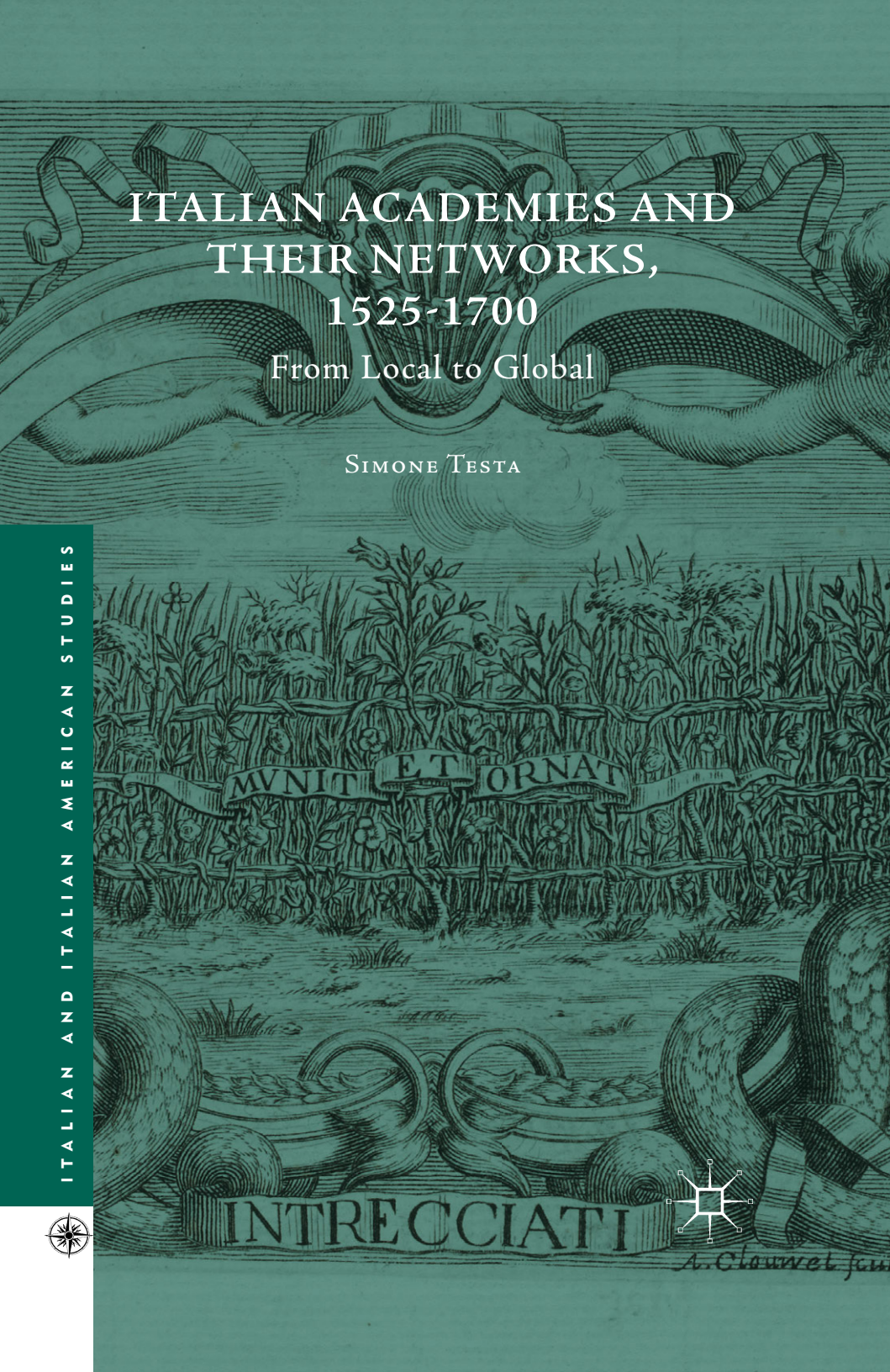
ITALIAN ACADEMIES AND THEIR NETWORKS, 1525-1700

From Local to Global

Simone Testa

ITALIAN AND ITALIAN AMERICAN STUDIES



Italian and Italian American Studies

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My familial network has never ceased to be a source of inspiration. This book is dedicated to the memory of my grandmothers, Ninni and Ginetta, and my great-uncle Celso; to my mother, Gella, and in memory of my father, Claudio; to my brothers, Andrea, Alessandro, and Ludovico; to my aunt and uncle, Giuliana and Sergio; and to my cousins Davide, Daniele, and Enrico.

Contents

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I take full responsibility for the text of this book, including its mistakes.

Introduction

The importance of Italian academies in the history of Italian literature and society has gone from idealized descriptions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to drastic criticism, and later a reassessment of their importance. This is a fraction of the Italian and European cultural history that demands to be contextualized and explained. It is in fact very peculiar that a pervasive cultural phenomenon such as the academic movement that flourished in Italy, that involved and connected thousands of people across the peninsula in private and public spaces, that promoted the publication of hundreds of books, and that paved the way for later intellectual European networks could be despised and almost fall into oblivion. It is also very interesting to see that the work of mapping the presence of academies throughout the Italian territory and preparing a rigorous assessment of their importance was due to Michele Maylender,[1] an outsider and a lawyer by training who lived on the borders of the Italian state. Although some important contributions did come from Italian scholars of the twentieth century, no other work since Maylender's *Storia delle accademie d'Italia* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1926–30) has updated his research on the Italian academic movement as a global phenomenon.

The project *Italian Academies 1525–1700: The First Intellectual Networks of Early-Modern Europe*[2] marks a turning point in the scholarship of Italian academies. The Italian Academies Database (IAD), which is the main output of the project, has so far registered 585 academies in 44 cities and over 7,000 people involved in either academies or the publication of the 905 books issued under the auspices of the academies. The numbers keep growing, and it is projected that eventually the IAD will represent every single academy in the peninsula—including those established prior to 1525, which is symbolic in the history of Italian academies as it coincides with the creation of the Intronati Academy and its statutes—every single publication issued in relation to academies, either in print or manuscript, and a prosopography of all the people involved in each academy or its publications. Thus the project is mainly based on two large data collections: bibliographical and prosopographical. The first approach implied analyzing the paratext of books. In this way, we were able to identify many

more publications related to academies than those catalogued in traditional library catalogs. For instance, the British Library Catalog lists only ten publications associated with the Accademia dei Gelati, whereas our research shows that the British Library owns at least 40 books related to this academy. Sometimes, the subtitle mentioned an academy's name, possibly because the dedicatee was associated with the academy. In other cases, an academy is mentioned in the poems dedicated to the author of the text, or another possibility, the name of an academy was found in the dedication. I will explain the prosopographical approach in due course.

The introduction is divided in two parts. In the first part, I present the definition of academy, describe the IAD, and propose an interpretation of the IAD in light of social networks analysis. In the second part, I explain the methodological approach I adopted in this book.

Speaking about Italian Academies between 1525 and 1700

"Accademia" or "academy" is an ambiguous term, first because it is difficult to find a single definition for so many different examples over a long period of time,[3] and second because the meaning of the term shifted from indicating a place to indicating also the gathering of persons. Bruno Migliorini[4] traced a history of the word and found that its use began in the early fifteenth century as the description of a place near Athens where Plato gathered with his pupils. The meaning of the word as a secluded location first appears in a letter from Poggio Bracciolini in which he describes his house as "Academia Valdarnina" (1434).[5] Later on, the word comes to define the gathering of people. This is visible in Donato Acciaiuoli's letter describing the reunion of persons acquainted with the Greek humanist Argyropoulos[6] or even more so in Marsilio Ficino's gathering in Careggi, near Florence. In 1612, we find the first definition of the word in the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*:[7] "Accademia, Lat. Academia, Gr. ακαδημία, Setta di filosofi, dal luogo dove primieramente s'adunò. Oggi: adunanza d'huomini studiosi."

A more recent edition of the *Vocabolario*[8] adds additional meanings: "Accademia, sostantivo femminile, Setta di filosofi seguaci delle dottrine di Platone, così chiamata dal luogo presso Atene, ov'ebbe il suo cominciamento; ed anche il luogo medesimo. Dal Gr. ακαδημία, Lat. Academia. Oggi comunemente per adunanza d'huomini studiosi; ed anche il luogo ove s'adunano; et tal'hora per istudio pubblico, Università; 'fare academia,' 'tenere academia' vale adunarsi, congregarsi, tenere sessione accademica; per trattenimento pubblico o privato di canto, suono e simili."

"Academia" meaning a reunion or a public or private gathering of people is in the minutes of the Accademia dei Ricovrati (The Sheltered Ones) on March 12, 1600: "Academia XIII [. . .] così che fu dato fine a questa tredicesima negotiosa Academia."[9] At the end of the seventeenth century, in the minutes of the Risvegliati Academy (The Awakened Ones) in Pistoia, we find the expression "fare accademia,"[10] with the meaning of "getting together." In another context, Giacinto Gimma defines the coming and going of scholars in Magliabechi's house a "continua Accademia," a continuous and informal gathering of people. Some publications have the title *Academy of Letters and Armies* (*Academia di lettere ed armi*), meaning the performance of tournaments and poetry contests, as in the case of Alfonso Fiornovelli's *Heroic Academy of Knights and Ladies* (*Academia eroica di cavalieri e dame. Del dottor Alfonso Fiornovelli Ferrarese. Segretario dell'Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Bevilacqua et Academico Humorista. Dedicata al Serenissimo signore D. Alfonso d'Este Prencipe di Modena*; Venice: Deuchino, 1626) or the *Academy of Letters and Chivalry Arts* (*Academia di lettere e d'arti cavalleresche*; Rome: Komarek, 1688) published by the Stravaganti Academy (The Eccentric Ones) in Rome.

To sum up, in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy, "accademia" defines a space as well as a more or less formal reunion of people gathering for the purpose of sharing their knowledge, but it could also mean a theatrical representation performed by a group; thus I do not believe that we should formalize the definition of academy. We should instead assume that for a long time, this word defined a social space where a group of people gathered to share knowledge, experience, and information without the need for drafting membership rules or statutes.

One of the banners according to which we should interpret Italian academies is sociability. As Maurice Agulhon has taught us,[11] sociability should be studied both historically and geographically, and Italian academies represent a privileged way for observing the culture of sociability precisely because their organization varied according to time and space. After the Platonic Academy and the Sienese Accademia Grande, the creation of academies in Italy became a trend that spread across the peninsula from the end of the fifteenth century. It included both formal and less formal gatherings and influenced similar groups in other European countries such as France and Spain.[12] Thus I believe that the phenomenon of Italian academies should be compared to contemporary social movements[13] and networks and that they can be conceived as networks of individuals and groups that facilitated the diffusion of ideas and knowledge in the form of social interactions and networked publications.

While the creation of academies in Italy seems to have no direct connection with late-medieval associations devoted to learned sociability in countries such as France, Holland, and Germany,[14] it seems clear that the same desire to share knowledge in informal contexts, as opposed to more formal venues such as universities, and through various means of communication pervaded many social phenomena across Europe, even from the late Middle Ages to well after the eighteenth century.

After examining the meaning of the word "accademia," we have to say that there is little consensus among scholars about the general characteristics of academies from 1525 to 1700. When speaking about academies, we tend to generalize and apply to all of them a definition that suits formalized academies that drafted statutes and regulations, celebrated carnival, selected a playful name and emblem, gave its members personal nicknames, published books, and promoted the use of the vernacular instead of the Latin language.[15] However, when they are examined individually, the reality of the Italian academies is much more multifaceted.

Paula Findlen[16] has given a balanced account of the phenomenon of Italian academies, which I integrate with additional information gathered from the research project. Academies were created starting in the mid-fifteenth century as part of the revival of ancient culture. Their informality was a fundamental aspect of their creation and "represented the collaborative project of knowledge."[17] Findlen argues that academies became more institutionalized starting in the mid-sixteenth century, but many of them never gave themselves proper membership rules or statutes. In fact, one of the characteristics of academies was their short duration—sometimes they ended their activities within a year. By the end of the seventeenth century, cities and small towns in Italy could boast one or more academies, and their function "varied greatly by city"[18] and was subject to the interests of their founders. The majority of academies were given playful names such as Oziosi (The Idle Ones), Intrepidi (The Intrepid Ones), Abbandonati (The Abandoned Ones), Infiammati (The Inflamed Ones), Gelati (The Frozen Ones), Minacciosi (The Threatening Ones), Fantastici (The Imaginative Ones), and Timidi (The Shy Ones). However, research shows that the practice of giving playful names to academicians was not as widespread as originally thought. To this end, it is useful to add that in many cases Italian academies were the creation of young men and that the majority of academies selected a patron saint and asked for the protection of a living patron, generally a member of the clergy or a member of the nobility. Some academies had a clear project, many times in collaboration with political power, such as the spread of the Tuscan language by the Florentine Academy, or the grandiose publishing project in many fields of knowledge by the first Venetian Academy, which at least at the beginning of its

life enjoyed the support of Venetian authorities, but the vast majority of academies did not have such ambitious plans. Indeed, as Findlen points out, many academies were happy in promoting an eclectic and encyclopedic approach to knowledge, which in many cases produced innovation and experiments in fields such as literature, music, science, arts, theatre, and philosophy with an anti-Aristotelian approach to knowledge that, however, it should be noted, was not typical of earlier academies.[19] Particularly interesting is Findlen's mention of the plans of the Lincei Academy in Rome, which aimed to establish colonies as far as France and Germany. The fact that the Lincei were able, in the end, to establish only one colony in Naples should not deter us from giving attention to their project.

Approaching the subject from a different angle, David Chambers[20] indicates that academies were not only inspired by the classical tradition, as was the case of the Platonic Academy in Florence, and that more playful associations should be considered when discussing the origins of the Italian academic movement. These include the Venetian Compagnie della calza (Companions of the Hose),[21] where youngsters gave themselves funny names such as Ortolani (Greengrocers), Giardinieri (Gardeners), and so on and organized banquets and other pastimes such as theatrical representations but were not keen publishers of their activities. Chambers's fascinating insight on the history of protoacademies should be integrated with the Florentine Compagnie del Paiuolo e della Cazzuola (Companies of the Cauldron and the Trowel), which preceded the creation of the Umidi (The Humid Ones).[22]

Italian academies have usually been studied individually, with particular attention to the famous academies—Accesi (The Burning Ones) and Intronati (The Stoned Ones) in Siena,[23] Lincei (The Lincean Academy),[24] Infiammati,[25] Incogniti (The Unknown Ones),[26] and Umidi[27]—those in specific cities (Rome,[28] Venice,[29] and Siena[30] received the greatest deal of attention), and as background of famous men's biographies (Benedetto Varchi,[31] Alessandro Piccolomini,[32] Sperone Speroni,[33] Achille Bocchi[34]), but the global picture of the Italian academic movement, its networks, the mobility of its participants, and the cultural transfer[35] implicit in such mobility have received less attention.

I believe that the most important and most common characteristics of academies from 1525 to 1700 were the networks, sociability, circulation of knowledge, and the *serio ludere*—or playful seriousness—that took shape through either oral communication, manuscripts, printed media, theatrical representations, concerts, or tournaments. Thus I believe that the study of the Italian academic movement would be incomplete without the individuals that comprised it and that this approach can bring interesting

and original fruits to our understanding of the circulation of knowledge in early modern Italy and Europe.

Academies as Social Networks and Movements

I propose looking at the history of Italian academies not so much as the history of institutions but as the history of a social and intellectual movement. By adopting this terminology, I take advantage of the definition that Richard Samuels gave to the cultural phenomenon some forty years ago, and I believe that we should not be afraid of using the language of sociology when we reconstruct the history of academies of the early modern period.

According to the definition of network analysis, Linton Freeman wrote that "the term network refers to individuals (or more rarely collectivities and roles) who are linked together by one or more social relationships, thus forming a social network. Examples of relationship links include kinship, communication, friendship, authority, and sexual contact."[36] In 1968, Allen Barton reminded us that too often "empirical research has been dominated by sample survey,"[37] thus stripping the individuals from their social background. Instead, we should concentrate on the fact that behavior is determined by the group and by interactions, as much as by upbringing and education: "The structural approach that is based on the study of interaction among social actors is called social network analysis."[38] Usually, social network analysts study the interactions between human beings, but their object of study may also include animals such as bees, apes, ants, and giraffes. Not by chance, the comparison between academicians and bees is part of the early interpretations of the Italian academic movement (Chapter 1). Also relevant to my argument is that network analysts may investigate links among impersonal forces, in this case, academies and books.

On the basis of such introduction, Freeman explains that "patterning of social ties have important consequences for those actors. Network analysts, then, seek to uncover various kinds of patterns, such as personal and impersonal forces, and they 'try to determine the conditions under which those patterns arise, and to discover their consequences.'"[39] In the IAD, individuals are identified according to their origins, social rank, profession, dates, and gender and are linked to both the books they published, or contributed to in one role or another, and the academies to which they belonged. This is because being from the same city, belonging to the same academy, or contributing to the same book could have important consequences for understanding the context in which—and the reason why—books were published or academies were created. The idea that belonging

to the same academy had an impact on publications, their purpose, their circulation, and their influence is certainly not new. However, the social links constructed around both publications and academies have never been explored as much as they are now with the implementation of a specific database that includes groups, individuals, and publications.[40]

If we look at the four tenets of social network analysis, we can see how the IAD and the research stemming from it meet such tenets:

1. Social network analysis is motivated by a structural intuition based on ties linking social actors,
2. It is grounded in systematic empirical data,
3. It draws heavily on graphic imagery, and
4. It relies on the use of mathematical and/or computational models.[41]

To these tenets, Freeman adds that "modern social network analysts also recognize that a wide range of empirical phenomena can be explored in terms of their structural patterning." Those which interest me the most are "community, diffusion, belief-systems, sociology of science [which I would expand to sociology of knowledge], consensus and social influence, and coalition formation."[42]

Thus the empirical reconstruction of networks is in itself an approach to knowledge, and it brings together several disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, mathematics, economics, political science, psychology, communication science, statistics, ethology, epidemiology, computer science, organizational behavior, and business studies. In addition, the subjects dealt with in this book, which include social history, the history of printing, and the history of ideas, can be also approached through network analysis.

I believe that in the light of what I have explained before, it is not hasty to see the creation and the spread of Italian academies as the product of a network that has the features of both a social and an intellectual movement. According to the definition of social movements, they are "a type of group action. They are large informal groupings of individuals or organizations which focus on specific political or social issues. In other words, they carry out, resist or undo a social change."[43] Another very important factor in defining social movements is urbanization, which facilitates the interaction between people of similar goals and aims. Another factor concerns communication technologies, which in the case of academies correspond to the use of the printing press, manuscripts, and letter writing. Yet another defining feature of social movements is the spread of a certain degree of liberty, and therefore the possibility for participants of the social movement to speak up. The sociologist Mario Diani insists on the importance of reconstructing the relationship between networks and movements, and he observes that contemporary sociologists consider "networks" to be

"important facilitators of individuals'" decisions to become—and remain—involved in "collective actions."[44] Analysts have looked at social movement networks as "the structure of the links between the multiplicity of organizations and individual activists, committed to a certain cause."

As for the Italian academic movement, I can confirm several defining aspects of modern social movements within the Italian academic movement: the informal groupings—if we remove the academies directly created by the clergy or by secular powers—the urbanization, the communication technologies (e.g., the printing press, letter writing, and travel), and the blurred boundaries that make it difficult to say what is a movement and what is not, as much as it is difficult for us to define what is an academy and what is not. Surely, the degree of liberty Diani notices in current social movements, could be seen in our case with the practice of public speaking, whether presenting a poem, delivering a speech, staging a theatrical representation, discussing an experiment, organizing a musical performance or opera, or simply debating various subjects. This practice of learned sociability may be a result of the familiarity acquired by the attendees of a particular academy, but it may also represent an informal alternative to university lecturing, as was the case of the meetings organized by the Accademia Veneziana (Chapter 2).

Private and public ties linking social movements' activists (today these include close friends, colleagues, neighbors, and relatives) also applies to the world of academies. There, people of the same family, or of similar backgrounds and cultural interests, formed a group. A surname such as Gessi occurs 8 times in the IAD, Caracciolo 28, Bentivoglio 11, Carafa 26, Capponi 8, Malvezzi 16, Cornaro 14, and Piccolomini 20, which reminds us of the family ties across the web of the Italian academic movement. The university professors, members of the nobility, or members of the clergy who joined and contributed to academies were numerous. Within a long duration such as that enjoyed by such movement, it is also worth looking at generational continuity. One exemplary case is the Manuzios. Aldo Sr. started his print shop and for a long time networked to create a formalized academy. His son Paolo was to play an important part in the most famous Venetian academy of the sixteenth century, the Academia Veneziana, or della Fama, and it has been suggested several times that this academy intended to continue Aldo's publication plans. Aldo Jr. appears to have been associated with the Accademia Bocchiana (Bocchi's Academy) in Bologna and was also involved in the printing industry.

Thus in wake of recent studies on historical antecedents of networking,[45] and previous sociological approaches to the history of academies,[46] I suggest responding to the call for a dialogue between historians and social scientists[47] and looking at the phenomenon of Italian academies as an early

modern example of a social movement based on networks. Until the collaborative *Italian Academies* project, all that was available to scholars interested in studying the phenomenon as a whole was Maylender's inventory of academies. The new systematic approach to the study of Italian academies we propose with the IAD suggests that one of the issues deserving more in-depth analysis is the networking characteristics of the global phenomenon.

The Italian Academies Database: Approaches and Figures

The IAD is a digital resource that allows the linking of people (in their various roles of academician, printer, author, dedicatee, contributor, engraver, censor, editor, and publisher), publications, academies, and cities. Since such a vast and complex web of cross-references is not possible on the printed page, the digital tool represents the geography and history of Italian academies in a way that continues a suggestion[48] that has long influenced and continues to influence the best research on Italian cultural history, namely, the need to study the geography, as well as the history, of Italian literature.[49]

The changing attitude in scholarship that Big Data[50] and digital humanities are bringing to the fore has been commented in a 2010 article in the *New York Times*. Patricia Cohen commented on the new trend in humanities scholarship: "The next big idea in language, history and the arts? Data. Members of a new generation of digitally savvy humanists argue it is time to stop looking for inspiration in the next political or philosophical 'ism' and start exploring how technology is changing our understanding of the liberal arts. This latest frontier is about method, they say, using powerful technologies and vast stores of digitized materials that previous humanities scholars did not have."[51]

While this methodology has been taken up by other large projects—the Oxford-based *Cultures of Knowledge: Networking the Republic of Letters (1550–1750)* and the *Archilet: Epistolary Network: Online Archive of Italian Literary Correspondences in Early-Modern Age* are just two examples[52]—it is also important to remember what Anthony Grafton affirms in the same article: the humanities are also very much about interpretation.

If there is a historical and social phenomenon in need of being quantified and reinterpreted in light of the new data acquired and the new medium by which data are stored, it is the "Italian Academic movement," to use Richard Samuels's definition—tellingly, Daniel Roche also adopted the same definition for his groundbreaking research on French provincial academies and academicians of the eighteenth century.[53]

The IAD is based on prosopography, bibliography, and hypertext. Its aim is to solve the limits imposed by the printed page by providing the prosopography of academicians, the geography of academies, and the circulation of knowledge through publications related to academies and through the mobility of academicians. These data are linked to one another via the hypertext, offering users an interactive tool and a broader perspective on the Italian academic movement and its networks.

Prosopography is a research methodology that aims to make visible the particular characteristics of a large group of people. This helps the historian avoiding generalizations from a handful of examples, or to propose conclusions by selecting individual cases, however representative they are.[54] The etymology of prosopography is rather complex—it comes from the Greek προσοράω ("prosorao")—and means the "description of external/material individual characteristics." As scholars have explained, from a methodological point of view, "prosopography attempts to bring together all relevant biographical data of groups of persons in a systematic and stereotypical way. As such it is a system for organizing mostly scarce data in such a way that they acquire additional significance by revealing connections and patterns influencing historical processes."[55]

Thus the combination of data in the IAD from both the bibliographical and the prosopographical approach has revealed an intense web of people, books, and academies covering the peninsula, from Mesagne to Rome, from Venice to Genoa, from Bologna to Enna. The merit of the IAD lies in the possibility of visualizing the links between academies, academicians, and the people involved in the publication of books and in the possibility of providing some context in the spaces dedicated to people, academies, or books. Thus while historically the people who were part of Italian academies could be considered as being part of a social movement, on the screen, such movement has the features of a modern-day social network.

Let us now look at some hard data. Since this book stems from my research with the project *Italian Academies 1525–1700: The First Intellectual Networks of Early-Modern Europe*, it is important to describe and comment on the results of the IAD. In the 22 cities completed so far (Bologna, Siena, Padova, Palermo, Enna, Venice, Rome, Bari, Casale Monferrato, Aversa in the province of Caserta, Catania, Mantova, Mesagne in the province of Brindisi, Messina, Modica in the province of Ragusa, Naples, Piazza Armerina in the province of Enna, Ragusa, Ragusa of Dalmatia, Siracusa, Trapani, and Verona), there were 496 academies in existence. In the IAD, we have included cities and academies that were not within the original scope of the project, thus the total number of academies listed in the IAD, though not completed, is higher. One of the key features of the project was the cataloguing of books related to academies and the list of people associated

with such academies, something that previous studies of the phenomenon did not take into account. The IAD now lists 905 publications related to the aforementioned academies. The number of academicians included thus far is over 4,000. Out of the 7,042 persons catalogued, the IAD list 527 authors, 1,793 contributors, 795 dedicatees, 217 editors, 396 printers, 73 publishers, and 549 censors. Obviously, in the great majority of cases, the roles overlap, especially when someone was an academician, an author, a contributor, a dedicatee, a censor, and so on. Such figures make it clear that a sociological definition of academicians is not possible. They varied in age, profession, social status, and provenance. They came from big centers such as Rome or Venice, smaller cities such as Bologna or Siena, or from provincial towns such as San Daniele in Friuli, Belforte or Montefano (both near Macerata), Asola in the province of Mantua, Positano in the province of Salerno, and other such small villages.

What is represented in the IAD is a "republic of letters" (Chapter 4), with individuals meeting and sharing knowledge in academies, whether orally, as Pietro Della Valle remembers with nostalgia,[56] or through publications—many times such academies coincided with meetings in private houses (as were the cases of Accademia Venier [from the name of the host, Domenico Venier], Accademia della Virtù [Academy of Virtue], Accademia degli Animosi [The Spirited Ones] of Padua, Accademia dei Gelati, Accademia Sarottiana [from the name of the host, Paolo Sarotti])—but they also collaborated in theatrical representations (Intronati, Orditi [The Outlined Ones], Infiammati [Varchi's *Canace* was performed in the Infiammati Academy while he was still writing it[57]], Stravaganti), tournaments (Academia dei Torbidi [The Turbid Ones]), and scientific experiments (Accademia della Traccia [Academy of the Trace], Accademia fisico-matematica, Accademia Sarottiana).

In my research, I have taken on the role of police inspector as described by Robert Darnton,[58] identifying as many candidates as possible of the thousands of individuals involved in different roles within the academies and their publications, thus creating the profile of groups according to the tenets of prosopography. Such individuals and groups can be linked to one another through the hypertext, thus giving the user a visual and interactive tool for exploring paths of social and intellectual networks and the circulation of knowledge. It has been a long time since social historians first called for the visualization of complex phenomena. An online, searchable database that connects people, academies, and publications meets this request, in that the visual representation of the social exchange and where it took place allow users "to capture and reduce complex or ephemeral visual phenomena into a more manageable (permanent, detailed) form,"

as well as "to secure the broader context of visual data (e.g. their spatial organization)."[59]

A Short Introduction to This Book

This book explores and contextualizes the connections made possible by the IAD and should be seen within the broader picture of the sociology of knowledge.[60] In particular, this book is concerned with microsociology: "the everyday intellectual life of small groups, circles, networks, or 'epistemological communities' viewed as the fundamental units which construct knowledge and direct its diffusion through certain channels."[61]

At the heart of Italian academies are the individuals. In British and American scholarship of Renaissance Italy, it has been highlighted several times that individuals' identities and contributions have been sacrificed and regrouped under the identity of the impersonal institutions to which they belonged. In this context, the words of the distinguished social historian Lauro Martines, when he investigated the world of lawyers and their relationship with the Florentine state, are still valid and best describe the task that historians of intellectual and social networks face when approaching a group of people who gather under one institution: "We cannot do without individuals in history, but neither can we do without impersonal forces."[62]

In the same trend of studies, Ronald F. E. Weissman[63] stands as an early example of social history that uses the tools of network analysis. Echoing Martines in his research on the world of guilds in early modern Venice, Richard Mackenney remarked: "It is the misfortune of Guilds to have been studied as abstractions rather than as groups of people."[64] However, guilds also contrast the vision of Renaissance individualism, as they pose "an assertive reminder of the ways in which identities found collective expressions."[65] Italian academies have suffered the same fate, and while they were created by individuals, they also worked as powerful points of gathering and created collective identities for intellectuals. More recently, Filippo de Vivo warned that the constant use of the synecdoche that identifies all Venetian citizens with the city, even when studying complex problems such as early modern Venetian politics, can hide important facts.[66]

It is with the individuals in mind that we have to approach the study of academies. The engagement of individuals in theatre, editions of classical texts, figurative arts, philosophy, poetry, geography, medicine, or other pursuits is a consequence of their gathering together under the same umbrella, in our case an academy's name. This is why Samuel's expression "Italian academic movement" gives more justice to individuals and puts them before institutions, publications, or other activities.

The important difference that the Italian academic movement brought with respect to other institutions such as guilds, magistracies, or confraternities was the access to media—that is, the production and circulation of texts, either in manuscript or in print, where the name of the academy and names of academicians were proudly declared in order to let readers know of the existence of a certain group, or indeed that someone belonged to that specific group, thus spreading the sense of the importance of belonging. This guaranteed to more or less restricted circles the acquisition of fame that other kinds of groups, organizations, and institutions did not enjoy and made it impossible for any learned man living on the Italian peninsula to ignore the social space of the "accademia."

Thus, while the prosopographical and the bibliographical approach have underpinned the creation of the IAD, this book intends to explore in more depth the biography of selected individuals, their networks, and the place they occupied in the circulation of knowledge.

The implementation of the IAD has led to the discovery of many relationships people had with one another, either because they attended the same venue, or because they participated in the same publication, or because they exported to other cities their direct experience of academies (Scipione Gonzaga). The visualization of the network allowed me to think about connections that did not seem meaningful until I viewed them in the IAD. These include the link between Giovan Battista Capponi of the Bolognese Accademia dei Gelati and the Accademia degli Incogniti (Chapter 3) or the links between the Rozzi Academy and the Gelati Academy via the publication of a miscellany in honor of the chief magistrate (*podestà*) of Siena, the father of the Bolognese Gelato academician Virgilio Malvezzi (Chapter 4). The continuity of the discourse about geography and politics in Venetian academies came to light as a result of the research into the lives of Venetian academicians and their publications (Chapter 2). Despite the fact that some academies included people from the lower social classes (Umidi in Florence)[67] or indeed were created by representatives of such classes (Rozzi in Siena), this book is primarily concerned with learned people, such as university professors, members of the clergy, diplomats, secretaries of political institutions, and so on. Chapter 1 illustrates how the earliest descriptions of the Italian academic movement stressed its social and networking characteristics. However, the progress toward the Romantic period has seen this approach changing to more emphasis on the aesthetic value of texts and their relevance for the urgent political contingent period. Thus the literary canon has dismissed previous enthusiastic visions and labeled the Italian academic movement as noninfluential in the history of literature. Nevertheless, historians of society and literary historians cannot do without the Italian academic movement, and the sociological

approach used at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century is seeing resurgence today. This tells us that the history of the Italian academic movement should be reinterpreted according an all-encompassing approach that does not focus exclusively on texts but takes into account the paratext as well as sociological factors such as the provenance of the individuals, their status, profession, no matter their contribution to knowledge or intellectual background.

The assumption that big metropolises represent a privileged point of view for studying the production of science and knowledge[68] can be applied to the Italian cities of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. In Chapter 2, I examine the recurrence of specific themes, such as geography and politics, in the networks surrounding select Venetian academies by commenting on the social, political, and intellectual contexts of a number of relevant publications. Such an approach is useful in understanding the context of each publication; the possible continuity of such a network from one publication to the next, and from one generation to the next; and the consequences of such a network on the production of science. Such an approach could serve as a model with which to compare other academic movements in other Italian cities. Academies promoted and adapted specific discourses through generations. In Bologna, there was a strong artistic tradition that expressed itself not only in paintings but also through engravings in books, from Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicarum questionum* to the Gelati's individual *imprese* (emblems). The Paduan academic circles of the sixteenth century were keener to explore philosophical and naturalistic issues due to the strong influence of the University of Padua, where a long Aristotelian tradition was confronting the spread of Neoplatonism. This is visible in academies such as Animosi[69] and Infiammati. Thus Venetian intellectual elites were responsible for keeping alive the tradition of a specific discourse not only inside academic circles but also on their fringes, which included the political ruling class and the administrators of Venetian institutions.

In Chapter 3, I comment on networking, self-representation, and self-promotion in books of academicians' illustrated biographies. This line of research reveals strong relationships between the history of collecting,[70] medicine, and natural philosophy[71] and figurative arts.[72] Few other publications, apart from books of illustrated biographies and occasional poetry, show the importance of belonging for representatives of the academic movement and the importance of the academy showcasing its members. In this chapter, I also argue that behind a collection of biographies lies an encyclopedic interest. While academies have always been represented as a world in which each individual is contributing his own knowledge, and while this was expressed in an idealized form in the sixteenth century (Bargagli and others), the seventeenth century celebrated this vision with

biographical sketches of individuals. Moreover, it is not irrelevant to stress the importance given to academicians' past and future publications and networks. This is visible not only because each individual appears as part of a social and intellectual context but also because each of the four books is linked to the previous one in terms of either a personal or an intertextual relationship. Chapter 3, as with Chapter 2, makes clear that publications like illustrated biographies were possible thanks to the collaboration of scholars and other people at the fringes of academies.

Chapter 4 argues that the Italian academic movement can be considered an early example of *République des lettres*. This is done by commenting on the presence of foreigners in Italian academies, with particular attention to two French scholars, Charles Patin and Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, and by following intellectual paths of other Italian academicians across the peninsula, from south to north, and by looking at examples of translations as a means for spreading and sharing knowledge.

1

Representing Italian Academies(1 569–2006)

> Prima furono le selve, poi i campi colti, e i tuguri, appresso le piccole case, e le ville, quindi le città, finalmente le Accademie.[1]

The interpretation of the Italian academic movement has witnessed enthusiastic approaches that saw in the movement the exaltation of ways of learning through participation in circles that were independent of public universities, as was the case with Bargagli, Guazzo, and Patrizi.[2] Later on, the prevailing erudite approach (Alberti, Garuffi)[3] was content with reporting the list of academies to explain Italy's unique contribution to European culture, but it did not propose a sound interpretation of the whole phenomenon. This attitude was brought to high levels of detailed research by scholars such as Giovanni Fantuzzi,[4] Giuseppe Gennari,[5] and others who saw in these institutions a way for exalting their own city or town from a municipalistic point of view that has remained the prevailing approach in the study of Italian academies.

Very few scholars put forward a more global interpretation of the whole phenomenon (Tiraboschi),[6] taking into consideration the social contexts surrounding the creation of academies and the publishing of books, but their contributions were wiped out by the subsequent Romantic approach (De Sanctis),[7] which stressed individual excellence in the production of literary works and neglected the relevance of studying the collaboration among many individuals. Notwithstanding notable exceptions, this point of view has prevailed, and no other research since Tiraboschi has attempted to critically study the whole phenomenon and its implications.

