Maps and drawings of Corfu in the Library of the Museo Correr

Keywords: Alessandro Ganassa, Giovanni de Honstein, fortifications, Corfu maps, Jean Baptiste Homann, Museo Correr Venice, Duke of Savoia, Marcello Alessandri, Johann Mathias von Schulemburg, Moser de Filseck, Military Hospital, port system of Spilea, port town of Govin, Padua.

Summary
The maps of Corfu preserved in the Museo Correr of Venice (dated XVI-XVIII centuries) primarily record the fortifications of the Old City and its burghs, but also the urban configuration of the whole and of significant areas of the city is well represented (projects for the transformation of the Military Hospital and the port system of Spilea). Through the description of each map (examined as a document in the catalogue) we attempted not just to write a short history of the fortifications of Corfu, but to highlight the contribution of cartography to the knowledge of the relationship between military architecture and urban history.

Introduction
The maps of Corfu presented here are the most interesting and significant of the ones preserved at the Museo Correr in Venice. These maps date from different periods, and are

The text and catalogue have been conceived together, although one can attribute to Ms Molteni paragraph 3 and catalog n. 1-5, to Ms Moretti paragraph 2, paragraph 4 and catalog n. 6-17. Translated in English by Olga Barmine.

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*** These notes are the result of a study conducted in 1999 that was firstly published in the CDRom Corfù. Immagini e documenti dalle collezioni storiche del Museo Correr, a cura di G. Romanelli e C. Tonini, Comune di Venezia, Musei civici veneziani, Centro Stampa - Centro Produzione Multimediali, Venezia 2000 (hereinafter CORFÙ 2000) and is now being presented in updated form thanks to new research studies for the exhibition entitled Navigare e Descrivere. Isolari e portolani del Museo Correr di Venezia, XV-XVIII secolo, curated by C. Tonini and P. Lucchi, Venezia, Museo Correr, December 1 2001- April 1 2002 (catalog edited by C. Tonini and P. Lucchi, Marsilio, Venezia 2001) and as part of the MURST project Iconografia delle città venete dal XV al XVIII secolo, directed by V. Fontana and developed in collaboration with the Museo Correr, the results of which have been published in the CDRom Struttura urbana e immagine della città nello Stato veneziano di Terraferma, ed. by V. Fontana, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, Centro di Ricerca Iconografia della Città Europea, Università degli Studi di Venezia Ca’ Foscari, Dipartimento di Storia e Conservazione dei Beni Artistici G. Mazzariol, 2003.

1 Some engravings have been left out: Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr (hereinafter BMC) Mss. Correr 1214, fasc. 2740/1, copy by Andrea Marmora, Historia di Corfù descritta da Andrea Marmora nobile corcirese. Libri otto, presso il Curti, Venezia 1672, pp. 364-365; Mss. Correr 1214, fasc. 2740/2, Pianta di Corfù, (published in Venezia by Gio. Antonelli at S. Aponal, a view of the stronghold with the Turkish and Christian fleets engaging combat in the waters before the city); Mss. Correr 1214, fasc. 2740/3, Pianta della Città e Fortezza di Corfù, consacrata al Serenissimo principe Giovanni Cornaro (printed by Domenico Lovisa and engraved by Zucchi. This map dedicated to Giovanni II Corner, as

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made with different techniques on different supports; they primarily record the fortifications of the Old City and its burghs and in some cases the urban configuration. From the eighteenth century, there are four representations of the city as a whole with part of the surrounding territory, three hand-drawn maps and an engraving: the most important map, heretofore unpublished, dates back to 1753 and is the work of Giovanni de Honstein (Archivio De Lazara, Pisani Zusto, cass. 1/12, fig. 7); the second, probably made shortly thereafter is dedicated to Andrea Tron (Mss. P.D. c. 842/5, fig. 8); the third, finally, (Mss. P.D., c.842/4, fig. 9) is attributed to Alessandro Ganassa, a cartographer working in Corfu after the 1780’s who was also the author of an interesting series of topographic drawings preserved at the Archives of the Prefecture in Corfu. The group of eighteenth century representations is completed by an engraving (Mss. P.D. c.842/6, fig. 6) printed in Nuremberg in 1735 by the heirs of cartographer Jean Baptiste Homann, his Imperial Majesty’s geographer, who had previously printed at least one other map of the city represented under the siege of the Turks in 1716. The engraving, dated 1735, is dedicated to the newly elected doge Alvise Pisani.

The sixteenth century situation of the fortress is well represented by two drawings, both of them very beautiful: the first represents the city defenses in their entirety (Mss. P.D. c 851/2, on parchment, drawn during the last decades of the century, fig. 1), the other, which had previously been identified as a partial representation of Constantinople (Mss.

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2 Used before this article was published in E. Molteni, La scienza del fortificare, in E. Concina and E. Molteni, “La fabbrica della fortezza. L’architettura militare di Venezia, Banca Popolare di Verona-Banco San Geminiano e San Prospero, Verona 2001, pp. 185-292 (hereinafter LA SCIENZA 2001), p. 278.

3 Also used most recently by A. Nikiforou, Δημόσιες τελετές στην Κέρκυρα κατά την περίοδο της Βενετικής κυριαρχίας, 14ος-18ος αι., εκδ. Θεμέλιο, 1999 (Public ceremonies in Corfu during the Venetian domination, 14th-18th c., hereafter referred to as NIKIFOROU 1999); published in Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670, Marsilio, Venezia 1986 p. 215, and plate n. 345 (hereinafter referred to as LEVANTE 1986) and in Corfù, History, Urban Space and Architecture, XIV-XIX century, ed. by E. Concina and A. Nikiforou-Testone, Cultural Society Korkyra, KEPKYPA 1994, p. 137, plate n. 107 (hereinafter referred to as KEPKYPA 1994; there is also an Italian version of the text).

4 This map was published in Palmanova fortezza d’Europa, 1593-1993, exhibit catalog (Palmanova, 1993), edited by G. Pavan, Marsilio, Venezia 1993, p. 352, plate n. 35 p. 531 (hereinafter referred to as PALMANOVA 1993). On the back there are notes relative to a preceding placement, and to the author “Corfù, proviene dal Cap. Ganassa [and, by a different hand] ed Ingegnere Cesare Fustinelli”. Also the territorial map of Corfù, fig. 10 (Mss. P. D. c 842/3) belonged to Cesare Fustinelli. Alessandro Ganassa is the author of several books entitled “Registro di terre soggette alla baronia Marcella”, dated from 1784 to 1788; some of the drawings from these books are published in KEPKYPA 1994, cat. nn. 235-239.

