which he has plenty of men”<sup>14</sup>. Hence they sailed to Melinde and to Patti.

After several weeks of navigation, they saw the first signs that land was not far off. Of these, Giovanni noted the three most important. “First one finds white waves [...] next one finds the sea full of snakes [...]. They are thin and proportionately long, and they move with their heads out of the water. The third and the last sign are the red crabs, which are not very large”<sup>15</sup>. In 1515, Andrea Corsali, another Florentine who travelled through the area, explained that the milky colour of the water was due to the white sand of the seafloor, and notes that the snakes had been carried into the sea by the rain, but makes no reference to the crabs<sup>16</sup>.

Gradually, as the travellers left known territories reaching parts of the East that were still little known, in unexplored lands, they discovered a civilisation that had a structure in many ways not unlike that of western Europe. When the fleet arrived at Quilon (250 miles south of Cochin), “where no-one had so far been to discover it”<sup>17</sup> the young man was sent out to reconnoitre the terrain and discover “what was there”<sup>18</sup>. Here he found friendly people, consisting of some 3000 Christians, (“[...] and they call themselves by Christian names, women and men, just as we do”<sup>19</sup>), who took him to see a church “constructed very much like ours, with saints and crucifix, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary”<sup>20</sup>. There are some brief remarks about the beliefs of this people, but then his current interest returns to the fore, i.e. whether the king would be prepared to supply enough spices to load three ships.

Giovanni da Empoli’s brief stay in Quilon brought positive results, for the King handed over the spices (thereby giving substance to the Portuguese motto concerning “Christians and spices”). The main purpose of the mission now achieved, John was able to devote the last pages of his account to a calm description of some of the anthropological features of this Indian people.

At the ceremony held in their honour before their departure, the Portuguese were confronted with local habits and customs, which Giovanni recounts, drawing comparisons with things that he knew in the West. For example, in a description of the local hierarchy he compares the Brahmins to the “counts and marquises and barons, the grandes of the kingdom”<sup>21</sup>, and the Nairs to those who “in our country, are persons of repute”<sup>22</sup>.

With regard to the continuities manifested in this discourse, it is significant that, in the final lines of the first letter, Giovanni admits to some lapses of memory<sup>23</sup> concerning the “manners and customs of the Malabars and pagans of India, which, because of my bad memory, I have overlooked”<sup>24</sup>.

As both of Giovanni da Empoli’s accounts were written after the events (a situation which inevitably leads to his privileging certain facts above others, given the unconscious workings of the memory), it should be noted that the second account of 1514, which is much more extensive than the first one, temporarily puts aside the strictly commercial dimension. As Afonso de Albuquerque obliged him (along with the other crew members and captains) to participate in the (re)conquest of Goa and the seizing of Malacca, the narrative focuses upon the chain of events, while at the same time marvelling at all the new things that were so difficult to put into words, “It is hard to believe even when you have seen it, and just think how many have not seen it; such a person would call it all lies for sure. But I do not talk about this to others except you, because I know that you are prepared to trust my word, and I wish to give you this delectation”<sup>25</sup>.

Before arriving at Malacca, Giovanni had had the opportunity to visit the port of Pedir, in the north of the island of Sumatra. Chosen by Afonso de Albuquerque as his “ambassador”, with a mission to inform the King of Albuquerque’s intentions of conquering the city of Malacca, Giovanni disembarked in Pedir. The words of the King of Pedir define the breadth of trade in the Indian Ocean before the arrival of the Portuguese; the city of Pedir clearly played an important role in the region, and ships would frequently arrive at its port from China and other places between the Gulf of Bengal and Siam:

[...] the city of Pedir had been a noble city with great and prosperous trade and merchandising for a very long time, and [...] to its port came the ships, of King Mahmud of Cambay, the ships of the King of Den, junks, which are ships, of Benghala, Pechu, Martaman, Sarnau and Tanazzari, and junks from China and many other places and [...] his port had always been open so that everyone could go or come and stay safely<sup>26</sup>.