The lack of an understanding of the whole Italian academic movement based on data and the lack of a critical evaluation of its importance are the result of two main problems. First is the resistance to go beyond the theoretical framework established by De Sanctis and renewed by Croce.

The second problem was related to the management of data, as it was impossible to put a huge amount of names of people and book titles on the printed page. While Michele Maylender could compile the list of academies and organize them according to their city, he could not list the names of the people involved in every single academy, along with a list of books each academy published or promoted, and then establish the connections between academies, publications, and people that provide the fundamental change in approach to the study of a vast phenomenon such as the Italian academic movement.

Attempting to reconstruct the Italian academic movement and its networks required also exploring areas at the margins of academies, such as the people who took part in academic activities without being formally included in the established academies. This was the case with women, for example, who were featured as the dedicatees of a very high number of publications issued in relation to academies, but in many cases either they were not members of such academies and did not participate in academic sessions or they were formally associated with academies but could not attend their meetings. While their role was highlighted by Bargagli as a very important one, subsequent scholars tended to avoid commenting on this until the recent interest in gender studies.[8]

Young Men and Academies

The relationship between young men and the creation of or participation in academies has not been emphasized enough. The Italian Academies Database (IAD) provides a way for researching this relationship. By consulting the IAD, we can see that there were many examples where young men exercised a very important role in the promotion of the academic movement. Federico Cesi was just 18 years old when he founded the Lincei; Scipione Gonzaga was 21 when he created the Accademia degli Eterei (The Unwordly Ones) in Padua (1563–64); the Gessi brothers, Berlingiero, Camillo, and Cesare, were 24, 17, and 20, respectively, when they helped create the Accademia dei Gelati in Bologna in 1588; Belisario Bulgarini was 21 when he gave birth to the Accademia degli Accesi in Siena in 1558.[9] The atmosphere of these gatherings was to be remembered with a feeling of nostalgia by their participants when they had to leave the city and the academy, perhaps following a new appointment in another city. In a letter addressed to Scipione Gonzaga, Battista Guarini wrote that he paid a visit to the former venue of the Eterei Academy every time he went to Padua.[10]

Thus it is not by chance that the most enthusiastic description of the value of Italian academies comes from the young Sienese humanist and

author Scipione Bargagli (1540–1612).[11] The son of a noble family and the brother of Girolamo, an academician and a lawyer, we know little about Scipione's education apart from the fact that he probably studied under the Jesuits and that he was one of the pupils of Ventura Cieco, a Sienese *magister humanitatis*, along with other Accesi academicians, such as Angelo Spanocchi.

Since he was not yet 20 years old, the age for entering the Accademia degli Intronati,[12] Bargagli founded, along with Belisario Bulgarini and other companions, the Accademia degli Accesi when he was just 18, in June 1558, and was immediately elected leader of the group. His first publication was a sonnet in the collection of poems dedicated to the memory of Eleanor of Toledo and her sons,[13] where he proudly signed as Accademico Acceso, among other famous academicians of the time such as Benedetto Varchi. Laura Riccò has revealed Bargagli's dense network in the many manuscript letters between his close friends Belisario Bulgarini, Angelo Politi, Virginio Turamini, and others. Most of Bargagli's early works have not been published, including *The Fable of the Pino, Taken from Pausania* (*La favola del Pino tratta di Pausania*), which he wrote for the Accesi academy—whose emblem was a burning pine cone, with the motto *hinc odor et fructus* ("from this source, the scent and the fruit").

The text I want to comment on here was edited several times. It originated as a Latin prose *Oration in Praise of Academies* (*Oratio de laudibus Academiarum*; April 23, 1564), was delivered before the Accesi academicians, and was later translated into the vernacular and expanded and published as *Praises of Academies: Oration Recited by Scipione Bargagli in the Accesi Academy in Siena* (*Delle lodi delle Accademie. Oratione di Scipione Bargagli da lui recitata nell'Academia degli Accesi di Siena*; Florence: Bonetti, 1569),[14] which the printer dedicated to Scipione Gonzaga, a very keen academician and the founder of the Eterei Academy in Padua, who was invited to be part of the Oziosi in Bologna and was associated with the Invaghiti (The Infatuated Ones) in Mantua as well as the Gelati in Bologna.[15] Bargagli wrote another oration on academies and recited it in front of the Accesi and Intronati academicians at the wedding of Francesco I de' Medici and Joanna of Austria in 1565. While he was expanding the *Oratione*, Bargagli was also working on his major enterprise *I Trattenimenti* (*The Parties*),[16] which he dedicated to his circle of Accesi friends, including the poetess Flavia Spannocchi.

Bargagli's career as a writer continued with his works on *imprese*, which also sprang from the entertaining activities of another group of youngsters in Siena, the Corte dei Ferraiuoli, as narrated in the unpublished *Reverses of Medals of the Befana Ventura* (*Riverci di medaglie della Ventura befana*; 1569).[17] His career as an academician continued with his affiliation with

the second Accademia Veneziana in 1594, which he joined with his lifelong friend Belisario Bulgarini and other Sienese citizens including Giovan Battista Ciotti, official printer of the academy.

When Bargagli joined the Accademia degli Intronati, he adopted the nickname Schietto (the Frank One). On the occasion of the reopening of the academy in 1603, after the closure imposed by Cosimo I on all private gatherings in Siena in 1568,[18] he recited once again the *Oration in Praise of Academies* (*Orazione in lode delle Accademie*), which had been republished in 1589 and again in 1594, which is the edition used in my analysis.

In Praise of Academies

The oration *In Praise of Academies* traced the origin of academies to the classical age but, more important, asserted that an "accademia" could be compared to the natural world. The text represents an enthusiastic praise of sociability and its importance for the development of the individual and his identity as an intellectual, as it always stressed the benefit of collaboration among individuals. In Bargagli's interpretation, academies are like living encyclopedias, in which each person's expertise in specific subjects is an advantage for the community. Thus from the beginning, the space of the academy appears as a place for inclusion rather than exclusion. It should be emphasized that Bargagli was aware of being the first person to discuss the history and the significance of academies, despite such gatherings having existed for almost one hundred years, long before the Intronati of Siena.[19] Perhaps it is also for this reason that he offered an utterly positive and optimistic view about the world of academies. Bargagli's oration touches on the following subjects: the origin of academies, their similarity with the natural world, and how the Accesi should make every effort in order to promote and continue the glorious tradition of academies; as a second point, Bargagli addresses the utility of academies and, lastly, the kind of academic work the Accesi should be doing.[20]

The origin of academies can be traced back to the legendary Athenian hero Akademos, who in his last will ordered that a pleasant piece of land just outside Athens should be used to create the venue that would take his name. This place was then used by Plato and his pupils, who called themselves academicians. It should be noted that Bargagli stresses the importance of selecting a pleasant location when creating an academy and also underlines how the different intellectual background of the people living on Akademos's land contributed all kinds of knowledge to the academy.[21] After Plato, the philosophers who created the old-style academia were Aristotle, Zeno, Speusippus, Crantor, and Polemon. They, in turn,

were followed by Arcesilaus and Carneades, who created the new academy. The next authority to follow in the steps of his Athenian predecessors was Cicero, whom Bargagli considers a follower of Plato. According to the belief of the time, Cicero established a similar institution on the shore of the river Avernus and called it Accademia. Bargagli does not say what the debates in this academy were about, but by celebrating Cicero's academy, he probably had in mind the Latin author's *Academica*, a celebration of the skeptical approach to knowledge through the debate of a particular issue among various people.[22]

Bargagli's definition of academy stresses the honest and friendly competition that takes place under the specific rules of the academy, among free spirits who want to enhance their knowledge. This normally happens through the discussion of literary subjects as opposed to other disciplines.[23] Thus in the author's view, an academy is a reunion of free and virtuous minds, ready to take up useful, honest, and friendly contests for the sake of knowledge. They train, according to their own laws, mainly in literary studies. At times they learn, and at times they teach, always having in mind the aim of increasing their virtue and their learning.

With a sudden change of reasoning, from a learned approach to a more materialistic one, the author asserts that such gatherings sprang from nature itself and that they actually represent a creation of the natural world in that the academy motivates people to gather and to stay together. Indeed Bargagli's text seems a rather secular one, more than a devout recognition of the power of God. In a passage that is an open homage to Lucretius and the Epicurean tradition, Bargagli shows that he is using Lucretius's philosophy and that the foundation of an academy echoes the formation of the universe, when the first quintessential elements called "atoms" wandered around collapsing against one another to create the natural environment.[24] The academy, Bargagli tells with a tone that anticipates Giambattista Vico's much later estimation of academies, reunited rough men who were wandering in the woods and through mutual conversation and habitual association (*usanza*), transformed these men from brutal and beast-like beings to a sort of *homo academicus*—that is, a gentler, civilized, academic man. In this part of the discourse, Bargagli insists on the parallel with the natural world. Aristotle already explained[25] how the nature of human beings is social and how everybody's contribution to the common cause pushed forward the advancement of learning. In an interesting passage, Bargagli exalts sociability, and any social organization, as a sign of the best human achievement. In fact, nobody would dare to affirm that reunions, schools, colleges, courts, groups, societies, conversations, and academies were not just an imitation of nature.[26] The evaluation of music as well as poetry is better expressed by many than by a few, and the parallel with the natural

world continues, pointing out both the strength and the harmony that a community creates, as one can admire in the lives of bees, domestic animals, or birds, which enjoy living together rather than leading solitary lives. Humans should do the same and connect what is honest with what is useful.

In the second part of his discourse, Bargagli explains the tools needed to perform such an important and dignified task, and these are the letters, *le lettere*, or the humanities, defined as "pillars of our academies, and their main foundations."[27] The humanities allow men to understand what philosophers said about nature and about the soul. Moreover, they serve as a means for not only discovering but also improving, as they work directly on our soul. The humanities are key tools, as they shape one's own identity, and, in a progressive enlargement of the circle, they are custodians of one's family, they administer the city, and they defend the republic—a note that might have struck the hearts of the Sienese Accesi as they experienced the early years of Florentine occupation of their city. *Lettere*, Bargagli continues, unlock the mystery of Nature to men, and they teach the various customs and laws of other peoples. Is it not precisely the *lettere*, Bargagli asks rhetorically, that unveil to man the secrets of the sky and the influence stars and celestial bodies exercise on his earthly actions? Apart from astrology, the same tools are fundamental for acquiring knowledge about the historical development of human kind and its achievements.

With regard to personal attitudes, *lettere* serve the purpose of making the human spirit gentler, from childhood up to old age. It is in academies, Bargagli suggests, where humanities are taught and learned through rhetoric and grammar. Poetry, moreover, is another practice that allows academicians to express themselves, which happens nowhere else but in academies. Indeed, Bargagli admits, the role of the academy is so important that poets turn to these groups to solve their disputes, as was the case with Annibal Caro and Ludovico Castelvetro.[28] Surely an environment of collaboration, despite occasional disputes, brings about a natural competition that can only be beneficial to the individuals involved. Bargagli's explanation of academies and their activities surely refers to Federico Badoer's Accademia della Fama when he suggests that in such places, political actions are commented on and understood for the common benefit and that events marking the history of ancient and modern states, in both their internal and foreign affairs, should be the subjects of debates and conversations.[29]

The activities of informal academies were also known as *serio ludere*, or serious playfulness,[30] from the academy's *impresa* to the nicknames of the academicians and their personal emblems—when this was the case—and the games played by members of the academy. Bargagli describes how serious commitments do not prevent academicians from enjoying themselves

with more lighthearted activities, such as the presentation and discussion of doubts and riddles, for in the same space there is room for debates on paradoxes, where low subjects are exalted as though they were the most important ones, and along with these, topics such as war are also discussed. Academicians, it should be remembered, do not despise chivalric and military exercises either, and the academy offers space for discussing arts and performing music, as can be seen through the academicians' own *imprese*.

Collaboration is the name of the game in academies, Bargagli confidently repeats in his flowery style, because through conversation, each person increases his knowledge in the disciplines where he is less skilled, which is precisely what bees do when they go from flower to flower to suck their nectar. Thus every young individual who is exposed to an academic environment will reach an equal level of knowledge and skills.[31] When we consider that learning and eloquence are the two main achievements within academies, it comes almost as a matter of course that such training will also help the education of statesmen, who will make use of this knowledge in political matters for the benefit of the city or the republic.

The social role played by academies beyond the intellectual sphere has been stressed several times, and it is sometimes assumed that "all" Italian academies took on such roles. In this context, Bargagli does not provide specific examples of what academies actually did, however he maintains that solidarity was crucial within these groups. As much as the group expresses enjoyment and produces ad hoc literary texts for occasions such as the marriage of a fellow academician, it is also joined in sorrow on occasions such as the death of a fellow academician, wherein the whole academy participates in promoting the writing of funeral orations and eulogies for their departed companion.[32] The activities of academies, however, are not confined to the academic space itself and can involve the whole city through theatre performances and public spectacles such as tournaments.

In what can be considered an early history of the academic movement, Bargagli describes how Greek academies have passed everything that is beautiful, useful, noble, and refined to the present times. If the task of the sons is to imitate, preserve, and increase the legacy of their fathers, then the humanities have been preserved by the world of academies as the luminous example of Cardinal Basilius Bessarion (1403–72) shows. Bessarion continued the Greek tradition when he arrived in Italy, and during the papacy of Eugene IV, Nicholas V, and Pius II, he established an academy in his Roman house.[33] Another academy that maintained the doctrines and the disciplines of ancient times is the Pomponio Leto's Accademia Romana, which listed among its members Bartolomeo Sacchi, called Il Platina (1421–81); Teodoro Gaza (1408/10–75); Nicolò Perotto (1430–80); and Giovanni Antonio Campano (1429–77). From Rome, the fashion of

establishing academies spread across the peninsula like a fire: It reached Florence, where Lorenzo de' Medici promoted the creation of an academy in his city that involved learned men such as Pico della Mirandola, Marsilio Ficino, and Poliziano. From there, it crossed the Appenines eastward to Urbino with the academy represented in Castiglione's *The Courtier* that featured Pietro Bembo, Baldassar Castiglione, Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, and others. From Urbino it crossed the Appenines southwest toward Siena, which Bargagli avoids discussing at length but which hosted the first academy with membership laws and participation rules, the Intronati, and from there the academic movement traveled north to Padua, where the Infiammati started their activities with Sperone Speroni, Vincenzo Maggi, Daniele Barbaro, and Bernardino Tomitano, who were inflamed, to use Bargagli's own play on words, by some exponents of the Intronati, in particular Alessandro Piccolomini, who was called lo Stordito (the Dazed One). The chain of imitation continues, returning to Siena and the cradle of beautiful minds in the Accademia Grande (Great Academy), among whom Bargagli mentions Claudio Tolomei and his interest in the Tuscan language.[34]

In Bologna, Bargagli mentions the Accademia dei Velati (The Veiled Ones)[35] and the distinguished presence of Alberto Lollio, whose interest in the Italian vernacular and his commitment to create academies that backed the secular powers motivated his creation of the Filareti Academy (literally Lovers of Virtue) and then the Elevati Academy (The Raised Ones) in Ferrara. In Milan, Bargagli remembers the Fenici (The Phoenix Ones), whose emblem represented the mythological bird the Phoenix; in Vicenza the Costanti (The Constant Ones) and the Olimpici (The Olympian Ones); in Naples the Ardenti (The Passionate Ones) and the Sireni (The Syren Ones);[36] in Pavia the Affidati (The Trustworthy Ones); in Mantua the Invaghiti; in Brescia the Occulti (The Hidden Ones); in Parma the Innominati (The Nameless Ones); and in Casale Monferrato the Illustrati (The Instructed Ones).[37] In addition to these, Bargagli does not forget the academy that had been created just a few years before in Padua by the dedicatee of his oration, Scipione Gonzaga, founder of the Eterei.[38] This circle counted among its members Torquato Tasso, whom Bargagli considers the new star in Italian poetry. The Eterei academy, as previously mentioned, had its collection of poems published in 1567, just a couple of years before Bargagli's publication.

The flourishing of academies throughout the peninsula requires some geographical explanation but also indicates that a geography of sociability was already in the mind of people like Bargagli.[39] According to Bargagli, four characteristics define a distinguished academy: First is the location where the academy is to be based, which does not correspond to where

distinguished scholars live but is instead a site blessed by nature, because the climatic contingencies, in their turn determined by astrological conjunctures, produce great minds. A beautiful and sweet environment is the perfect place to birth scholars.[40] In a tribute to the current theory of climate,[41] Bargagli affirms that people who come from places where they can enjoy open air and calm weather are more suitable for intellectual speculation[42] than those born where the climate is less favorable. In this context, Bargagli paid an open tribute to Siena, a city placed in a most suitable region for producing the best food, which in turn helps the human intellect. In fact, Sienese people are of average height, docile, generous, and handsome and are all very temperate and in general well-disposed by nature to a noble life that is both civil and academic.[43]

The second condition required for the creation of an academy is the presence, in selected suitable places, of rulers who are well-disposed toward "gentle and virtuous operations." Paying homage to Cosimo I de' Medici, who a few years earlier had become the new ruler of Siena, Bargagli affirms that a land under tyrannical rule cannot expect to see the plant of "liberal and civic art" grow.

As a third point, Bargagli mentions the role of women and their relationship with academies. In our hard data, we count 76 women in various sometimes overlapping roles, such as academicians, dedicatees, authors, contributors, and engravers.[44] However, it is important to look at this data in light of recent scholarship on the role of women in academies. Bargagli's remarks point to women as dedicatees of academicians' writings, including his own *I Trattenimenti*.[45] As the author reminds us, Petrarch said that every good fruit he bore was the product of his beautiful and most virtuous woman. He was a dry soil that had been cultivated by her favor, and therefore the woman was responsible for any honor and any praise he achieved. The same, Bargagli affirms, can be applied to academicians.[46]

However, it should be noted that on a broader scale, the role of women was not limited to this. In the past 15 years, scholars have discussed the position of women in academies with differing points of view. Conor Fahy[47] has ruled out direct involvement of women in the Italian academic movement in the sixteenth century, though he indicated their presence as members in a few cases and their importance at the margins of such groups. He focused in particular on the Intronati, but he extended his overview to other cities and some selected academies. In my view, Fahy's interpretation concentrates too much on the definition of academy as a formal institution with statutes and membership rules.[48] Recent studies that take into account a broader picture of the social relationships revolving around academies show that Fahy's approach should not be generalized. Alexandra Coller[49] has illustrated how in the middle of the sixteenth century there was a clear

concern on the part of the Intronati regarding women's access to culture, and Alessandro Piccolomini, played a key role in this context.[50] Interestingly, the debate about a wider access to culture also intersected with the spread of Reformation ideas among Sienese academicians.[51] On a broader scale, Virginia Cox has pointed out that we should not limit ourselves to the dichotomy of member/nonmember when dealing with women's contributions to academies, and she has persuasively argued that "many female writers benefited directly or indirectly from the cultural stimulus of academic culture."[52] Thus they should not be seen as the passive sources of inspiration for intellectually active men, as not only were many women associated to academies but the affiliation of women with academies was sometimes a point of honor in local rivalries between academies.[53] While many examples from the IAD confirm the role of women as "muses" in a male-dominated environment, we should not forget that the first Italian woman to receive a degree, the Venetian Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, was able to establish a significant network within the academic movement: Umile (The Humble One) among the Ricovrati in Padua, Scompagnata (The Lonely One) among the Intronati in Siena, and Inalterabile (The Unaffected One) among the Infecondi (the Infertile Ones) in Rome.[54] Perhaps due to the early debate about women's access to culture, the only academy directly organized by women was in Siena.[55] The Accademia delle Assicurate (The Insured Ones) was created at the end of the seventeenth century, and in the IAD it is featured as the dedicatee of a reissue of a sixteenth-century volume with translation of Latin and Greek texts in the vernacular, *Horace's poetic skill put in vernacular by Pandolfo Spannocchi, with the kidnapping of Proserpina by Claudian translated by Marcantonio Cinuzzi. Newly reprinted [Second Part] The kidnapping of Proserpina by Claudian. Translated from Latin into Tuscan Sienese vernacular by M. Macantonio Cinuzzi The Shooed Stoned One* (*L'arte poetica d'Orazio Flacco Volgarizzata da Pandolfo Spannocchj coll' aggiunta del Rapimento di Proserpina di Claudiano tradotto da Marcantonio Cinuzzi. E di nuovo ristampato. [Parte seconda] Il rapimento di Proserpina di Claudio Claudiano. Tradotta di Latino in volgare Toscano Senese, da M. Marcantonio Cinuzzi Scacciato Intronato*; Siena, Bonetti, 1714).[56]

In a different location, and through different influences, it should be noted that the academy with the highest number of affiliated women was the Accademia dei Ricovrati. This was due to the presence of the Frenchman Charles Patin, whose contribution to the academic life will be discussed in Chapter 4. French and German women in particular feature among the Ricovrati: Marie-Catherine Hortense Villedieu de Chate-Desjardins, Anne Dacier Le Fèvre, Antoinette du Liger de la Garde Deshoulières, and Helena Sybilla Wagenseil to name a few. Among the Italian women was Maria

Selvaggia Borghini, who sent to the Ricovrati Academy the sonnet *Se pria per l'erto, alpestre, erto sentiero* as thanks for her affiliation with the academy. Borghini was a member of many other academies and was in contact with intellectuals and scientists such as Francesco Redi and the Flemish humanist Peter Van der Broek. Moreover, when Patin established himself in Padua, he reunited his family and enrolled his two daughters Charlotte and Gabrielle, the latter when she was just ten years old, at the Ricovrati.[57] Both recited epigrams in praise of Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia on the occasion of her death,[58] an event that was specifically recorded by the secretary of the academy as so successful that the two girls appeared just as virtuous and learned as two men.[59] To mark Patin's admiration for German culture, Charlotte Patin wrote a short oration in praise of Emperor Leopold Hapbsburg on the occasion of his victory over the Turks in 1683.[60] The same oration was to be translated into German by her sister Gabrielle the following year.

Finally, returning to Bargagli, his fourth and last piece of advice concerns the character of the people who are apt to found academies. These people should be held in high esteem for their virtues, their age, their knowledge, their kindness, and their benevolence toward other people. Those who commit themselves to such tasks as creating an academy should be prepared to give advice as well as to help others to set forth along a virtuous path through beneficial regulations so that none will be lost, feel abandoned, or doubt that they can acquire the literary arts or useful science (*profittevoli scienze*).[61]

Before summing up the points made in his *orazione*, Bargagli pays tribute to Alessandro Piccolomini, the distinguished Sienese citizen who gave prestige to the entire city and to academicians, contributed to the spread of the academic movement, and represented a point of reference for the Sienese culture of the sixteenth century.

Bargagli's oration on academies and their value is moving to read, such is the absolute certainty of the value of sociability for the purpose of the advancement of learning. The enthusiasm for creating and joining academies continued and actually grew so much that by the end of the seventeenth century, Italy was littered with academies in cities large and small. Scipione Bargagli devoted his own life to academies, either by taking part in them or by writing about them and about their characteristics. Since several academies assigned themselves funny names, Bargagli devoted a volume to the figurative aspect with which most academies used to represent their identity, the *imprese*. It is unfortunate that much of his enthusiasm was forgotten by subsequent writers on the origins of academies.

Civil Conversation in Academies

In comparison with Bargagli, Guazzo's text shows more concern for religion and assumes that individuals have more freedom to choose who they are rather than being determined by the stars and the climate. Stefano Guazzo (1530–93),[62] a secretary and diplomat at the service of the Gonzaga from Casale Monferrato, a little town on the river Po between Milan and Turin, was among the founders of the Illustrati Academy where he was given the nickname L'Elevato (The Noble One) and a member of the Invaghiti in Mantua where he received the nickname il Pensoso (The Pensive One). He published an important book in dialogue form celebrating the art of conversation and the best place where this could be carried out, the academy. This book was considered a manifesto in support of the academic movement and its practice[63] due to its in-depth analysis of the benefits a man can find through conversation with others. The book, *La civil conversazione* (Brescia: Tommaso Bozzola and Vincenzo Sabbio, 1574)[64] is well summarized by its long subtitle, translated by George Pettie:[65] *The civile conversation of M. Stephen Guazzo: written first in Italian, divided into foure bookes, the first three translated out of French by G. Pettie. In the first is contained in generall, the fruits that may be reaped by conversation, and teaching how to know good companie from ill. In the second, the manner of conversation, meete for all persons, which shall come in anie companie, out of their owne houses, and then of the perticular points which ought to be observed in companie betweene young men and olde, gentlemen and yeomen, princes and private persons, learned and unlearned, citizens and strangers, religious and secular, men and women. In the third is perticularlie set forth the orders to be observed in conversation within doores, betweene the husband and the wife, the father and the sonne, brother and brother, the master and the servant. In the fourth is set downe the forme of civile conversation, by an example of a banquet, made in Cassale, betweene sixe lords and foure ladies. And now translated out of Italian into English by Barth Young, of the middle Temple, Gent* (London: Thomas East, 1586). Guazzo's work belongs to the genre of handbooks of manners, which includes Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1528) and Giovanni Della Casa's *Galateo. The Rules of Polite Behavior* (*Il Galateo*; written between 1551 and 1555, and published posthumously in 1568).

The manifesto of Guazzo's work can be identified from the beginning, where Annibale Magnocavalli proposes that the conversation between the two characters should be an informal one, thus already introducing the world of the academy as the best environment where learning progresses informally. The word "accademia" and its plural "accademie" appear 18 times in Guazzo's work. Early in the dialogue, Annibale Magnocavallo openly praises academies because it is there that knowledge is acquired

by listening: "I am not able sufficiently to espress the great good, which cometh of conversation, and of that knowldge which entreth in by the ears and sinketh into the minde, coming from the mouth of learned men."[66] He then proceeds to list some of the academies: "Amongst which we must not forgeth to speake of that in Mantua, founded in the house of the most famous Lord Caesar Genzaga [sic] a mightie prince, and a spetiall patrone of learned men: neither that in Pavia, which flourisheth prosperously, by reason of the great number of students. But perchance it is a thing to be marvailed at, that in that little citie of Casel the Academie of the Illustrati maketh so gallant a shew."[67]

The view of academies as commendable places goes back to Bargagli, and Guazzo also stresses the privilege scholars enjoy when they put themselves at the crossroad of disciplines, in addition to the privilege of learning by listening to what others know:

> For knowing that one alone cannot of himselfe attaine to manie sciences, for that an art is long, and life is short, there they may obtaine whatsoever they want. For some discoursing of Divinitie, some of humanitie, some of philosophie, some of poetrie, and other divers matters, they partake mutually and in common, of that which everie one privatelie with great paine and long studie hath learned. By the example of those, who being not able to live of themselves, and make good there at their table, meete together with other of their neighbors in one place and bring everyone their rates with them, and thereof make a sumptuous feast.[68]

Later on, the author returns to the benefit of academies, with particular emphasis on the Illustrati of Casale:

> *Guazzo:* Thereby I imagine how great the concord, the pleasure and the profit is, which is reaped by the Academie of the Illustratie (as they tearmed them) established in this citie.[69]

The stress of Annibale's answer is on "concordia," "utile," and "beneficio," three words that are also present in the other exemplary book on conversation, Castiglione's *The Courtier*; "utile" and "beneficio" also appear in Bargagli's praise of academies, but with respect to the young Sienese, Guazzo shows more concern for religion, and God appears as the unifying entity of academies.

> *Annibale:* You are deceived in your imagination, for this Academies being assembled in the name of God, you maye well thinke, that he is in the middell of them and that hee maintaineth them in peace and amitie.

> What comfort everie one receiveth by it, I cannot sufficientlie set forth unto you: for that I have tried in my selfe and seene plainlie in other Academikes [sic], that there is not anie one so afflicted with the common miseries of this Citie, and whith his private troubles, who setting once his foot into the hall of the Academie, seemeth not to arive at the haven of tranquilitie, and beginneth not to cleereth his minde of care: casting his eies about the hall to see those goodlie devises full of profound mysteries.[70]

The benefit of taking part in the academic gathering is justified by being exposed to the diversity of knowledge and the variety of ways in which such knowledge circulates within the group. The result affects both the body and the mood:

> I may well saie of my selfe, that when my bodie is shut within it, all my irkesome thoughts are shut out: the which attend me at the doore, and at my going out get upon my shoulders, but touching the good which commeth of his happie assemblie, you may be assured in thinking to your selfe what diversitie of learning is there handled, sometimes with publike lectures, sometimes with private reasoninges, which breede that delight which commeth of giving and receiving, as wee have saide before. And I maye saie without arrogancie, that the Academie, borrowing me as it were, to reade in philosophie, hath payed me home with interrest, being not onelie bettered in that parte. But also indued [imbued?] with some knowledge in Divinitie, Poetrie, and other laudable sciences, whereof I know I am not altogether voide.[71]

According to Guazzo what is "civil" depends not on climate but rather on the quality of the soul, which is characteristic of each individual. Thus the academy becomes the venue in which the civil conversation takes place, and its civility depends on the people who attend the academic meetings, rather than the location where the academy is created:

> *Annib.*: You see then that we give a large sense and signification to this word (Civile) for that we would have understoode, that to live civillie, is not sayd in respect to the Citie, but of the qualities of the minde: so I understand civile conversation, not having relation to the Citie, but consideration to the manners and conditions which make it civile. And as lawes and civile ordinances are distributed not onelie to cities but to villages, castles, and people subject unto them, so I will that Civile Conversation appartaine not onlie to men inhabiting Cities, but to all sortes of persons of what place or what calling so ever they are. To be short my meaning is, that Civile conversation is honest and commendable.[72]

One page is dedicated entirely to a description of academic gatherings and, on il Cavaliere's request, Annibale Magnocavallo describes the form, the functioning, and the cultural and social value of the accademia, explaining that academicians' verses are written on special occasions such as the weddings and funerals of fellow academicians or people who are close to them. Thus one is left with little doubt why this book became the manifesto of academic practices. Academies were becoming a trend, and the academician was becoming a specific, almost identifiable, *persona*.

Academician as a Profession

Tomaso Garzoni (1549–89)[73] from Romagna was the author of an encyclopedic compilation describing all professions in 155 short discourses, *Universal Square of All the Professions of the World* (*Della piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*; Venice: Giovan Battista Somasco, 1585),[74] which includes surgeons, printers, astrologers, emblem creators, princes and tyrants, vase makers, dancers, goldsmiths, ambassadors, millers, dyers, spies, and so on. His descriptions show the first signs of criticism about academicians and their lives.

By the end of the sixteenth century, creating or taking part in an academy was so common that discourse 14 was specifically dedicated to academicians. While it does not contain anything new with respect to previous descriptions of academies and their origins, it does refer to a number of academies on the periphery that were not usually mentioned by other sources. Moreover, Garzoni warns academicians that they should acquire the necessary moral virtues before joining an academic circle, because they should not expect academies to provide these for them.[75] Finally, in a comment inserted at the end of the discourse, Garzoni refers to continuous debates between academicians, as though they never agreed on anything.

Tomaso Garzoni's network was well connected into the world of academies: he was an acquaintance of Fabio Paolini, who was among the founders of the second Accademia Veneziana as well as the author of a few books published in relation to the Venetian Accademia degli Uranici (The Uranian Ones). Garzoni was invited to join the Accademia degli Informi (The Shapeless Ones) in Ravenna, for which he had prepared a discourse dedicated to contemplation, *The Abstract Man* (*L'huomo astratto*), however, he died just days before delivering his speech.

Sperone Speroni on How to Create an Academy

Sperone Speroni degli Alvarotti (1500–1588) is chiefly remembered for his tragedy *Canace*, which was written in 1542 and was intended to be read before the Accademia degli Infiammati, and for a number of dialogues, including *Dialogo della lingua* (*Dialogue on Language*), which was first published in 1542. Born in Padua, Speroni received his doctorate in philosophy in 1518 and taught philosophy in the Paduan Studio, with a Chair of Logic, before interrupting his career to travel to Bologna to follow Pietro Pomponazzi's lectures, until Pomponazzi's death in 1525. He then returned to Padua where he continued teaching from 1525 to 1528. While there he became involved in several academies—Infiammati, Eterei, Elevati, Animosi, Rinascenti (The Resurgent Ones), and Gimnosofisti (The Gymnosophysts)—and attended meetings of the accademia that gathered in the house of Domenico Venier in Venice.[76] Speroni later moved to Rome between 1560 and 1564, where he joined and played an active role in the Accademia delle Notti Vaticane (Vatican Nights Academy). He died in Padua in 1588.

Throughout his lifetime, Speroni was concerned with the notion of the unity of knowledge. The discourse on which I comment here is not different from Speroni's main intellectual preoccupation in that it aims to combine two different areas such as armies and letters or activity and thought. The short piece is particularly original in its vision and because it is probably the only one of this sort that explains how to set up an academy.[77] We do not know when the text was written, but it was first printed in the 1740 edition of Speroni's works, where the editors noted that it was meant for the creation of the Academy of the Gimnosofisti in Padua, which aimed to combine literary and military education. Thus although it never existed in reality, this academy would have fit the category of *collegio* for the education of young pupils rather than an informal academy such as the one Speroni belonged to.

In the academy, lessons would include the teachings of Vitruvius and Aristotle's mechanics, as well as some mathematics with particular attention to the notions of architecture useful for military exercises. Lectures about civil and military historical events will serve to evaluate the pros and cons, vices and virtues, and the pursuit of glory and defeat. As for exercises, academicians will focus on the use of appropriate weapons for both the knight and the infantryman, while it will be the responsibility of tutors to make sure that both physical and intellectual exercises are in harmony with each other.

With regard to spectacles, Speroni contemplates two different kinds, which complement each other and strike the right balance between the old

querelle about the prevalence of armies and letters. One kind of spectacle is related to jousting, fights, and tournaments, as well as any other activity that demonstrates force and skill. The other kind of spectacle, though less important, includes civic theatrical activities, which can be oral in nature, such as reciting comedies and tragedies. Interestingly, such dialectical activities acquire an important role once the armies have brought peace into the city. Activities inspired by the humanities, though subordinate to military exercises, are nonetheless important because they show the audience what sort of vices and defects they should avoid if they want to lead a civilized life.

The interest of this document lies also in the explicit evaluation of the cost of materials, such as horses, weapons, apparatuses, actors, and stages, for the associates (*compagni*). This tax is small and is to be collected every six months so that all academicians can contribute to the sum of 700 golden ducats required for the pupils. The three members ruling the academy should agree, and always do so unanimously, on how to make extraordinary expenditures. Members of the academy will be free to leave the binding laws of the academy after three years.

Thus in this text we have a testimony of how to plan in advance the creation of a certain kind of academy and how this social space should serve the purpose of moral teachings and education through entertainment. However, this should not be considered as a model for the creation of academies in general.