5 The 1716 map is published in KEPKYPA 1994, p. 53; the 1735 map was published in LEVANTE 1986, p. 215, plate n. 344, p. 214. In BMC another example is catalogued as Mss. Correr 1214, fasc. 2740/4.

6 Alvise Pisani Cavalier q. Francesco (1663-1741) was elected Savio del Consiglio, Riformatore dello Studio di Padova and finally doge on January 17 1735. His brother Andrea, Capitano Generale da Mar, died in Corfù as a result of the lightning bolt that struck the Old Fortress in 1718.

7 Published in PALMANOVA 1993, p. 530, and plate n. 31, p. 529.
P.D. c. 861/2, probably dated 1595, fig. 2) represents only one part of the city walls, including the New Fortress.

The drawings from the Morosini Grimani collection (Mss. Morosini Grimani, 436/16, 436/17, and 436/18 ante 1 April 1620, figs. 3, 4, 5) date from the early seventeenth century, and are contained in a book dedicated by Marcello Alessandri to Girolamo Corner and his four sons Giorgio, Federico, Andrea and Francesco. In the dedication written in Crema on April 1 1620, the author states that he collected the drawings of cities and fortresses of various Italian and European states to demonstrate his own lengthy experience in the matter of fortifications and to personally present several suggestions for the improvement of their defenses.

In addition to these documents, the Correr collections also include several late seventeenth century drawings for the expansion of the Military Hospital (fig. 11) and the port of Spilea with plans for the construction of new defensive systems and the renovation of the buildings8 (figs. 12, 13/1, 13/2, 13/3), and very accurate plans of several sections of the city with information on the ownership and functional situation of a number of public streets9 (figs. 14, 15, 16, 17).

The sixteenth century

All the eighteenth century maps, and in particular the Honstein map, focus their attention on the fortification of Corfu, which during the second half of the century are the result of the complex of constructions and additions built over time. The city defenses were the object of particular attention from the very beginning of the Venetian domination in the thirteenth century; in 1400 Jacopo Coltrino was sent to Corfu with a mandate to prepare a general plan for the fortifications. Their construction did not intensify however until the first half of the sixteenth century, and was concentrated primarily around the Old Fortress10. From 1506 through 1532 the stronghold was the object of a series of renovation and reinforcement projects: Frà Giocondo (1506), together with Lattanzio Bonghi from Bergamo, proposed to separate the Old Fortress from the mainland town by creating the Spianata, an esplanade that would offer better resistance against possible attacks from the land. Scholars believe that it was also their idea to separate the front of the Old Fortress from the rest of the island and the burgs by means of a moat11. In 1532 Agostino da Castello was sent by Vincenzo Cappello as the resident engineer to prepare a new plan to fortify the stronghold, but despite Francesco Maria della Rovere’s support in 1533, the initiative was never completed for lack of funds.


11 Concina, Città e fortezze... quoted in LEVANTE 1986, p. 184; LA FABRICA 2001, pp. 82-84.
Between 1537 and 1558, after the destruction by the Turks, Michele Sanmicheli and his nephew Giangirolamo built the bastioned enceinte towards land for the Old Fortress (consisting in the Savorgnan and Martinengo bastions)\textsuperscript{12}. Subsequently, the eastern defenses (Capo S. Sidero) were completed under the supervision of the engineer Giacomo Fiumicelli (1566), a cistern at the Versiada and a warehouse to stock millet were added (carrying out an idea by Giulio Savorgnan, 1567) and the Spianata, built in 1524\textsuperscript{13}, was once more extended, becoming an important site not only from a strategic point of view, but also as the main ceremonial itinerary of the city\textsuperscript{14}.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, at the conclusion of the old City’s process of military specialization between 1573 and 1576, the idea of a fortification that enclosed both the city and the outer towns was taken into consideration. During that period, the town of Corfu had achieved a significant level of urban development, as suggested by the fact that the cathedral was transferred from the old city to the church of San Giacomo, an idea that had been proposed in 1586 though it was not actually carried out until 1632\textsuperscript{15}. During those years, following a careful examination of the plans by Sforza Pallavicino and Giulio Savorgnan, the works were entrusted to Ferrante Vielli, an engineer summoned from Venice by the Duke of Savoia to work on the construction of the New Fortress\textsuperscript{16}. Vitelli excavated a large part of the town located on the slopes of Colle San Marco and part of the port zone of Spilea. The works proceeded through the beginning of the 1790’s and the operations were supervised by Savorgnan, Jacopo Malatesta and probably by Bonaiuto Lorini in 1582\textsuperscript{17}. Upon completion of the work, the architect was commemorated as the principal creator of the new defensive system along with the Provveditori in the plaques over the two city gates built between 1577 and 1578\textsuperscript{18}. The gates are the Porta Spilea, of which the façade of the front facing the sea still remains, and the Porta Reale, now destroyed, whose construction appears in other plans as well as in the History of Corfu (1672) by Andrea Marmora. The Porta Spilea is a rustic gate featuring a single opening with Doric columns, featuring bands of rustication, engaged in the wall; the entablature sustains an attic with a lion of San Marco flanked by obelisks with a sphere on


\textsuperscript{13} Cfr. PALMANOVA 1993, p. 529, plate n. 31.

\textsuperscript{14} NIKIFOROU 1999.

\textsuperscript{15} Concina, Città e fortezze... quoted in LEVANTE 1986, p.189.

\textsuperscript{16} Ferrante Vitelli, author of a treatise on military architecture shortly before 1567, had, up to that moment, built the fortifications for Villanova d’Asti, Mondovi (Cittadella, 1572), Cuneo (1573), part of the works at Bourg en Bresse (1573-74); in 1575 he was nominated general superintendent of fortifications and buildings and general field master for the militias of Emanuele Filiberto. The drawings relative to the fortifications built in Corfù are mainly found in ASTo, Corte, Biblioteca Antica, Architettura Militare (hereinafter ASTo, Corte, Biblioteca Antica, AM), vol. V, cc. 6v-7, 115v-116; 117-120; 122. None of them bear the signature of the author, however they may be attributed if not to him directly at least to his entourage. They include several general plans and some details, all in different phases of development. In BMC, Mss. Donà dalle Rose 153, cc. 16-19v, a report on the city of Corfù written personally by Vitelli and dated 1577 is conserved.