When the Portuguese arrived at the island of Polverera, in the Straits of Malacca, they captured two ships that had gone there to stock up on water. On one of those vessels was the Prince of Pasai, a city in the north of Sumatra which was a rival to Pedir. The prince was invited by Afonso de Albuquerque to accompany him on the conquest of Malacca, where they arrived on 28 June 1511. Giovanni, whose text is one of the first Western descriptions of the city, was amazed by what he saw. Malacca’s strategic location between the Indian Ocean and China Sea made it a point of contact between two ancient civilizations:

The city is situated near the sea-shore, well populated with houses and residences, and it is well over three leagues long, which is a most beautiful thing to see. [...] The port is very beautiful and safe from every wind because it is closed at the bottom by a basin [...]. More than 2000 loaded ships could be accommodated in this port, because the least depth of the water over the bar is four fathoms<sup>27</sup>.

In comparison with Malacca, Giovanni thought, “We are mere nothings”; not even the riches and precious merchandise from India can compare to what was found there.

After four days in port, the Portuguese fleet sailed to the *isola de’ cini* [Island of the Chinese], which is in the harbour across from Malacca. The name of the island was due to the fact that the Chinese, who traded in Malacca, anchored their junks at this island and lived ashore on it. So, the island was normally populated by foreigners, coming and going. The island was covered with trees and grass, lemons and springs of good waters and the inhabitants were white men, “they dress like us in the German fashion with French boots and shoes”<sup>28</sup>.

Giovanni da Empoli had, for the first time, the opportunity to see Chinese people and could confirm what he had heard about the riches of the Far East “Believe me, things here are of great substance, and there are very great things and great walled cities, trade in merchandise and wealth, different customs and ways of living”<sup>29</sup>. In comparison with such opulence, “India is the least and the poorest thing there is here, that one thing being so great in regard to the rest, especially now that everything has been discovered and its pulse taken. We have found walled cities, houses and buildings, sturdy castles, artillery of all kinds like our own”<sup>30</sup>. The surprise of finding a highly developed civilization is mixed with growing surprise at the magnificence of the place: “In these parts there is a king who has as his own 40.000 thoroughbred Persian horses, besides a large number of war elephants. The horses are all carefully selected and broken to the saddle in our fashion”<sup>31</sup>.

The six months that Giovanni spent in Malacca undoubtedly had their difficult moments. However, the bloody battles for the conquest of the city, which took place in July and August 1511, the arduous work required to construct the fortress under difficult conditions, and the disease that struck in October 1511, were unable to mar the young Italian’s memory of the magnificence encountered in those far-off lands.

Constituting one of the first Western references to the contact with Asian peoples (namely the Portuguese contact with the inhabitants of Quilon in 1503 and with the Chinese in the port of Malacca in 1511), Giovanni da Empoli’s letter-reports bear witness to the persistence of the myth of China (present since Antiquity) in the cultural imagination of the West. Moreover, his letters also reflect the various stages in the development of the vision of the Other which followed the discovery of the Cape Route, attracting great attention.

In this sense we may consider Giovanni da Empoli to be a prototype for the humanist traveller of the beginning of the 16th century, a role that was to develop further in the

following decades. We may indicate, as examples, the letters that Andrea Corsali sent from Cochin in 1516 and 1517 and the letters that Filippo Sassetti sent from Goa and Cochin between 1582 and 1588. In these the passion and curiosity for new discoveries were much more important than considerations linked to the mere desire for gain. These different sensitivities and objectives in any case have a common denominator in the characteristics of the Renaissance. Among Giovanni da Empoli's various interests the most important are still defined by economic profit, but we also perceived the desire, common to humanists, of verifying and comparing with reality what had been handed down through classical culture, a desire which is best exemplified by Filippo Sassetti.