Academies as Representations of Harmony

Music had been part of courtly activities as described in such texts since Castiglione's *The Courtier*, which became the point of reference for subsequent treatises on academic gatherings.[78] Music was among the subjects that academies were encouraged to promote and teach. There are several academies where conversations were accompanied by music or where music played a fundamental part in the reunions of academicians, though in a different fashion. The Accademia dei Vignaiuoli (The Grapevine Attenders), created by the Mantuan nobleman Uberto Strozzi in Rome, used to have improvised speeches or poetry followed by music or guests would improvise—presumably verses or songs—on given themes.[79] The Ricovrati in Padua followed their debates with musical performances on many occasions.[80] In the creation and spread of opera, two different strands operated mainly in two different cities. While the combination of music and recitation originated in late sixteenth-century Florence, it was in Venice where the commercial production of this genre took place. Opera,

or *dramma per musica* as it was originally defined,[81] was to be created by and spread through academies,[82] with the premier of Monteverdi's *Orfeo* at the Accademia degli Invaghiti in Mantua in 1607.[83] The Accademia Filarmonica in Verona was the longest lasting example of an academy specifically devoted to music. In Venice, the Accademia della Fama was able to take advantage of Bessarion's collection containing "eleven of the most important music treatises of classical antiquity,"[84] and issued a very bold plan of publications that included several items on music. The Accademia dei Floridi (The Flourishing Ones), subsequently called Filomusi (The Lovers of the Muses), then Filaschisi, and eventually Filarmonica as it is still called to this day,[85] started its activities in Bologna in 1615, and many of its members published chamber concerts, sonatas, motets, psalms, and so on with the local printer Giacomo Monti, in collaboration with the local book seller Marino Silvani.[86] Monti specialized in this kind of genre to the point of having the monopoly on music printing in Bologna in the last three decades of the century. In nearby Ferrara, the Accademia dello Spirito Santo (Academy of the Holy Spirit) and the Accademia della Morte (Academy of Death) also published musical pamphlets. Both academies used Bolognese and Venetian printers for their publications.[87]

However, it is the academy as a metaphor for harmony that I want to emphasize here. In the second part of the sixteenth century, an author from the Kingdom of Naples, Fabio Patrizi,[88] insisted on the enjoyable effect of academies as the best places where people could gather and learn with amusement. Patrizi's two orations, dedicated to Francesco Priuli, Procurator of Saint Mark, touched on two different subjects. One was in praise of music and the other dealt with the creation of academies (*Orationi del Signor Fabio Patritii I., all'illustrissimo Signore Francesco Priuli Degnissimo Procurator di San Marco. L'una delle quali tratta le lodi della Musica: et l'altra, dell'Istitutioni dell'Academie*; Venice: Rampazetto, 1587).[89]

We know very little about Fabio Patrizi apart from his affiliation with the Accademia Olimpica from one of his publications. Patrizi's contribution stands out for his interest in music, while the *discorso* on academies does not add much beyond Bargagli's enthusiastic promotion, but it does show the spreading enthusiasm for academies and people's eagerness to share their knowledge. The *Orationi* are set in Venice, and it is not by chance that Patrizi published the two orations together, and implicitly, I believe, he drew a parallel between music and academies, which, as we have seen, Bargagli also stressed in order to highlight the harmony that should underpin the gatherings of academicians.

The first oration praises music in all aspects of life, including war and political disputes, and it stresses its importance as part of the political education of people who live under a republican government. But Patrizi's

message goes beyond advising to play instruments at academic gatherings and observes that music is part of the natural world—even animals, the author observes, respond to the stimulus of music. In short, music is an essential component of many disciplines, including rhetoric, mathematics, grammar, and astrology, as well as poetry. Patrizi's contribution stands out precisely because of the comparison of music to the natural order. The people he openly praises in this first oration were all part of the Venetian academic environment: Lucio Scarano, Muzio Sforza, Francesco Degli Oratori, Cornelio Frangipani the Younger, and Gioseffo Zarlino, who was considered responsible for the revival of the study of music.

Addressed specifically to ambassador Luigi Badoer, the second of the *Orationi* compares idleness and vices to rocks and storms at sea. The power of academic conversations allows the ambassador to skip the dangers of idleness and vices, just as an expert sailor will do at sea when he is in command of a well-equipped ship. This *Oratione* exalts the importance of academies and their contribution to knowledge sharing, as opposed to learning as a solitary activity. In fact, several eyes can see better than one eye, and many spirits together can better understand and explain writers' doubts. Thus, the academy is a much better place than any university or school, where learning is a more lonely exercise.[90]

According to Patrizi, one philosopher advised that life is only worth living if one is employed in virtuous activities, and since the followers of Plato affirm that life is a virtuous act, it follows as a consequence that academic life is the most virtuous life one could possibly live. Patrizi was certainly well networked within the academic environment. He mentions Luigi Badoer, who was a young man when Patrizi delivered his oration. In a passage describing the benefit of the accademia for the youth, he declares that Luigi Badoer had brought there two distinguished men: Brindisian philosopher Lucio Scarano (1549–1610), Ducal secretary in 1585, who helped found the second Accademia Veneziana and joined the Ricovrati in 1601,[91] along with another Apulian, the poet from Monopoli Muzio Sforza.[92] Sforza was particularly active in the Venetian intellectual milieu: he was associated with the Venetian Uranici as well as with the Accademia Olimpica in Vicenza, published a collection of sonnets and *canzoni* with commentaries, and contributed a eulogistic sonnet to Maddalena Campiglia's *Flori*.[93]

Patrizi's praise for the mind as the essential tool for learning, instead of the senses, is followed by an interesting consideration about the relevance of *serio ludere*, in the process of learning: "We have to learn things that are not only useful, but also playful [. . .]. In no other place but in the academies, we can find usefulness hand in hand with playfulness."[94] Patrizi ends his contribution with a praise of perseverance and an invitation to Luigi

Badoer to continue attending the academy meetings, which will prepare him for his experience in the Senate.

Perseverance was also a problem for academies, which often came to an end within a few years of being founded. Patrizi's contribution comes at the end of the century. In subsequent critical works about academies, the importance of learning through amusement was lost, and academies were assessed according to their duration and to the usefulness of their activities.

Academies in Parnassus

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, a different interpretation about academies emerged from the biting pen of Traiano Boccalini (1556–1613).[95] The son of architect Giovanni Boccalini, originally from Carpi and employed by the papacy in Loreto, Traiano Boccalini completed his degree in law at the University of Perugia in 1582, which helped him to make a living but which he utterly detested. Boccalini was in Rome and then in Genoa as secretary to the Cardinal Spinola, where he met the popular man of letters Angelo Grillo. Boccalini maintained an interest in literature and history, although he was only able to concentrate on them later in life. In 1592, Boccalini was appointed governor of territories and towns in the Papal States, which required six-month contracts in various cities and the administration of penal and civil justice. The more obscure the town, the more difficult it was to govern. Boccalini fought against a high level of corruption and family feuds in places such as Trevi Umbra, Tolentino, Brisighella in the Romagna, and Benevento. Once he finally found a post in the justice system of the capital, Boccalini encountered even more experiences of the widespread corruption. Roman judges, he wrote, are like butchers: they hit hard with the back of the knife if a bag full of *scudi* does not intervene to soften the blow. They first gather information about the preferences of masters and protectors and adjust the principles of law (*secondo quello fiat ius*) accordingly.[96]

During his lifetime, Boccalini kept working on a major project that would not be published until half a century after his death, *Commentaries on Tacitus* (*Commentari sopra Cornelio Tacito*), but his masterpiece was of a totally different genre. First conceived of in 1605, and inspired by his fellow Perugian poet Cesare Caporali's *News from Parnassus* (*Avvisi di Parnaso*), which was written after 1580, Boccalini used a fictional setting to vent his frustrations in *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (*Information from Parnassus*).[97] Caporali also had some bitter experiences at the court of his first patron, Cardinal Fulvio della Cornia. After he left Cornia's court, he composed the new poem in praise of his new patrons, the de' Medici family, at the court of

Ferdinando in Rome. *Travel to Parnassus* (*Viaggio di Parnaso*) is an imaginary journey of the Medici family into the land of poetry to build a palace of knowledge, "Sapienza." The same theme of a report from the land of poetry would be repeated later, but with less originality and humor, in *Avvisi di Parnaso*.

Boccalini conceived his work as the representation of a fictional town, Parnassus, dominated by the presence of Apollo, who judges the cases that people from the real world bring before him. Moral and historical issues are discussed in Parnasus, while a *menante*, a writer of *avvisi*, or news, transcribes all that happens (*News of the News Writers from Parnassus* [*Avvisi dei menanti di Parnaso*] was the original title of the work). The first edition appeared in 1612 and spread very rapidly in manuscript copies. Boccalini predicted the lifespan of an academy was three years, after which it turned from nicely attired shoes into worn-out slippers (*Ragguagli*, I, XIV, titled "The Corruption of Italian Academies"):

> *The fourteenth Advertisement. The Italian academies send commissioners into Parnassus to obtain some remedy from Apollo for their corruptions, and find the business impossible to be effected.* The commissioners sent to this court from the Italian academies, had not audience till the twentieth of the present month, at which time they told His Majestie that the fundamental principles of all Academies being excellently good and virtuous, the Schollers were at first very studious, and diligent in their disputations, and all other learned exercises, but that this so ardent desire of knowledge did with time so cool in them, as also those virtuous exercises; that whereas at first Academies were frequented by private men, and held in great reputation by Princes, in progress of time they grew so forsaken and despised, as they had often, to the great discouragement of Learning, been inhibited; as proving rather prejudicial than advantageous. And that though many remedies had been applied to this evil, yet none had procured the desired operation: wherefore the Italian academies being much devoted to his Majestie were forced to have recourse to him, whom they did humbly beseech that he would be pleased to give them some preservative medicine against so great corruption. These commissioners were very graciously received, and listened to by Apollo, who recommended the business to the Reformers of learning. To whom when the commissioners came they found them so imployed in the important business which they are perpetually troubled with, *di far delle lance fusi*, with making much of nothing, as that they excused themselves, as not being then at leasure to attend that business. Wherefore the commissioners returned again to Apollo, who referred them to the Regio Collateral where the academies demands were often disputed and discust, and yesterday they had for their last answer, that all those gentlemen after much debate and proposals, were at last resolved that the saying was true, that *omnia orta occident, et aucta senescent*. Wherefore it was impossible to prevent, but that a pair of

> shooes how neat and spruce so ever they were at the first, should in process of time become torne and ilfavoured. That therefore the lovers of learning should be very diligent, in suddenly suppressing whatsoever academy had swarved too farr from the good rules of its first Institution and at the same time found new ones to the end that the world (little to the credit of the Vertuosi) might not be full of unprofitable Academies but might alwaies enjoy the benefit which it receives of good ones.[98]

Boccalini was certainly pointing out an important feature of many academies (their short duration), but he added much satire about the cultural activities in the Italian states. This point of view would later be reused and emphasized by the harshest critics of the academic movement, who, tellingly were, like Boccalini, spirits isolated from the more fashionable scholarly society.

Picturing the Academy

Throughout the seventeenth century, the positive representation of academies prevailed. So far, we have discussed the written descriptions and interpretations of academies and the academic movement. However, in an age obsessed with figurative representations and with the widespread use of academic emblems, nobody had thought about representing the ideal academy in a picture, which is the stimulating contribution of the Perugian Cesare Ripa (Perugia, c. 1555—Rome, 1622).[99]

Little is known about Ripa's life.[100] He was active in academic circles as member of the Filomati and the Intronati in Siena and the Insensati (The Nonsensical Ones) in his native Perugia. The Insensati were also closely associated with the Roman Accademia di San Luca, and some publications were issued under the auspices of both academies. Ripa left Perugia when he was still a young man and went to Rome, following the train of Cardinal Antonio Maria Salviati. At the cardinal's court he was appointed *trinciante*, which meant he was responsible for cutting the food during banquets. In Rome, he was subsequently appointed knight, and throughout his life, he worked on his bestseller, *Iconology* (*Iconologia*), which he published in 1593 and republished in five editions, including the 1602 unauthorized Milanese edition: 1603, 1611, 1613, and 1618. He was working on a new edition of the book when he died in 1622, apparently a very poor man. The 1625 version was issued posthumously, with notes and additions by Giovanni Zaratino Castellini.

Ripa left us a special testimony of the representation of "academia" in the 1613 Sienese edition published by Gli Heredi di Florimi, where he turned Bargagli's description into an illustration. Ripa takes a few lines to

describe the accademia and its symbols and many more to describe the classical origins of the ornaments and the attributes characterizing the central figure, a mature woman wearing clothes of changing colors and a golden crown. In her right hand, she holds the tool that most characterizes the activity of academicians, a file, which is engraved with the Latin motto *detrahit atque polit* ("removes and polishes"), a reference to what academicians do when they edit their compositions, removing anything superfluous and polishing them until they are clean and shining. In her left hand, she holds a wreath made of laurel, ivy, and myrtle, which represent the three main kinds of poetry: epic, comic, and love. A couple of pomegranates also hang from her left hand, symbolizing union among the academicians. The woman sits on a chair embellished with leaves and branches of a cedar tree, a cypress tree, an oak tree, and an olive tree, because they all represent incorruptible and eternal materials, and immortality is indeed what academicians seek to achieve when writing their compositions. Ripa recalls the origin of accademia by placing the sitting lady in a shadowy and pleasant woodland reminiscent of Akademos's villa. With some more show of erudition with respect to Bargagli, Ripa divides academies and academicians of the classical age into Platonics, Cynics, Perypathetics, Stoics, Socratics, and Epicureans. To these traditions, Ripa adds the new trend of naming academies after something proud and ambitious, which could also be serious, modest, whimsical, or ironic. At the feet of the lady, there are numerous books, because it is through these tools that academicians aim to increase their knowledge in various fields. Among the books is a baboon, who will be the assistant of the academy, because in the tradition of Egyptian hieroglyphics, this animal is dedicated to Mercury, the God of letters. The baboon sits among the books because the person who aims to be a learned academician should be assiduous in his studies, which are improved by attending academies.

However, what is missing in Ripa's iconology is the *serio ludere* described by Bargagli, and mentioned by Patrizi, an aspect that distinguished Italian academies from classical examples, as well as from subsequent European imitations.

Well-Ordered Republics or Nests of Revolts?

The next historical description of the origins of academies and their cultural relevance belongs to the Somascan father from Savona,[101] Giovanni Battista Alberti (d. 1660),[102] whose *Discourse about the Origin of Public and Private Academies, and about the Emblem of the Affidati from Pavia* (*Discorso dell'origine delle Accademie pubbliche e private e sopra l'impresa degli*

Affidati di Pavia; Genoa: Farroni, Pesagni, and Barbieri, 1639) serves as introduction to his commentary on the emblem of the Affidati. Very little is known about the author, apart from his Ligurian origins, which may justify his interest in celebrating the reopening of the Genoese Accademia degli Addormentati (The Sleepy Ones). The Genoese network behind his *Discorso* can be found in the dedication page. It was to this academy that Alberti devoted some pages of the *Discorso* and dedicated the book to Giacomo Filippo Durazzo, the brother-in-law of Anton Giulio Brignole Sale, the founder of the Addormentati and one of the most famous intellectuals of the time.[103]

Alberti's *Discorso* includes a celebration of public academies (i.e., universities). While Bargagli did not make a clear distinction with regard to the origin of academies, Alberti differentiated the public academies, whose roots he traced back to the Old Testament, even earlier than the more commonly accepted Greek models, from the private academies that flourished later on and distinguished themselves through the use of emblems. Among the sources Alberti used when writing the history of private academies were Luca Contile's *Reasoning on the Characteristics of Imprese* (*Ragionamento sopra la proprietà delle imprese*; 1574) and Girolamo Ruscelli's *Famous Imprese* (*Le imprese illustri*; 1580), and *Theatre of Human Life* (*Teatro della vita humana*).[104]

Alberti's history of Italian private academies does not focus on the historical development of these institutions. Using Luca Contile as his main source, Alberti describes the origin of the Intronati in Siena as traditional vigils that saw the gathering of men and women. He later described academies and their emblems. As a citizen of the Republic of Genoa, Alberti emphasized and praised the republican structure of the academy while also commenting on climate theory as a relevant aspect for the creation of academies. He declared that according to distinguished historians, climate does have an influence on the creation of academies, but a free government seems to be more important, as happened in Siena and as is the case for Genoa.[105]

Alberti's comments on private academies are more interested in the celebration of distinguished people, such as Philip II of Spain, a member of the Affidati in Pavia, or the man of letters Gabriele Chiabrera from Savona, a glorious member of the Addormentati in Genoa, in whose name the academy was about to be reopened. To sum up, private academies should be seen as institutions that bring glory to the city in which they flourish.

Some 40 years earlier, very similar comments came from a political writer of the late sixteenth century, the Jesuit Giovanni Botero in his *Ten Books on Reason of State* (*Della ragion di stato libri diece*; 1589). Botero suggested that the prince should create academies in places where the climate

is more suitable and that pupils should find some amusement while studying, as this would help them enjoy their efforts even more. However, Botero also pointed out that brawls were frequently sparked within academies: "Here pens are used as daggers and inkwells are used as flasks for arquebuses,"[106] and therefore it should be the care of the authorities to assign a place with healthy air and sufficient space for pupils to enjoy themselves in all sorts of sports. Given the general aim of Botero's book—that is, to instruct the prince on how to control and preserve power—it's possible that Botero considered academies as enjoying too much freedom. Hence the rather rare representation of academies as nests of violence and conditioned by lack of discipline.

The Geography of the Italian Academic Movement

In 1688, the Riminese abbot Giuseppe Malatesta Garuffi (1655 or 1649–1727)[107] published the first part of his larger project *Academies of Italy* (*Italia Accademica*). The second part remained in manuscript and is preserved in the Gambalunga Library in Rimini, which Garuffi directed between 1678 and 1694. Garuffi is the first librarian to write a history of academies, and his contribution marks an important step in the combination of libraries and scholarly interest for academies, which will become increasingly relevant during this time.[108]

Instead of following his father's wish of becoming a goldsmith, Garuffi went to Rome where he studied jurisprudence, theology, and philosophy. During his youth in the capital, he was associated with the Accademia degli Infecondi with the nickname Il Dimesso (The Unassuming One). As a first contribution, Garuffi published *Il Rodrigo*[109] under his nickname, a rather original music drama with just one character. Garuffi's close relationship with the Infecondi continued with a series of poems in subsequent publications edited by the academy: In the ode "Oh quindi ove su 'l Tebro" in *Poems by Infecondi Academicians* (*Poesie de' signori Accademici Infecondi*; Venice: Pezzana, 1678), the author dismisses the role of Fortune in ruling one's life and concentrates on Death and her power to take everything away. The second contribution is "Presagi armoniosi! Il Dio di Cinto," in *Prophesies from Urania, Dedicated to His Most Christian Majesty Louis XIV King of France, Navarre, et c. by Giuseppe Piselli, Good Humours Academician* (*Presagi d'Urania, per la maestà cristianissima di Luigi XIV Re di Francia, di Navarra et c. di Giuseppe Piselli Accademico Humorista*; 1681). In the third contribution, "Ad un colpo fatal di cieca morte," Garuffi returns to meditate on life and death on the occasion of the funeral of Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia,[110] the first woman to receive a doctorate and

a member of the Infecondi Academy as well as of many others: *Mournful Pomps Celebrated by the Infecondi Academicians of Rome for the Death of the Most Illustrious Lady Elena Lucrezia Cornara Piscopia, Academician Called the Unaffected One. Dedicated to the Serenissima Republic of Venice* (*Le pompe funebri celebrate da' signori Accademici Infecondi di Roma Per la morte dell'Illustrissima signora Elena Lucrezia Cornara Piscopia Accademica detta l'Inalterabile. Dedicate alla Serenissima Republica di Venezia*; Padua: Cadorino, 1686). This publication appeared to have been edited by the Infecondi Academicians but was mainly promoted by Michele Brugueres, who delivered the funeral oration and organized the funeral itself. Garuffi was polemical against the current praise of "buon gusto" and stressed the need to return to a plain and easy style, as he declared in the introduction to the first issue of the periodical *The Inclination of the Men of Letters* (*Il Genio de' letterati*),[111] which he took over from 1705 to 1708. In this context, Garuffi organized the material in a logical manner and published news, reviews, and curiosities mainly borrowed from other more distinguished European journals. An avid reader of articles on many and very different subjects, his contribution to knowledge could be described as encyclopedic.[112] Garuffi's *Academies of Italy*[113] made two interesting contributions: First is that in writing the history of the academic movement, it takes into consideration the geography of the peninsula and the differences between cities, and thus it goes beyond the eulogy of academies as original institutions and comments on the cultural importance of the high number of academies in the peninsula, as well as warning of the need to separate the many kinds of academies. The second important contribution is the clear distinction between public academies, such as universities and colleges, and private academies.

The book is dedicated to a number of persons, all involved in the Accademia degli Scelti (The Selected Ones) in Parma, whom are mentioned one by one by their Christian name, their academic affiliation, and their nickname as academician when available, as well as their main activity in the academy to stress the multidisciplinary interest of the group: "Marquis Francesco Maria Balbi, Genoese, tra gli Scelti l'Innaveduto (The Inadevertent among the Selected Ones), prince of the Academy, jurist and philosopher; Abbot Marquis Obizzo degl'Obizzi, from Ferrara, l'Adombrato (The Clouded One), council Member for letters, philosopher, jurist, and mathematician; Count Filippo Vezzani, of Reggio, L'Infuocato (The Scorched One), council member for the armies and jurist."

The introduction is, once again, a display of the author's erudition and is devoted to the history of academies. The first two definitions the author provides are interesting. First, academies used to be gatherings of philosophers but are now reunions of people devoted to the study of letters.

Academies nowadays are markets of virtues ("Mercati di virtù"), where intellectual goods are exchanged.[114] In line with Alberti, Garuffi affirms that academies are the product of freedom, which explains why they were forbidden in the Persian Empire. The first chapter is devoted to tracking the history of the name "accademia." Even before the Greeks created these institutions with Plato and Aristotle, there were Egyptian antecedents, such as the schools founded by the Gymnosophysts. The author introduces the protagonist of another story concerning the creation of academies, the mythical story of Cadmus as narrated by Ovid.[115] The King of Phoenicians was sent to Egypt to learn sciences, and when he returned to his country, he gathered several young people and created a place in the middle of the forest where the sciences were debated. Besides this original contribution, Garuffi also describes the more traditional story of the foundation of the academy in relation to Akademos.

As for public academies, Garuffi narrates how they were the direct result of princes' desire to create suitable spaces where young pupils could learn all disciplines. Charles the Great created universities in Paris and Pavia, Pietro di Luna (future Pope Benedict XI) did so in Salamanca, Francis Ximenes founded the Complutense, John III of Portugal founded the Conimbricense, Emperor Frederick II founded the universities in Padua and Bologna, and the Duke of Tuscany founded the university in Pisa. Such institutions were called universities because teachers were allowed to teach in public, whereas private teaching was prohibited.

Very much in agreement with Bargagli's statement, Garuffi returns to the theory of climate when observing that academies or universities should be founded where the air is healthy. As a fifth point, Garuffi discusses the charges and the duties of the principal of the university, once again beginning with the Greek examples. Universities, Garuffi continues, are extremely useful for republics, and the same can be said about private academies.

In chapter 6, Garuffi reminds the reader that an important duty of universities is to award honors and then lingers on the history of symbols, such as intertwined olive tree branches and the peculiar hat called *ferula* (still in use today in the goliardic tradition). Finally, Garuffi refers to a book published some 30 years prior titled *Selected Theological, Moral, Juridical, and Historical Problems about Academic Jurisdiction* (*De Iure academico selectae questiones theologicae morales, iuridicae, historicae*; Salamanticae: Gomez de los Cubos, 1655), which is the first attempt at a systematic description of academies—here still considered the equivalent of universities—their rights, and their interests.

Chapter 7 is dedicated to colleges (*Collegi*). These institutions, where young pupils resided and were referred to as *convittori* (college students),

were spread all over the peninsula. The description is useful because such institutions were often considered the equivalent of academies, and here pupils would practice in intellectual, theatrical, and chivalric activities. Among such institutions were the Accademia Clementina (Clementine Academy, after Pope Clement IX) in Rome, which was also called Collegio Clementino or Accademia degli Stravaganti; the Accademia degli Ardenti in Bologna; Collegio dei Nobili di San Francesco Saverio (College of the Noblemen of Saint Francis Saverius), also known as Accademia degli Argonauti (The Argonauts) in Bologna; and Accademia degli Avvivati or Collegio San Tommaso D'Aquino (College Saint Thomas Aquinas) in Bologna.

Finally, Malatesta Garuffi discusses private academies in chapter 8. This is an interesting testimony of a late seventeenth-century perception of the private institutions that Bargagli adored and so enthusiastically praised. In general, their main purpose was to keep pupils' minds exercised after they completed their schooling. At the academies, incidentally called "very humorous academies" (*spiritosissime accademie*), the only reference to the *serio ludere* that played an important part in other authors' descriptions, pupils could practice oration or poetry.

According to Garuffi, academies are essentially a select number of honorable and scholarly men who get together under the temporary direction of a prince and who manage themselves according to rules and statutes established by the founders of the academy. They display their talent in public under a selected *impresa*, which they hang in their halls and which serves the purpose of an academic labarum. This *impresa* inspires the name that is common to the whole gathering.[116] While this definition is correct, it does not take into account less formal meetings, still referred to as academies, such as the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli in Rome or the Congrega dei Rozzi in Siena.

The collaborative, optimistic depiction that had been stressed since the age of Bargagli, returns as a point of pride in Garuffi's account: the hardship of learning divided among many becomes less heavy because listeners of compositions will be inspired to imitate the performances their fellow academicians and promote the main goal of the performances: the promotion of virtue.

Similar to democratic governments, academies elect their prince and his subordinates, Garuffi explains in chapter 9: *consiglieri* (advisors), assistants, censors, secretaries, treasurers. Academicians agree to obey the rules established by the founders of the academy, and Garuffi provides examples from the Filergiti (Lovers of Activities, Rimini) and the Trasformati (The Transformed Ones, Milan). *Imprese* distinguish academies from one another by conveying the common theme of the academy, such as, for instance, a continuous desire to reach the perfection of knowledge by

exercising ingenuity. Since every academician is supposed to create his own *impresa*, it follows that the *impresa* of the academy and *impresa* of its academicians are related to one another or share some similarities. For instance, since the Trasformati Academy has a tree as a general *impresa*, the rules dictate that its academicians must incorporate this symbol into their own *impresa*, but if something more fertile springs, that should also become part of the new emblem.[117]

Academies use a variety of symbols for the rituals of admission of academicians: the Roman Lincei use the ring they are required to wear; the Intronati use an oak crown with a golden ring and two open books, one of which has "neminem ledere, omnibus prodesse, de mundo non curare" and the other lists the academy's laws; and the Scelti of Parma wear a rope on their hat and a medallion on their chest that has a bee with a lily one side and their motto, *inter selectos*, on the other.

Academicians normally gather in three kinds of spaces: sacred temples and either private or public rooms. Inside the first, academicians offer their poetic and oratorical tributes to God as the source of knowledge, to the Virgin Mary, or to favored saints. Inside private places, academicians recite political, moral, or heroic compositions. During carnival, they offer love compositions to the ladies who come to listen to them, and for this reason, such compositions never go beyond the limits that modesty imposes. Of course, Garuffi was referring to specific kinds of academies and was not aware of scurrilous examples such as the poems written by members of the Accademia Venier[118] or the works of the early Intronati.

Against the paradigm proposed by Tiraboschi, which viewed academies as places where exchanges are based on printed culture, Amedeo Quondam proposes that academies were places for the practice of oral culture.[119] Perhaps it is more balanced to see academies as the places where the so-called culture of semiorality reigned—that is, the cross contamination of oral, manuscript, and print cultures.[120] The IAD abounds with examples of orations, discourses, and other compositions that were first printed and, subsequently, delivered orally, or vice versa. The Ferrarese Antonio Goretti hosted in his house gatherings discussing musical theory, such as the flaws of modern music ("imperfettioni della moderna musica"), and among his guests was Claudio Monteverdi. Goretti's brother, Alfonso, composed the treatise *About the Excellence and Qualities of Music* (*Dell'eccellenze, e prerogative della musica*), which was recited in the Accademia degli Intrepidi (The Intrepid Ones) on November 23, 1603 (and printed in Ferrara in 1612). In the introduction to *Reasoning about Poetry* (*Ragionamento sopra la poesia*), we read that Bernardo Tasso was invited to test his theory in the famous Accademia Veneziana of Federico Badoer before it was published. Francesco Carmeni discussed in the Bolognese Accademia dei Gelati

whether it is more painful having to abandon one's beloved (or soul mate, as we would call it today) or one's *Patria* (motherland). Against the opinion of the majority, Carmeni maintained that abandoning one's *Patria* was more painful, which was later printed in *The Pain Due to Abandoning One's Patria* (*I dolori della partenza dalla patria*; Bologna: Monti, 1637). In the Congrega dei Rozzi, the sword maker Angelo Cenni wrote the poem *The Widow. Pleasant Work to Be Recited as Entertainment during Banquets, Vigils and Parties. Composed by the Determined One from Siena of the Congrega of the Rough Ones* (*La vedova, Opera piacevole da recitare per trattenimento di conviti, veglie, et feste. Composta per il Resoluto Sanese della Congrega de' Rozzi*), which had to be memorized and performed orally. Geminiano Montanari's scientific Accademia della Traccia lists a publication that includes the essay *Discourse about the Vacuum Recited in the Trace Academy in the House of the Author in Bologna, on the Evening of 28 November 1675* (*Discorso del vacuo recitato nell'Accademia della Traccia la sera delli 28 Novembre dell'anno 1675 che si faceva in Bologna in casa dell'autore*), which suggests that a scientific demonstration was first performed orally and subsequently written and published. Until Garuffi, commentators praised the collaborative activities taking place in academic gatherings but did not give specific examples. Chapter 10 of Garuffi's book is devoted, we could say, to the oral culture of academies. Garuffi gives examples of activities in academicians' reunions, such as poetic presentations and conversations. In the second case, academicians are asked by the academy prince to discuss some issues or create some "inventions" according to established rules. It is difficult to explain—Garuffi notes—how clever their dialogues are and how much bystanders appreciate these oral exercises. A more specific example mentioned by Garuffi is doctor Antonmaria Moderati's oral presentation about *Lo specchio* (The Mirror) and how its characteristics relate to moral virtues, which took place, as Garuffi tells us, at the reopening of the Adagiati Academy (The Laid Down Ones) in Rimini at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Doctor Belmonte Belmonti refuted Guarini's famous sentence "A long conversation produces boredom" ("Il lungo conversar genera noia") and demonstrated that this could never be the case in academic gatherings and among friends. Other problems were very poignant, for instance, such as whether it is more praiseworthy to do things that are worth writing or to write things that are worth doing, which was debated in almost every academy. This question, Garuffi observes, derives from Tacitus's statement that one who does not possess enough spirit to do things worth celebrating despises writers and poets. Other academies, Garuffi continues, are involved in different matters, such as spelling and good speaking in the Florentine Accademia della Crusca (Academy of the Bran), whose mission is to promote the Tuscan language.[121] The Sizienti,

or Sitibondi (The Thirsty Ones) Academy, presumably created by Celso Sozzini when he was lecturing in Bologna, used to discuss the codex Justinianus.[122] In Florence, the Cimento Academy approved the Arabic motto "qui facile credit levis est cordis" ("those who believe easily are people of light heart") and only trusted experience as the way for attaining the truth. Ecclesiastics, mathematics, philosophy, anatomy, and chemistry were all discussed in Anton Felice Marsigli's Bolognese house. The capacity to discuss such variety of subjects is peculiar to Garuffi. According to Cicero, Cato used to speak about philosophical matters in the Forum. For the same reason, the persons who are invited to speak in academies should present their topics in a style that is comprehensible to the audience and different from forensic speech, scholastic declamation, and political speaking.

As a last point, it should not be surprising to find letters and armies united in academic practices, because they prove the close relationship between force and intelligence, as well as valor and knowledge. Garuffi was probably the first to attempt a real sociology of the academic movement, where the stress was on the existence of the movement rather than on the quality of its outputs.

At the end of his treatise, Garuffi did complain about the lack of literary excellence during his own days, but he was more involved in explaining his methodology in arranging the list of academies he scrutinized, the lack of systematic description, and the placement of specific academies. Garuffi says this was because the information on which he was basing his evaluation did not reach him at the same time.

When speaking about the social and intellectual phenomenon known as "Italian academies," we have to bear in mind that critics have changed their interpretations when describing the academies, their activities, or their members. While at the beginning, almost everyone who commented on the history and development of academies commended them and their activities—and drew a parallel with ancient academies such as the one created by Plato in Athens or the Lyceum created by Aristotle—the more we progress toward the twentieth century, the less a positive picture emerges from historians of Italian literature. This is particularly true of Italian critics from the eighteenth century onward, who were also responsible for creating the Italian literary canon. It is unfortunate that their negative views about the significance of the academic movement also influenced historians.

The Italian Republic of Letters Devised in the Periphery

Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750)[123] from Vignola, a little village in the province of Modena, wrote the first and the most scathing attack on the academic movement in *The First Draft of the Italian Literary Republic presented to the Public by Lamindo Printanio* (*I primi disegni della Repubblica letteraria d'Italia esposti al pubblico da Lamindo Pritanio* [Muratori's pseudonym]), published in Venice by Bernardo Trevisan in 1704 (but with false imprint and date of Naples 1703). This publication came after several months of exchanges between Trevisan and Muratori, who at the time of these exchanges was using his anagram, Antonio Lampridi. Ideally, Muratori wanted the pamphlets to reach several men of letters at the same time, so as to provoke a debate.

Muratori's network is extremely interesting and important for understanding the message he wanted to convey. First, we should remember the guidance of Benedetto Bacchini from Modena, the founder of the *Giornale dei letterati* (1686), who was famous for his encyclopedic interests, his links with the French Maurins fathers, and the new methodology they applied to the history of the Church. This was the intellectual stimulus Bacchini conveyed during the sessions of his Accademia di storia ecclesiastica (Academy of Ecclesiastical History; 1704–5) to the young Muratori and other pupils. When Muratori decided to write his manifesto, Bacchini had access to it and commented on it, in private, thus it is likely that he exercised some influence over his pupil's projects.[124]

The Bolognese academies represented another influence in the development of Muratori's ideas because they were attempting to create an institution with a scope and rituals that differed from the traditional academy. This group of scholars welcomed the Modenese scholar Muratori, who at the time was librarian to Rinaldo I d'Este of Modena while he was in exile—the French troops were occupying the Duchy of Modena during the War of Spanish Succession. During this period, Muratori was a guest of the Bolognese Marquis Gian Giuseppe Felice Orsi (1652–1733), a promoter of social events, including theatre productions and private academies, who was endowed with a "coleric temperament, easy to catch fire."[125] Orsi's entourage also included the mathematician and astronomer Eustachio Manfredi (1674–1739), the poet Pier Jacopo Martello (1665–1727), and the Archdeacon of the University Anton Felice Marsili (1651–1710), who were all interested in constructing an Accademia delle Scienze (Academy of Sciences) and an Accademia di Storia della Chiesa (Academy for the History of the Church). These efforts would later lead to the establishment of the famous Bolognese Accademia degli Inquieti (Academy of the Restless), which was promoted by Manfredi. The general aim was to avoid the

structure of traditional academies, such as the admission rituals, the academic nickname, and other characteristics, and to instead imitate foreign scientific academies.

Muratori's idea could have provoked a very constructive and heated debate if it had not been for some friction between the author and his publisher Trevisan.[126] Trevisan was irritated by Muratori's use of a pseudonym and did not want to publish the names of some influential people whom Muratori instead insisted he wanted to involve in his project from the very beginning. In particular, Muratori aimed to create an academy devoted to the study of the history of the church, while Trevisan was thinking about a scientific academy based on the French and English models that could be based in Venice and backed by the government of the Serenissima.

In the introductory letter *To the Generous Men of Letters of Italy* (*Ai generosi letterati d'Italia*), Muratori thus explained his point of view. First, he was amazed at the high number of academies spread across the peninsula, in all Italian towns: "You will forgive the one who seeks the better and the best, if I shall criticize what is just good. In Italy there is no town without an academy, actually two or three according to the high or scarce number of scholars."