\textsuperscript{17} Concina, Città e fortezze... quoted in LEVANTE 1986, p. 188.

\textsuperscript{18} The elevations of the two city gates may be found in ASTo, Corte, Biblioteca Antica, AM, vol. V, cc. 121 and 123v-124.
the top. The Porta Reale on the other hand is framed by Doric pilasters; it has a higher central arch flanked by two lateral passages crowned with an architrave. Here the entablature follows the profile of the lateral volumes that protrude slightly forward of the central arched opening, and is interrupted by rusticated columns placed at the center of gravity of the pilasters to emphasize the subdivision of the façade; at the center is the crest with the lion of San Marco. Both projects could be attributed to Vitelli, who proved able to make the best of the suggestions he derived from reading about or seeing works by Serlio and, especially in the case of the Porta Reale, other city gates, not the least of which were the gates for Verona by Sanmicheli.

One of the two sixteenth century maps (Mss. P.D. c.861/2, dated 1595 or perhaps 1575) seems to document these particular works: the inscriptions on the folio illustrate the excavation works, for example “loco dove sono cavati li terreni per riempire la piazza delle armi” (place where earth was removed to fill the parade grounds), in front of the Porta Reale. The drawing also contains many toponymic indications as well as the number of cannons and culverins to place on each site to arm the defenses.

In 1588-1589, the last funds were allocated for the fortified enclosure which would reach beyond the New Fortress to include the Valier and Raimondo bulwarks, the S. Atanasio platform, the Sarandaro bulwark, which would survive through the end of the eighteenth century despite the large number of transformations they underwent. The second sixteenth century map, which probably dates from 1598 (Mss. P.D. c 851/2), illustrates this situation in its entirety, highlighting the fortifications with a red line. On this map, as in many others of the same period preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Turin20, the ramparts of the fortress have a double projection that does not appear in later drawings; in addition the Raimondo Bulwark facing the town of Castrade shows a different profile from the one that was built and does not allow access20.

Seventeenth and Eighteenth century

During the first half of the seventeenth century, construction primarily involved the seats of public representation, and it was not until the second half of the century that Filippo Verneda, summoned many times between 1662 and 1673, was able to accomplish what many had been proposing for some time, that is the construction of a new enceinte to protect the entire city21. The new front proceeded along a parallel course by doubling the six-

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19 ASTo, Corte, Biblioteca Antica, AM, vol. V, c. 6v-7; 115v-120; 122.
20 It is very similar to the map of the fortress in Corfù published in ΚΕΡΚΥΡΑ 1994, p. 125, and conserved in ASTo, Corte, Biblioteca Antica, AM, vol. V, c. 119.
21 For the situation in the seventeenth century, also see E. Concina, Corfù: tra la presenza di Venezia e la memoria di Bisanzio, in Il Mediterraneo centro-orientale tra vecchie e nuove egemonie. Trasformazioni economiche, sociali e istituzionali nelle isole Ionie dal declino della Serenissima all’avvento delle potenze atlantiche (secc. XVII-XVIII), edited by M. Costantini, Bulzoni, Roma 1998, pp. 57-62 (hereinafter IL MEDITERRANEO 1998). Regarding the person of Verneda cfr. BMC, Cod. Cicogna, 1796, De Capitani Generali ed altri Illustri nell’Armata di Venezia, c. 86, "Filippo Verneda (1640), conte veronese Generale della Fanteria, altri d’Artiglieria. Servì molto a Candia nelle fortificazioni, fece il grande inviluppo alla fronte della piazza di Corfù che da quel di porta il suo nome." [Filippo Verneda (1640), count from Verona, General of the Infantry, other of the Artillery. He served greatly in Candia in the fortifications, and built the great walls at the front of the square in Corfù
teenth century walls, and would provide the foundation for the eighteenth century modernization. Thus the new works designed and only partially completed in the seventeenth century included the following: the “reinforcement” beyond the Fossa Reale with the S. Antonio hornwork, the Corner and Grimani ravelins, the Mezzaluna, the Scarpone below the New Fortress.

The map drawn by Marcello Alessandri in 1620 (Mss. Morosini Grimani 436/16) obviously does not show these works but presents several suggestions that appear interesting because they would later be accepted in part by eighteenth century theoreticians. In fact Alessandri proposes to fortify Monte S. Salvatore and Monte S. Giorgio (Monte Abramo) one of the central proposals in the project by Schulemberg to renovate the fortress.

One might say that in the mid-eighteenth century the defensive system of Corfu had achieved its definitive form, even though through the end of the Republic other projects would be drawn up, concerning infrastructure or logistics however rather than actual fortifications.

The victory over the Turkish siege of Corfu in 1716 by Johann Mathias von Schulemburg (1661-1747) who had been named Field Marshal of the Venetian army only a few months earlier, is part of the myth of the Republic. Schulemburg was still alive when he made history, since at the successful conclusion of this endeavor he was honored with a monument in the Old Fortress of Corfu, near the clock tower. Schulemburg thus became

that from that day forth bear his name.] In 1680 he was summoned back from Corfu to review the fortifications on the mainland, but it is possible that the author of the codex confuses Filippo’s work with that of Giacomo Milhau Verneda. On Verneda’s work in Corfu cfr. LEVANTE 1986, plate n. 323, pp. 208-9; PALMANOVA 1993, plate n. 33, p. 529.


the virtual father of the defenses of Corfu, given that his statue is indicated in all the eighteenth century maps (in the Nuremberg map, in Honstein’s map – n.32 of the Old Fortress: “Orlogia, ove è la stadua F.M. Schulemburg” (Clock, where stands the statue of F.M.Schulemburg) – and in Alessandro Ganassa’s map – n.17 of the Old Fortress24) where it is given the same importance as the public buildings of strategic interest.