We must also underline that Giovanni da Empoli's two letters, written at a distance of about 10 years from the first to the second, on the one hand show how fast western knowledge of the east was advancing, and, on the other, as Eric J. Leed, pointed out, witness the changes produced in the traveller by the voyage itself, as a product of observation, comparison, more refined capabilities of formulating an image or a general representation of the world on the basis of observations<sup>32</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

Giovanni da Empoli set out for the East as part of his training as a merchant, and in the long letters that he wrote to his father in Florence, a substantial part is devoted to news about business dealings and opportunities. However Giovanni also had received the finest humanistic training available at the time, and it is possible that his knowledge of ancient history and ancient languages facilitated his approach to populations in India and in Malacca as 'others' with respect to Europeans because of their geographical and cultural distance, just as the peoples of Antiquity appeared to be 'others' because of their distance in time. Certainly his accounts were much published and read at the time, but strangely not in Portugal, where only quite recently have they received the attention they merit.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> A. Velho, *Relação da Primeira Viagem à Índia pela Armada Chefiada por Vasco da Gama*, in J. Manuel Garcia (org.), *As Viagens dos Descobrimentos*, Lisbon 1983.

<sup>2</sup> G.B. Ramusio, *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, Venice 1550.

<sup>3</sup> F. Montalbodo, *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulato*, Vicenza 1507.

<sup>4</sup> See, E.W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York 1978 (Ital. trans.) *Orientalismo*, Milan 2008, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> M. Spallanzani, *Mercanti fiorentini nell'Asia Portoghese*, Florence 1997, pp. 89-105.

<sup>6</sup> L.A. Noonan, *John of Empoli and his relation with Afonso de Albuquerque*, Lisbon 1989.

<sup>7</sup> See A. Bausani, *G. da Empoli e la presa di Malacca (1511)*, in "Miscellanea di Storia delle Esplorazioni", XII, Genoa 1987.