Subsequently, he provides a succinct definition of an academy: "The name of academies is glorious and we understand by this an assembly of literary figures who on certain days of the year with one or two discourses on some matter and various sonnets and other recited verses, exercise their knowledge and their inclination."[127]

But the key issue for Muratori was the utility of these gatherings, and it is on this note that he launches his famous attack on the trend of the academic movement in Italy: "But can you tell me why these academies were formed, what profit they bring to cities and what improvement to letters? The purpose may have been noble, but [. . .] the fruit cannot be said to correspond to the intention. Very frivolous arguments predominate, almost always aimed at discussing the great affairs of love. Verses and more verses; in one word only certain sonorous bagatelles are the great product of our academies."[128]

The attack carries on, making a caricature of Arcadia and of both academicians' attitudes inside academies and the tradition of academic gatherings:[129]

> Therefore, all academicians' efforts go into fishing for applause or charming the patient ears of the audience. It would not be a great temerity to affirm that such gatherings cannot hope for any other glory but a temporary pleasure; and this pleasure itself, when academicians are not blessed by Muses, cannot be found despite being often sought after. Now, please tell me, should

> we really praise the extraordinary care of devising remarkable *imprese*, taking new names, establishing laws, and doing similar things just for the sake of selling in public some verses, which might be delightful, but that certainly are of little use? Such custom is tantamount to invading the area of pupils, for whom it is commendable to compete in public with poems and to deal with studies which are convenient to their age. Whereas the satirist finds it difficult to take it in, and serious men cannot bear it without laughing, the idea that mature men of letters do the same as these pupils actually do, but actually as a profession, and go around asking for applause just with poetry and with the four verses they tune for the rest of the group.

It would be reasonable if these gatherings were more useful and sound. The academicians' reputation and the necessity for the humanities[130] require that brighter subjects are discussed and that science and erudite arts are exchanged.

However satirical his discourse may be, Muratori did not aim to simply demolish academies but rather to build something new. Both his project and his subsequent works mark the beginning of a new era, which scholars began to define as "the age of Muratori."

Muratori's project was not to ban academies but rather to improve them. Academies should not only please the ears but be useful to the minds of both speakers and listeners. Poetry alone cannot feed the hunger of real men of letters, especially in a time when it is not as poetically oriented as the past century was.

Muratori continues, stating that within academies, exchanges based on arts and sciences should be the norm, both for one's own profit and for the benefit of the world of letters. It is already with some satisfaction that Muratori observes how some academies—and surely even long before Muratori[131]—debated about poetics and the rules of the Italian language. Here Muratori was very likely speaking about his own experience with organizing an academy in the house of Borromeo in Milan, just before taking up the leadership of the Estense library in Modena, where he delivered the following speech: "Se ogni scrittore sia tenuto a seguire ciecamente le leggi dei Fiorentini per la lingua italiana" ("Whether All Writers Should Adopt, Uncritically, the Florentines' Rules about Italian Language"). These considerations would later be incorporated into Muratori's treatise *On the Perfect Italian Poetry* (*Della perfetta poesia italiana*).[132] But even more praiseworthy are other academies, Muratori stresses, that engage in the history of the church, experimental philosophy, morality, and geography. Such themes, it should be noted, were being tackled in Antonio Felice Marsili's Accademia Ecclesiastica and Accademia di Filosofia Esperimentale (Academy of Experimental Philosophy), while geography was the founding discipline

of the Franciscan friar Vincenzo Coronelli's famous Accademia degli Argonauti (The Argonauts) established in Venice in 1684.

Muratori's idea of progress in shaping academies insisted on collaborative competition: Italian academies should engage in a sort of noble race with the goal of advancing the sciences and the arts and the glory of the nation. In a few lines, Muratori describes how Italy was the cradle of letters, first when fortune passed from Greece to Rome and later when Greece was invaded by the cruel and ignorant Turks, thus forcing the best scholars of Greece to migrate to Italy. For over two centuries he insists, Italy represented the beacon of culture for the rest of Europe, and in a significant line, he pays tribute to the advancement of learning brought about in modern times, as opposed to the wise attitude of ancient times, thus showing his position in the ongoing quarrel between the ancients and the moderns.

However, it was in the past century that Italy "allowed other people to steal away not just letters but the great prestige of preeminence in some aspects of letters, and heedlessly permitted other nations, more fortunate but certainly not more ingenious, to precede it on the path of glory. This transmigration of letters is known through a thousand examples; and perhaps one day all Europe will chance to return to the darkness of ignorance while China alone, or other parts of Asia or even America will flourish by cultivation of the arts and sciences."[133]

What is strange, Muratori reflects, is that the Italian regression of the past century was caused not by civil wars, barbarian invasions, or the power of tyrants but rather idleness, which had caused Italian minds to abandon the challenging path to virtue.

Muratori's constructive aim is a crescendo: first of all, he points out how the changing trend over the last 30 years has favored good taste, which will increase when hearts will be filled by a virtuous yearning for glory, when it will be clear that such a trend will bring about the profit of either the church, our own or posterity, or indeed the reputation of Italy. Those who yearn for bringing letters back to their original splendor in Italy, Muratori continues, would love to be able to shake up the brains that are still asleep and at the same time further stimulate and incite those who are already active. Muratori invites everyone to unite forces in a glorious race by proposing what is useful for the common benefit.

It is said that so many academies dispersed throughout Italy could draw singular profit if they dedicated themselves entirely to the sciences and arts according to the abilities of all the members. We add that all these academies joined together could constitute a single academy and literary republic whose objective would be to perfect the arts and sciences by teaching their true use and by showing and correcting the abuses.[134] It is not

impossible to foresee how much glory could come to Italy, Muratori insists, if all men of letters seriously agreed to implement the same goal—that is, the promotion of arts and sciences.

What Muratori had in mind, however, was not a league of many academies together, as it would be a problem to have great minds sitting beside the mediocre people who abounded in the academies, according to Muratori. Thus the plan was to invite individuals to create a "union, a republic, a league of all distinguished scholars of Italy, from all backgrounds and degree, as well as professors of all liberal arts or sciences, whose objective should be the reformation and the growth of such arts and sciences for the benefit of the Catholic religion, the love of Italy, and both the public and the private profit."[135]

Muratori went on to describe the republic he had in mind, its laws, its government, and the requirements for becoming a ruler ("arconte") of the republic, which would imply the publication of an important book, so as to exclude from the republic compulsive scribblers and small-time writers of verses. Moreover, Muratori had in mind to make the republic as free as possible from princely patronage.[136]

Throughout his works, Muratori was driven by the idea of the civic utility of culture,[137] a principle that was to influence all subsequent literary criticism and involve the world of academies. Muratori was far from being a solitary intellectual and, as Alberto Vecchi has demonstrated, his epistolary exchange is clear proof of the relevance he ascribed to the creation and maintenance of a wide network of friends and fellow scholars. Letters he sent asking for an opinion on his *Reformation of Poetry* (*Riforma della poesia*) included famous Italian addressees such as Mario Crescimbeni, Vincenzo Leonio, Giusto Fontanini (who suggested the new title *Of the Perfect Italian Poetry* [*Della perfetta poesia italiana*]), and Salvino Salvini in Florence, all future members of the Arcadia, the first Italian academy that had created branches in all Italian cities, big and small.[138]

Muratori's *To the Generous Men of Letters of Italy* should be considered within this political context and is both the harshest attack on Italian academies written thus far and the most visionary idea of scholars' collaboration free from the influence of political power, a utopian view of a future where localism is overcome by the desire to unite forces in all fields of knowledge, including poetry. In fact, Muratori would also publish a volume on literary buon gusto. It is not by chance that his call for collaboration has been interpreted as a political effort and not just a scholarly one.

Historians of Local Academies

From the seventeenth century, we witness an expansion in the research on local academies, academicians, and publications. While their approach is not relevant to my point, which is to discuss the phenomenon as a general network that covered the entire peninsula, it is useful to mention the names of those who contributed to the scholarship of their hometowns.

In Rome, there was Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza's *Eusevologio romano* (1698). In Bologna, after Ovidio Montalbani and his *Minervalia* (1641), which listed all Bolognese authors and their publications and the mentioned academies to which they belonged, came Giovanni Fantuzzi's nine volumes of *Information about Bolognese Writers* (*Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*; 1781–84). In Ferrara, there was Girolamo Baruffaldi's *Historical Information about Ferrarese Literary Academies* (*Notizie istoriche delle Accademie letterarie ferraresi*; Ferrara: Rinaldi, 1787), and in Padua, there was Giuseppe Gennari's *Historical Essay about Paduan Academies* (*Saggio storico sopra le Accademie di Padova*; 1796). At the end of the nineteenth century, Curzio Mazzi's *La congrega dei Rozzi di Siena* (1882) provided a most detailed history of the Congrega dei Rozzi of Siena and other Sienese academies, which is still an essential point of reference for scholars today. In short, almost every single Italian city or town had a local historian who wrote about its illustrious academies. The general approach of these scholars was to compile lists with the names of academies, a prosopography of their members, and their publications, whenever they could provide such details. Scholars of local academies also provided useful indexes, which allowed, to a very limited degree, readers to cross-reference academies and people. These are just some examples, but it is important to mention them because they are the basis of scholarship for subsequent histories of Italian academies that were written or updated.

A National View on Poetry: Francesco Saverio Quadrio

Born in Ponte in Valtellina,[139] on the slope of the Alps, in 1695 to an important family of landowners with an interest in literature and culture—his father, Ottavio, was a poet—Francesco Saverio Quadrio was brought up according to the standard education of the nobility. He joined the Jesuit order in Venice at the age of 18.

In 1725, he was at Padua, teaching scientific subjects. While there, he wrote a treatise on medicine and another on botany, but at the same time he also composed a burlesque poem, *The Errand Knight* (*Il cavaliere errante*), which he later destroyed. He later wrote *The Lunar World Discovered* (*Il*

mondo lunare scoperto), for which we do not have further information. In 1731, Quadrio was invited to teach erudition and humanities at the Collegio dei Nobili in Bologna, and this teaching shifted his interests away from science and toward literature. As a result, he wrote two manuals in which he expressed his thesis on the value of Italian poetry and on the importance of teaching poetry according to new methods, thus attacking the traditional curriculum. In his view, poetry should return to the splendor of the sixteenth century: instead of continuing to imitate the French models of the subsequent century, students should approach texts more directly, and Jesuits in general should be more interested in literature than they currently are. Quadrio's stance was certainly new, and the Jesuit censors responsible for approving his manuscript did not like his appreciation for a century that was considered pagan in its tastes, not to mention Quadrio's polemical attitude toward the order.

Quadrio was an acquaintance of Apostolo Zeno's literary group, and with his help, he produced an unauthorized copy of his manuscript. He donated the manuscript to his friend Anton Federigo Seghezzi after having him swear in public that he would never publish it but secretly agreeing to pass it to the publisher as soon as possible. This is the story behind the two volumes of *On Italian Poetry* (*Della poesia italiana*; 1734), which were published under the pseudonym of Giuseppe Vittorio Andrucci. The novelty of this work was the acknowledgement of a national poetry, albeit one that did not bear the civic and political implications that nineteenth-century scholars would give to it.

The sequel to *Della poesia italiana* was *On the History and Reason of Poetry* (*Della storia e ragione di ogni poesia*; 1739–52), which marked the accomplishment of Quadrio's ideas. He exalted poetry above all other forms of writing, and he aimed to write a universal history of poetry, out of which the Italian example was to stand as the best one, even above Greek and Latin achievements.

During the composition of *Della poesia italiana*, Quadrio had a violent quarrel with the Company of Jesus when he opted to leave and become a secular priest. Eventually, he was allowed to do so in 1748.[140] As a member of the Milanese Accademia dei Trasformati, he contributed with a caricatural self-portrait in erudite style to the academy's miscellany edited by Pietro Verri, *The Messed Up Borlanda* (*La Borlanda impasticciata con la concia, e trappola de' sorci, composta per estro e dedicate per bizzaria alla nobile curiosità di teste salate dall'incognito d'Eritrea Pedsol riconosciuto, festosamente raccolta, e fatta dare in luce dall'abitatore disabitato accademico Bontempista, Adorna di varj poetici encomj, ed accresciuta di opportune annotazioni per opera di varj suoi coaccademici amici*; Milan: Agnelli, 1751).

In this piece, he made up a commentary on a fake text, making a reference to his own *Storia e ragione d'ogni poesia*.

In addition to the playful aspect of Quadrio's character and activity, there was also his attraction to bizarre, unique, and original compositions, including those about emblems, riddles, proverbs, oracles, and enigmas. He was also interested in language and archaic languages such as Hebrew.[141]

Quadrio devoted several pages of the first volume of *Della storia e della ragione di ogni poesia* to Italian academies.[142] His learning and erudition is clear from the introduction, which mentions the history of academies since the times of the Hebrew people and then moves on to the Greek academies, Cicero's academy, and the subsequent academies in Imperial Rome, in particular those established by Augustus, where several great minds of the time got together, among them Horace and Vergil. Pliny the Younger was affirmed to have recited his panegyricus in front of groups of friends.[143] Later on, Quadrio affirms, it was Emperor Hadrian who established an academy in Alexandria, according to Saint Gerome and Eusebius of Cesarea.

However, Quadrio warns, the glorious name *accademie*, as it is currently used within the Republic of Letters, began in ancient times and defined the schools where people trained in Platonic philosophy. After the French Emperor Charles the Great, universities, which were intended for teaching, usurped the tradition of academies. According to Quadrio, academies became synonymous with the private gatherings of learned men as early as the thirteenth century.

A relatively long tract of his introduction is devoted to the history of Pomponio Leto's Accademia Romana, and it is particularly interesting what Quadrio affirms about the custom of changing one's name when becoming a member of an academy. This does not seem to be a serious matter to Quadrio, and he agrees with Johann Burckhard Mencke's ridicule of this growing trend. In Quadrio's view, an academy should serve the purpose of promoting serious studying, and therefore he sided with the French author Paul Pellisson-Fontanier, who affirmed that the Academie Française was less gallant than Italian academies in the choice of its name, but it was more committed to pursuing serious activities.[144] This consideration allows Quadrio to comment on the practice of academies' and academicians' *imprese*, which he traces back to medieval times, while also noting the growth and spread of literature on that particular theme in sixteenth-century Italy, up to the contributions of the Venetian Abbot Giovanni Ferro de' Rotari (1582–1630).[145] In *Theatre of Imprese* (*Teatro d'imprese*), Ferro classified all these devices according to action, passion, beginning, condition, imperfection, perfection, exercise, affection, aim,

and place. However, Quadrio concludes, these ideas are considered trivial and do not deserve more attention.

Once the criticism over the playful aspect of academies is over, Quadrio briefly pays tribute to the initial purpose of academies—that is, the frequent meetings of academicians for the sake of advancing learning—and the role academies played in spreading poetry throughout Italy and beyond. Finally, Quadrio, like Muratori after him, expresses his hope that modern academies concentrate on providing useful works rather than sonnets and other trifles. Quadrio devotes the subsequent 61 pages to the list of cities, from Aci in Sicily to Urbino, with a short history of all the academies flourished there, their names, emblems, members, and publications.

Currently, Quadrio's contribution is considered a total failure.[146] The lack of a coherent organization and the lack of a critical attitude made him an outstanding collector of information and an encyclopedist who, however, lacked the sound methodology required for a systematic approach. Nevertheless, with this monumental accumulation of data, Quadrio's contribution to the history of Italian academies remains an important one. Quadrio's work is now considered the first attempt at writing a universal literary history, the content of which is extremely rich, though not particularly well structured.

While Quadrio's approach does not satisfy the need for a broad discussion on the relevance and the social importance of academies, his comments were interesting because for the first time, we had a detailed report on the individual academies of many Italian cities and towns. Thus the phenomenon was approached for what it was: a trend that spread like fire throughout the Italian peninsula.

Academicians as Charlatans

While the debate on the value of academies was firing up in Italy, the Italian academic movement was attracting the attention of many abroad. There were many scholars who traveled to the Italian peninsula in order to join academies, such as John Milton, Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, Francisco Quevedo, Charles Patin, and others, and there were others who criticized the practice of assuming funny nicknames. One attack of this kind came from the minister of Friedrick II of Saxony and the King of Poland, Johann Burckhard Mencke (1674–1732)[147] from Leipzig. He was the son of Otto Mencke, a university professor of ethics, founder of the first German literary review *Acts of Erudites* (*Acta eruditorum*), and a well-known figure in the European Republic of Letters. Mencke became professor of history at

the same university as his father and was particularly influenced by the French author Pierre Bayle.

In his highly popular and controversial book, first published in 1715 and translated into French, Spanish, Latin, and Italian, Mencke collected a series of lectures in which he targeted pedants with the typically Italian academic approach based on *serio ludere* (serious playfulness). The frontispiece of his volume bears the motto "Ridendo dicere verum quid vetat?," a variation of a quotation from Horace,[148] and above the engraving, "Muntus fult tezibi," which is apparently another Latin motto written according to the Saxon pronunciation: "Mundus vult decipi" ("the world wants to be cheated"). His intention, he stated clearly, was "to show how much fraud and pretense are sometimes used to deceive the unwary, and how much so-called learning is empty of significance."[149]

However, showing complete unawareness about the origins and meaning of Italian academies' names and purpose, Mencke attacks them head on as pompous, showing off impressive titles like charlatans in the streets who boast false degrees: "And who has not heard of those academies in Italy which bedizen themselves with such bizarre and ridiculous designations."[150]

In France, the revolutionary approach to knowledge represented by the *Éncyclopédie* (1751–65) did a lot to play down the importance of Italy in the history of academies. In the article "Académie," Jean Baptiste Le Rond D'Alembert dismissed the phenomenon of Italian academies with a few words: there are many academies all over the peninsula, and they have bizarre names. He gave some examples, but nothing more.[151] Nothing is said about the fact that Italy created the model that was to be imitated throughout Europe.

We have to wait until the second half of the twentieth century to see the reemergence of a strong interest for Italian academies in France. However, it is worth noting that it was not a historian who was reevaluating the Italian academic movement but rather a linguist,[152] Michel Plaisance, who had a particular interest in the Accademia Fiorentina's promotion of the vernacular language. I shall return to the interpretation of academies abroad, but first it is important to see how scholars of the eighteenth century approached the history of the academic movement.

Academies Get Whipped

Muratori's broader vision of an academy that would gather men of letters from all over the peninsula was not put into practice for a long time. Instead, his criticism of local academies was to reverberate in the eighteenth century. This was happening while the academic movement itself

remained active, continued to attract people of different backgrounds, and remained the place for experimentation and the production of alternative culture, as exemplified by the reestablishment of the Trasformati Academy of Milan (1743–68). After the original sixteenth-century academy with the same name, emblem, and motto had ceased to exist long before, the new Trasformati hosted prominent Italian intellectuals such as Giuseppe Baretti and Francesco Saverio Quadrio; authors such as the Lombard Giuseppe Parini, Cesare Beccaria, and the brothers Pietro and Alessandro Verri; and numerous women. This circle of friends and fellow citizens produced poetic compositions mainly for private purposes, such as *La Miceide* and *La Nuova Miceide* on the occasion of the death of the cat of one of the academicians, Domenico Balestreri,[153] which were inspired by the Renaissance poet Francesco Berni and his literary style. When a vigorous polemic exploded, which was ignited by the comments of Father Paolo Onofrio Branda on the use of the Tuscan vernacular as opposed to the Milanese dialect, the Trasformati made a very strong case in defense of the Milanese dialect and paved the way for subsequent poets using Milanese vernacular, such as Carlo Porta.

Giuseppe Baretti (1719–89) was born in Turin. As a young man, he joined the Granelleschi Academy in Venice, and his name appeared in the compositions of friends and fellow academicians.[154] Baretti was a very unsettled soul and wielded a sharp pen. He was a self-taught man of culture who did not hesitate to take on the establishment in his polemics against the still prevailing antiquarian culture. His violent attack against Giuseppe Bartoli, a professor at the University of Turin responsible for writing a long dissertation over the interpretation of an ivory bas-relief, resulted in the intervention of authorities who ordered Baretti to cease communication with Professor Bartoli and turn over the unpublished copies of his texts. Disillusioned by what he perceived as a stiff atmosphere that was suffocating the progress of learning, Baretti left for London in 1751 in search of a more tolerant environment. There, Baretti began a new career when he was appointed director of the Italian theatre. He was also very active socially and met scholars such as Samuel Johnson, who testified on behalf of Baretti when he was charged with killing a man during a fight.

Once he returned to Italy after a long trip through Portugal, Spain, and France, Baretti settled in Venice where he started a journal of literary criticism called *The Literary Lash* (*La frusta letteraria*). With the false imprint of Roveredo, which was in fact Venice, *La frusta* began on September 1, 1763 and continued to publish the first series on a fortnightly basis until September 15, 1764. Baretti promised to resume monthly publication for the second series in January of the following year and to open the range of topics of the journal to include European culture, in particular English

and French. The second series was interrupted soon after the first issue and restarted in April with the false place of printing of "Trento," which was in fact Ancona. The new series continued until July of 1765 and then ceased publication entirely before Baretti decided to return to London.

The journal was made up of Baretti's own comments signed as "Aristarco Scannabue" (Aristarcus Slayer of Oxen), whose first name was inspired by Aristarcus of Samothrace—the last librarian of the Library of Alexandria, who was also a grammarian and edited two critical editions of Homer's poems. The surname represents Baretti's intention to whip rough and ignorant men of letters, as well as those who accept the tradition without criticism, like oxen do.

In general, *La frusta* aimed to publish book reviews on many different subjects, from medicine to agriculture, science, and commerce, plus poems and prose that Baretti composed and published as though they were the invention of others. In principle, Baretti's main enemy was the Arcadia, which he accused of being the most conservative of Italian cultural institutions.

Apart from the Arcadia, Baretti directed his lashes toward literary academies when he reviewed Antonio Cocchi's *Tuscan Discourses by Doctor Antonio Cocchi* (*Dei discorsi toscani del dottor Antonio Cocchi*; Florence 1761).[155] In the third comment on Cocchi's book, Baretti disagrees with the author's confidence that cooperation was a good characteristic of academies. According to Baretti, such cooperation was in fact of very little importance for the benefit of literary activities. In "Third Discourse. About Natural History" ("Terzo discorso. Sopra l'istoria naturale"),[156] Baretti attacked Cocchi's praise of the "abilità congiunte" that supposedly were of great help in the progress of knowledge. Aristarco had quite a different opinion about the matter: "I do not hold literary academies in such high esteem as Cocchi seems to do in this discourse, and I do not pay much attention to the supposed power of 'joined abilities' of a large number of scholars."[157]

But his criticism went even deeper, when he rhetorically asked whether the high number of academies populating Italy were at all useful in making the Italians more knowledgeable than the English, who had only one academy, or the French, who had only a few.

In what appears to me as a poorly informed criticism, Baretti asks whether either the Greeks or the Romans ever had literary academies and affirms that the only scope of modern academies was to create a sort of adulation between men and a hat-in-hand dependency of learned and poor people from rich and ignorant people. Did the great minds of the past ever engage in academic activities, Baretti scornfully asks? Did the over two hundred academies dedicated to poetry ever see a great mind emerge

from their ranks? No academician was even worthy of tying the shoes of someone such as Dante, Petrarch, Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, Berni, and Tasso. Continuing with a series of examples that showed the ignorance of details about the biographies of the named people, Baretti asked whether Galileo Galilei, Marcello Malpighi, Giovanni Alfonso Borelli, Francesco Redi, Eustachio Manfredi, or Antonio Cocchi himself had ever learned philosophy in one of the philosophical academies that populated Italy.[158]

In order to become a great man—Baretti maintained by stressing an individualistic approach to knowledge and perhaps considering his own career as intellectual an exemplary case—one needed first, a good brain; second, enough luck to be born into favorable conditions that allowed him access to education; and third, to study extremely hard and ignore all distractions. The liveliness of Baretti's style, his eccentric life, and his uncompromising attack against traditional culture exercised a considerable influence on subsequent views about the Italian academic movement.

However, it is interesting to see that even the heart of the diabolic Aristarco Scannabue beat for the special kind of sociability the Italian academic movement fostered, which was precipitated by a literary polemical exchange Baretti was involved in a few years later. This, however, was not accessible to the general public of scholars like *La frusta* was. Back in London, Baretti came across a book published by the surgeon Samuel Sharp, who described Italian society in *Letters from Italy. Describing the Customs and Manners of that Country in the Years 1765 and 1766. To which is Annexed an Admonition to Gentlemen who Pass the Alps in their Tour Through Italy* (London: Cave, 1767).[159] When Baretti came across Sharp's book, he took aim against yet another target for his own polemical *verve*, anti-Italian feelings. Baretti replied to Sharp with *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy; with Observations on the Mistakes of Some Travellers with Regard to That Country* (London: T. and L. Davies, 1768), where an aphorism attributed to Voltaire was printed on the title page: "Il y a des erreurs qu'il faut refuter sérieusement; des absurdités dont il faut rire; et des faussetés qu'il faut repousser avec force."

The book revealed quite a different criticism from Aristarco in *La Frusta*. Here, Baretti proudly defended his country, and in particular, the culture he had uncompromisingly criticized four years earlier. In this reply, the Piedmontese author struck a much more balanced note when he defined the importance of the academic movement that was so peculiar to Italian society and cultural tradition. Nevertheless, Baretti once again refused to acknowledge the importance of academies in the progress of Italian literature and, as has been noted, was instead inclined to bring forward single authors and their works as champions of the Italian literary tradition. The very first lines read: "I must not end my account of Italian literature

without taking some notice of those societies of studious men, which go amongst us with the name of academies and are to be found even in the smallest of our towns."[160]

The first encomium goes to the Accademia della Crusca and its dictionary, for which Baretti reserves only praise. The second addresses his previous favorite target, the Arcadia, and provides a balanced appraisal of the trends Arcadia produced in Italian society: "I shall not take upon me to enumerate the advantages that Italian poetry has received from our fanciful Arcadians and their colonists. To say, that in the vast number none reached excellence, would be both incredible and unjust. Some of them really wrote pieces that are pleasing enough in their kind. But what is excellence in pastoral?"[161]

Then Baretti moves on to list the academies engaged in the study of the ancient past, another feature of Italian culture he utterly despised and that made him decide to leave the peninsula, and its old-fashioned culture: the Accademia Ercolana in Naples, the Accademia Etrusca in Cortona, and then the experimental philosophy of the Accademia del Cimento, which counted Evangelista Torricelli, Giovanni Alfonso Borelli, and Francesco Redi among its members. Subsequently, he carries on with more examples and with words of praise for all of them, until he admits it would be too long to enumerate all academies and suggests that the reader should consult the work of his fellow Trasformato, Francesco Saverio Quadrio, *Storia e ragione d'ogni poesia*. Finally, Baretti summarizes: "I own that arts and sciences are not generally forwarded much by our academies, as far as I can observe: yet they are upon the whole rather useful than pernicious, and answer the ends of society if not of science. They stand in the place of the clubs in England, which bring people together, and give them the means of becoming friends."[162]

Thus what lead Baretti to express a constructive view about a cultural feature that defined Italian society was the need to be read by a completely different audience outside Italy. Baretti's comments seem to leave space for an evaluation of the importance of academies from a social and historical point of view rather than from an aesthetic one. But a truly scholarly evaluation of this aspect needed a more balanced spirit, and Baretti was not the right person for this task.

The Beginning of the Sociology of Italian Literature: Girolamo Tiraboschi (1731–94)

Girolamo Tiraboschi[163] had a similar training to his predecessor Muratori, quite different from the impulsive character and self-education of Giuseppe

Baretti. Tiraboschi was born in Bergamo, studied in Monza and Genoa (where he joined the Jesuit order), and taught rhetoric in Milan, where he also reorganized the library of the Brera Institute. In 1770, he was summoned to Modena by Francesco III d'Este to become prefect of the Estense library, a role that had belonged to Muratori some years earlier. In Modena, Tiraboschi was first a collaborator and then the director of the *Nuovo giornale dei letterati d'Italia* (*New Journal of Italian Men of Letters*, 1773 and 1790). In 1772, he published the first volume of his monumental *Storia della letteratura italiana*,[164] which drew inspiration from Marco Foscarini's *Storia della letteratura veneziana* (Padua: Giovanni Manfré, 1752) and Giovanni Maria Mazzuchelli's *Gli scrittori d'Italia* (Brescia: Bossini, 1753–63).

However, Tiraboschi was also influenced by a recently published French work, whose title, *Histoire literaire*, represents a manifesto of the new scholarship of the Enlightenment:

> Literary history of France, where it is discussed the origins, the progress, the decadence, and the recovery of sciences by the Gauls and by the French: about the taste and about the inclinations of both people toward letters in each century; about their ancient schools; about the creation of Universities in France; about the most important colleges; about Academies of science and of belles-lettres; about the best libraries both ancient and modern; about the most famous printing shops; and about everything that is especially related to literature, along with historical praises of both Gaul and French persons who have acquired some reputation; the Catalogue and the chronology of their writings; historical and critical remarks on the most important works; the count of the different editions. Everything is confirmed by authors' quotations, which are provided by Benedictine Fathers of the Congregation of Saint Maur.
>
> Histoire literaire de la France ou l'on traite de l'origine et du progrès, de la decadence et du rétablissement des Sciences parmi les Gaulois et parmi le François; du goût et du génie des uns et des autres pour les lettres en chaque siècle; des leurs anciennes Écoles; de l'établissement des Universités en France; des principaux Colleges; des Académies des sciences et des belles lettres; des meilleurs Bibliothèques anciennes et modernes; des plus célèbres Imprimeries; et de tout ce qui a un rapport particulier à la littérature, avec les éloges historiques des Gaulois et des François qui s'y sont fait quelque réputation; le Catalogue et la chronologie de leurs écrits; des Remarques historiques et critiques sur les principaux ouvrages; le dénombrements des différences éditions: le tout justifié par les citations des auteurs originaux par des religieux Benedectins de la Congregation de S. Maur.[165]

First published between 1733 and 1763, the *Histoire literaire* was a collaborative work of the Benedictine fathers of the Congregation of Saint Maur

who had been very active in publishing works of very sound historical scholarship.

In his own manifesto, Tiraboschi declared that he wanted to write a history of literature rather than a history of men of letters and a list of their works. He believed that a "history of literature" meant to write the history of the origins and the progress of all sciences in Italy[166] while also including the history of the means by which the sciences were cultivated and spread, such as schools, academies, libraries, and print shops,[167] noting that the liberal arts should not be ignored because they are part of the "scienze," the history of which he wanted to write.

Academies are addressed in volume 7.1, where the author deals with the sixteenth century. The summary of the volume is interesting per se, as it mentions all the spaces where science and learning were pursued and the influence of other environments for the advancement of learning. Looking into the content of each book, book 1 includes "Overview of the State of Italy in This Century: Princes' Favour and Magnificence toward Humanities; Universities and Other Public Schools and Seminars; Academies; Prints; Libraries, Antiquarian Collections; Travels" ("Idea generale dello stato d'Italia in questo secolo; favore e munificenza de' principi verso le lettere; Università ed altre pubbliche scuole e seminari; Accademie; Stampe, Biblioteche, Raccolte d'Antichità; Viaggi"). Book 2, "Sciences" ("Scienze"), has chapters on "Sacred Studies" ("Studi sacri"), "Philosophy and Mathematics" ("Filosofia e matematica"), "Natural History, Anatomy, Medicine" ("Storia naturale, anatomia, medicina"), and "Civil and Ecclesiastical Law" ("Giurisprudenza civile ed ecclesiastica"). Book 3 deals with "History" ("Storia"), "Foreign Languages" ("Lingue straniere"), "Italian Poetry" ("Poesia italiana"), "Grammar and Rhetoric" ("Grammatica e retorica"), "Eloquence" ("Eloquenza"), and "Liberal Arts" ("Arti liberali").

However open to the sociology of Italian literature, Tiraboschi quoted Mencke's criticism against academies' and academicians' playful names: "It seemed afterwards that each academy wanted to have its own *impresa*. Thus came those whimsy and ridicolous nicknames, some tinged with praise such as Infiammati, Solleciti, Intrepidi, others tinged with reproach, such as Immaturi, Sonnolenti, Rozzi"[168]

But his judgment on academies is positive and balanced overall in that he prefers to see the practice of playful names spread across the peninsula, if it serves the purpose of spreading culture: "whatever the matter, Italian academies were extremely beneficial in our century in initiating and promoting love for letters."[169]

At the end of the list of cities and their academies, Tiraboschi returns to some general considerations about the academies themselves. He admires the ardor and commitment with which academicians devoted themselves

to the study of language, ancient writers, sciences, and arts, but the tasks they gave themselves needed a more powerful stimulus in order to move forward. Thus, he observed, only the academies subsidized by political power could continue their programs, otherwise they generally came to an end, and even when there was an attempt at resuscitating them, it was not a successful enterprise in the long term. Tiraboschi's assessment of Italian academies in the seventeenth century[170] does not change substantially from the previous century except for the general appraisal of the literary and poetic style, which according to the author went through a period of decadence.

Tiraboschi's interpretation marks a new approach to the study of Italian academies and shifts the attention from the individual and his work to the collective experience of sharing and exchanging information and knowledge. Tiraboschi was inaugurating a sociological approach to literature that unfortunately was not to enjoy success in subsequent centuries but which seems more and more relevant today.

Francesco De Sanctis and Benedetto Croce against the Italian Academic Movement

In the nineteenth century, the spirit of scholarship changed profoundly. The most prominent scholar to interpret this shifting attitude was Francesco De Sanctis (1817–83). The son of a small owner in the province of Avellino with a degree in law, De Sanctis lived through one of the most troubled and creative periods in Italian history, the Risorgimento. He was educated in the classical high school run by his uncle and received a law degree from the University of Naples before deciding to pursue his literary interests.

He taught privately and in various schools in Naples and took part in the uprisings of 1848 along with his pupils (two of his relatives had taken part in the unrests of 1821 and were exiled to Rome). He was arrested and spent three years in jail before moving to the north of Italy. In Turin, he taught Italian literature privately while he collaborated on numerous literary and political journals. He then moved to Switzerland, where he taught at the polytechnic school in Zurich, focusing on Dante and chivalric poetry (1856–59). When he returned to Naples following Garibaldi's revolution, De Sanctis was appointed governor of the province of Avellino. From then on, he combined political militancy and literary studies. He was elected member of Parliament and minister of public education.[171]

De Sanctis's *Storia della letteratura italiana*,[172] written in haste and conceived as a manual for high schools, was originally published in two

volumes in 1870 and 1872, and since then it has exercised a long-lasting influence on the Italian literary canon. The key to understanding De Sanctis's message is that literature should reflect political and civic commitment. For this reason, Dante and Machiavelli represented the two peaks of Italian literary achievements and civic ideals, while Petrarch and Boccaccio were considered refined authors who nevertheless added little to Dante's accomplishments. Other authors merely represented the decline of Italian civic ideals through the creation of decadent forms of literature imbued with rhetoric and style exercises that added very little to the fundamental need for synergy between the people and the intellectuals.[173] According to De Sanctis's civic values, entire periods of Italian literary production, as well as scores of writers, could easily be wiped from the literary canon.[174] The real beginning of the decadence, a term that De Sanctis uses repeatedly, starts with Petrarch and continues with the Petrarchists.