Schulemburg worked to reorganize and strengthen the fortifications of Corfu over a period of approximately twenty years, leaving many traces of his own thoughts in documents, letters and drawings25. The nucleus of Schulemburg’s defense theory is the constitution of a series of strongholds connected by paths that are mostly underground. The new forts on Monte San Salvador and on Monte Abram (two high points from which it was possible to launch dangerous attacks on the city) were thus connected to the city walls and transformed into a powerful defensive barrier, an impressive work not only because of the dimensions of its linear extension but also because of its remarkable depth. One cannot say that there was “a project” by Schulemburg for Corfu it was more of a flexible plan involving general strategic policy that provided a basis for the works that were built one piece at a time. During those years Shulemburg was obviously not always there to direct the works, and a long-distance control system was developed based on a continuous exchange of directives and information between the engineers working on site and the general. An essential element of these exchanges thus became the drawings, increasingly detailed and precise not only in their representation technique but especially in the way each single element of the fortress was named. Following a practice that emerged most strongly between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the legends present long lists of names that allow each element of the fortifications system (increasingly complex and articulated) to be recognized quickly and with no margin for error and to intervene exactly where it was necessary. The legend thus became an integral part of the planning system and not simply the result of a celebratory obsession involving the protagonists and the events that took place in those sections of the fortress. For an example of the interaction between text and drawing, one can compare the 1735 Nuremberg engraving, printed when Schulemburg was still alive and his projects were under construction, and the letter with instructions by Schulemburg sent just a few years later to Moser de Filseck26 (January 1738 m.v.).

The 1735 Nuremberg engraving presents the essential components of the project in an articulated manner, a project also seen in many other drawings preserved at the Archivio

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24 Also see the statue in the eighteenth century drawing Pianta e prospetto per l’innalzamento per il magazen del custode e dei quartieri sopra la contrafossa di Fortezza Vecchia per servir l’armamento conserved at the Archivio di Stato in Venice (hereinafter ASVe) and published in КЕРКУРА 1994, p. 135, cat. 100.

25 Cfr. principally ASVe, Archivio proprio Johann Matthias von Schulemburg, filze 24, regg. e voll. 40 (1714-1747), with documents from the sixteenth century (copies) and through 1748: it includes drawings, minutes, notes, studies, correspondence (in Italian, French, German) mostly relative to Corfù. For the material on Marshal Schulemburg conserved at the Biblioteca del Museo Correr also see the essay by Dott.ssa M. Ferraccioli, Catalogo dei manoscritti riguardanti Corfù nella biblioteca del Museo Correr, in the CDRom CORFÜ 2000.

di Stato in Venice. The structure of the legend is articulated in three sections: the new forts designed by Schulemburg, the works planned for the reinforcement of the “exterior” (that is the wall system of the city), and the existing defenses both in the city and in the Old Fortress (which Schulemburg leaves almost untouched). The description of the defenses highlights the underground construction which was also quite impressive, reaching an overall length of 7000 toise (1,949 m) and including very large structures (for example see item n.5, an underground connection shelter that could hold up to 800 men).

Much more important is the view of the land presented on this folio, a view that underlines the impressive dimensions of the embankments of the fortresses on the mountains and of the outer defenses. This is an important image because it seems to be the only trace left of a group of views of the city of Corfu, almost all of them drawn before the 1720’s but lost after being registered in the inventory of Marshal Schulemburg’s collection.

The map made by Captain Giovanni de Honstein, extremely precise and detailed, takes care to illustrate the relationships established between the military fortifications and the overall urban system. This map is neither operative nor a planning drawing but an accurate synthesis of all the important factors in the defense of the city, factors that were strictly military and logistic (the fortifications system, the underground tunnels, the position of the militia lodging districts and the warehouses for food and artillery), or apparently less related to defense, such as the public buildings, the hospitals, the leper hospice, the porticoes along the streets, the water supplies. The Honstein map is a presentation drawing, probably intended as a gift because it features a noble family coat of arms, left blank, above the legend. It is not currently possible to identify exactly who this work was intended for: it may be noted however that in 1753 Stefano Magno finished his mandate as Provveditore and Captain of Corfu, and that in his report he writes that he largely accomplished his duty to maintain the fortifications of the city, but that he also built the Episcopal palace and the Prefect’s palace.

The author of the drawing, the captain of the engineers Giovanni de Honstein, a relatively little known figure, under the heading “Rimarco essenzialissimo” (highly essential note) positioned under the legend, provides several notes on his own military career that encompassed the wars in the Flanders, in Hungary and in Sicily. He was probably in the service of the Republic since the 1730’s, though his activity was documented exclusively by his drawings: in 1738 he drew a view of Padua, in 1753 the map of Corfu dealt with here and in 1757 a representation of the port town of Govin which was only recently iden-

27 ASVe, Provveditori alle Fortezze, ex b. 79, drawing 11, Pianta d’avviso della piazza di Corfu con li progetti fatti, et da stabilirsi, proposti da S.E. Felt-Marescial Co. Di Schulemburg, Gen. in capite, 1727, the author of the drawing is Antonio Moser De Filseck. The map does not show the Forte San Rocco that is present in all the others: for the Forte San Rocco cfr. also the Pianta d’avviso per i due monti Abram, Sant Salvator, e collina Sant Rocho [in Corfu], by anonymous, XVIII cent., conserved in ASVe, Provveditori alle Fortezze, ex b. 79, drawing 14.


29 Also in 1753 the Provveditore generale da Mar was Agostino Sagredo (cfr. C. A. Levi, Venezia, Corfù e il Levante. Relazione storico archivistica, Comune di Venezia, Venezia 1907 p. 100); the report by Stefano Magno dated October 29 1753, is in ASVe, Collegio, Relazioni Ambasciatori e altre cariche, Corfù (1611-1753), b. 85, two maps n.n.

tified and displayed in the exhibition held at the Correr Museum in 2001. The view of Padua is particularly interesting because of the combination of different types of images on the same folio: the outline of the city, an image of a clearly military nature, appears on a background of a country scene with ancient ruins in the foreground, whereas the plan, projected orthogonally, seems to focus mainly on the hydraulic system of the city and its immediate surroundings. The same graphic configuration may be seen in the folio on Govin but it is used in a planning context: here the most important representation is the plan of the bay, to which he added an outline of the city and a proposal for the fortification of the city by reinforcing the harbor.