- <sup>8</sup> M. Spallanzani, *Giovanni da Empoli – mercante navigatore fiorentino*, Florence 1984; Id., *Giovanni da Empoli: un mercante fiorentino nell'Asia Portoghese*, Florence 1999.
- <sup>9</sup> R. Loureiro, *Informações italianas sobre a China nos primeiros anos do século XVI*, in Id., *Nas Partes da China*, Lisbon 2009, pp. 35-54.
- <sup>10</sup> M. Spallanzani, *Giovanni da Empoli – mercante navigatore fiorentino*, cit., pp. 115-127, 131-185.
- <sup>11</sup> “nella quale non v'era suto giammai persona a dischoprire”, G. da Empoli, *Relazione del primo viaggio (1503-1504)*, in Spallanzani, *Giovanni da Empoli* cit., p. 121. I use the English translation of the letters by L.A. Noonan (*John of Empoli and his relations with Afonso de Albuquerque*, cit.), which is based upon the manuscripts selected by M. Spallanzani.
- <sup>12</sup> “sono uomini bestiali”, *Relazione del primo viaggio*, in M. Spallanzani, *Giovanni da Empoli – mercante navigatore fiorentino* cit., p. 118.
- <sup>13</sup> “Gli huomini sono senza chapegli e 'l chapo tingnioso e brutto, con gli ochi cisposi; e il chorpo insino alla cintura vestito di pelle pilose, e gli huomini portano la loro natura in uno quoio piloso, a modo di ghuaina, sempre diritta. E le donne portano detto abito di pelle e a esso apicchato una choda pilosa di dette simile bestie, le quali pendano dinanzi e drieto, per choprire sue verghongnie; e ànno le poppe loro molto lunghe, chosa molto diforme”, *ibid.*, p. 118.
- <sup>14</sup> “onde è la mina dell'oro, e dove il re à fatto uno chastello bene artigliato e huomini in abbastanza”, *ibid.*, p. 118
- <sup>15</sup> “prima troviamo acqua bianca, (...); di poi troviamo l'acqua del mare piena di serpe, (...): sono sottili e lunghe a rragione, vanno chol capo fuori d'acqua: il terzo segno e ultimo sono e' granchi rossi e no' molti grossi”, *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.
- <sup>16</sup> “Di Andrea Corsali fiorentino allo illustrissimo signor duca Giuliano de' Medici lettera scritta in Cochinchina, terra dell'India, nell'anno MDXV, alli VI di gennaio”, in G. Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e viaggi*, (a cura di M. Milanesi), Turin 1978-1988, vol. II, pp.24-25
- <sup>17</sup> “nella quale non v'era suto giammai persona a dischoprire”, *Ibid.*, p. 121.
- <sup>18</sup> “quello che in essa fussi”, *Ibid.*
- <sup>19</sup> “E chiamonsi nome cristiano, così donne chome huomini, chome noi”, *Ibid.*
- <sup>20</sup> “fatta al modo nostro, mediocre, con santi e crocie, intitolata Santa Maria”, *Ibid.*, p. 122.
- <sup>21</sup> “conti e marchesi e baroni e più grandi del regnio”, *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- <sup>22</sup> “e' quali al modo nostro sono siri di riputatione”, *Ibid.*
- <sup>23</sup> See P. Ricoeur, *La memoria, la storia, l'oblio*, Milan 2000, passim.
- <sup>24</sup> “e' costumi e' modi de' Melabari e gentili de l'India, le quali per falta di buona memoria l'avevo dimentichata.” *Relazione del primo viaggio* cit., p. 127.
- <sup>25</sup> “Sono chose per chi l'à viste per non crederlle; pensate a chi non l'à viste! Le potrà chiamare bugie del certo; né io di questo dò parte a altri che a voi, perché so m'avete a prestar fede, e per darvi questa diletta-zione.” *Relazione del secondo viaggio*, in Spallanzani, *Giovanni da Empoli – mercante navigatore fiorentino* cit., p. 157.
- <sup>26</sup> “al suo porto veniveno le nave del re Mammedi di Ghambais, le nave del re di Den, et gunchi, che sono nave di Benghala, Pechù, Martaman, Sarnau et Tanazzar, et gunchi da Cina et di più altri luoghi; e che il suo porto sempre fue franco, che ogni omo poteva andare e venire e stare sichuramente”, *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.
- <sup>27</sup> “La ciptà è situata presso il lito del mare, populatissima di case e stanze; et dura bene 3 leghe, che è cosa bellissima a vedere. (...) Il porto è bellissimo e sicuro d'ogni vento, perché è serrato el fondo e vasa (...). Potrebono stare in detto porto più di 2000 navi chariche; chè il men fondo della barra sono 4 braccia di mare”, *Ibid.*, p. 157.

- <sup>28</sup> “Sono uomini bianchi; vestono chome noi all’usanza alamannescha, chon stivali e scharpe franzese”, *Ibid.*, p. 156.
- <sup>29</sup> “Chrediate che lle chose di qua sono di gran sustanza, e grandissime cose e grande ciptà murate; tratti di merchanzie e ricchezza; chostumi e modi di vivere diversi”, *Ibid.*, p. 156.
- <sup>30</sup> “La India è la minore e più povera cosa che sie qua, sendo una cosa sí grande quella a rispetto del restante; e massima ora che ss’è dischoperto tutto; e preso il polso, s’è trovato ciptà murate, chase, edifizij, chaste-gli fortissimi, artiglierie di tutte le sorti, come le nostre”, *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157
- <sup>31</sup> “In questa parte à re che tiene di suo quaranta mila chavagli gianetti persiani; à fuora somma d’elifanti da guerra; chavagli tutti scielti, bardati al modo nostro”, *Ibid.*, p. 157
- <sup>32</sup> E.J. Leed, *La mente del viaggiatore – Dall’Odissea al turismo globale*, Bologna 1992 (orig. *The Mind of the Traveler. From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism*, New York 1991), p. 83.

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