Within this theoretical framework, De Sanctis showed little patience with academies and academicians, and after acknowledging the importance of a few of them in the early sixteenth century, he dismissed the rest as useless because they did not help with building the much needed national identity.[175] Such a point of view seems even more surprising to me when I think that several private academies set the clear aim of communicating in the vernacular language, both in print and in conversation. In this way, they represented a very interesting alternative to public school and universities, where education based on curricula in the Latin language was still the norm. De Sanctis saw Italian academies as the continuation, in different circumstances, of the young good-for-nothing described by Boccaccio:

> Carnival songs went the round of Italy, and buffoonery obscene double meanings, and gross jests became an important element in literature, in prose and in verse, the mark of the Italian spirit. The seed-bed, as it were, of these works was the academies. These Italian academies remind us of those merry companies of easy-going, idle people who inspired the *Decameron*, the model of its kind. Their members were literati and men of erudition, all of them completely idle intellectually, and ready to write in verse or in prose on any subject, however frivolous, for their amusement. The more vulgar the material of these works, the more the treatment was admired for its liveliness and elegance. The names of these Academies and academicians sound strangely in our ears today: the *Impastato*, the *Raggirato*, the *Propaginato*, the *Smarrito*, and the like. And their members recited their talks, or as they called them, their "prattlings," on salads, on cakes, on hypopcondria: laborious trifles. [. . .] The carnival of the public square had retired to the academies, better and more neatly dressed, but more insipid.[176]

It is interesting to note—and it reveals a great deal about how much was known in De Sanctis's time about academies and their components—that the author chose to attack the Academy of the Vignaiuoli, apparently without being aware that this was the brainchild of the Sienese Claudio Tolomei (1492–1555/6), one of the most active partisan and prolific writers on language and linguistic unity across the Italian peninsula.

Again De Sanctis attacked the very existence of academies as though they had taken culture off the streets and deprived the general public of its consumption: "The *cantastorie* were still to be seen on the squares and the popular songs were still sung. But culture was no longer to be found among the people. We find it at the courts, in the academies, in conversations, in the centres of a headless, dissolute, gay, and yet cultured people, who know some Greek, and more Latin, appreciated loveliness of form, and wanted their amusements to be elegant, or in their own words, to have a fine style."[177]

De Sanctis then demolished seventeenth-century academies and their members. At the end of the chapter devoted to Giovan Battista Marino and his literary style, which he did not appreciate, the author attacked the practice of giving too much importance to rhetoric, which was the equivalent of lying: "And nobody seems to have realized that all this polish on the surface, with so great an emptiness beneath it, was the last form of decadence. Therefore Pindars and Anacreons were swarming, and poets of every type were springing to life in every corner of Italy, and the academies were keeping pace with them, never doubting for a moment that they were the cream of the academies of Europe, though completely ignorant of culture beyond Italy."[178]

"It was rhetoric; in short it was a lie; it was the pompous expression of conventional sentiments."[179] It was, according to De Sanctis, "just about the celebration of words" and sounds without any care about their content.

Once again, De Sanctis observed academicians' practice of giving strange names to their gatherings, but he insisted that in so doing they were declaring their immortality, they celebrated themselves and their small circles of friends, and they applauded their own performances in a closed and suffocating circle only to worship words for their own sake, thus creating an artificial world without room for the creation of a truly national literary identity: "Though words merely as words can be made to exist artificially for a time in academies, they can never be a literature for the people. Words when they are used for expressing ideas are extremely powerful, especially when they come from the soul. But words that are empty sound dull and tiresome—sight, colours, music, gestures, are more effective."[180]

Here and there, De Sanctis expressed some appreciation for academies as places where a certain attitude concerned with the renewal of traditional

knowledge was launched, but this mainly concerned eighteenth-century academies such as the Venetian Granelleschi.

As for the seventeenth century, when he described the end of Galileo's life, he mentioned his pupils and the circle of friends who assisted him during his very last years. However, not a single word is said about the Lincei,[181] the famous academy devoted to scientific investigation, which Galileo joined at direct invitation of its young founder, Federico Cesi.

The Florentine Accademia della Crusca played a key role in the development of Italian language, but De Sanctis did not appreciate its influence on Italian cultural identity and actually maintained that this was an institution inspired by censorship rather than progress: "It was then that the Accademia della Crusca was founded, becoming, as it were, the Council of Trent of the Italian language, issuing its excommunication and imposing its dogmas. This resulted in a state of confusion in language that could be conceivable only in that idleness of the intellect."[182]

De Sanctis's legacy proved very cumbersome for Italian scholarship. Among those who attempted to downplay the impact of De Sanctis's approach was the scholar Gianfranco Contini,[183] who suggested that the message expressed by the father of the literary canon should be considered within the appropriate historical and social context and that his prose was appreciated for the passion it conveyed and for being closer to the spoken word than to a refined literary style. Giacomo Debenedetti wrote about De Sanctis's *Storia* as a novel, with good and bad characters.[184] Carlo Dionisotti spoke about "furore poetico" when he commented on *Storia*.[185] However, such remarks seem to have been lost in twentieth-century Italy, where De Sanctis's paradigm of literature as a civic and political commitment outlived the contingent historical period in which it was conceived.

This was possible thanks to the Neapolitan philosopher Benedetto Croce (1866–1952), who rehabilitated De Sanctis's *Storia* at the beginning of the twentieth century by reissuing the work in the series *Scrittori d'Italia* by Laterza. In his evaluation of Baroque poetry and literature, in the chapter dedicated to what he defined "Baroque pseudopoetry"—Baroque was a term he immediately identified with decadence, in terms of both morals and style[186]—Croce was as harsh as De Sanctis in condemning the whole period and its exponents.[187] After taking on Giovanbattista Marino's poetry, Croce started the chapter "Literary Pseudopoetry" ("Pseudopoesia letteraria") by attacking the new literary style. Here, he downplayed the role of young people and considered them as mere defenders of everything that is new and easy and against everything that is old and difficult.[188] It is interesting to note that while he condemned Baroque-style *tout-court*, and while he criticized academies as places of an idle youth, Croce's research on Neapolitan culture seemed to return to the relevance of academies as

crucial social nodes for the exchange of ideas that would influence authors and their works. This is particularly evident in his essay on Basile and his Neapolitan network through the Oziosi Academy. There Basile met the Spanish Francisco Quevedo, and this encounter bore some consequences. In fact, Croce noticed that Basile must have circulated, or read aloud in the academy, excerpts from *The Tale of Tales, or Entertainment for Little Ones* (*Lo Cunto de li cunti. Overo lo trattenemiento de peccerille*), which Basile had been working on since 1615. Croce found confirmation of this in Quevedo's own work, published in 1629, *Tale of Tales* (*Cuento de cuentos, donde se leen juntas las vulgaridades rústicas que aun duran en nuestra habla, barridas de la conversación*). Quevedo was in Naples between 1616 and 1620, where he joined the Oziosi Academy and must have applied Basile's title to his own work.[189]

However, Croce did not agree with the idea that academies as social spaces were important for providing environments for authors to interact with one another, thus creating a web of exchanges and interactions that were relevant for reconstructing the history of literature. The all-encompassing approach established by Tiraboschi seemed to have been forgotten until a sociological approach was proposed from the margins of the Italian peninsula, specifically from a city that was not even part of Italy, though it craved to belong to the land of the Renaissance and the Baroque.

In Defense of Italian Identity: Michele Maylender, the Militant Culture of Non-Italian Origins, and the Italian Academies[190]

Despite the fact that almost every Italian city and town could boast at least one academy with a glorious past, as well as many affiliated members, it was the urgent need to defend the Italian cultural identity of a city outside the borders of the Italian peninsula that inspired the most impressive research into the past of the academic movement.

Historians of academies had to wait until the son of a Jewish merchant, the lawyer and political activist Michele Maylender (1863–1911) from Fiume (today Rijeka), wrote a global survey of Italian academies in five volumes, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1926–30), bringing together the research of local scholars in a single work that covered the whole peninsula.

At the core of the struggle to defend the autonomy of Fiume from both Hungary (the country to which the city formally belonged) and Croatia (the country it is closest to geographically) was the defense of Italian identity and the use of the Italian language in public spaces and government offices, which dated back to the Middle Ages.[191] Maylender was at the center

of this struggle. Trained as lawyer (he had law degree from the University of Budapest), he served as mayor of his city several times in the troubled years leading up to the twentieth century when Hungary's attempt to impose its cultural hegemony grew stronger, and he constantly opposed Hungarian intervention in the autonomist governance of Fiume. However, his political career was not limited his position as mayor, in fact, Maylender was a militant political activist, founder of the Autonomist Party in Fiume in 1896 and the journal *The Defense* (*La Difesa*) in 1898, and a member of intellectual groups that shared the same goal that motivated his political activism: the preservation of Italian language and culture.

Maylender's social and political activism should not be underestimated when considering his scholarly work on the history of Italian academies. In 1891, he was elected president of the Philharmonic-Drama Society (Società Filarmonico-Drammatica), which had been active for nearly 20 years. The Society's venue served as the headquarters for the defense of Italian identity, which it promoted through conferences, theatre productions, and concerts during a period in which Hungary's attempt to impose Magyar culture in Fiume through the creation of special schools and other institutions was increasing. In 1893, the Società Filarmonico-Drammatica defied the Hungarian government by commemorating the centennial of Carlo Goldoni's death with a performance of his play *The Lovers* (*Gli innamorati*). And on the occasion of Giuseppe Verdi's death in 1901, the Società Filarmonico-Drammatica once again challenged Hungarian regulations by organizing a solemn concert in the Fiume Municipal Theatre, crying out its devotion to Italy and its culture. In 1893, the Literary Circle (Circolo Letterario) was created with the same purpose of defending Italian language and culture through the establishment of libraries for the people and through conferences with poets and men of letters.[192] After a troubled period in the Autonomist Party, Maylender abandoned public life and dedicated himself to research. He traveled across Italy collecting information from original sources and from the works of writers I have mentioned throughout this chapter. He returned to office in 1910 after once again winning the mayoral election in Fiume, but he died of a stroke in 1911.

By tracing the origin and the spread of Italian academies, Maylender wanted to investigate social and intellectual movements that aimed to create hubs of alternative culture. His research materialized in a five-volume magnum opus that he did not live to see published; its introduction was written by the jurist and senator Luigi Rava (1860–1938). The year of publication (1926) is significant because it coincided with the proclamation of Fiume as an Italian city.

With a listing of 2,050 academies, from the Sienese Intronati (1525) to nineteenth-century academies, Maylender's work has since been the point

of reference for any investigation on the social and historical phenomenon of Italian academies, as well as the individual academies. He worked repeatedly on the idea of writing about Italian academies, and from the beginning he stressed their social importance and their role in education.[193] On these issues, he published some notes in *La Difesa*, and tellingly, he was supported in this effort by the young Riccardo Zanella (1875–1959), a teacher of bookkeeping who was to succeed Maylender as the head of the Autonomist Party.[194] The difficulties of writing a history of Italian academies, Maylender noted, could be reduced to three main points: the decadence of academies in the later period of their existence, the lack of consideration these institutions enjoyed in scholars' comments, and, last but not least, the sheer difficulty of accessing the documents needed to write about the history of so many different institutions. Nevertheless, he insisted, academies were very important vehicles of culture.[195] Maylender noted that, at present, any study on the universal and local history of Italy would require different philosophical bases. Thus he believed that scholarship demanded something other than lists of academies, academicians, and books. However, in the fourth issue of *La Difesa* (October 22, 1900), Maylender clarified the importance of tracking the history of single academies in order to construct the history of the institution: "The stories of single academies contribute to emphasize life inside academies, the quality of the illustrious persons who were members, and the works of valuable writers who toiled in the academies."[196]

Without being aware of the theoretical term, Maylender was describing what we would now call a social history of academies, something that went beyond the approach proposed by De Sanctis and that went back to Tiraboschi's research. Maylender continued:

> By illustrating academic events, we can easily describe very important facts about the life, habits, family relationships, studies, and works of a great number of Italian writers. After all, it is in such facts where we can read the essence of those times, and its influence on minds, on style, on the way works were conceived, on manners, and on characters. Only the histories of academies can show us the state and success of this kind of institution over the years that is, the period of its birth, development, blossoming, and decadence, including all intermediate phases.[197]

Maylender's bold enterprise deserves all our admiration. However, its shortcomings are significant. The lack of a more comprehensive index, such as the one available online through the IAD, makes it difficult to navigate the more than 2,000 academies, as the only index available refers to the city in which each academy was based. For example, in volume 1, which covers

Accademia degli Abbagliati to Accademia dei Centini, Bolognese academies can be found on pages 2, 26, 70, and 72. In fact, when speaking of academies, we generally tend to forget that they were created by individuals and that their interactions had a considerable, and not fully appreciated, impact on scholarship. Thus cross-referencing is essential in the study of Italian academies and is very difficult for the scholar who wants to go beyond the list in Maylender's work and explore the interactions between academies.

In terms of critical scholarship, Maylender should be considered the *summa* of the approach to studying academies leading up to the nineteenth century, which, as we have said, suffered from a municipal pride that was only seldom interested in exploring the connections academicians established outside the walls of their native city. The *Storia delle Accademie* was a wonderful achievement, but it does not show what matters the most: the social and intellectual networks underpinning the Italian academic movement, in both a synchronic and diachronic line. For example, it is not possible to determine how many people belonged to more than one academy in the same city, and even counting the number of academies in one city is very time consuming. Of course, Maylender's list of academies, however interesting and useful, cannot represent the thick and vast web of academies, academicians, and publications across the peninsula.

Thus, in the mind of scholars, Italian academies remained a phenomenon with some excellent examples that served as the models for more important academies abroad. This vision, I believe, does not take into account the level of individuals' mobility that the creation, the development, and the death of academies implied. Despite its shortcomings,[198] Maylender's work not only provided for the first time an almost complete list of academies but also had the indisputable merit of stimulating further interest in Italian academies abroad.

The Twentieth Century

In the twentieth century, this interest was expressed in various ways. There have been single voices praising the social and cultural phenomenon of academies, in some cases inviting a new approach to their study, and there have been miscellanies, where each author offers his or her critical reading of the history of a particular academy according to the general theme determined by the editor of the volume.

In Britain, the Warburg Institute paid special attention to the Italian academic movement, given the direct inspiration that such groups took from the classical tradition. Dame Frances Yates took up historical aspects regarding academies that Maylender did not take into consideration, like

the origin of devising "imprese."[199] But Yates's interest in Italian academies went further: in the first chapter of her book on French academies,[200] she acknowledged the influence Italian academies exercised on their neighbors, including through "family connections." In fact, the Platonic Academy that Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici sponsored in Florence became the model for similar institutions sponsored by the two sons of the Florentine Catherine de' Medici, Charles IX and Henri III.[201] The relevance given to such networks helps reconstruct a particular example of culture transfer and reveals the lives of cultural intermediaries in the world of academies.

The idea of a network as the underpinning structure that made Academies possible was first proposed by Eugenio Garin in 1969:[202]

"Academy [. . .] the term, often used by contemporaries, indicates circles in which the new culture is emerging, rather than organized institutions. They are gatherings of learned people by a court; they are, sometime, groups attached to one particular school, perhaps a university, conventual reunions, or reunions by a high Church dignitary, and even meetings by the workshop of a bibliophile or of an editor, as it was the case with Vespasiano da Bisticci."

In his essay, Garin reminds us about the necessity of reconstructing what he called the "reticolo culturale," or the cultural web, surrounding academies in order to achieve a better understanding of fifteenth-century humanist culture. Garin was aware that not only private houses or villas but also print shops could serve the purpose of hosting the gathering of people who, in some cases, called themselves an academy. However, perhaps because it was coming from a historian of philosophy, the important suggestion of investigating connections in order to make sense of a vast cultural phenomenon went unnoticed.

However, the work that made the biggest impact on how Italian literature was approached came from England, specifically from Bedford College, which later became Royal Holloway: Carlo Dionisotti's *Geography and History of Italian Literature* (*Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*; first published in *Italian Studies* in 1951). Dionisotti opposed De Sanctis's vision of Italian literature as the expression of a country that was marching fast and steady toward unification. His interpretation, which continues to influence today's research in Italian culture,[203] stressed the importance of the territory in shaping the cultural identity of Italy. Dionisotti appreciated the Italian academic movement more than the individual academies and stressed the social and collaborative character of such movement. In Dionisotti's view, this was possible by making use of the vernacular within the academic movement. The growing fashion of publishing miscellanies of poems and letters provided the means for lesser known authors to enter the elite circle of writers. Although academies had a short lifespan and were ephemeral, their proliferation demonstrates the fertility of the

original idea. The idea behind the proliferation of academies should be seen, according to Dionisotti, as an attempt to welcome and discipline the many men of letters who resided in the peninsula. It is very relevant to note Dionisotti's assertion that any interpretation of the mid-sixteenth-century literary history should focus on antimainstream group activities rather than on individual achievements: "Any interpretation of the literary history of that period should not take into consideration only individual efforts, rather it should acknowledge that behind literary enterprises there was a combined activity, which, however exuberant and restless, was nevertheless expressing itself with a common voice."[204]

Such group activities, Dionisotti remarked, were not limited to the private activities taking place in the academies and included the many anthologies that were conceived in Venice and subsequently circulated both on the peninsula and abroad.

At this point in the history of Italian literature, some scholars began calling for a review of the role of Italian academies in the age of the Baroque. The literary historian Alberto Asor Rosa[205] paid tribute to academies by stating that whatever their achievements, they represented a safe haven for Italian intellectuals of the time. The academy was "the" place where intellectuals could remain relatively independent of political power. And while sixteenth-century academies were characterized by their instability, those of the seventeenth-century promoted collaboration and were more stable. They created a practice of solidarity and reciprocal support, and they were the gateway to scientific academies of the following century.

Despite the more balanced assessment on the importance of academies to Italian society, in particular for the intellectuals, De Sanctis's and Croce's theoretical frameworks remained powerful. Historian Gino Benzoni[206] depicted a gloomy picture of academies and academicians in the seventeenth century. In his view, academies were societies detached from the real world. While they were obsequious toward political power, they did not receive any sort of commission, task, or anything that could make them feel useful. However, he conceded that the history of music or theatre would not have developed without academies, that members of the literary world such as Toquato Tasso made their first marks in the world of academies, that academicians becoming members of academies in multiple regions and cities contributed to the cultural unification of the peninsula, and, finally, that eighteenth-century academies of science would not have existed without the networks established in the previous two centuries.[207]

It was once again from abroad that the subject of the Italian academic movement gained a fresh and positive appraisal. American historian Eric Cochrane,[208] with his polemical attention focused on the "forgotten centuries," recognized the relevance of academies and wrote an overview, by

which I have been inspired, of previous criticisms about academies and their current evaluations, clarifying that not everyone in Italy agreed with the widespread *stroncatura* ("harsh criticism") of De Sanctis: "Judgments such as these," Cochrane wrote referring to the critics of Italian academies, "are not subject to doubt, for they derive from metaphysical axioms that are beyond the competence of the historian."[209] Among the defenders of academies, he counted Cesare Vasoli, who highlighted the relevance of academic culture for European encyclopedism;[210] Sergio Bertelli;[211] Paolo Prodi,[212] who tried to "banish moralistic and haestetic—and hence ahistorical and negative—values from the realm of historical criticism."[213]

Just before Cochrane published his essay, Amedeo Quondam wrote an influential essay that continued Asor Rosa's positive assessment. As noted earlier, Quondam emphasized academies as venues for oral exchange, but he also stressed the importance of sociability that was distinctive of these spaces: if the academy is a group, or rather a collective subject, it represents the ideal space for the production of social relationships and not just intellectual social practices. Thus the academy belongs to the more general sphere of learned social dynamics.[214]

Quondam was also the only scholar to use and comment on Maylender's data, and he was able to show some important facts about Italian academies.[215] He classified academies according to their names: the name of the founder (7 percent), the name of the city where the academy was based, the discipline that most represented their activities (less than 20 percent, a percentage that increased over time, particularly during the eighteenth century), or, and this was the case for the vast majority, the name devised according to the rules explained by Giovanni Ferro (between 67 and 73 percent).[216] Quondam also distinguished between academies in the more traditional sense and colleges—that is, institutions devoted to the education of young pupils—and showed that the practice of creating *collegi* under the name of an academy increased significantly from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century (from 2.6 percent to 4.3 percent). In this respect, the example of the Accademia degli Incolti al Collegio Nazareno in Rome is significant: according to regulations, pupils joining the academy were required to bring with them a painting depicting their emblem, thus defining their identity within the college.[217] Quondam also noted that only about 10 percent of the total number of academies in Maylender's repertoire gave themselves statutes and membership rules.[218] It is even more interesting to note that such practices varied depending on the time: 13 percent of sixteenth-century academies and 8 percent of seventeenth-century academies drafted their own rules and statutes.

The core of Quondam's interpretation however, which differed significantly from Girolamo Tiraboschi's, is that academies were based on oral culture: the

academy was specifically designated for the development of oral exchange, as Castiglione's description of private reunions of individuals suggested and, above all, as Stefano Guazzo's value of civil conversation had demonstrated with his discussion of specific events within academies. Moreover, Quondam specified the importance of the academy as a reunion based on feasts—that is, a suspension of the normal activities for the purpose of making space for recreational and ludic means of acquiring knowledge.[219] With this remark, he paved the way for a better evaluation of the ludic quality of academies. Just three years later, Claudia di Filippo Bareggi pointed out the networking practice that characterized the academic movement and the close relationship of this with the printing press, but her discussion focused on a limited sample of academies of the sixteenth century.[220]

Some ten years after Cochrane's essay, the Warburg Institute's interest in Italian academies was recaptured with the important miscellany *The Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*. In the opening essay, David Chambers provided some reflections on the history of academies and suggested that too much stress had been placed on Florence as the crucial point of departure for the spread of the academic movement. There were other centers in the peninsula to be considered, where cultural circles would subsequently become academies. One example to take into consideration is Venice and the Compagnie della Calza, which had colorful robes, funny names, and lively banquets. As for the origins of the academic movement, Chambers suggested, these groups were as important as the Platonic Academy in Florence, and they contributed to the playful aspect of academies that was very important in the early history of academies.

Italian Academies in the Digital World

With no further contributions on the interpretation of the Italian academic movement as a whole, we arrive at the creation of the IAD, the joint collaboration between the Department of Italian at Royal Holloway, the British Library, and the University of Reading and sponsored by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

I have already explained in the introduction the structure and the richness of the IAD. In this concluding section, it is interesting to look at one example of the possible cross-references that the digital tool allows users to make. With respect to Maylender's work, the IAD broadens the scope of historical research to a catalogue of books published in relation to academies and to the identification of individuals in their various roles. It then connects the two fields (i.e., bibliography and prosopography) and numerous "actors" through unexpected links. For example, it is interesting to note a censor's agreement and its context. Censors did not limit their comments to stereotyped formulas, as shown by the approval of Geminiano Montanari's

Thoughts on Physics and Mathematics about Some Experiments Carried Out in Bologna in the Philosophical Academy (*Pensieri fisico-matematici sopra alcune esperienze fatte in Bologna nell'Accademia Filosofica*; Bologna: Manolessi, 1667). Montanari was a member of the Gelati Academy who created a private scientific circle called Accademia della Traccia. The censor approving the work was a fellow Gelato academician, Giovanfrancesco Bonomi. Bonomi expressed his wish to see the free circulation of ideas stemming from experimental science instead of philosophical speculations: "Most reverend father, within a series of experiments carried out by Dr. Montanari, I have seen with great pleasure that many fallacies and discrepancies of the Philosophical schools have been either crushed or confirmed. This makes me confess that sometime experiences satisfy minds which seek the truth. Since everything is done without any offence against either modesty or religion in this skillful discourse, I believe it is worth publishing."[221]

I would like to conclude this chapter by referring to Italo Calvino, an author who neither directly commented on academies nor was particularly fond of groups or oral presentations.[222] Nevertheless, he was intrigued by the idea of universal knowledge, which many academies had in their plans. Moreover, Calvino enjoyed having ready access to a large spectrum of men, activities, places, projects, and individual stories that related to books, men, or academies. In the literary world he foresaw in his influential essay "Lightness,"[223] he imagined a future in which it would be possible to "break the solidity of the text." This, I would suggest, is what we have accomplished with the IAD: we have broken up the solidity of the book and opened a construction site that instead of seeking a conclusion—a common feature of many books—demands to expand further and further, by harvesting more and more data. The connection between academies, persons, and books is available to readers because "the order of weightless bits" constructed in the software, to use Calvino's imagery, takes us from the north of the peninsula to the south and back, and also abroad, connecting people, spaces, material objects, and subjects in a virtual dimension where geography and history play important roles and where both the paratext and the hypertext become keys to help us unfold both the network and the global history of the Italian academic movement.

The IAD was devised by a team led by Jane Everson, a professor of Italian literature with a special interest in history of the book. This further proves that a phenomenon as large as the Italian academic movement cannot be restricted to one disciplinary approach but must be conceived as an effort to bring together scholars from all disciplines and with different research methodologies. Moreover, the joint collaboration between a research institute and a library is reminiscent of the eighteenth-century scholarship illustrated in this chapter.

2

Politics, Geography, and Diplomacy in Venetian Academies

One of the questions arising from research on Italian academies concerns the relationships between the academies, royal courts, universities, and political power. Here I mention briefly the case of Bologna, which is relevant to my point that networking practices guaranteed a continuity of cultural interests from one generation of academies to the next within the same city. However, I mostly concentrate on Venice and the relationship between political power and select academies in the city. During my research on Venetian academies, I became particularly interested in the discourse on geography and politics and the continuation of this discourse from one academy to the next and between academies and the ruling class.

Continuity in Arts and Science in Bolognese Academies

The fact that Italian academies were in many cases short-lived may have prevented scholars from appreciating how much of their legacy survived from one academy to another. Scholars tended to focus on the published and tangible production of academicians rather than on the motivations of subsequent initiatives. Before analyzing at length the Venetian case, it is worth illustrating briefly what scholarship has revealed about Bologna in terms of both its artistic heritage and the scientific debates that occupied more than one academy.

Not far from Venice, but characterized by a very different history, Bologna was the home of a well-known university and enjoyed a period as a free commune in the late Middle Ages until it was reconquered by Pope Julius II in 1509 and returned under the direct control of the papacy. Since then, Bologna has been the second city of the papal state, and its famous

university continues to attract students from all over Italy and Europe. As recent scholarship suggests,[1] the case of Bologna highlights the survival and the adaptation of cultural projects from one academy to another and from one generation to the next. Here, I concentrate on Achille Bocchi's academy[2] and the Accademia dei Gelati.

The professor of Greek at Bologna University, Achille Bocchi (1488–1562), founded an academy in his own house and called it Academia Bocchiana, or Bocchia (1546–62).[3] Perhaps inspired by Aldo Manuzio's Neakademia in Venice,[4] Bocchi established a printing press in his own palace, which he transformed into a living academy[5] by placing on the top corner of the building the academy's emblem, Hermes and Athena—hence Hermatena, the other name by which the academy was known—with Cupid between the two gods and the motto "sic monstra domantur" (thus the monsters are tamed). Another two mottoes were inscribed along the facades, one in Latin and one in Hebrew. In terms of printed publications, only two books were issued from Bocchi's Academy: The first was the funeral oration by Pál Bornemisza, *On The Occasion of The Funeral of The Transilviania Bishop Francis Varda* (*In funere ampliss. patris Francisci Vardaei episcopi Transilvaniensis oratio*; Bononiae: ex Academia Bochiana, 1526), which predates the formal establishment of Bocchi's academy by twenty years and should be seen as the product of an earlier academy for young students that Bocchi had established in his house.[6] The second book, *Achillis Bocchii Bononiensis Symbolicarum Quaestionum* was so influential that it acted as an inspiring publication for subsequent Bolognese academies for the use of images such as symbols and *imprese*.

The clearest example of the imitation of Bocchi's symbols, from both a social and an iconographic point of view, is the Accademia dei Gelati (1588–ca. 1799), which flourished about 50 years after Bocchi's academy. The very first publication to be issued under the aegis of the Gelati Academy, *Ricreationi amorose* (Bologna: Rossi, 1590), contained poems introduced by contributors' *imprese*. The artist responsible for these was 33-year-old Agostino Carracci, who had previously worked on the recutting of some plates, in particular the skull of the ox, for the second edition of Bocchi's *Symbolicarum Quaestionum* (Bologna: Societatem Typographiae Bononiensis, 1574).[7]

Apart from the personal role played by Carracci as a sort of *trait-d'union* between academies of different generations, it has been suggested that Bocchi's emblematic culture exercised a strong influence, beyond printed works, on the figurative arts in a broad sense, such as frescoes inside the palaces of Bolognese nobility.[8] In this context, the most striking example of the survival of Bocchi's iconography comes from the palace where the Gelati Academy used to hold its meetings, the Zoppio palace in Strada

Maggiore. During his period as Apostolic Nuncio to Bologna (1614–17), Cardinal Maffeo Barberini (1568–1644), later Pope Urban VIII, became a member of the Gelati Academy. It was probably under his direction that the Gelati experienced a period of intense activity that went beyond printed publications.[9] In 1614, the most senior among the founders of the academy, Melchiorre Zoppio (1544–1634/7), devised the iconography of the room where the Gelati held their meetings and called it Hermatena, after Bocchi's academy.[10] The project was not completed, but the surviving manuscript description reveals a complex combination of mottoes and *imprese* referring back to Bocchi's *impresa* and the symbols CII and CVII for his 1555 publication.

In the upper part of the Gelati room were the academicians' *imprese* and their family arms, while at the lower end were 12 paintings, with 6 actions (*azioni*) performed by Hermes on one side and 6 actions performed by Athena on the other side. The central desk of the academy, dominated by the *impresa* and motto of the Gelati, was opposite the entrance. On the architrave was the inscription "HERMATENA" in capital letters. This was visible to anyone from the exterior of the palace. The desk was flanked by Hermes and Athena, symbolizing honest actions. At the bottom of Hermes's image was the motto "Arte vuole Fortuna" ("Arts demands Fortune"), and under Athena's image was the motto "Fortuna vuole Arte" ("Fortune demands Art"), so that the combination of the two images could form the sentence "fortuna con ingegno, ingegno con fortuna" ("ingenuity with fortune, and fortune with ingenuity").[11] Thus the meeting room of the Gelati Academy appears as an invitation for the continuous search for meanings and formed itself a very elaborate *impresa*.[12] It is difficult not to see such a sophisticated system of emblems as a further elaboration of the original *impresa* in Bocchi's Academy, which also claimed that Hermes's and Athena's capacities were the basis of the strength and inspiration of the academy.

On a broader level, Corrado Viola described seventeenth-century Bolognese academies as characterized by the aristocratic and chivalric style through events and exclusive networks. In his view, most of the Bolognese academies did not reach far beyond the city walls, nor were they open to classes other than the nobility.[13] We have to wait for the Arcadia to see a more comprehensive project, both on a literary and on a social networking basis. Viola's suggestion is interesting, though the extent of the reach of Bolognese academies demands a thorough investigation based on data, which is beyond the scope of the present chapter, although it will be possible to have some answers by performing a specific research on the IAD.

Viola's observation may be broadened to include other disciplines. Marta Cavazza has illustrated the continuity of scientific discourse in

Bolognese academies of the late seventeenth century,[14] when these and the Bolognese Studium influenced and opposed each other in the debates between modern and traditional medicine, as the biography and intellectual activities of Giovan Battista Capponi prove.[15] I return to Capponi in the next chapter, but the examples noted earlier are just suggestions that further research on Bolognese academies could reveal hidden links between academies that followed each other in the same city, as well as between contemporary academies. I shall now concentrate on the circulation of knowledge about geography and politics between the Venetian ruling class and Venetian academies.

The Case of Venice

As I have argued in the previous chapter, Italian academies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been largely criticized for concentrating on matters that seem of little relevance to the rest of society. I believe this assumption should be corrected and that academies should be studied more thoroughly regarding their interactions with the rest of society, as academies were in close contact with universities, courts, or the political establishment, and their members were usually part of these environments—when they were not entirely in opposition to the intellectual establishment of the city, as was the case of the Congrega dei Rozzi of Siena.

The importance of cities as centers for the circulation of information has been highlighted in past publications, and the Venetian case has been discussed by Peter Burke[16] and Mario Infelise,[17] while Filippo de Vivo has demonstrated how political communication crossed the boundaries of an otherwise rigidly separated society, where the higher spheres seemed to be doing their job regardless of what lower social classes had to say.[18] While all three authors have highlighted the role of printshops as well as libraries as places where the gathering of people produced and fostered the circulation of relevant information for the ruling class to take into account, de Vivo notes that more humble public spaces such as barbershops, apothecaries, and taverns were also important venues for information sharing.

While it is normally acknowledged that academies played a role in the circulation of information and the creation of knowledge, they have received little detailed consideration. More than once, Venetian academies represented the face of political institutions and published, or were meant to publish, works springing from direct governmental experience of members of the ruling class. In this context, one is reminded of the definition of the sociology of knowledge proposed by Karl Mannheim, who pointed

out the importance of defining the "'social stratum' as a group of people belonging to a certain social unit and sharing a certain 'world postulate' (as part of which we may mention the economic system, the philosophical system, the artistic style 'postulated' by them) who at a given time are 'committed' to a certain style of economic activity and of theoretical thought."[19]

In particular, I look in detail at how one particular theme developed over the decades and how people on the fringes of academies also contributed to and influenced, or were influenced by, discussions within academies and their publications. My argument is limited to the city of Venice in the sixteenth century and looks at academies and the people interacting with them, either as formal members of these groups or not. At the beginning there was not a strong relationship between politics and geography in the outputs and in the personal and professional links of the humanist circles of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, but as the century progressed, the editors of important publications merged their political roles and cultural interests. One academy in particular, the Accademia Veneziana (1557–61), gave a strong impulse toward the literary production on geography and politics. Not by chance, the mastermind behind this academy, Federico Badoer, was both a patrician and a successful diplomat.

Venetian Academies: An Overview

According to the data in the Italian Academies Database (IAD), there were 107 academies in Venice between the end of the fifteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century. Research on Venetian typography revealed that by 1541, 77 percent of the books published in the entire peninsula were printed in Venice, and for four decades, the majority of Italian publications originated in Venice.[20] In the limited samples available in the IAD, this trend is confirmed: 277 out of 900 books catalogued, for the academies studied thus far, were printed in Venice. People came from all over Italy, and from all academies in Italy, to have their books printed and published in Venice. This was one of the most vibrant cities in Europe, and academies, printshops, and libraries played a very important role in the circulation of knowledge in Venice and elsewhere.[21] As I hope to show in this chapter, the boundaries between these three kinds of places, and the groups of intellectuals gathering in and around them, were far from rigid.

Venetian cultural activities have been studied extensively in the past. As far as the history of academies is concerned, the first chronological focus was the short overview by Francesco Saverio Quadrio.[22] In the subsequent century, Michele Battagia's *On Venetian Academies* (*Delle accademie veneziane*; Venice: Orlandelli, 1826) declared the necessity for easy access

to books and a large network of correspondents for scholars working on histories of Venetian academies, thus repeating Muratori's and Tiraboschi's methodological assumption and anticipating Maylender's reflection on why it was so difficult to capture the academic movement as a whole.[23] According to Battagia, the first form of cultural associations can be traced back to the Compagnia di Dipintori (Company of Painters) in the thirteenth century, which was established in Santa Sofia and had laws and statutes. Subsequently, there were the Adunanze di medicina e chirurgia (Assemblies of Medicine and Surgery), which were held every month according to the 1308 decree of the Maggior Consiglio, and in Battagia's opinion, these should be considered protoacademies. Although they did not display their emblems, their gathering was devoted to sharing their knowledge in order to improve the practice of medicine. The first learned academy devoted to the humanities, Battagia continues, was the patrician Ermolao Barbaro's Academy of Philosophy (Accademia di filosofia) in 1484,[24] which he held in his house and which lasted for two years. It is interesting to note that Battagia included the academies of the islands of Murano and Burano among the Venetian ones, an approach that was not shared by all historians of Venetian academies.