Though it is not possible at the moment to define his training or his work at the service of the Republic, nor to evaluate his degree of competence in the matter of fortifications, it must be recognized that Honstein possessed an uncommon graphic talent. His representation of the defenses and the town of Corfu is incredibly rich in information, precise in its execution (it was undoubtedly drawn using a magnifying glass); it is also cultured and amusing, using an expedient to represent the drawings of several particularly significant areas of the defenses (a section at larger scale, plans at different levels, etcetera) drawn on sheets of paper that are rolled up and pinned to the main drawing. This graphic sophistication, that distinguishes all of his drawings, is rare among the military engineers whereas it was quite common in architectural presentation drawings and treatises after the beginning of the seventeenth century, and might indicate that he was trained in that field.

The Honstein map represented the state of works on the outer defenses, indicating the parts to be built and suggesting several improvements that however, as confirmed by later cartography, were generally not pursued. One of the most important integrations, the construction of a new ravelin between the Corner and Grimani ravelins (indicated near section C-D), is not shown in any other drawing. In several cases Honstein’s proposals coincide with Schulemburg’s project: this is the case of the reinforcements between the Raimondo and Valier Bastions, to each side of the Porta Raimonda, which later were built in part (see legend, n. 31, “Falsabragha cominciata, e non terminà”, (Fausse-braye begun, but not completed) colored in yellow, thus apparently a project by Honstein, but in fact they already appear in the 1735 engraving). Honstein remarks that the entire section of the walls around the Porta Reale was not in good condition: it was necessary to finish the Cortina Reale (the section of wall near the Gate) which had no defenses, and had become the “scovazzera” [the waste disposal site] of the city, just as work was needed on the Capitale fausse-braye which “piange abbandono da se medesima” (deplores its own abandonment).

The wealth of information present in the Honstein map is unequaled by the two later maps, the one dedicated to Andrea Tron (Miss. P. D. c 842/5) and the one drawn by Alessandro Ganassa (Miss. P.D. c 842/4) that are however very similar in their general layout; both indicate the topography and the plan of the intra-city territory, but whereas in the Tron map, the author limits himself to a graphic reproduction of the disposition of the

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plans, Ganassa – like Honstein – indicates their exact dimensions. The plan dedicated to Andrea Tron seems basically intended to provide an overall view of the system at a glance: it excludes an analytical examination of the city (the legend is minimal) whereas it provides toponymic indications as well as the names of the individual defense plazas directly on the plan. The configuration of the urban lots and the locations of the buildings of public interest may be found on all three maps, but they are definitely more detailed in Honstein’s map, which even indicates the arcaded streets and the honorific busts located along the street that runs across the Spianata and in front of the Loggia della Gran Guardia, leading to the main artery of the city. It is thus possible to derive a rather precise image of the spaces of the city and the significant elements for the reconstruction of public ceremonial. To this information Alessandro Ganassa’s map adds the distinction between Orthodox and Latin church buildings.

One element that makes the Honstein map so distinctive is the mapping of all the underground tunnels of the fortress and Alessandro Ganassa, who also drew them with only minimal differences compared to the preceding map, might have referred to it at least in part. The zones with the largest number of underground itineraries are located under Monte S. Salvatore and the southern part of the Verneda barrier. The connection between the Verneda barrier and Monte S. Salvatore takes place through the Lunette. Honstein proposes a connection system between the S. Spiridon counterguard (the most advanced part connected to the Scarpon, see in legend, New Fortress n.24) and the Monte Abramo (see in legend, New Fortress n.27) and proposes a large number of exits especially along the Verneda line.

Considering the precision of Honstein’s drawing, and observing that perhaps the information it contains might only partially correspond to the existing defense systems (for obvious reasons of discretion and security) one might in any case observe that the map itself constitutes a defensive instrument for the city, a “paper” defense: the representation of an undefeatable fortification system.

Public buildings and the city

In addition to the general maps of the city of Corfu, the collections in the Museo Correr also preserve several drawings from the end of the eighteenth century that present single buildings or areas of the city. They include projects for the transformation of the Military Hospital and the port system of Spilea, and finally the plans of several city streets. The transformation project for the Military Hospital (Mss. P.D. c 859/16) located adjacent to the S. Nicolò gate, on the esplanade on the sea, involved a building that had been built for the galley crews in the first half of the sixteenth century, and which had been converted into a Military Hospital during the period of the sacred League. The project for the expansion of the building envisions the addition of a new wing precluding however any significant changes to the building, which was probably the result of the adaptation of earlier spaces, and without introducing a plan clearly related to the functional requirements. The folio is the only one remaining, but was certainly part of a series of drawings that illustrated the changes to the various floors of the building.

Many of the drawings regarding the urban sectors of the city illustrate the area around Spilea, an area of particular importance because of the many functions that characterized it since the mid-sixteenth century. In the mid-century it hosted a butchery, to which later additions would include a grain storage warehouse, a merchandise depot, and the quarantine structures for the “contumacia” (the building and the port), the Magistrate for Health. This area would be the focus of a series of projects, including the 1795 project for the fortification of the beach or the esplanade, which also included the construction of a new city gate documented by folios Mss. P.D. c 862/1\textsuperscript{33} and Mss. P.D. c 859/17 for the extension of the dock\textsuperscript{34}.

The area immediately adjacent to Spilea is strongly commercial in nature as is evident in maps Mss. P.D. c. 859/19 and Mss. P.D. c.859/23; the former referred without a doubt to the zone between the convents of San Francesco and the Madonna del Tenedo, near the Porta Spilea, the latter most likely refers to the nearby street near the Sarandario Bulwark between the Greek churches of Saint Basil and Saint John. It offers a very precise description of the situation regarding the ownership and functional destination. On the ground floor, which is almost always lined with porticoes, the variety of boutiques is justified by the proximity to the wholesale commerce area of the port. The similar map Mss.P.D. c. 859/18 refers on the contrary to the city center: it shows the main road, leading from the Spianata to the Porta Reale, onto which the San Giacomo theatre\textsuperscript{35} faces.

References

Venecia, Archivio di Stato:

*Archivio proprio Johann Matthias von Schulemburg*, filze 24, regg. e voll. 40 (1714-1747).


*Provveditori alle Fortezze*, ex b. 79, drawing 14, *Pianta d'viso per i due monti Abram, Sant Salvator, e collina Sant Rocho [in Corfù]*, by anonymous, XVIII cent.

*Collegio, Relazioni Ambasciatori e altre cariche*, Corfù (1611-1753), b. 85, two maps n.n.