Just 20 years later, the bibliographer Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna[25] published his monumental *Saggio di bibliografia veneziana* (Venice: Merlo, 1847) and divided it into six parts—ecclesiastical history, political and civil history, genealogy and biography, literary history and art history, antiquities, and sciences—and included 5,942 bibliographical titles. Cicogna also compiled the *Inscrizioni veneziane* (Venice: Picotti, 1824–53), which included a mine of information on individual Venetians, both famous and obscure, and their origins and contributions to Venetian culture, as well as their social networks. Cicogna's prosopographical and bibliographical approach has opened the field to further research, as well as a synthesis of the academic movement in Venice, and represents an invaluable research tool for the social and intellectual history of Venice.

After Michele Maylender's history of academies arranged in alphabetical order, with little cross-referencing among the academies and a very limited index, Venetian academies have again been studied mostly as groups, with little discussion of the interactions among them, and, in general, they have been described as part of the decline of Italian culture or even truly representative of such decline. In his interpretation, Ulvioni[26] marks the closure of the Ridotto Morosini (between 1590 and 1602)[27] as the end of the spontaneous gatherings of intellectuals that Bargagli nostalgically described in his *Oratione*. Beginning with the Accademia della Fama, and its ambitious but not accomplished publication program, Ulvioni punctuated his narrative with negative comments about the cultural value of

academies—"mediocre" is a recurring term.[28] Thus Venetian academies became a mirror for the Italian peninsula as whole and represented at the local level the decline of intellectuals and their role in society.

Gino Benzoni reviewed academies in Venice and the Veneto[29] using similar parameters to those established in his previous contribution on Italian academies, but he also insisted on the close network within a single city. Again in his history of Venetian academies, Benzoni emphasized oral communication, friendship, common interests for the humanities, and the low degree of formalization in the formation of groups of like-minded intellectuals. It is important to read from a historian of Venice, as well as a prolific author of biographies of Venetian aristocrats, that the academicians belonged to the patriciate.[30] In other words, Venice did not offer an alternative to intellectual gatherings, and even the Compagnie della calza, which staged theatrical representations during carnival, were "aristocratic youth clubs."[31] Thus nothing was available in Venice that could be compared to the artisans of the Sienese Congrega dei Rozzi, which were the counterpart of the more intellectual Intronati.

The intent of this chapter is to isolate the kinds of arguments debated and the projects devised in the academies and not to add important reflections on the sociology of academies in Venice. Scholars who commented on academies as places for informal communication between friends and members of the same social group highlighted the Platonic influence and the adaptation of conversations into dialogues according to the fashionable Ciceronian style, but an analysis of what these conversations were about, or what sorts of outputs these groups produced, has remained at the level of a summary limited to each group's activity.

However, since the continuous interest in geography is peculiar to the Venetian ruling class, either in humanistic circles or in political life, it is interesting to see how such interest has developed through the decades; who formulated it; and where and how it took shape, whether orally, in print, or in manuscript. Thus my aim is to follow the theme of geography and politics through academies, select publications, intellectual networks, and individuals' lives.

Politics, Geography, Diplomacy, and the Printing Press

A historiographical tradition[32] describes the sixteenth-century Venetian ruling class as educated in the Paduan Studio under the teaching of the Mantuan Aristotelian philosopher Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525), as well as in the Aristotelian Scuola di Rialto, where at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Marco Antonio Sabellico (1436–1506) delivered orations in

praise of combining philosophy and civic values.[33] In addition to a naturalistic approach to knowledge, the Venetian patriciate also developed a very practical sense of politics by engaging in commercial activities in the Mediterranean region that were normally related to family business. All this experience allowed Venetians to gain an overall pragmatic education that was to become a defining characteristic of the Venetian ruling class. Looking at Venetian ambassadors, sometimes in the foreground and other times in the background of the publications under scrutiny in this chapter, it is possible to track a continuing interest in the subject through the network of people, be it generational, professional, or familial.

With regard to politics and geography, it is useful to mention how differently this was treated in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ferrara. Recent scholarship has illustrated the interest for geography in humanist circles in the city, which was dominated by the d'Este family.[34] The same research has also shown that this interest remained limited in time and was contained within a specific social milieu: the age of discoveries and the news that the d'Estes wanted to hear circulated within the court instead of being thoroughly researched and published for the benefit of the wider public.[35]

The situation was different in Venice, where news of discoveries reached the Serenissima on two levels at the same time. First, there were the humanist circles, preoccupied with the correct edition of classical texts on geography, the authority of which was crumbling under their very hands: Aldo Manuzio, Pietro Bembo, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, and Paolo Manuzio are the most important examples in this respect. On the other hand, the discoveries of new routes to the Far East and the opening of completely new horizons to the west, were a major blow to the Venetian Republic and its commercial interests.

As scholars have illustrated, Venetian academies were made up of the people who ruled the state or worked in various capacities at its service. Thus the question is how were the themes of travel and discoveries discussed in academies? Were these themes made accessible to the general public, or did they remain within a restricted circle, as in Ferrara?

In this chapter, I comment on the following publications: At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Aldo Manuzio's Neakademia—identified in the IAD with his printshop as a place and with his collaborators as its members—showed an interest in geography, with Bembo's publication *About the Etna* (*De Aetna*; 1495) and with a quick excursus into travel narrative. Among the people visiting and collaborating in Aldo's printshop was the young Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1557), whose three-volume *Navigations and Voyages* (*Navigazioni e viaggi*; 1550–59) represented a major step forward in the development of a discourse about politics and

geography and the publication of scholarly edited texts. Just after Ramusio's death, the first Accademia Veneziana, or della Fama (1557–61), emerged. Run by the brilliant Federico Badoer (1519–93) and his family, the printer of the academy was Aldo's son, Paolo Manuzio (1512–74). The Accademia Veneziana devised a very ambitious publication plan divided into a number of categories, including "geography" and "politics," foreseeing the publication of reports and descriptions of foreign countries and their political interests. Just after the Accademia della Fama was closed under mysterious circumstances, the printer and editor Francesco Sansovino (1521–86) published a volume that included the academy's plans, *Of the Government of Both Ancient and Modern Kingdoms and Republics* (*Del governo dei regni et delle repubbliche così antiche come modern*, 1561). Some 25 years later, the anonymously authored *Political Treasure* (*Thesoro politico*, 1589) was printed by the fake Accademia Italiana di Colonia (Italian Academy in Cologne) and contained the first printed edition of some Venetian ambassadors' reports, a number of other reports, and instructions to cardinals and papal nuncios, as well as political discourses on cogent issues of the time, such as the election of the pope in conclave. The second Academia Veneziana (1594–ca. 1606) emerged just at the end of the sixteenth century. The secretary Giovanni Battista Leoni (1542–1613) was among the founders of the academy, while the printer was the famous Giovanni Battista Ciotti (1562?–1616). This academy did not produce any books with geopolitical interest under its aegis, but it is worth studying because of the implication of some of its distinguished members in the smuggling of prohibited books dealing with political issues, as well as Leoni's authorship of some interesting essays and volumes on geopolitical subjects.

Thus my aim is to study the links between these publications and to suggest that no other Italian city, except perhaps Rome, could compete with such continuity of publications devoted to politics and geography. This implies that academies, typographies, and libraries guaranteed a continuity in intellectual interests from one generation to the next within a city—something that cannot be explained except in terms of a social network—and a continuing interest in the subject by members of the same ruling class or people revolving around it.

Aldo Manuzio's Printshop, Intellectual Circle, and Neakademia

The existence of an Academia aldina (Aldine Academy) has always been the subject of controversy.[36] I believe we should assume that such an academy did exist, no matter how little of its laws has survived and how informal the academy was. Moreover, all the elements pointing toward Aldo Manuzio's

plans to establish an academy are evident, such as the fact that he declared as much, repeatedly, in his dedicatory letters and that we have the playful rules devised by his collaborator Scipione Forteguerri from Pistoia, called Carteromaco,[37] which Manuzio must not have disliked, keen as he was to playful commentaries in serious circumstances.[38] Thus I believe we are not far from the mark if we say that there was an influential group of people in Venice that enjoyed calling themselves an accademia, or "Neakademia," while its leader thought of ways to establish it as a formal academy and continued seeking funding for the project.

It is difficult to overestimate Manuzio's importance to the history of publishing, in particular when we consider that he applied the philological method, thus far applied to classical authors and to vernacular texts, and that he published some of the finest books between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, which were appreciated from a material point of view (i.e., their portable format, which Aldo adapted from devotional books); for the fonts employed, which he adapted from the chancellery script; and, last but not least, for Manuzio's well-known scholarship.[39]

Manuzio paved the way for the idea of a large publication project, which spread from Aristotle's corpus to Francesco Colonna's controversial erotic narrative *Hypnerotomachia Poliphilii* (*Polifilo's Love Battle in a Dream*). As for Aristotle's *Politics*, Manuzio published it, along with *Ethica Nicomachea*, *Ethica Eudemea*, *Economica*, and *Magna moralia*, in 1498 with a dedication to Alberto Pio da Carpi, his former pupil and now patron, whose financial support toward the publication of Aristotle's works was essential to Aldo.[40] In the dedication, Manuzio stressed the utility of these books for Pio's role as a prince.

Other books from Manuzio's Academy were all influential in spreading the interest in geography, natural phenomena, and cultures within the Venetian patriciate. Pietro Bembo's *De Aetna* is particularly famous for the new fonts designed specifically for this volume by Manuzio and his type cutter, the Bolognese Francesco Grifo, but more important because the book tells the story, in form of a dialogue between 25-year-old Pietro Bembo and his father Bernardo, of Pietro's recent ascent of Etna.[41] Descriptions are based on direct observations, information gathered *in loco*, and a discussion of classical sources such as Cicero, Plato, Lucretius, Seneca, Claudian, and others. Within the context of this exposition, the book is memorable because it contains an early example of descriptions of volcanoes, a genre that would enjoy particular success in the seventeenth century,[42] and challenges traditional views about these phenomena.[43] However, strong political interests revolved even behind such a small publication. Pietro Bembo came from a very prestigious noble Venetian family, his father Bernardo was a senator, and this work was conceived within the same network that

included Manuzio.[44] According to Cecil Clough, Bembo's *De Aetna* was privately printed, in that the author received all copies and was responsible for the production expenses. The fact the type first used here can be traced back to the manuscript Vaticano Latino 3283, which was created in Rome around 1462–63 and belonged to Bembo, is important to the hypothesis that the book was privately printed.[45] Thus at this stage, it appears that Aldo was employed by the Bembo family to carry out specific tasks. Clough suggests that Bembo had the book printed to give it to specific patricians in order to persuade them that he was suitable for a political career that required a high level of preparation in the humanities and rhetorical skills. This is precisely what Bembo wanted to demonstrate when he wrote *De Aetna* and had it published by a printer whose skills and fame were growing quickly.

However, Bembo's interest in geography was not limited to the *De Aetna*. He was conscious of the great revolution that discoveries were creating for not only Venetian economy but also the cultural landscape of his and subsequent generations. Later on, Bembo paid particular attention to geographical matters in *Histories* (*Historiae*), which he started writing in the 1530s but which was published posthumously in 1550–53. In book 6, Bembo wrote a detailed description of the discovery of the new route to the East by the Portuguese and its consequences for Venice. In that context, he destroyed one by one the commonplaces held by classical sources, and, implicitly, by Christian sources too.[46] Praise of experience over book learning was proclaimed, even more loudly, by Ramusio a few years later.

Giorgio Interiano's *Life and Environment of the Zychi, Called Circassians* (*La vita e sito de' zychi chiamati circassi*; 1502)[47] is a rare volume in Manuzio's catalogue, as he did not seem to be particularly interested in geography as a subject. The Genoese Giorgio Interiano had some political and administrative duties in Corsica and Naples and was a friend of Jacopo Sannazaro, whom he associated with while in Naples in the Accademia Pontaniana.[48] Interiano settled in Venice in 1501 before embarking on a trip to Russia, and while in Venice he met Aldo Manuzio. Manuzio agreed to take on this publication as a token of gratitude to his friend Sannazaro, but he was not particularly enthusiastic about the publication. Despite Interiano's express request that Manuzio correct the text to a Tuscan standard, it was mostly left in its original form without corrections.[49] Giovanni Battista Ramusio released a more careful edition of the book, though not without some errors,[50] in his *Navigationi et viaggi*, adapting the language to Bembo's standard of Italian.

Giovanni Battista Ramusio: A Political and Editorial Career at the Service of the Serenissima

The work of Giovanni Battista Ramusio has been the subject of a considerable number of publications, which has increased significantly since the critical edition of his three-volume work *Navigationi et viaggi*.[51] He was born in Venice in 1485 into a non-Venetian family. Nothing is known about Ramusio's earlier education until he attended Manuzio's Neakademia. Ramusio had been present at the Aldine press since the publication of the very first incunable, according to the dedication of Livy's *Third Decade* (February 1519) written by Gian Francesco d'Asola and addressed to Giambattista Ramusio.[52] Aldo Manuzio spoke highly of the young Ramusio in the edition of Quintilian's *Orator Education* (*Institutio oratoria*; 1514). Ramusio helped in the editing of this text for publication along with his friend Andrea Navagero. He was also the secretary of Ambassador Alvise Mocenigo during his mission to France in 1506, from which Mocenigo returned with an important codex of Pliny's *Letters* and which he lent to Aldus for publication. Given Ramusio's well-known passion for manuscripts, it is not difficult to see his role in the finding of the codex and the suggestion to give it to Manuzio.[53] In January 1515, Ramusio was the testamentary executor of Aldo Manuzio along with Giovan Francesco d'Asola and others, thus revealing a strong relationship of trust between the old scholar and the young man of letters.[54] Ramusio had a temporary position as chancellor in the Chancery of the Serenissima in 1505 before leaving for a mission to France as secretary of Mocenigo until 1507. In 1515, he was nominated secretary of the Senate. Apparently, he also carried out missions to Switzerland and Rome.

After the 1519 dedication written by Gian Francesco D'Asola, Ramusio was once again mentioned in a dedicatory letter by Bernardino da Verona in the volume containing Macrobius's *Commentaries on Scipio's Dream* (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*) and Censorinus's *Birthday Book* (*Die Natali*), both printed by Aldo's heirs in 1528. Six years later, Ramusio edited Cicero's *Orations* (1534) for the Giunti press, a work that was started by his late friend Andrea Navagero. This seems to be his last involvement in preparing new editions of classics, as from the 1530s on, Ramusio showed increasing interest in the topic of Atlantic discoveries. The impact of these discoveries was twofold: On the one hand, the discoveries of different routes to the Indies and the discovery of America were undermining the commercial interests of the Serenissima. On the other hand, the experiences of modern travelers were showing how the beliefs of classical authors were mistaken. In both cases, Ramusio was at the center of the storm these discoveries created. The names associated with Giovanni Battista Ramusio

at this stage include the physician Girolamo Fracastoro and the Spanish Gonzalo Hernandez de Oviedo, author of the *History of the Indies* (*Historia general y natural de las Indias*), first published as a summary in 1526 and translated by Ramusio around that time. Ramusio, Oviedo, and the Procurator of San Marco, Antonio Priuli, also drafted an agreement to create a commercial society for the importation of products from the Indies.

From 1537 to 1538, Ramusio acted as an informer to Pietro Bembo, who at the time was living in Padua, about the military operations against the Turks in the Adriatic Sea and the political repercussions in other parts of Italy. What is most interesting is that Ramusio was collecting the information from the dispatches arriving for the Venetian Senate.[55] During this time, Ramusio also collected material for his *Navigationi et viaggi*. The peak of Ramusio's career was his election as secretary of the Council of Ten on July 7, 1553. He died in 1557.

One of the most famous and influential publications of the sixteenth century was his *Navigationi e viaggi*. First published from 1550 to 1559 in three volumes, Ramusio's work formed the first comprehensive collection of "travel narrative."[56] Tiraboschi was the first to use Ramusio[57] as a source for reconstructing the age of discoveries of the early sixteenth century and subsequently dedicated a chapter to the life of the author and the editorial history of his collection. Subsequently, interest in the exploration of the social and intellectual background of Ramusio's enterprise was confined to research specifically focusing on him and *Navigationi e viaggi*. It is only with Asor Rosa's *Letteratura italiana* that we find an entire chapter dedicated to Ramusio's literary activity, and his place in the context of the Italian literary history of geography.

More recently, scholars have looked at Ramusio's network of distinguished intellectuals as background for the development of *Navigazioni e viaggi*.[58] The people belonging to this network either attended or taught at the Paduan Studio and included persons who were also connected to the Aldine Press. These were Gian Giacomo Bardellone (1472–1527); the brothers Gian Battista and Raimondo Della Torre; the professor of medicine Nicola Passeri and his son, the professor of philosophy Marc'Antonio (1491–1563); Andrea Navagero (1483–1529); Girolamo Fracastoro (1476/78–1553); and Gian Giorgio Trissino (1478–1550). Bernardino Donato and the historian Paolo Giovio (1483–1552) would also visit from time to time.[59] Their letters to Ramusio were published by Girolamo Ruscelli in 1556 and abounded with comments on travels (of particular importance was Navagero's description of his diplomatic mission to Spain in 1525, where he commented in detail about the character of the people and their customs, as well as about important historical and cultural information), geography, anthropology, medicine, and astronomy. Parks's

rather limited interpretation saw Ramusio as a "spectator of history,"[60] whereas recent scholarship has turned its attention to the influence of the social and political milieu in which Ramusio was working as a secretary.[61] On the other hand, Ramusio's own activity as the material collector of manuscripts and other rare texts, beyond what was available on the Venetian book market, is being investigated more thoroughly.[62] Rightly, Toni Veneri points out how the debate that was taking place at the time over the authority of the classical authors and the experience of the modern travelers must have been a hot topic of discussion in the Aldine circle and other printshops, such as the Giunti and in the Nicena Library, later called Marciana, where Ramusio was working on behalf of Pietro Bembo, but without official appointment, and in charge of checking loans.[63] Ramusio carried out this duty with extreme rigor, and Pietro Bembo had to intervene to ask him to let Maffeo Leoni borrow a codex of Aristotle's *Poetics*.[64] As Marino Zorzi has illustrated, the Nicena Library represented an important point of reference for humanists and printers. Andrea Navagero was the librarian in charge of the collections prior to Bembo and Ramusio and set out to restore them by reclaiming codexes that had been borrowed and never returned. During this process, he even threatened borrowers with excommunication, which proved to be a very efficient method for getting the books back.[65] After Navagero, Pietro Bembo, through his secretary Ramusio, loaned out the manuscripts in return for collateral that was double their value, but he also promoted the transcription and publication of those manuscripts, so that more copies would be available without need to borrow the original codex.[66]

All these activities and acquaintances were very important to his final major enterprise. Thus Ramusio, the secretary of the Senate and the secretary of the Consiglio dei Dieci, represented the *trait d'union* between the civic institutions of the Serenissima and the intellectual circles active in town. While some scholars have insisted that Ramusio is an intellectual, Romain Descendre insisted that Ramusio's career as a civil servant in the Venetian institutions is central to understanding his editorial activity in *Navigazioni e viaggi*.

As a secretary, Ramusio's job was concerned with collecting, transcribing, translating, and rewriting, which were the same tasks he performed as compiler of his collection of texts. In other words, Ramusio was the secretary of *Navigazioni e viaggi*, as Descendre compellingly suggests.[67] Moreover, secret documents and texts appeared in Ramusio's compilation more than was previously thought. According to Descendre, Ramusio's work should be placed not only within the social world of printers and intellectuals but also within the blurred boundaries of information and secrecy that Peter Burke, Mario Infelise, and Filippo de Vivo have illustrated.[68]

In general, Ramusio had three aims: (1) the criticism of classical authors and their knowledge of the world, to which he compared the experience of contemporary travelers, as Pietro Bembo had done in *Historiae Venetae*, though without Ramusio's energy; (2) the attack on empires such as Spain and Portugal, which did not like the circulation of secret materials related to explorations carried out by both their merchants and their armies; and (3) the definition of the geopolitical spheres of influence of Portugal, Spain, and Venice.

In the years following Manuzio's death, Pietro Bembo's letters to Ramusio show a constant request for favors, information about books, and the exchange of ideas and are testimony of the network to which they both belonged; Bembo also appointed Ramusio as preceptor of young boys on ancient and modern cosmography.[69] Thus, by bringing together these different strands of cultural interests and social acquaintances, Ramusio conveyed an important message combining geography, diplomacy, and politics in a manual and in a practical and useful way that had not been done before.[70]

While Ramusio was editing his *Navigazioni et viaggi*, he announced one important project: the edition of the report about the conquest of Constantinople by a French and Venetian expedition back in 1204, to be completed by his son Paolo, on the basis of both the manuscript retrieved by Francesco Contarini and the documentation in possession of the Venetian Chancellery.[71] Although Paolo did not accomplish the task, Ramusio's nephew, Girolamo, would do so between 1601 and 1609.

Had Ramusio survived a few more years, he would surely have shared many of the cultural interests promoted by the Accademia della Fama, where his son Paolo was also involved as historian.

Federico Badoer, Francesco Sansovino, and *Thesoro politico*: In Praise of the Practical Knowledge of States' Matters

The scion of a distinguished family—his father Alvise was an influential politician—the patrician Federigo Badoer (1519–93)[72] was a rising star in the Venetian political and intellectual landscape from an early age, and a polemical one too. We do not have information about his upbringing and education, which must have followed the usual track of the Venetian patriciate. At the age of 20, Badoer was elected Savio agli Ordini.[73] Eight years later, he was sent as ambassador to the Duke of Urbino Guidobaldo II della Rovere in 1547 on the occasion of the funeral of his consort, Giulia Varano, and was accompanied by the *letterati* Sperone Speroni, who delivered the funeral oration; Paolo Manuzio; Francesco Angelo Coccio; and Giovanni

Battista Amalteo (1525–1603).[74] The conclusion of Badoer's report reads as a strong and polemical declaration of his faithfulness to the responsibilities the Senate may assign to him, regardless of the cost he may bear. As Aldo Stella noted, at the very end, Badoer indirectly criticizes the stinginess of certain patricians: "prometto e m'obbligo di far sì che io non possa mai essere accusato da niuno nè di negligenza né di sordidezza."[75] The following year, he was selected to meet Philip of Spain in Genoa and escort him on a tour of the Venetian state. At the age of 30, Badoer was ambassador at the court of Ferdinand I of Habsburg in Prague,[76] where he remained from the spring of 1550 to the spring of 1552; in 1553, he was appointed to the prestigious role of Avogador di Comun (lawyer of the Comune). We do not have information about his activity in this role, but it is worth noting that this magistracy was the *trait d'union* between the government and the bureaucratic apparatus that was supposed to carry out governmental instructions. This magistracy specialized in the administration of criminal justice, and its magistrates were considered the "watchdogs and public prosecutors" of Venice.[77] In November 1554, he was sent as ambassador to the imperial court with the particular mission of mediating between the Republic of Siena and Cosimo's expansionism. After Charles V abdicated in 1556, Badoer was sent to Germany to persuade the new king, Philip II, not to invade the Papal State. He returned to Venice in 1557 full of honors for the long and successful diplomatic mission, about which he wrote a long and detailed *relazione* that is still considered one of the best ever written by a Venetian ambassador.[78] After he returned to Venice, he founded the Academia della Fama in 1557. After this adventure failed in 1561, Badoer did not disappear from the social and political environment of the Venetian Republic. In 1569, he married the wealthy widow Elisabetta Malipiero, former wife of Niccolò Dolfin. In 1582, Badoer was the leader of the "giovani" faction, which opposed the Council of Ten's attempt to concentrate more policing power under its control, and in this context, he gave a speech in the Maggior Consiglio where he argued in favor of the division of power among Venetian institutions.[79] Despite the fact that the "giovani" claims were accepted, Badoer did not remain at the head of the faction and retired to private life. He died on November 13, 1593.

Badoer was very popular not only among people of his social status but also among men of letters seeking protection. Thus letters and dedications show that he was very well connected with all levels of society: he was mentioned as a brilliant young man in the letters of Bishop Claudio Tolomei and Pietro Bembo.[80] Pietro Aretino paid tribute to Badoer as early as 1537 by praising his very promising intelligence and culture,[81] and the following year, he celebrated Badoer's friendship with Domenico Venier. The "scourge of princes," as Aretino was called, was to follow Badoer's career step by step,

congratulate him, and comment on the various ambassadorial missions assigned to him. Nicolò Franco dedicated the antipedantic dialogue in his *Pleasant Dialogues* (*Dialogi piacevoli*) to 22-year-old Badoer in 1541.[82] The connection between Paolo Manuzio, son of Aldo and future printer of the Accademia della Fama, and Federico Badoer can be found in Badoer's letters mentioning the plan to set up an academy, as well as in letters mentioning other mutual friends.[83] In the dedication of *Book of Vernacular Letters* (*Libro delle lettere volgari*; 1542)[84] to both Federico Badoer and Domenico Venier, Manuzio praised their interest in learned people and in the use of the vernacular. In the same collection, the translator and commentator of Vitruvius and candidate to the patriarchate of Aquileia Daniele Barbaro (1513–70) also commended Badoer for his humanist culture against the fashionable and empty rhetoric of scholars who cite from ancient authors without showing substantial and critical knowledge.[85] In another collection of letters, *New Book of Letters* (*Novo libro di lettere*; 1544),[86] this time edited by Paolo Gerardo, are two letters by Lodovico Dolce and one by the Dante scholar Bernardino Daniello (c. 1500–65), also an acquaintance of Domenico Venier and attender of his circle, the Accademia Veniera, or Ridotto Venier.[87] In Dolce's first letter (from Padua on April 3, 1542), the author begins with reflections on envy. Over the course of the letter, we are told that envy is attacking Badoer's father, Alvise, as a consequence of the peace agreement he made with the Turks in 1540, which many in the government considered a disgrace and which effectively ended the career of Alvise Badoer.[88] The letter is a memoir of Alvise's career, recalling his passion for learning and for rhetoric. From the legal profession, which he exercised in defense of poor people, he was appointed as Avogador di Comune, then Savio di Terra Ferma, ambassador to the emperor, Provveditore of Dalmatia, and then ambassador to Constantinople, where he engaged in the peace treaties with the sultan. The letter ends by reassuring Federico that his father will return to being highly praised once envy has disappeared. Eventually, Dolce asks Badoer to give his regards to their mutual friends Domenico Venier and Giulio Bragadin. In the second letter (from Padua on May 14, 1543), Dolce recalls a visit he received in jail from Domenico Venier, who spoke highly of Badoer.

Daniello's letter instead concentrates on the importance of devoting one's life to politics: "questa [politics] adunque dee la signoria vostra seguitare, prendere et strettamente abbracciare, et sempre in beneficio et pro della sua Repubblica affaticarsi (come ottimo cittadino deve fare)."[89] This is something Badoer would remember a few years later when he writes to his friend Andrea Lippomano.

Francesco Sansovino dedicated a letter to Badoer in *Letters about the Ten Days of the Decameron* (*Lettere sopra le dieci giornate del Decameron*;

1543), where he unleashed a semiserious attack on monogamy. In 1544, Badoer was featured as one of the speakers in Antonio Brucioli's *Dialogues about Natural Philosophy* (*Dialogi della naturale philosophia*), and on February 15, 1548, Alberto Lollio dedicated to Badoer his vernacular translation of Francesco Barbaro's Latin treatise on marriage: *The Venetian nobleman Francesco Barbaro's prudent and serious documents about choosing a wife. Tranlsated from Latin by Alberto Lollio Ferrarese* (*Prudentissimi et gravi documenti circa la elettion della moglie dello eccellentissimo et dottissimo M. Francesco Barbaro gentilhuomo Venetiano [. . .] nuovamente dal latino tradotti per M. Alberto Lollio Ferrarese*; Venice: Giolito). The Florentine Anton Francesco Doni dedicated one section of his *Library, Divided in Three Treatises* (*Libraria divisa in tre trattati*; Venice: Giolito, 1557) to Badoer and acknowledged the patrician's help a few years earlier in 1544; Doni dedicated the preceding section to Badoer's close friend Domenico Venier. In the same decade, just after the opening of the Accademia della Fama, Ludovico Dolce dedicated to Badoer his second edition of *Letters of Excellent Men* (*Lettere di diversi eccellentissimi huomini*; 1559), and praised the cultural plan of the academy Badoer had just established. In the same collection of letters, we find an undated letter, likely around 1556, by Giorgio Gradenigo congratulating Badoer on the assignment of the diplomatic mission to King Philip II. In 1564, he is the dedicatee of one of the few respectful letters from the caustic pen of the actor and playwright Andrea Calmo, a collaborator of Angelo Beolco il Ruzante[90] and an acquaintance of poet and composer Girolamo Parabosco, also a regular at Venier's house.[91] Thus Calmo must have been a not-so-distant acquaintance of Badoer when he wrote an apologetic letter full of praise for the Badoer family, and for Badoer himself. The letter, though, had an interesting dedication: "To the mortified in Helicona, the magnificent Mister Federico Badoer" ("Al mortifichao in Helicona, el magnifico missier Federigo Badoer, del clarissimo M. Alvise"), as though the author was writing to a frustrated Badoer who, nevertheless, was still able to exercise his influence as a patron.

Badoer's preoccupation with shaping the culture of civil servants emerges from a letter he sent while on a diplomatic mission[92] in Augsburg in 1549 to his young friend Andrea Lippomano,[93] while the latter was serving at the papal court in Rome. Lippomano had asked Badoer what kind of reading would be more suitable to a political secretary or diplomat. Badoer's answer is very clear about the necessity of creating solid foundations to one's learning, first through the study of moral philosophy, then through the study of history, which should be mostly contemporary rather than related to the histories of Greece or Rome. Subsequently, Badoer urges his friend to concentrate on the active life. The education

of a statesman necessitates cosmography, and the student should possess the necessary rhetorical skills that will make him able to give a suitable shape to his knowledge, such as knowledge of character, customs of people, and the character of princes and their military forces. The same should be done regarding other existing countries, and not just those that are well known. This is the kind of subject expertise that Badoer hopes his friend will learn and that should be combined with rhetoric. This is the art that allows someone to bring order to and shape any business.[94]

However, I think that Paul Lawrence Rose is wrong in his reading of the letter. Badoer does not recommend that Lippomano concentrate on natural philosophy, theology, or the Latin or Greek languages and histories. Actually, he warns his friend that many will advise him to pursue such studies with the excuse that contemporary history, cosmography, information on foreign countries, and customs can be learned very easily. But Badoer has no doubt: these are lies, and one should not engage in matters that he cannot master.[95]

The language for expressing the culture acquired should be the vernacular, or the Latin language at most, but certainly not the Greek language, as this would mean wasting energy that could be better spent learning other more useful notions. The practical use of knowledge marks Badoer's letter in other points, for instance, when he advises Lippomano to avoid spending time in learning natural philosophy, theology, and the sciences that raise our minds from earth to the sky.[96] This letter shows that Badoer was not keen to suggest an all-encompassing culture to his young friend but rather that he was very keen for his diplomat friend to concentrate on contemporary issues and state affairs, thus advising him to pursue what was considered the real aim of every patrician in Venice: the necessity to sacrifice everything for the sake of concentrating on politics. Thus from the age of 30, Badoer was concerned with the acquisition of a sound practical knowledge of contemporary affairs and foreign countries and with the education of younger generations.

A friend of Domenico Molin and Domenico Venier since his youth and a regular at Venier's Accademia, or Ridotto, Badoer and his siblings created in 1557 the Accademia della Fama, or Academia Veneziana, which in documents is also referred to as *la ditta* (the firm). The academy started its activities the same year, just after Badoer's return from his diplomatic mission to Germany. The history and activities, as well as the intellectual projects of the Accademia della Fama, are a significant case study that shows the circulation of knowledge between the world of academies and the world of politics and will be the subject of the next pages.

A Short History of the Academy

The history of the Accademia Veneziana has been the subject of several studies:[97] A bibliography of all the documents and publications related to the Accademia Veneziana can be found in Paul Renouard's work as part of his research on Aldo Manuzio and his heirs; Giovanni Pellegrini transcribed some of the documents related to the history of the academy, but it was Paul Lawrence Rose who drafted the first critical approach on the academy's history, with particular emphasis on the Aristotelian influence that shaped Badoer's project; Pietro Pagan provided a good insight into the commercial implications of the academy's publishing plans and its relationship with the German book market; Paolo Ulvioni highlighted the presence of texts related to the history of magic and hermetic tradition, an aspect further investigated by Lina Bolzoni, who also analyzed the publication plans of the academy as an encyclopedic project, with Neoplatonic and hermetic influences; Anna Laura Puliafito discovered an epistolary exchange between Gian Vincenzo Pinelli and Theodor Zwinger revealing that the Academia Veneziana's publications projects were carried out by other printers and authors after the closing of the academy; and Barbara Marx first stressed the links between the academy's list of publications related to politics and Sansovino's *Del governo dei regni* (1561). However, it will be useful here to summarize the history of the academy in chronological order. In particular, I will use a selection of the documents, and some publications, where they concern politics and geography.

The first document to mention the academy is a letter from Badoer addressed to Camillo Vezzato in Antwerp, in September 1557, to ask if he wanted to become a corresponding member of the academy. As the dedications of some volumes issued by the academy and other documents reveal, international relations, especially with German and Flemish merchants, noblemen, and printers, characterized the Accademia della Fama[98] more than other academies in sixteenth-century Italy.

On November 14, 1557, the founders of the academy signed a document in the house of Domenico Venier regarding the academy's business interests and assigned tasks to various people.[99] The Academia Veneziana printed its publication plans as early as 1558, and some books had already been printed the same year. Thus the Academy's publications wish list came early on in the history of the institution, first in vernacular as *Works to Be Published by the Venetian Academy* (*Somma delle opere che in tutte le scienze et arti più nobili, et in varie lingue ha da mandare in luce l'Academia Venetiana, Parte nuove et non più stampate, parte con fedelissime tradottioni giudiciose correttioni, et utilissime annotationi reformate*; 1558), and one year later in Latin.[100] In the introduction, the academy as a whole addressed

the dedicatee, the Doge Priuli, and criticized previous academies for being concerned primarily with the satisfaction of their own members' literary skills, and thus not enjoying a long duration. The Accademia della Fama was promising to become a much more organized institution and intended to be at the service of the Venetian Republic. In other words, as Bolzoni suggested,[101] the reasoning behind Badoer's well-planned program and the formal request for approval by the Venetian institutions rests in the wish to become *the* academy of Venice and to carry out the cultural program of the Serenissima in imitation of the contemporary Accademia Fiorentina, which Cosimo I de' Medici had recently brought under his control. My aim is to draw attention to the category of "politics." What appears from the documents and the publications related to the academy, is that the Accademia Veneziana was devised with a practical educational scope addressed specifically to young patricians who would be serving in the institutions of the Serenissima.

The volumes to be issued under the academy's aegis were divided into several "categories," namely, theology; canon law; metaphysics; physics; medicine; arithmetic; geometry; perspective; music; astrology; geography; warfare and militia; civil law, including lectures on civil law; *ripetitioni* (i.e., works dealing with subjects already discussed in previous texts);[102] decisions made by parliaments in Italian as well as foreign states;[103] treatises (ranging from a treatise in the genre of mirrors for princes to treatises on papal power, judges, and others); politics; economics; ethics; logics; rhetoric;[104] poetry; history (including one volume on false history—that is, an account of the mistakes made by ancient historians both Latin and Greek); and grammar.