\textsuperscript{34} Cfr. CONCINA 1998.

\textsuperscript{35} Published in LEVANTE 1986, p. 217 plate n. 350, p. 216-219; KEPKYPHA 1994, p. 61.
Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr:

**Mss. Correr 1214, fasc. 2740/1**, copy by Andrea Marmora, *Historia di Corfù descritta da Andrea Marmora nobile corcirese*. Libri otto, presso il Curti, Venetia 1672

**Cod. Cicogna, 1796**, *De Capitani Generali ed altri Illustri nell’Armata di Venezia*, c. 86 ss.

**Mss. Donà dalle Rose 438, c. 5**, *Restauri fortezze di Corfù*.


**Cod. Cicogna 1796**, *De Capitani Generali ed altri Illustri nell'Armata di Venezia*, cc. 132-134.

**Mss. Donà dalle Rose 153**, cc. 16-19v.


Levey, M., A Note on Marshal Schulemberg’s Collection, in “Arte Veneta”, XII, 1958, p. 221.


Nikiforou, A., Δημόσιες τελετές στην Κέρκυρα κατά την περίοδο της Βενετικής κυριαρχίας, 14ος-15ος αι. εκδ. Θεμέλιο, (Public ceremonies in Corfù during the Venetian domination, 14th-18th c.), 1999.


Anonymous author; before 1598 (according to a nineteenth century note on the verso) or after 1577 (according to Palmanova 1993, p. 529); pen and coloured washes on parchment, 653 x 782 mm; with scale (100 passi veneziani); orientation: wind rose, North to the lower left corner.

General plan of the fortifications of the city and the Fortress of Corfu within the context of the surrounding area. The fifteenth century walls and The Fortezza Nuova are represented with extreme accuracy, whereas a synthetic description is made of the orography. The city map highlights only a few churches and public buildings and some of the main streets.
[fig. 2 P.D. c 861/2]

BMC, Mss. P.D. c 861/2

[Plan of Fortezza Nuova and city walls towards the territory]

Tomasso Picholo (Tommaso Picolo), last quarter of the sixteenth century; pen and coloured washes on paper pasted on canvas, ramparts painted in red and gold, 1080 x 1130 mm; with scale (80 passi veneziani); orientation: not indicated (North to the lower left corner).

Inscribed, on the back (on canvas), damaged: All’Ecc. Sig. Gio. Andrea Vidali (?) fatto adi 8 [***].

Plan of the western fortified area, in particular of the sixteenth century curtain from the Raimondo bastion towards the Fortezza Nuova (including Porta Reale). The drawing is very accurate with careful indications of the orography including calculations of the distance between the bastions and the surroundings hills.
[fig. 3 Morosini Grimani, 436/16]

BMC, Mss. Morosini Grimani, 436/16

[View of the fortifications of Corfu]

Marcello Alessandri, before April 1, 1620; pen drawing on paper bound in a volume, 470 x 658 mm; with scale (100 passi veneziani = 1, 738674 m o passi veneti =1,714574 m); orientation: directional arrow, North downwards.

Inscribed, top right:

Corfu con le fortificazioni che si dovrebbero fare nella / contrascarpa, et come dovrebbero essere occupati / li duo colli per levare quelli siti a’ nemici / parere di Marcello Alessandri; A Castel Vecchio alto dal mare passa n. 45; B Castello da Mare alto passa n. 38

Perspective plan within the territorial context including the burghs of Manducchio and Castrate; brief references to the orography. The date is related to the dedication of the volume by Marcello Alessandri to Girolamo Cornaro and his sons Giorgio, Federico, Andrea and Francesco.
[fig. 4 Morosini Grimani, 436/17]
BMC, Mss. Morosini Grimani, 436/17
Profilo di Corfu
Marcello Alessandri; before April 1, 1620; pen drawing on paper bound in a volume, 470 x 830 mm; without scale; orientation: not indicated (North downwards).
Perspective view. The date is related to the dedication of the volume by Marcello Alessandri to Girolamo Cornaro and his sons Giorgio, Federico, Andrea and Francesco.

[fig. 5 Morosini Grimani, 436/18]
BMC, Mss. Morosini Grimani, 436/18
Castello Santo Angelo in Corfu
Marcello Alessandri; before April 1, 1620 pen and coloured washes on paper bound in a volume, 470 x 665 mm; with scale [for the plan] 20 passi veneziani (1,73874 m) o passi veneti (1,714574 m); orientation: directional arrow, North downwards.
Perspective view and plan of the Castle of S. Angelo and S. Sidro. The date is related to the dedication of the volume by Marcello Alessandri to Girolamo Cornaro and his sons Giorgio, Federico, Andrea and Francesco.
Plan de Corfu [Plan and view of Corfu dedicated to Alvise Pisani]

Anonymous author, printed in Nürnberg by Homann’s heirs; 1735; engraving, 800 x 750 mm; with scale (500 passi veneti); orientation: wind rose, North to the lower right corner.

1) Topographical plan of the city subdivided in lots showing main buildings, churches, wells, military lodgings and description of the outworks in the surrounding territory; brief references to the orography of the Fortezza Vecchia and the territory. Portrait of Pisani and cippus with military trophies.

Inscribed: left, on the ribbon over the portrait of Pisani:

Aloysio Pisani Duci Venetiarum Dono Dederunt.

Legend:


2) Lower right, on a small scroll rolled up and pinned to the main drawing: perspective view of the land ramparts of the fortress including the city, the Fortezza Vecchia and the sea toward the albanian mainland.
BMC, Archivio De Lazara Pisani Zusto, cass. 1/12

Giovanni de Honstein, captain and engineer; 1753; pen and coloured washes on paper, the colour yellow indicates planned and unfinished works, 1040 x 760 mm; with scale only for the sections (passi geometrici and piedi 300 = 156 mm); orientation: wind rose, North to the lower right corner.

1) General map including the Fortezza Vecchia, the city and the outworks with extramural burghs; the orographic representation is more accurate within the Fortezza Vecchia and the surrounding land than inside the city. The representation of the buildings is detailed and precise: urban lots (including porticoes, stairs, protrusions), churches and public buildings, gardens. It is undoubtedly the most informative map preserved at the Correr Museum. Numbers refer to the legend as listed below: see legend N. I Fortezza Vecchia, N. II La Città.

Legend on the right in a cartouche:

Per meglio spiegarsi nelle sotterranee delli due bastioni della Fortezza Vecchia, ho posto il boligono [sic] due volte della medema, come pure la fronte, et esteriori della città, per il medemo ogietto. / Le numeri cerchiate indica l’altura del luogo, tanto dentro che fuori et il scuro il fodo [sic] d’acqua.

Dechiaratione de numeri nella pianta, e profilli qui sotto.

N. I Fortezza [sic] Vechia


N. II La città


N. III Fortezza Nova.

N.º IV 1° esteriori Verneda detta.


N.º V Fortezza monte Abrano


N.º VI Fortezza Monte Salvador


N.º VII Forte San Rocco


Rimarco essenzialissimo ! Per scraccio della mia consienza facio la presete annottazione, per una lunga prattica di 40 e più anni, che mi sono trovato in guerra, assedi, e diffessa di fortezze, parte nella Frianda, nont in, Ungaria et Sicilia etcetera. Ho da suggerire un essenzialissimo punto diffetto nella nova fortificazione, che sono la caponere poste nell’avanfossa della contrafalsabragha Venenda, per traverso de la mura de questa opera, e attaccato con questo segno / 3. Le quali servono per di sotto al diffessa della fossa; ma nel medemo tempo anche al nemico per un ponte per poter facilmente passare di sopra dal spalto, sullì opera della contrafalsabragha, come io ho osservato, che passano comodamente non solo li uomini, ma delle mandre de peccore etcetera onde per impedire un tal disordine, e scandalo, si ha da tagliare e sepparare le caponere dell’opera stessa sino al suo muro, detta guardafossa, e così farà il medesimo effetto nel diffessa, e è levato il comodo del passaggio. Item sono da dare li disegnati contro - mina, cioè le sole entrade è gallerie, vestitè de mura, che poi le camere per li fornelli si costruiscro in templo del bisogno, in maniera come già sono fatte con muro, al fianco della sottterranea comunicazione per la lunetta che col spettatore di far detti rami, è gallerie in tempio d’un assedio, non è troppo praticabile, et è sottoposto à mille inconvenienze, senza esser fatto col muro. Le tese da far sulla mura circintaria della città, e sul mezo bastione nel bassorecinto della Fortezza Nova, marcati n.º 15 che servono d’haver sempre montada artiglieria di sotto, à ciò per ogni improvvisasà a tradimento sia pronto da diffendere la mura et il porto medesimo. Terminare una volta la cortina Real, ora senza veruna diffessa, che è diventato la scovazzera della città; come pure la traversta à porta Stoppa segnato n.º 3. Solamente un tocco di mura e terrapianarla, acio si possa piantare l’artiglieria, che ora non ha più che 5 in 6 piedi di spazio e doveria avere almeno 30 piedi di larghezza. La falsabragha capitale piange da se medesima il suo abbandono. Gran fatto è che sino ad’ora si ha lasciato il più indendimento senza riflettere, ò per malizia negletto, poiche più che crescano le opere d’una fortezza, tanto più diffensori, artiglieria, et munizioni vi vuole per infalibil. Epure necessarissismo di rifabbricare nella cittadea come ultimo retiro il laboratorio per li fuochi artificiti, che è verso la porta Sooccorso fra n.º 4 e 20. Le caserne per alloggiare la milizia, che ora è aflatto sprovvisto. Epoii li fornii in basso recinto à fabbricare punto essenzialissimo in una asedio [sic]. Il tutto fò dirocato nella disgrazia ch’andò in aria il castel Stendardo 1717 il tutto colortoollio giallo. Alla perfine ho ancora da ricordare un punto necessarissimo, che è di ridisporre il muro di Spilea n.º 41 segnato giallo è poi quella terra Spilea n.º 41 acio si possa mettere artiglieria à la navariola, specialment sarà assai utile al cantone al fondico, che può flangianearla a dritta, e sinistra, per diffendere le mura, et il porto di Spilea.
2) Lower left, on a scroll rolled up and pinned to the main drawing: plan of the outworks at the gallery level. Numbers refer to the legend as listed above: see legend N. III *Fortezza Nuova IV Li Esteriori Verneda detta.*

3) On a scroll pinned to the previous drawing: two plans of the rampart between the two bastions of the *Fortezza Vecchia* towards the Spianata.
   **Inscription:**
   Poligono della fortezza Vecchia / Poligono medemo di sopra

4) Lower left under the previous plans on a scroll pinned to the main drawing: two sections, representing respectively the Monte Abramo and San Salvador hill forts. Numbers refer to the legend as listed above: see legend N. V *Fortezza Monte Abramo* and N. VI *Fortezza Monte Sant Salvador* VII *Forte San Rocco.*
   **Inscription:**
   Proffillo di Monte Abramo da E a F / Proffillo di Monte San Salvadore da G a H

5) Lower right on a scroll pinned to the main drawing: two sections across the *Fortezza Vecchia* bastions, the Spianata and the city walls.
   **Inscription:**
   Proffillo del bastione Martinengo, della Fortezza Vecchia, per vedere le sue belle sotterranie casematte / avan fossa della Fortezza Vecchia / Il spalto, osia contra scarpa sino dietro la Madonna Pattiterra con le sue proposte sotterranie in contromine / proffillo dalla piattaforma Santo Atanasio (reciendo capitale) con la sua falsabragna; fossa capitale, contra falsabragna, capponere, sino sul spalto ove si propone un ravelino, per coprire la testa della capponera. Lettera c. e d
Giovanni Battista Bragadin, lieutenant and engineer; second half of the eighteenth century; pen and coloured washes on paper, 103 x 745 mm; orientation: wind rose, North to the lower right corner.

Topographical plan of the city subdivided in lots with buildings and churches; brief references to the territorial orography within the city and the Fortezza Vecchia; the gradient of outwarks and curtain batters is underlined by a grey shadowing.

Legend under the title, in a plaque with a coat of arms:

Dichiarazione de Numeri

Alessandro Ganassa; second half of the eighteenth century; pen and coloured washes on paper, galleries and underground passages are coloured in brown with a red outline, 793 x 935 mm; with scale (100 passi veneti); orientation: wind rose, North to the lower left corner.