In this context, it is useful to explore what the category of geography contained and who was involved in this discipline. The two geographers of the Accademia Veneziana were Livio Sanuto (died before 1588)[105] and Giacomo Gastaldi (1500?–1566).[106] Very little is known about the first, but in his introduction to a modern edition of *Geography of Africa* (*Geografia dell'Africa*), Skelton demonstrated Sanuto's unacknowledged use of Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi*. As for Giacomo Gastaldi, he was closely associated with Giovanni Battista Ramusio, for whom he produced the maps used in *Navigationi et viaggi*. Their friendship was such that Ramusio also sent his son Paolo to him for lessons on geography. Just before he started working for Ramusio's collection, the Serenissima appointed him official cartographer and assigned him the task of painting the maps in the Ducal Palace. The academy's wish list of geographical books includes the following volumes: (1) a description of the whole Earth; (2) a vocabulary listing all provinces, cities, lands, castles, mountains, woods, seas, lakes, and rivers, both in Latin and in the vernacular; (3) a description of ancient and

modern Germany, with all the provinces and subject regions; (4) a description of all the states and provinces controlled by the King of Spain, including lands overseas, Milan, Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, and the Low Countries; (5) a description of the French kingdom with names in both Italian and French; (6) the islands in the Italian sea and a description of both England and Scotland; (7) a description of the present states of the Turkish empire; (8) all the sea travels that have been carried out in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic Ocean; (9) a pilot book of Germany's maritime possessions; a new edition of Ptolemy with new and updated atlases; (10) Strabo's Europe, Asia and Africa and the toponyms in both ancient and modern languages, as well as the climates, the parallels, and the degrees—presumably to identify the places; (11) a new edition by the Latin author Caius Julius Solinus; (12) a new work from Theodosius of Bithynia on habitations; and (13) one book dedicated to days and nights translated from the Greek language, which is also by Theodosius.

It has been often suggested that Badoer's academy wanted to follow in the steps of Aldo Manuzio's publication plans.[107] While this is not stated in any of the documents I have consulted, the fact that Aldo's son Paolo was the official printer of the academy creates a strong link of continuity between the two printshops and the two generations.

In general, the list of books under the politics category was inspired by the comparative approach to knowledge set out in book 7 of Aristotle's *Politics*, in which the philosopher compares different forms of states according to their territory, laws, population, military force, and the character of the people. With regard to the Accademia della Fama, it is useful to note the prevailing emphasis on contemporary states and on the current political balance of power, although the publication plan also included a commented edition of Plato's *Republic*, as well as the hermetic approach to political knowledge through the interpretation of dreams.

The books to be published under politics must be seen in relation to the humanist culture and political training and activity of Venetian ambassadors.[108] A history of this bureaucratic corps and how its members were prepared for their careers still needs to be written and would be of great benefit to the modern historian. In fact, *relazioni* are no longer recognized as primary sources for studying early modern Europe, as they were from the middle of the sixteenth century up to the middle of the nineteenth century. However, today the attention of historians is more focused on the intellectual background of such *relazioni* and what they can tell us about the preparation of the diplomatic corps that produced them.

In this context, the wish list of the academy represents one more *tessera* for the reconstruction of a fascinating mosaic. The tight link between the Venetian Academy and the education of the Venetian elite is evident

in particular with regard to the category of "politics." The titles of the list immediately remind us that the main promoter of the academy was both a patrician and an ambassador and bring us back to Badoer's advice to his friend Lippomano a few years before, about the necessity to acquire practical knowledge of different states, their people, and their laws. Only very few of the proposed books were published during the lifetime of the academy; others can be referred to the common practice of Venetian ambassadors to write their *relazioni* at the end of their mission, and further, more were to form the content of Francesco Sansovino's 1561 publication and, as I shall argue later, also the material included in *Thesoro politico* in 1589. The scheme of the "politics" section is to move from a general approach to more and more detail. Apart from obvious editions of specific authors and their works, it is not clear, however, how such publications would materialize, whether they would be published as one book corresponding to each title or whether the titles were just a general indication of the sort of writings to be found in a miscellany.

1. *Cinque libri di ragion di stato, ne' quali con maraviglioso ordine si contengono tutte quelle cose, che sono necessarie, e che ragionevolmente si possono sapere, dintorno alle persone, alle corti, a paesi, et a gli habitanti, et alle forze de' Principi, si Christiani, come infedeli, delle rep[ubbliche] et d'ogni altro governo* (*Five books about reason of state, where are contained all information that are necessary and that can be known about either Christian or infidel people, courts, countries, inhabitants, and forces of princes, of republics and of any other form of government*). The expression "ragion di stato" is important because it was to become a major polemical catchphrase in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. First used in 1547 by Giovanni Della Casa as a synonym for "unlawful decision," it was only in 1621 when an author from Faenza, Ludovico Zuccolo,[109] related the concept to individual states and defined it as something that is peculiar to each one of them according to their geographical, political, and cultural characteristics.[110] The use of this expression in this context is important because the rest of the wish list is an invitation to analyze and understand individual states and their interests without any moralistic paradigm.
2. *Un libro delle rendite ordinarie et estraordinarie, di tutti i principi di Christianità* (*One book about ordinary and extraordinary revenues of all Christian princes*), which can be found, though limited to Germany, in the published work *The Ten Circles of Empire* (*I diece circoli dell'imperio*, 1558). It should be remembered that in their *relazioni*, ambassadors were requested to report on the finances of the state they visited.[111]

3. *Un simile di quelle de' Signori spirituali, e temporali, che sotto la giurisdittione de detti Principi sono compresi* (*A similar book containing the revenues of spriritual and secular lords who are under the jurisdciction of the aforesaid princes*).
4. *Delle precedenze, che sono tra i Principi, e le rep[ubliche] con le ragioni che da ciascuna parte sono addotte* (*Rights of Precedence that exist between princes and republics, with the motivations that each one claims in defense of its own rights*). This, and the subsequent two titles, point to a special interest of the Accademia della Fama in the relationships between individual states and their interests, which corresponds to what we now call foreign policy and international relations.
5. *Le pretensioni che l'un principe ha con l'altro sopra diversi stati* (*The privileges that one prince claims over another about different states*).
6. *Le capitulationi fatte tra tutti i Prencipi Christiani dall'anno 19 infino al presente* (*The agreements between Christian princes since the year 19 to the present days*).
7. *I dieci circoli dell'impero, ne' quali sono compresi i Signori spirituali, i temporali, e le terre franche, quando vengono chiamati alle diete imperiali, o nationali* (*The Ten Circles of the Empire, where are included spiritual lords, secular lords and free lands when they are summoned to either Imperial or national meetings*). This is one of the few books actually published, in 1558, edited by Valerio Faenzi and dedicated to Pietro Lando, Archbishop of Candia.
8. *Due trattati dell'officio del prudente ambasciatore* (*Two treatises about the duties of the perfect ambassador*). This topic could be found in the best Venetian tradition of this genre, such as Ermolao Barbaro's *The Ambassador's Duty* (*De officio legati*), composed in 1490 and circulated in manuscripts. The ambassador's duties were described through the eyes of the representative of the Venetian privileged elite, as in the passage where Barbaro recommends: "This is the Venetian special custom, and very commended by everybody: never should [the ambassador] go to the prince's palace, unless he is either summoned or dispatched."[112]
9. *Trattato dell'officio del secretario, nel qual si narrano gli ordini, che in tutte le corti di Christiani si sogliono da quei secretari tenere, e mostrasi in capitoli quali conditioni di fortuna, di corpo, e d'animo siano atte a formare uno, che per eccellenza di virtù sia degno di questo nome* (*Treatise about the duty of the secretary, where are described the rules that secretaries follow in all Christian courts, and are demonstrated the physical and spiritual qualities that are necessary for someone who is worth this name of secretary*). A publication about the duties of

the ideal secretary was to be issued by Francesco Sansovino in 1564, and would lay the foundations of a genre that was to become very popular in the seventeenth century.[113]

10. *Descrittione particolare dello stato, governo e costumi de' Ragusi* (*Description of the state, government and customs of the people of Ragusa*). The focus on this specific country may have been motivated by Giovanni Battista Amalteo's presence as Secretary of the Republic in Ragusa.[114] However, Ragusa was enjoying a particularly florid period when, between 1537 and 1541, the commerce between Turkey and Venice was reduced a great deal in favor of Ragusa.[115] Barbara Marx observed that this was another of Sansovino's later publications, *Del governo dei regni et delle repubbliche così antiche come moderne* (1561), stemming from the academy's wish list, which I return to in the next section.[116]
11. *Simil descrittione della città e dello stato di Genova* (*Similar description about the state of Genoa*). The presence of an aristocratic republic on the other side of the peninsula was presumably of great interest to the Venetian patriciate. Once again, it was Francesco Sansovino who published a report from Genoa in 1561. According to a note from Eugenio Alberi, who republished the text in the nineteenth century, this was more of a sketch describing the Republic of Genoa rather than a proper *relazione*, and its Venetian origin is uncertain.[117] The same text also appeared in *The Second Part of the Political Treasure* (*La seconda parte del Thesoro politico*; Milan: Bordone e Locarni, 1601).[118]
12. *Gli ordini co' quali la repubblica di Norimbergo si regge* (*The laws of the Republic of Nuremberg*) was published in *I dieci circoli dell'imperio* as "Descrizione della repubblica di Norimberga" and focused mainly on Nuremberg's Senate and its prerogatives. Interestingly, the academy sent Abbot Marlupino to Nuremberg to find out whether it was possible to establish a library there.[119]
13. *L'ordine distinto, e particolare de gli offici, e magistrati della Franza* (*Detailed description of France's magistracies*). Venetian ambassadors in their *relazioni* usually lingered on the description of the French monarchy, which was considered the most representative and most characteristic institution of France and the most suitable to that country. They also used personal notes to describe other institutions of the French government, such as parliaments and Councils of the Crown, as well as providing an account of the army and the revenues of the Crown.[120]
14. *Una breve raccolta di tutte le cose della Spagna, tratta da vari autori antichi et moderni con bellissimo ordine* (*A short well-ordered collection*

of all that is related to Spain, taken from both ancient and modern authors). A history of Spain was to be included in *Thesoro politico* (1589), which I return to later in this chapter.

15. *Il* Minos *di Platone con un breve trattato inanzi, nel quale si dimostra, come dalla bontà delle leggi nasce la quiete, et il felice viver delle città, e delle republiche: e come la legge dovendo essere perfetta, bisogna, che sia fondata sopra alcune delle virtù, e che 'l suo proprio è d'introdur quelle, e di scacciar i vitii, che perturbano la vita dell'huomo* (*Plato's* Minos, *with a short introductory treatise, where it is demonstrated how peace and the happiness of both cities and republics come from good laws, and how the law should be perfect and it is necessarily based on some virtues, and that it is particularly related to it to introduce such virtues and to chase vices that corrupt the life of men*). The comparative analysis of the various states continues in the project to publish Plato's works. Plato's *Minos* is supposed to comment on the nature of law, which in turn is important for understanding the particular characteristics of each state and their customs. Its relevance, though critics do not unanimously attribute it to the Greek philosopher, lies in the fundamental question posed by one of the interlocutors: "What is law?"[121] Here the *Somma* probably intended to reissue a previous edition of Plato's *Minos*, this time in the vernacular, according to the general plan of education. The work had been printed in Louvain in 1531 in Greek and edited by Rutger Ressen. Just a year or two earlier, in 1558, the same text had been translated by Marsilio Ficino and published in Paris.[122]
16. *Il dialogo di Platone chiamato civile, overo del regno, con un discorso innanzi della qualità degli stati, dimostrandosi la bontà, et imperfettione di ciascuno, e quale delle due opinioni sia vera, o quella di coloro, i quali hanno voluto, che 'l vero governo si ritrovi in un solo, o pur quella del divin Platone, che vuole, che il perfetto sia quello de' nobili, o de gli ottimati* (*Plato's dialogue called civil, or about the kingdom, with an introductory discourse about the quality of the states, which demonstrates the good and the bad aspects of each state. Moreover this demonstrates what theory is right, whether that of those who believe that the good government belongs to the rule of one single person, or whether Plato's opinion is true, which proposes that the perfect government should belong to the nobility and to the aristocracy*). This title refers to Plato's *Politicus*, or *The Statesman*, an edition of which had been printed 20 years before as *Platonos Politikos, e peri basileias. Platonis Politicus, aut de regno* (Parisiis: excudebat Christianus Wechelus, sub Pegaso, in vico Bellovacensi, 1548).

17. *I diece libri della republica di Platone, fedelmente di nuovo tradotti, con due copiosi, e dotti trattati, nell'uno de' quali si ragiona di quella divina virtù della giustitia, nell'altro si fanno molte belle considerationi dintorno a' governi delle republiche* (*Ten books of Plato's* Republic*, now faithfully translated, with two copious and learned treatises. One deals with the divine virtue of justice, and the other presents many beautiful considerations about republican governments*). Plato's *Republic* had been translated into vernacular a few years before in *Plato's Republic translated from Greek to Tuscan language by the excellent physician Pamphilo Fiorimbene of Fossombrone, containing the list of topics of each book, as well as the table of the most notable subjects contained in that book* (*La Repubblica di Platone, tradotta dalla lingua greca nella thoscana dall'eccellente, phisico messer Pamphilo Fiorimbene da Fossombrone. Con gli argomenti per ciascun libro et con la tavola di tutte le cose più notabili, che in quelli si contengono*; Venice: Giolito e fratelli, 1554). Another Italian version was not to appear until the seventeenth century. The aim of the publication promised by the Accademia Veneziana was to extract two important themes in Plato's *Republic*: justice and the comparison between governments.
18. *Procolo sopra la Politica di Platone* (*Proculus on Plato's* Republic). One of the scholars interested in the production of the Neoplatonic philosopher Proculus was Cardinal Bessarion,[123] whose library constituted the core of the Nicena Library in Venice. However, the real value of this publication in the present context is not clear. Proclus's comments on Plato's *Republic* are 17 essays on specific themes, written at different times,[124] and the most substantial commentaries are related to Plato's considerations about Homer and the value of poetry.
19. *Libro de' sogni, tratto da gli antichi scrittori, hebraici, greci, e latini, nel quale si dichiara, che cosa sia sogno, le cagioni, et effetti di esso, con la interpretatione di molte cose appartenenti in essempio al governo de' principati, e delle republiche* (*The book of dreams, taken from ancient Hebrew, Greek, and Latin writers, where it is explained what is a dream, its causes, and its effects, with the interpretation of many things that belong to the government of principalities and republics*). This is also reminiscent of the translation of *Somnium Scipionis* by the controversial reformer Antonio Brucioli just a few years prior (between 1532 and 1534),[125] but the association of the *Somnium* with politics seems to be due to its presence as book 6 in Cicero's *Republic*. A practical enquiry into dreams should be more related to a classic such as the Greek Artemidorus's *Oneiokritika*, who illustrated all symbols appearing in dreams and their relevance to life.[126]

The book was not unknown among Venetian intellectuals, since in 1467, Michele Apostolio copied for Cardinal Bessarion the manuscript Marcianus 288 containing Artemidorus's text; the first Aldine edition of the book was published in 1518, the first Latin translation in 1539, and the first Italian translation in 1542 by Pietro Lauro, which was dedicated to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and printed by Giolito.[127] In 1542, Daniele Barbaro published a book on dreams written in verses.[128]

20. *Trattato de gl'otto libri della Politica di Aristotele, ridotto in Idea, e con gli essempi de' presenti tempi congiunti a quelli de gli antichi, nel quale chiaramente si scuoprono tutte le sorti de' governi* (*Aristotle's eight books on politics reduced to a compendium, with the examples of the present times and those of ancient times, where clearly all sorts of governments are revealed*). Of course, the text in Greek was not difficult to find, as it had been printed by Aldus Manutius in 1498, while the translation in the vernacular was by Antonio Brucioli: *The Eight Books of the Republic, Called* Politics*, Newly Translated from the Greek into the Vernacular by Antonio Brucioli* (*Gli otto libri della republica, che chiamono Politica. Nuouamente tradotti di greco in vulgare italiano. Per Antonio Brucioli*; Venice: Brucioli et i frategli, 1542). The Venetian Senate had prescribed the reading of Aristotle's *Politics* with a special decree in 1553.[129] The use of "Idea" in the academy's description means a compendium, again stressing the practical approach Badoer and his associates had in mind.
21. *Interpretatione sopra la Politica di Aristotele, dove gran parte della sua scienza è confermata da gli essempi di varie città, o antiche, o moderne* (*Interpretation of Aristotle's* Politics*, where a great deal of his knowledge is confirmed with examples taken from various cities, both ancient and modern*).
22. *Le leggi di Cicerone, con una consideratione molto utile dintorno il governo della republica Romana: dalla quale si comprende quanto le sue prudentissime institutioni avanzava quelle, che erano innanzi a lei fondate* (*Cicero's Laws, with very useful comments about the Roman Republic, where we understand how much Rome's very prudent institutions surpassed those that were created before it*). The attention to the laws of the Roman Republic has a long tradition in the political debate of the time. Machiavelli and his *Discorsi* come to mind; these had been published in Venice 13 times, twice by Aldo Manuzio's heirs in 1540 and 1546.[130] We should also remember that, in 1557, Achille Bocchi ran a series of lectures in his academy in Bologna dedicated to Cicero's *On Laws*.[131]

Looking at the list, it is very interesting to note the mixture of works of classical authors and books dealing with contemporary issues: most of the works outlined in the wish list do not have an author and appear as products of the direct experience of politicians, diplomats, and ambassadors or are reserved documents for internal use inside courts and chanceries. In agreement with Badoer's ideals about the education of young diplomats in state affairs, the overall intention of the category of "politics" was to provide the reader, most likely students, with a practical approach to knowledge of countries, and their characteristics, and followed Badoer's advice to his friend Lippomano to study, through modern accounts, the differences that identified each single country and the relationships among them.

This list of publications matches in several points the kind of texts the Serenissima was asking its ambassadors to produce at the end of their missions. Once they circulated in manuscript, such texts were considered oracles by princes and historians of the time, and they would be considered fundamental sources for the history of early modern Europe for a very long time. In this context, it is not surprising to find the plan for publishing treatises on the "prudent" ambassador.

The same concern for the education of the young patricians returns in the *Plea of the Academy to the Serenissima Signoria* (*Supplica dell'Academia alla Serenissima Signoria*), a document without date but presumably drafted in 1558, in which the academy suggested that it could become the place for educating young men to the culture of statecraft and make its premises available for both private people and princes who may want to visit the academy.[132] Badoer offers to educate in Latin and Italian the young men who are trained in the chancellery of the Serenissima. This will be done by keeping in the academy a select number of them, so that when they operate in Venice, on ambassadorial missions, or on other business, the Senate can receive the useful and honorable service that should be expected from its valued agents.[133]

The library of the academy opened officially in the first days of October 1558, as the Modenese historian Carlo Sigonio (c.1524–84), who was the chair of humanities in the academy, wrote to Father Onofrio Panvino.[134] On October 4, 1558, the Senate issued an official privilege for 15 years for the publications of the academy and warmly embraced the cultural project that this was proposing.[135] On June 21, 1559, the secretaries of the various councils of the academy (e.g., political, economic, or oratory councils; *consiglio politico*, *economico*, *oratorio*) swore their commitment to enhancing the academy and its publications,[136] and membership regulations of the academy were drafted on August 13, 1559.[137] During the same year, a series of commissions (*mandati*)[138] were issued for the secretary of the academy, Bernardo Tasso, and revealed the names of people involved in the

Council of Politics: Francesco Michiel, Francesco Tiepolo, Thadio Gradenigo, Marin Gradenigo, Petruccio Ubaldini as "secretario economico," and Francesco Oratori as "secretario del consiglio politico."

Another source highlights the interest of the academy in themes concerning cities, republics, and kingdoms. The following is a letter addressed to Marcantonio da Mula by the enthusiastic Bernardo Tasso, on June 14, 1559, where he talks about public lectures addressed to young patricians: "We shall continue with the readings of other subjects [. . .] such as provinces and kingdoms, something for which the young noblemen of this Republic should be grateful."[139] Appreciation for this aspect of the academy's plan is also in a letter, undated but presumably written on November 6, 1560, from the Bishop of Feltre Filippo Maria Campeggi to the Accademia Veneziana. Campeggi declared his love for the academy because everyone knew about the kinds of exercises that were performed. The first concerned speaking and writing essays in sciences and the arts. The second was because of the keen interest in reading and discussing the laws of provinces and states of the world. Thus, Campeggi maintained, those who benefit from such education and discussions become knowledgeable in all practical and theoretical matters that one may wish to learn.[140]

As can be seen from the planned list of publications, and those actually produced, much importance was given to the empire, where Badoer had been recently dispatched. In particular, it was the mechanism of the election of the emperor that was under scrutiny. On this topic, the academy was able to issue a couple of volumes during its lifetime: *The Ten circles of the empire with the revenues of German princes, and states, the contributions they give to cavalry and infantry, and a particular description of the republic of Nuremberg. The sacrifices of patrimonial states made by Emperor Charles V and his son. And the government of the Empire that was left to Charles' brother* (*I diece circoli dell'imperio con le entrate de principi, et de gli stati della Germania, con le contributioni, si della cavalleria, come della fanteria, con una particolare descrittione della Repubblica di Norimbergo*. *Le rinuncie degli stati patrimoniali fatte da Carlo V imperatore al Sereniss[imo] suo figliolo. Et il governo dell'Impero lasciato al sereniss[imo] suo fratello*; 1558), edited by the Dominican friar Valerio Faenzi (fl. 1557–98) and dedicated to the Archbishop of Candia Pietro Lando, and *The Institutions of the Empire That Are Contained the Golden Bull* (*Le institutioni dell'imperio contenute nella Bolla d'oro*; 1559), which dealt with the election of the emperor and his independence from the papacy. The translator and editor of the book was Luca Contile, who dedicated it to Charles, the Archduke of Austria. As for the history of recent events in foreign countries, and the influence recent history had on the country, surely the *History of the Matters That Happened in the Kingdom of England about the Duke of Northumberland after*

the death of Edward VI (*Historia delle cose occorse nel regno d'Inghilterra in materia del duca di Notomberlan dopo la morte di Odoardo VI*; 1558) by Giulio Raviglio Rosso,[141] edited by Luca Contile and printed, like all other publications, by Paolo Manutio, was going in the direction that Badoer had foreseen in the letter to Lippomano 9 years earlier.

On May 31, 1560, the Council of Ten conceded to the academy the privilege of printing all the laws and regulations of any Venetian magistracy.[142] In this document, the council complained about the printing of sensitive material by printers who were careless about the quality of their items and lamented the circulation of scandalous publications related to the institution of the Venetian state as well as those of other kingdoms. For this reason, they trusted the newly formed Accademia Veneziana and granted it the privilege of printing the laws of the Serenissima and other publications such as the celebration of festivals organized for the visits of princes in Venice.

In another *supplica* dated July 1560,[143] Badoer informed the procurators that he was gathering people in his house where academicians ran courses and delivered lectures. He explained that professors had previously delivered a *Supplica* to the Council of Ten to offer their services[144] and described the library assigned to the academy, the tasks of the librarian Loredan, and so on. At this point, Badoer returned to stress that the great benefit of his request will be the study of states and political affairs for the benefit of the Venetian aristocracy. Badoer promised to make available the instructions of the provinces and states of the world that were related not just to Venice but to any other state, whether Christian or infidel. Therefore, students will learn the details about both external and internal affairs of every prince and lord who is currently ruling, about their governments and courts, how many there are and what kind, the number of people present, and everything that such courts and governments rule.

Moreover, in Badoer's vision, students will become informed about kings' possessions big and small, along with other details that can shed light on the understanding of issues such as what is abundant in those states or what they need, the inhabitants of each state, and about the forces and powers of the world's countries. It will also be possible to acquire such detailed knowledge that no further information is desired, neither with regard to land or naval military forces, nor with regard to money, intelligence, subordination, or claims that princes have with their vassals and with other princes of the world.

The key word that Badoer uses at this point is relevant to stress, as it will reappear later in a separate publication. The Venetian aristocrat affirms that all this intelligence is a "treasure" of high quality, and because such treasure guides the intellect and makes it able to negotiate inside and outside the

Venetian state, this can be called an "invaluable treasure," because knowledge is the way to treasures and all goods.[145]

In the document *December 30, 1560. In contrada San Cantian, in the house of the most honorable M. Federigo Badoer* (*30 decembre 1560. In Venetia in contrada San Cantian nella casa dell'habitatione del clarissimo M. Federigo Badoer*), Badoer established the formal rules of the academy, its spatial and material divisions according to themes, and the list of participants, as well as the list of lands and other properties that he mortgaged as a guarantee for subsidizing the academy. Tellingly, the Academia Veneziana was welcomed by the authorities and was arranged in the library recently constructed by Jacopo Sansovino,[146] the father of Francesco. When Badoer proposed that the academy palace should be divided in as many rooms as were the subjects of the ideal project underpinning the creation of the academy, he returned, once again, to insist on the study of statecraft. The instructions related to world provinces and states, which are in the section called "*Secretum*" (secret) from the Political Council, should be enjoyed and put into practice only for the benefit of his nephews. No one who is not allowed to enter the Signoria can be the guardian of this particular place.[147]

Badoer described the structure of the academy according to the shape of the human body as a microcosm and according to the thematic subdivision already outlined in the *Somma delle opere*.[148] The head was dedicated to the "oratorio," and the chest was dedicated to the councils of all sciences, arts, and faculties and all the provinces and states of the world ("tutte le scienze arti et facultà, et di tutte le provincie et stati del mondo"). The right arm corresponded to the economic council, while the left arm corresponded to the political council. The council related to politics did not have the names of academicians mentioned in the instructions (*Mandati*) of 1559.[149] Badoer assigned the political council specifically to his nephew Luigi, because he had diplomatic experience, after having served with him on the missions to Charles V and the King of England.[150] Depending on the political council are an unspecified Council, the Chancery, and the *Secretum*. The political council is divided into seven sections: conservator, militia, laws, confederation, customs (*consuetudini*), money, and merits (*meriti*). The chancellery contains the following: the chancellor, the viceregent, the secretary of science, the secretary of economics, the secretary of politics, and the secretary of the college containing theologians, philosophers, mathematicians, jurists, and scholars of *humanae litterae* (humanities). The *Secretum* included the Reggente and eight persons whose duty consisted of transcribing in beautiful style and keeping always in order the *instruzioni* (instructions) related to all the provinces included in all European states; two were assigned to Africa and another two to Asia.

The academy closed down under dramatic circumstances in August 1561, only four years after it began. Badoer and his associates were imprisoned and tortured, and a prohibition against mentioning the Accademia Veneziana was to remain until 1594, after Badoer's death. The reasons for this dramatic turn of events are not entirely clear: one suspected reason is Badoer's financial bankruptcy, and another is that his dangerous liaisons with the agents of German princes may have led him to reveal state secrets.[151]

As for my argument, if we accept that Ramusio's work cannot be separated from his role as secretary of the republic, the publication plan relating to "politics" in the Accademia della Fama cannot be separated from Badoer's political and cultural interests. The subject of politics has been avoided in previous studies on this academy, but I believe that it was only natural that such a grandiose dream was to live much longer than the academy itself. Badoer's objectives were recognized as worthy of being carried out even by Venetian authorities, but the trend in Italian literary criticism that I have illustrated in Chapter 1 condemned the Academy as culturally modest and the dedications of its published books as determined by convenience. Such judgment, I believe, prevented the appreciation of Badoer's ideas for what they were, as well as their life after the dramatic closure of the institution. We should not forget that his network was a highly influential one and that he had all the means to give a strong impulse to the proliferation of a literature that stemmed from the projects of his academy, even after its closure.

Echoes of the Accademia della Fama: Francesco Sansovino's Del governo dei regni e delle repubbliche *(1561), and the Anonymous* Thesoro politico *(1589)*

It was well known at the time that the publication plans of the Accademia Veneziana did not vanish. The Neapolitan scholar Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601), an authoritative source of the late sixteenth century living in Padua,[152] wrote in a letter to Jacob Zwinger dated February 8, 1596 that several books were being published independently of the academy after it closed. A systematic research following this lead has not been carried out, but some examples are now emerging.

A member of the academy, the famous printer and publisher Francesco Sansovino surely had a sharp eye for what may interest the public and made Badoer's dreams yield dividends.[153] Sansovino was not new to publishing activities within the Accademia della Fama: In 1558, he edited and translated parts of the *Order of the Golden Fleece* (*Constitutiones velleris aurei*) in *The Order of the Kinghts of the Fleece* (*Ordine dei cavalieri del Tosone*). In 1564, he published Dante's *Divine Comedy* with commentary by Vellutello,

yet another example of a project deriving from Badoer's Academy.[154] In addition, *The Secretary* (*Il segretario*; also dated 1564)[155] was probably from the Accademia della Fama's project number nine.

The other work that is important to comment on here is the descriptions of foreign countries published in 1561, the very year in which the academy was closed down. *Dei regni et delle republiche così antiche come moderne libri XVIII ne' quali si contengono i magistrati gl'offici et gl'ordini che s'osservano ne' predetti principati. Dove si ha cognition di molte historie particolari, utili et necessarie al viver civile* was dedicated to the papal nuncio to Venice, Pier Francesco Ferrero.[156] In the introduction, Sansovino wrote that he wanted to give shape to a new *Politica* by putting it into practice through the description of the governments as they existed, some new, some old.[157] The dedication to readers contains interesting comments about Sansovino's plan and methodology. His model is Aristotle's *Politics*, but his praise is of experience rather than book learning, thus Ulysses, as a man who learned by traveling rather than reading, is the other exemplary figure cited by Sansovino. States have been described not according to their importance but according to the material as it became available to the editor. The editor claims that the work is reliable as long as readers bear in mind that he also relied on information provided to him orally by travelers and men with experience of the places they describe.

In his study of Francesco Sansovino,[158] Paul Grendler emphasized the printer's interest in the comparative approach to knowledge of states but did not relate it to the publication plan for the "Consiglio politico" in *Somma delle opere*. Nevertheless, his words convey the spirit of Sansovino's approach: "The attempt to extract methodical political knowledge from history gave birth to a treatise of comparative government by Sansovino." According to Grendler, Sansovino

> expressed the desire to formulate a 'nuova Politica' by describing governments as they existed or had existed in the past. With the examples of many governments before him, the reader could discern for himself what was good and bad, and devise his own improved form. Sansovino's comments implied criticism of theoretical treatises as he emphasized the actual practice and procedure of governments. The book contained short descriptions of the constitutional structure of the governments of contemporary France, Germany, England, Spain, Turkey, Venice, Rome, Lucca and Genoa; Sparta, Athens, and Republican Rome of antiquity; and concluded with the government of Utopia. Subsequent editions added more governments. He also showed an awareness of the importance of understanding indigenous customs in order to comprehend the workings of the government. [. . .] Bodin wrote that it was useful to the historian to compare the forms of government of different states, and sixteenth-century Italians were engrossed in the search for the

perfect form of government. *Del governo dei regni* provided in a convenient format some raw materials for the quest. Sansovino enabled the general reader to consider historically the issues raised by learned commentators.

The first edition of *Del governo dei regni* contained descriptions of the following cities and countries:[159] Rome by Ottaviano Vestrio, France by Vincenzo Lupano, Germany by Thomas Auths, England by Giulio Raviglio Rosso (which had been already printed by the Accademia Veneziana), Spain by Alfonso Ulloa, Turkey by Theodoro Spandugino, Persia by Paolo Giovio, Tunis by Giovanni Leoni, Venice by Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, Rome by Lucio Fenestella, Switzerland by Leandro Mutio, Ragusa by Francesco Sansovino, Sparta by Senophon, Genoa by Francesco Sansovino, Athens by an unknown author,[160] Fez by Giovanni Lioni, Lucca by Francesco Sansovino, and Utopia by Thomas More. Portugal, Poland, and the Roman republic were added in the 1567 edition, and Naples in the 1583 edition.

The idea of putting all these texts into a miscellany is very interesting and useful, but they are merely descriptive. Thus Sansovino's publication matched the plan of the Accademia Veneziana only partially in that it dealt with a description of the institutions of each country without illustrating other issues such as *pretensioni*, *precedenze*, *capitolazioni*, and *rendite*. While the 1561 edition was addressed to the "civil man," the 1567 edition also targeted the statesmen: "ad ogni uomo civile et di stato."

The striking similarity of this publication with the projects of the Accademia Veneziana led Barbara Marx to affirm that the very first publication announced by Badoer in the "Consiglio politico" in *Somma delle opere* took shape in Sansovino's *Del governo dei regni*. While the connection between Sansovino and the Accademia della Fama is very interesting and very plausible given his direct link to the academy and its founder, I want to note that Sansovino did not linger on thornier issues such as international relations, interests of state, and diplomatic negotiations. The book that was to go deeper into these problems was an anonymous publication, dated September 1589.

Indeed, the advice to extract political knowledge by comparing the various forms of governments in the contemporary world, while taking into consideration their individual characteristics, was repeated time and again in various forms by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century political thinkers such as Girolamo Savonarola (at the end of the fifteenth century), Niccolò Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini, Govanfrancesco Lottini, Giovanni Botero, and the Venetians Paolo Paruta and Pier Maria Contarini.[161] However, these were authors' reflections on the theory of statecraft and not state documents. Sansovino's *Del governo dei regni et delle repubbliche* also is a gathering of a number of historians' descriptions of various countries, but I am not aware

of another publication before 1589 aiming to convey a comparison of the different states of the world and their political interests with the intention of both instructing and informing and, above all, claiming to be based on state documents, such as ambassadors' writings. This is what we find in the *Thesoro politico cioè relationi instruttioni Trattati, discorsi varii. D'Amb(asciato)ri Pertinenti alla cognitione, et intelligenza delli stati, interessi, et dipendenze de più gran Principi del Mondo. Nuovamente impresso a benefficio di chi si diletta intendere, et pertinentemente discorrere li negotii di stato. Nell'Academia Italiana di Colonia L'Anno 1589* (*Political Treasure, that is reports, instructions, treatises, various discourses of ambassadors, which are relevant for the knowledge and understanding of states, interests, and subordinations of the most important princes of the world. Recently printed for the benefit of those who enjoy understanding and appropriately discussing states' matters. In the Italian Academy of Cologne, 1589*).[162] Of course, the place of publication is fake.

Containing more than 30 texts, *Thesoro politico* included the first printed edition of Venetian ambassadors' *relazioni* and others by non-Venetian ambassadors. The book also contained instructions to cardinals and papal nuncios on how to behave during their missions at foreign courts and how to defend the interest of their countries; a discourse on how to pursue one's own interest or that of his party during the conclave; another discourse concentrated on papal authority; and so on. With respect to Sansovino's miscellany, the *Thesoro politico* covered thorny issues such as *pretensioni*, *precedenze*, and so on and, more important, did so by using different material and by reporting on the foreign policy of each country, its alliances, and a prediction of the likely moves in the international arena based on an evaluation of the country's interests. *Thesoro politico* seems the best realization of Badoer's plans, as he outlined it in the July 1560 *Supplica* to the Venetian Senate.

The reason behind such a publication was the widespread interest for Venetian ambassadors' *relazioni*, which were considered extremely precious sources for understanding how the world actually functioned behind the veil of propaganda and beyond historical accounts. In the anonymous report from Venice (*Relazione di Venetia*) of 1569, subsequently abridged and inserted in the first *Thesoro politico*, we are at the beginning of the long tradition leading up to Leopold Von Ranke of Venetian ambassadors' reports as invaluable historical sources.[163] The author states that Venetian *relazioni* should be considered more trustworthy than any history, no matter whether it is printed, since Venetian ambassadors are obliged to report freely to the Senate the truth about all that pertains to their duty. Thus there is no reason to believe that they would do any differently.[164]

As Garrett Mattingly pointed out in his classic book, the wars of religion impoverished diplomatic relationships among European states to such an

extent that "by 1589, then, European diplomatic contacts were interrupted everywhere except between ideological allies."[165] At the same time, the need for informal intelligence grew, and rulers had recourse to less formal ways of gathering information such as using spies and various nonestablished agents.[166] It has been demonstrated in various studies that the circulation of ambassadors' *relazioni* was much more common than one may expect from writings that were supposed to remain within the Venetian chancery, but the material was too juicy for someone not to dare to publish these documents.