1) Topographical plan of the city subdivided in lots with main buildings, churches (Greek churches identified by a black cross, Latin churches by a red one) public buildings and gardens; territorial orography is represented within the town and the Fortezza Vecchia; the gradient of outwarks and curtain batters is underlined by a grey shadowing.

Legend on two sheets overlapped to the main drawing:


Fortezza Nova


Città


Esteriori


Monte S. Salvador
I. Monte d’Abramo
81. Salita e comunicazione all’opera capitale I / 82. Mezzaluna S. Giorgio più alta dell’opera capitale / 83. Inviluppo con piccolo bonetto / 84. Opera Maibon con strada coperta per la retirata.

2) detail on the top over the main drawing: map of the upper level of the bastions between Fortezza Vecchia and the Spianata; the detail is represented on a sheet pinned to the main one.
Topografia dell’isola di Corfù e vicina Terraferma / Con l’annotazione dei Posti d’Armarsi lungo il Littorale dell’Isola in occasione di Sanità

[Francesco Zamoreo, captain and engineer]; end of the eighteenth century; territorial map, pen and coloured washes on paper, 650 x 935 mm; with scale (20 miglia venete); orientation: wind rose, North to the left.
The legend indicates the number of soldiers required for the coastal guard houses in the event of plague.
Inscribed, on the back:
Isola di Corfù / posti sanitarj / de’ Venziani / [by a different hand] era ne’ disegni dell’ingegnere / Fustinelli.

Plan of the existing building with the proposed addition on the right, on the south side of the courtyard marked “d” in the legend.
Legend, lower left:
a. Luoghi terreni della nuova fabbrica ad uso di lisciere, canevê e legnere / b. Detti terreni per l’istesso uso, sotto le sale presenti / c. Magazzino sotto la cucina / d. Cortile fra la vecchia e nuova fabbrica/ e. Altro magazzino / f. Sala terrena con porte sopra li cortili / g. Scale che conducono nel corrido del primo piano in soler della nuova fabbrica / h. Fossale sopra la Spianata per dar respiro d’aria à luoghi terranei con scarpa per sostegno delle terre / i. Cortile con eisterne / j. Latrine ora esistenti ridotte ad uso di forno / k. Rampe che conducono dilla [sic.] Porta / l. Dette di San Nicolò / il color rosso conterminato in ogni piano da numeri 3-4-5-6 denota l’estesa e situazione della progettata nuova fabbrica

[fig. 11 ospedale P.D. c 859/16]
BMC, Mss. P.D. c 859/16
Pian Terreno dell’Ospital Militare in Corfù, come dovrà essere ridotto
Anonymous author; end of the eighteenth century; pen and coloured washes on paper, the colour red indicates the new wing to be constructed, 520 x 745 mm; orientation: not indicated (North to the top).
Plan of the existing building with the proposed addition on the right, on the south side of the courtyard marked “d” in the legend.
Legend, lower left:
Paolo Mastraca, captain and engineer; end of 18th century; pen and coloured washes on paper, 487 x 692 mm; with scale (30 passi veneti); orientation: directional arrow, North to the lower right corner.

Partial plan with measurements of the port of Spilea with the project for the transformation and extension of the pier for the "contumacia".

Legend, on the left:
GGGG etc. Molo rovinoso come ora esiste / ABCD. Come lo stesso esser deve ridotto / BEFC. Nuovo braccio da aggiungervi / M. Rampe che ascendono al molo
Piante e spaccati della fortificazione da erigersi per coprire la spiaggia ed abitato della Spilea non che per rendere capace di difesa quella porzione del Recinto Capitale che giace tra la Fortezza Nuova e la Piattaforma alli Fondaci

Anonymous author; 1795 (on the frieze of the exterior elevation of Porta Maggiore, drawing n.1); pen on paper with brown and grey washes, 492 x 2115 mm; with scale: 40 piedi (drawing n. 1); 30 piedi (sections of drawings n. 2, 3); 40 passi (plans of drawings n. 2, 3); orientation: not indicated (drawing n. 2, 3 North downwards).

1) plans, sections and elevations of the new Porta Maggiore to be erected in the planned city wall for the expansion of the area of Spilea.
2) plan with measurements of the existing buildings on the esplanade of Spilea with the proposed curtain, bastion and city gate; the detail shows the cross section of the low artillery outworks (gun platform and piazza bassa) at the left corner of the new walls. The plan represents the built area as well the way of the rounds on the new city walls.

Inscription:
Profilo preso sopra AB / Profilo preso sopra CD

3) ground level plan with measurements of the same area as in drawing 2, showing the existing situation and the planned extension of the shores of Spilea.

Legend, lower right:
Dichiarazione delle lettere e numeri
[fig. 14 città 1 P.D. c 859/18]
BMC, Mss. P.D. c 859/18

[Plan of an urban sector of the city of Corfu: area between the Calle dei Mercatanti and Calle delle Acque, facing the theatre of S. Giacomo]

Anonymous author; late eighteenth century; pen and coloured washes on paper, 757 x 968 mm; with scale (80 piedi veneti); orientation: not indicated (North upwards).

Ground level plan of the buildings lining the public street with indication of ownership.

[fig. 15 città 2 P.D. c 859/19]
BMC, Mss. P.D. c 859/19

[Plan of an urban sector of the city of Corfu: district behind Porta Spilea, between the convents of S. Francesco and La Madonna del Tenedo]

Anonymous author; late eighteenth century; pen and coloured washes on paper, 757 x 968 mm; with scale (50 piedi veneti); orientation: not indicated (North downwards).

Street-level plan of the buildings facing the public street with indication of ownership.
[fig. 16 città 3 P.D. c 859/21]
BMC, Mss. P.D. c 859/21

[Plan of an urban sector of the city of Corfu: area of Calle del Giustinian]
Anonymous author; late eighteenth century; pen and coloured washes on paper, 525 x 780 mm; with scale (60 piedi veneti); orientation: not indicated.
Street-level plan of the buildings facing the public street with indication of ownership.

[fig. 17 città 4 P.D. c 859/23]
BMC, Mss. P.D. c 859/23

[Plan of an urban sector of the city of Corfu: area between the two Greek churches of S. Basilio and S. Giovanni]
Anonymous author; late eighteenth century; pen and coloured washes on paper, 515 x 1520 mm; with scale (80 piedi veneti); orientation: not indicated (North to the left).
Street-level plan of the buildings facing the public street with indication of ownership.