The material evidence Jean Balsamo highlighted[167] indicates that *Thesoro politico* was printed in Paris, as some of the texts bear typographic ornaments from Parisian printers. However, it is also true that the majority of the texts do not bear typographic ornaments and could have been printed anywhere. Enzo Baldini[168] has found an anonymous *mémoire* read in front of the Congregation of the Index of Forbidden Books that confirms Balsamo's hypothesis and gives the name of one Giovanni Maria Manelli as the person responsible for the publication. Here I do not want to question facts, which I have discussed in previous contributions, but I want to point out that *Thesoro politico* is still in search of an appropriate intellectual context and that its content recalls the publication plans of the Accademia della Fama, as well as the project indicated by Federico Badoer in the *Supplica* of 1560, even more accurately than Sansovino's *Del governo dei regni*. I continue to be unsatisfied with the intellectual context Jean Balsamo indicated, and I believe that Paris was not the right context for publishing such a substantial book containing this kind of information, in the month of September 1589, when the city was dominated by the Catholic League while it was put under siege by Henri IV.[169]

In order to compare the list of publications planned by the Accademia della Fama back in 1558, it is useful to report the list of texts in *Thesoro politico* (1589), along with the matching titles in the publication plan of the Accademia della Fama dedicated to the category of "Politics":

Thesoro politico (1589)	*Category of "politics" in Somma delle opere*
Thesoro politico cioè relationi instruttioni Trattati, discorsi varii. D'Amb(asciato)ri Pertinenti alla cognitione, et intelligenza delli stati, interessi, et dipendenze de più gran Principi del Mondo. Nuovamente impresso a benefficio di chi si diletta intendere, et pertinentemente discorrere li negotii di stato. Nell'Academia Italiana di Colonia L'Anno 1589	*Cinque libri di ragion di stato, ne' quali con maraviglioso ordine si contengono tutte quelle cose, che sono necessarie, e che ragionevolmente si possono sapere, dintorno alle persone, alle corti, a paesi, et a gli habitanti, et alle forze de' Principi, si Christiani, come infedeli, delle rep[ubbliche] et d'ogni altro governo.*

(*continued*)

Thesoro politico (1589)	*Category of "politics" in Somma delle opere*
[Scipione Di Castro], Delli fondamenti dello stato et instrumenti del regnare. Discorso eccellente (Scipione Di Castro's On the Foundations of the State and the Instruments Suitable for Government)	Contains reflections on the principles of reason of state, as a practice that disregards the commonly accepted moral tenets in view of a common good. The writing also reflects on different countries, their different laws, and how suitable they are to the character of the people. This matches the general aim of the Accademia della Fama's publication plan related to the category of "Politics."
[Michele Suriano, Paolo Tiepolo, and Anonymous], Relatione di Roma (Report from Rome)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Paolo Tiepolo?], Relatione della corte et stati dell'imperatore (Report about the states and the court of the emperor)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Anonymous], Delle istorie antiche et moderne di Spagna (On the ancient and modern histories of Spain)	*Una breve raccolta di tutte le cose della Spagna, tratta da vari autori antichi et moderni con bellissimo ordine.*
[Costantino Garzoni], Relatione di Portogallo (Report from Portugal)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Marcantonio Barbaro], Relatione di Costantinopoli, con un [Anonymous] Discorso come l'impero turchesco ancorché tirannico e violente sia perdurabile et per ragioni naturali invincibile (Report from Constantinople, with a discourse about how the Turkish empire is going to last despite being tyrannical and violent)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Maffeo Venier], Discorso dello stato presente del turco et del modo di fargli una guerra totale (Discourse about the present state of the Turks and how to wage a total war against them)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Anonymous to the Grand Duke of Tuscany], Relatione della repubblica di Venezia e stati suoi (Report on the Venetian Republic and its sates)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."

(*continued*)

Thesoro politico (1589)	*Category of "politics" in Somma delle opere*
[Michele Suriano], Relatione di Francia (Report from France)	*L'ordine distinto, e particolare de gli offici, e magistrati della Franza.*
[Giovanni Maria Manelli?], Relatione delle divisioni di Francia (Report about the civil war in France)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Giovanni Michiel, and Anonymous], Relatione d'Inghilterra (Report from England)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Scipione Di Castro], Relatione degli stati di Fiandra (Report about Flanders)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Emiliano Manolesso], Relatione di Ferrara (Report from Ferrara)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Andrea Gussoni], Relatione di Fiorenza et stati suoi (Report from Florence and its states)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Giovan Battista Leoni], Relatione di Napoli (Report from Naples)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Scipione Di Castro], Relatione di Milano (Report from Milan)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Anonymous], Relatione de' Svizzeri (Report from Switzerland)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Antonio Possevino], Relatione del regno di Svezia MCLXXVIII (Report from Sweden)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."

(*continued*)

Thesoro politico (1589)	*Category of "politics" in Somma delle opere*
[Italian translation from Johan Coblensz] Relatione di don Filippo Pernisten [but Johan Coblensz] ambasciatore di sua maestà cesarea al gran principe di Moscovia 1579 (Don Filippo Pernisten's report from Moscow, 1579)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Giovanni Michieli], Relatione di Persia nella quale si ha notizia di quella guerra fino all'anno 1588 (Report from Persia containing information about the war up to 1588)	This, as all the subsequent *relazioni*, responds to the title of the publication plan devised by the Accademia della Fama for the category of "Politics."
[Anonymous], Discorso sopra l'autorità del papa (Discourse about the pope's authority)	*Le institutioni dell'imperio contenute nella Bolla d'oro (1559)*
[Giovanni Francesco Commendone?], Discorso come l'imperio dipenda dal papa (Discourse about the empire's subordination to the papacy)	*Delle precedenze, che sono tra i Principi, e le rep[ubliche] con le ragioni che da ciascuna parte sono addotte.*
Ragionamento all'illustrissimo et reverendissimo sign(ore) il sign(or) cardinale San Sisto del sig(nor) Fabio Albergati. Circa il modo come doveva comportarsi mentre che come nipote di papa Gregorio aveva sopra di sé la carica de i negotii della Santa Sede (Reasoning addressed to his most illustrious Cardinal San Sisto about how he should behave, being a pope's nephew, while he was in charge of the businesses related to the Holy See)	*Due trattati dell'officio del prudente ambasciatore.*
[Anonymous], Instruttione per l'illustrissimo et reverendissimo sig(nore) cardinale Mont'Alto, nipote di nostro signore Sisto Quinto, fatta del 1587 (Instruction for the most illustrious and reverend Cardinal Mont'Alto, the nephew of our Lord Sixtus V, written in 1587)	*Due trattati dell'officio del prudente ambasciatore.*
Discorso sopra le attioni del conclave di Gio(vanni) Francesco Lottino (Discourse about the conclave by Giovanfrancesco Lottini)	*Due trattati dell'officio del prudente ambasciatore.*

(*continued*)

Thesoro politico (1589)	*Category of "politics" in Somma delle opere*
[Anonymous to Luis Torres] Instruttione data ad un prelato quando andò alla corte di Spagna, per trattare col re, sopra la conclusione della lega, tra Pio Quinto, re di Spagna et venetiani (Instructions given to a prelate when he went to the Spanish court to negotiate with the king about the agreement of the League between Pius V, the King of Spain, and the Venetians)	*Le capitulationi fatte tra tutti i Prencipi Christiani dall'anno XIX infino al presente.*
[Michele Soriano], Trattato fatto dal Clarissimo N. N. intorno alla conclusione della lega fatta tra Papa [Pio] V Il ser(enissi) mo re cattolico, et l'ill(ustrissi)ma sig(no)ria di Venetia (Treatise written by N. N. about the agreement between Pope [Pius] V, the King of Spain, and the most illustrious Venetian Signoria)	*Le capitulationi fatte tra tutti i Prencipi Christiani dall'anno XIX infino al presente.*
Discorso dell'interregno di Polonia dell'anno M.D.LXXXVII di Horatio Spannorchi (Discourse about the interregnum in the Kingdom of Poland)	*Le pretensioni che l'un principe ha con l'altro sopra diversi stati.*
[Anonymous], Discorso sopra l' elettione da farsi del nuovo re di Polonia M.D.LXXXVII (Discourse about the election of the new King of Poland 1587)	*Le pretensioni che l'un principe ha con l'altro sopra diversi stati.*
[Giovan Francesco Peranda]. Instruttione a N. [Annibale Di Capua] nuntio di S(ua) S(antità) alla ser(enissi)ma republica di Venetia (Instruction to N. when he was sent as nuntio to the Serenissima Venetian Republic)	*Due trattati dell'officio del prudente ambasciatore.*
[Giovan Francesco Peranda], Instruzione a N. [Annibale Di Capua] quando andò nuntio alla corte cesarea (Instruction to N. when he went as a nuntio to the Imperial court)	*Due trattati dell'officio del prudente ambasciatore.*
[Anonymous], Instruttione a N. quando andò ambasciatore agli Svizzeri (Instruction to N. when he went as ambassador to Switzerland)	*Due trattati dell'officio del prudente ambasciatore.*
[Anonymous], Del governo dei Grigioni et modo di negotiar con loro (On the government of the Grisons and how to negotiate with it)	*Due trattati dell'officio del prudente ambasciatore.*

(*continued*)

Thesoro politico (1589)	*Category of "politics" in Somma delle opere*
[Niccolò Tiepolo], Relatione del clarissimo N. ritornato ambasciatore dal convento di Nizza. Dove fu fatto l'aboccamento da la Santità di Papa Paulo Terzo con Carlo Quinto imperatore, et col re Francesco primo di Francia col mezzo di Sua Santità conclusa la tregua tra l'una et l'altra maestà per anni dieci (Report of the most illustrious N. when he returned after his mission to the Nice congress, where the preliminary meeting was organized by the Holy Father Paul III, with Emperor Charles V, and with the King of France Francis I, and a truce was agreed between the two majesties for ten years)	*Le capitulationi fatte tra tutti i Prencipi Christiani dall'anno XIX infino al presente.*

The entire title of the *Thesoro politico* is a succinct version of the first publication announced by the Accademia della Fama. The expression "interesse" replaces "ragion di stato," as was normal in the literature of the time,[170] while the rest of the promised material can be identified with the various *relazioni*, which contained accounts of countries, their strengths and weaknesses, their courts, and the inhabitants of the country and their characters and customs. The Accademia della Fama wanted to report about the revenues of all princes, and the *relazioni* of the *Thesoro* normally inform about the revenues of the country, as was normal in Venetian *relazioni*. The promised piece on France and its institutions and magistracies could find a reliable source in Michele Suriano's report from the country. As for Spain, the title of the report matches almost word for word the promised text in *Somma delle opere*,[171] although it also provides an account of the personality of King Philip II, imitating the famous descriptions of the king in some well-known Venetian ambassadors' reports. The content reported here matches in several points the more general and the specific issues that the academy had planned to publish. The *pretensioni* are not only announced in the subtitle of the *Thesoro* but can be found in the analysis of the foreign policy of each state at the end of each report and updated to the months immediately before September 1589. The *capitulationi* were analyzed in various reports such as the Nice agreements, the anti-Turk treatise, and others. The issue of the *precedenze* is also dealt with in the writings about papal authority; the promised treatise on the prefect ambassador finds several practical examples in the *instruttioni* by Francesco Peranda to the Archbishop of

Naples Annibale Di Capua—who incidentally was also one of the patrons of Giovanni Battista Leoni,[172] whom we shall encounter later on—as well as in the instructions to Cardinal Montalto[173] and Cardinal San Sisto on how to behave at the Roman court. Finally it is interesting to note that the theoretical text put at the beginning of the *Thesoro politico*, and written by Scipione Di Castro,[174] specifically discussed the necessity for the prince to be able to compare different states and understand the character of the people before giving them appropriate laws, cited Aristotle and Cicero, and discussed the character of the ideal prince. Thus Di Castro's treatise could act as the theoretical introduction to the rest of the material contained in the book.

The *Thesoro politico*, even more than Sansovino's book, appears as the manual that the Accademia Veneziana wanted to publish for the education of the young patriciate in diplomatic practice[175] and contained all the practical information about contemporary events, countries, and people that Badoer never ceased to insist on, from the letter to his friend Lippomano, until creation of the Academy.

At this point, the question is, who would be interested in carrying out a large project such as the publication of sensitive material under a false address and a pseudonym? I believe that in order to make sense of this very original publication, we should enlarge the picture and look at examples of the importation of foreign fonts, the smuggling of prohibited books, the publication of controversial essays, and the links of Venetian printers with foreign countries. None of these practices were foreign to Venetian publishers.

In a letter to Federico Badoer, Paolo Manuzio wrote that he had types imported from France for the purpose of printing the Accademia Veneziana's Latin version of the *Somma delle opere*, the *Summa librorum*.[176] As for the smuggling of prohibited books, this practice had gone on for a long time, well before the period I am dealing with here. Pietro Perna established a network for the importation and distribution of heretical books in 1540s Venice.[177] Thus by the end of the century, a printer such as Roberto Meietti must have been very familiar with this modus operandi.[178] In the Museo Correr, there is also one copy of *Terza parte del Thesoro politico* (*Third Part of the Thesoro Politico*) with the printing place "Serravalle di Vinetia, appresso Marco Claseri con licenza de' superiori, ad instanza di Roberto Meietti, libraro in Vinezia, 1605."[179] The combination of Claseri and Meietti is interesting because they refer to Sarpi's milieu of those years. The Sienese Giovanni Battista Ciotti not only published some books with the false imprint of "Colonia," a city he most probably never visited, but he also enjoyed a very special connection with the German book market.[180] Masked publications would become more and more frequent in the

seventeenth century, with locations such as Londra, Palermo, and so on, and one example is the printing of *On the Jurisdiction of the Most Serene Republic of Venice over the Adriatic Sea* (*De Iurisdictione Serenissimae Reipublicae Venetae in mare Adriaticum*; Eleutheropoli, 1619). In this case, both paper and fonts were imported from Germany, and the Ducal printer Pinelli was the responsible for publishing the pamphlet.[181] Five years later, Pinelli would mask yet another Venetian enterprise with the false place of imprint "Lione." In the light of this evidence, it is not unthinkable to retrodate the practice of publishing books anonymously and under false address and thus consider *Thesoro politico* an early example of such practices.

It is clear that this miscellany matched in more than one point the program of the Accademia della Fama. The inscription "Academia italiana di Colonia" and the declaration that the book was being published by the printer of the academy, the mysterious Alberto Coloresco, is worth commenting on. In this case, "Academia" is an ambiguous term in that it indicated both the place where the book was allegedly printed and the group of people representing the academy. Thus *Thesoro politico* appeared to readers as a product published by the distinguished elite, with inside knowledge about the most secret functioning of courts and relations between states and which possessed a private typography for printing its publications. The mysterious academy was offering to the general public an understanding of how politics really worked in various countries, and by publishing ambassadors' *relazioni* and secret *instruzioni*, it showed what kinds of decisions were made and why, thus offering to the reader more in-depth knowledge than one could find in the material published by Sansovino. *Thesoro politico* offered interpretations of current facts and contemporary people, and most important, the authors of the various texts appeared as trustworthy because they were intimately connected with states' secrets. Readers would immediately recognize that the authors' insight was a very particular one and whose original audience was not the general public but cardinals, princes, or the republican institutions.

As for the printer, it is now obvious that Alberto Coloresco was a fake name, however, the declaration that the academy had its own printer deserves special attention. When we speak about the complicated and multifaceted world of academies, it is common to hear that they had their special printers, who in turn took part in the life of the academy. Perhaps influenced by some distinguished examples such as Aldo Manuzio's and Achille Bocchi's academies and commitment to classical scholarship, this seems a generalization that is worth analyzing in more detail. Research has revealed very few instances where a printer claimed to be directly associated with an academy, and the examples are so few that they can be listed here: Aldus Manutius used to write "In Aldi Academia," or "Neakademia"; Anton

Francesco Doni claimed to be the printer of the Academia dei Pellegrini; in Siena, the Congrega dei Rozzi used the printshop of Simone di Niccolò di Nardi;[182] Paolo Manuzio[183] was the printer of the Accademia della Fama and all related publications bore the inscription "Nell'Academia Venetiana"; in 1594, the Sienese printer established in Venice, Giovanni Battista Ciotti, defined himself "dell'Accademia Venetiana Stampator, et Librar alla Minerva" and used this association until 1606, in the preface to Giovan B*attista Marino's Rime*;[184] earlier in sixteenth-century Bologna, Achille Bocchi set up a printing press in his palace in Via Piella, where his academy was also based. *Symbolicarum questionum* (1555) was one of the only two books ever published under the auspices of the academy and bore the inscription "In aedibus novae bocchianae academiae"; in Ferrara in 1603, Vittorio Baldini signed "appresso Vittorio Baldini, stampatore dell'Accademia";[185] in Padua, just after the foundation of the Ricovrati Academy in 1599 in the house of Federico Corner, academicians declared that the academy should have its own printer and that permission should be sought before publishing with other printers.[186] Francesco Bolzetta was selected, and in fact he proudly declared "Appresso Francesco Bolzetta, libraro dell'Accademia" in *Discourse about Homer's cave of the Naiad Nymphs. Impresa of the The Sheltered academicians in Padua. Written by Giovanni Battista Belloni, called the Pilgrim, Canon and lector on Morals in the University of this same city* (*Discorso intorno all'antro delle Ninfe Naiadi di Homero Impresa degli Academici Ricovrati di Padoa. Di Giovanni Belloni detto il Pellegrino Canonico, et Lettore delle Morali nello studio di essa Città*; Appresso Francesco Bolzetta, libraro dell'Accademia, 1601. Nella Stamperia di Lorenzo Pasquati),[187] but subsequent publications did not show the same close relationship between the academy and the publisher. In seventeenth-century Venice, Sarzina was the printer of the Incogniti Academy, and when he died he was replaced by Valvasense;[188] still in Venice, the Accademia degli Argonauti created by Vincenzo Coronelli also hosted the printing press on the academy's premises, the Church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari; in Florence, Domenico Manzani was "stampator della Crusca" in 1584; finally, to return to Bologna later in the seventeenth century, the Manolessi firm printed *Proses of the Gelati Academicians* (*Prose degli Accademici Gelati*) in 1671 and proudly claimed to be "Stampatori dell'Accademia de' S[ignori] Gelati" (printer of the Frozen Gentlemen).

This list shows that the association between a printer and an academy was not at all common. The chronological gap between one academy and the other does not show a consistent trend in this practice. Only Venice, Florence, Siena, Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara had academies directly associated with a printing press. Moreover, data would indicate that the majority of printing presses directly associated with, or created by, one specific

academy were active in Venice. Thus apart from the recurrence of the themes that I have mentioned, the association of someone's name with the name of an academy could plausibly suggest a Venetian environment for the publication of the *Thesoro politico*.

The Accademia Veneziana Seconda

The smuggling practices I illustrated earlier were not at all uncommon to late sixteenth-century Venetian publishers. Some names point to a circle of people involved in secret political dealings, while they also feature among the founders or members of the Accademia Veneziana seconda (1594–1608). Created under the patronage of the Venetian Senate, in particular under six prestigious Venetian patricians, the academy was supposed to hold its literary meetings in the Ducal Library.[189] Statutes and regulations do not indicate that the academy meant to carry forward the publications of the first Venetian Academy, as scholars suggested later on.[190] In the last decades of the sixteenth century, the political climate in Venice had changed and was to change even more with the Interdict crisis of 1606–7. In this context, Giovanni Battista Leoni and Giovanni Battista Ciotti played an interesting role in the network of academies, diplomats, informers, and printers. It is known that Ciotti was implicated in the smuggling of prohibited books from Germany, and for this reason he was fined by the Inquisition, while during the Interdict crisis he sided with Paolo Sarpi.

One of the most intriguing and one of the most elusive personalities of late sixteenth-century Venice,[191] Leoni's life and experience reveal that he was one of the many people, though a distinguished case among them, who wrote fiction and political texts while also serving as informer to high-ranking politicians. The informer and secretary of many prelates and aristocrats, such as Cardinal Commendone, the Venetian Marco Querini, the Archbishop of Naples Annibale Di Capua, the Venetian secretary Alvise Lando, the French Cardinal Philippe de Lenoncourt, and others, Leoni also traveled to Poland, Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and France. In 1574, he was in Rome, where he remained several years, and from there he traveled to Naples in 1578–79 at the service of the Venetian secretary Alvise Lando. When he was sent to Malta by Vatican authorities, he had to report on the state of the island after the defeat of the Turkish fleet at Lepanto. Leoni authored a *relazione* on the Neapolitan Kingdom, which was later inserted in the *Thesoro politico* (1589).[192] In this writing, he described how the Spaniards managed to take control over a very troubled kingdom, which was almost "naturally" keen to revolt against the established ruler. Moreover, he denounced quite clearly the historical responsibility of the

papacy in favoring rebellion inside the country anytime this proved useful for the Church state. A few years later, Leoni contributed to the historical debate by publishing a commentary on Guicciardini's *History of Italy* (*Storia d'Italia*, Venice, 1583), which contained a clear stand in defense of the Venetian influence over the Adriatic Sea.

We know that between 1591 and 1593, Leoni was also addressed as a member of the clergy.[193] In 1594, one year after Badoer's death, Leoni was among the founders of the Accademia Veneziana seconda. The scrutiny of his letters reveals contact with several important people of the time, ranging from Henri III of Valois to the typographer Ciotti, as may be expected, as well as Pietro Priuli (later associated with Paolo Sarpi in the antipapal controversy and the promoter of the Venetian cause when he was ambassador in France in 1605–6),[194] Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto, Cardinal Enrico Caetani, Cardinal Luigi d'Este, and many others. In the early 1600s, Leoni was appointed censor of imported books, possibly as an acknowledgement for his work as political informer. We do not know many details about the circumstances of Leoni's appointment, but this decision appears to have provoked a strong reaction by the Venetian Inquisitor.[195] Continuing his activity as a political writer, in 1606, Giovanni Battista Leoni published *Two Discourses about Ecclesiastical Liberty* (*Due Discorsi sopra la libertà ecclesiastica*) under the pseudonym of Giovanni Simone Sardi.[196]

The Accademia Veneziana seconda did not publish books related to history or politics, but it would be a mistake to assume that its members were not involved in anything other than literary activities, and as current research demonstrates, it would also be a mistake to separate the two spheres of politics and literature with rigid barriers. Whether or not the academy was a pretext for allowing the meeting of people to discuss political affairs, we do not know, but given the fact that Ciotti's printshop served as a gathering place for many academicians who discussed tragedy and comedy, according to Scarano's memory,[197] this might be likely.

Conclusion

From the very end of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century, some manuscripts have survived containing fake presentations by young patricians exercising in diplomatic practice from April 1599 to September 1607,[198] thus at the beginning of the Interdict crisis. Clearly, the Serenissima's care in monitoring its geopolitical space had changed significantly since the times prior to Pietro Bembo's attempt at making a career in Venetian institutions. In the second half of the seventeenth century, several members of the Accademia degli Incogniti[199] of Giovan

Francesco Loredan engaged in fiction writing as well as in contemporary political histories of other countries, such as the wars in Germany and the civil war in England.[200] Among these writers was Count Maiolino Bisaccioni (1582–1663). His 1660 translation of a popular geopolitical atlas by the Polish Lukas von der Linden was Bisaccioni's last literary enterprise. Bisaccioni was to use and adapt Linden's text, and among the sources most used by the author is *Thesoro politico*, especially the writings describing European international relations. On a governmental level, the Serenissima did not renounce to have an official cosmographer at its service and in 1685 appointed the Franciscan friar Vincenzo Coronelli[201] to the distinguished post. There Coronelli was able to produce some of the world's finest atlases as part of the activities of the academy he set up, the Accademia degli Argonauti (1684–1718), which I shall return to in the next chapter. On a political level, it should be stressed that Coronelli's atlases were instrumental to the Venetian propaganda of the time.[202] As for his academy, he stretched its concept to its limits, in that he established an international community of learned people who did not meet and whom he kept informed with letters about the publication of his new and expensive atlases.

Finally, I agree with Edward Muir[203] when he portrays people in Venice as truly representing an "intellectual community" that resembled a "small republic of letters"—though I would not limit this description to the people involved in the "culture of wars," as he does. Muir is also right in affirming that these people "influenced each other, from one generation to the next, through family ties as well as through personal knowledge" and, I would add, through publications and professional contacts, all elements that allow us to speak about the existence and maintenance of a cultural network. It is telling, however, that apart from selected examples, groups of people who sometimes called themselves academies and sometimes revolved around them have been cast aside in the discourse of politics. I hope this chapter has demonstrated that Venetian academies and their publications allowed for the networks to speak to one another, from one generation to the next.

3

Italian Academies and Their Facebooks

Now that I have investigated the circulation of knowledge within one city, I want to illustrate examples of the circulation of knowledge between academies in two different cities, Venice and Bologna, and then from the northern to the southern peninsula. Traditionally, the example of cross-fertilization that characterized the Italian academic movement has been identified with Alessandro Piccolomini and his transfer from Siena, where he was associated with the Accademia degli Intronati, and Padua, where he was key to the creation of the Infiammati Academy.[1] Similar examples would require an entire chapter, and I hope that the Italian Academies Database (IAD) will help scholars visualize the connections that single academicians established among academies within the same city or between different cities. In this chapter, I analyze four cases of collaboration and cultural transfer.

Preparing a book of portraits of academicians was not an easy task. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, in his tragedy *L'Adargonte* (Roma: Leoni, 1687), Prospero Mandosio vividly recalled his attempt to collect biobibliographical information about the people of his *Bibliotheca romana* (1682–92). One passage in particular gives a good description of the patience, the slow pace, and the little collaboration that editors of such volumes could count on when assembling the necessary materials.[2]

In this chapter, I illustrate how some books of portraits of academicians were assembled, who was responsible for what, and, beyond the editing, what kinds of ideas either underpinned the publication of or were circulated by these volumes. I hope this will reveal a collaborative network between academicians, although such efforts were seldom recognized.

The first example focuses on the collaborative editing network of a major enterprise such as *Glories of the Unknown Ones* (*Glorie degli Incogniti*; Venice: Sarzina, 1643). Subsequently, I shall discuss how Giovan Battista

Capponi, the editor of the Bolognese *Memories, Imprese, and Portraits of the Frozen Academicians* (*Memorie, imprese e ritratti degli Accademici Gelati*; Bologna: Manolessi, 1672), adapted this idea in late seventeenth-century Bologna. In my view, Capponi, also a member of the Incogniti, not only adapted *Memorie* to the specific cultural discourse by imitating *Glorie degli Incogniti* but also edited that volume relying on his personal experience and the specific requirements of his academy. Although there are several studies on the Venetian Incogniti and the Bolognese Gelati, there is little literature suggesting that Capponi deliberately took inspiration from Incogniti's *Glorie*. Subsequently, I look at a little-studied volume of illustrated biographies of academicians in Vincenzo Coronelli's *Portraits of Famous Persons Gathered in the Cosmographic Academy* (*Ritratti dei celebri personaggi raccolti nell'Accademia cosmografica*; Venice: Academy of the Argonauts, 1697). Coronelli's cultural interests included geography and encyclopedism, and his book of biographies was intended to sell to his associates the pride of belonging to a distinguished and elitist society. Finally Giacinto Gimma, at the very beginning of the eighteenth century, edited the two-volume work *Academic Praises of the Society of the Lighthearted Ones of Rossano* (*Elogi accademici della Società degli Spensierati di Rossano*; Naples: Troise, 1703), in which he connected the usual sense of belonging to a specific group to the importance of the knowledge that each individual brought to the group. However, this chapter is not only about biographies. While each biography sheds light on the network of each individual, whether familial, professional, or social, it also shows the web of contacts involved in the edition and publication of the volume.

Some Reflections on Academies and Illustrated Biographies

The great advantage academies had with respect to other social circles such as guilds or magistracies was the production and circulation of texts, either in manuscript or in print, in which the name of the academy and names of its academicians were proudly declared to let readers know of the existence of a certain group, or indeed that someone belonged to that specific group, thus spreading the sense of the importance of belonging. This guaranteed to more or less restricted circles the acquisition of fame that institutions such as guilds did not enjoy, thus making it impossible for any learned man living on the Italian peninsula to ignore the social space of the *Accademia*.

In the age of social and intellectual networks, and in particular in the age of Facebook, I believe that I am not too far off the mark if I see Italian academies as their antecedents. Within this context, and bearing in mind

the importance of biographies and the obsession with portraits[3] in modern social networks, it is particularly interesting to focus on such texts as collections of illustrated biographies of academicians. The story told by the historian of Facebook, David Kirkpatrick, about the enormous success of the application that allows people to upload their pictures, reminded me of the emergence of books of illustrated biographies and the importance that portraits had for biographees and the whole academy.

These publications shed some light on issues of individuality, networking, encyclopedism, and shared knowledge in a slightly later period than what is commonly considered the Renaissance.[4] As far as portraiture is concerned, Peter Burke's remarks on the dichotomy of the presence of individual portraits within specific "groups" seem to be appropriate for academies' collections of illustrated biographies. At the same time, we should not forget the traditional representation of academies as places where people who attended their meetings shared their own and increased each other's knowledge, thus making the academy and its meetings something that resembled a live encyclopedia. As we have seen in early representations of academies, each academician was supposed to give his contribution to the advancement of learning from his particular area of knowledge. Despite later criticism of the social space of academies, it seems that the ideal purpose motivating the more or less formalized creation of these groups did not fade. It is in this context that we should see the spread, more so than in previous decades, of the writing of biographies of scholars, philosophers, and learned men[5] to represent their extensive social network as a mirror of their knowledge, as well as the capacity to meet the necessary requirement for a *letterato*—that is, to interact with the rest of the world in the art of conversation or in shared publications. Although the history of academies shows that cross fertilization was an essential part of the Italian academic movement, in the middle of the seventeenth century, this movement had long ceased to be confined to municipal groups, and it represented the model on which the European community of scholars was based.

The stories behind academies' "facebooks" tell a great deal about a single academy, its history, its activities, the interests of its members, and as a consequence, their network, as well as information about the characteristics of the academic movement at that time. In this chapter, I would like to answer the following questions: What kind of rhetoric can be found in academicians' biographies? How did academicians use their "facebooks" for projecting their identities to the outer world? How important was the network in the preparation of these "facebooks" and within the biographies of individuals?

Both the network and the intellectual stimulus behind four books of academicians' biographies suggest that their origin lay in the combined interest in book collecting, encyclopedism, library building, and physiognomy[6] and that such books were used to both create and show off individuals' social and intellectual networks, as well as to promote the "impersonal force," to use Lauro Martines's words, behind such a network (i.e., the academy). Moreover, it is interesting to note that all those who were involved in the preparation of illustrated biographies were famous for their special interest in heterodox knowledge, from the Venetian Giovan Francesco Loredan's (1607–61) libertine penchant to Giacinto Gimma's (1668–1735) fascination with the art of memory and the recovery of Lullianism. Between Gimma and Loredan, research has shown that Giovan Battista Capponi (1620–75) was very active in esoteric practices, and while Coronelli was the least heterodox of the four, he also started a major encyclopedic project with his planned 45 volumes of *Sacred and Secular, ancient and modern Universal Library*, where each word is explained in alphabetical order, including foreign words, related to any subject, that can be meaningful in Italian language (*Biblioteca universale sacro-profana, antico-moderna: in cui si spiega con ordine alfabetico ogni voce, anco straniera, che puo avere significato nel nostro idioma italiano, appartenente a' qualunque materia* . . . ; 1701–6), of which only seven volumes were ever published.[7] Thus three of the four examples discussed in this chapter—with the exception of Coronell's work—should be seen not only as illustrated biographies but also as early attempts at producing biographical dictionaries that followed either an alphabetical order or, in the case of Giacinto Gimma, a system that was being increasingly employed in the compilation of encyclopedias from the seventeenth century onward and that was to be employed in biographical dictionaries later on.[8] This may suggest editors intended for these biographies to become reference works describing the world of knowledge; though in this case, subjects were not the focal points but rather coincided with the people who were experts in those subjects.

The IAD, which lists academicians' profiles along with their reproduced portraits, when available, follows in the footsteps of a long-established tradition of illustrated biographies, although its approach is forcibly a prosopographical and not a biographical one. In a way, the first opens the door to the second. This is not just because the IAD can show the summary of someone's life but also because it is an important tool for visually showing the network of each individual without having to narrate it. In this chapter, I aim to comment on the way these "facebooks" are put together and how individuals' lives are narrated.

At the Origins of Narrated Biographies

The antecedents of narrated biographies can be found in classical examples, of which the most well known is Plutarch's *Lives*.[9] However, even more important is another tradition that tracks back to the Roman authors Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BC), Cornelius Nepos, and Atticus, whose works have been illustrated by Arnaldo Momigliano.[10] According to the testimony in Pliny's *Natural History* (35, II), Varro's book *Hebdomades or on Imagines* (44–39 BC) contained the portraits of 700 illustrious men, both Roman and Greek, including kings, statesmen, poets, dancers, and so on. Aulus Gellius, in his *Noctes Acticae* (3, 11), adds that each portrait was accompanied by couplets. Nepos, who acquainted Varro within the circle of scholars and friends at Pomponius Atticus's Villa Tamphiliana, on the Quirinal hill in Rome, continued the genre started by Varro with his lives of famous men of Roman, Greek, Persian, and Cathaginian origins from all walks of life.

In the Christian era, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, and other lesser known scholars such as Bartolomeo Facio followed the ancient models. In the sixteenth century, Paolo Giovio, Giorgio Vasari, and others contributed to the genre of historical biographies by bringing an innovative approach: they widened the subject of their collections by including the biographies of scholars and artists; narrowed the chronological gap in that they wrote the biography of nearly contemporary people alongside ancient personae; included biographies of women; and took either a moral exemplary approach or a laudatory one in praising the sitter, whose life was taken as an example to be remembered and taught, in line with the classical tradition of *historia magistra vitae*. Paolo Giovio developed two distinct genres. While he continued the tradition of *Vitae*, he also kept the genre of *Elogia*[11] much shorter and much more personal. This allowed him to avoid the grave style normally used to describe the subjects' lives and instead insert more interesting details. Giovio's "biting judgments on personal, professional, and moral shortcomings"[12] make his *Elogia* an amusing read even today.

More illustrated biographies followed, both in Italy and elsewhere in Europe. Here I narrow my research to the Italian peninsula, and after a short excursus on early examples of books of biographies in social circles that at times overlapped with academies, I first concentrate on a few people whose lives were described in both *Glorie degli Incogniti* (1647)[13] and *Memorie imprese e ritratti degli accademici Gelati* (1672).[14] Subsequently, I investigate the content of two later books of illustrated biographies, both produced by clergymen with an interest in lay culture and science: the Venetian Franciscan friar Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's *Portraits of Famous*

Personalities Gathered in the Cosmographic Academy of the Argonauts (*Ritratti de celebri personaggi raccolti nell'Accademia Cosmografica degli Argonauti*; 1697) and the abbot from Bari in Puglia, Giacinto Gimma's *Elogi accademici della Società degli Spensierati di Rossano* (1703).

Exchanging Portraits and Discussing Biographies: Cassiano dal Pozzo, Gabriel Naudé, and Jacopo Filippo Tomasini

In the seventeenth century, the social and intellectual *milieu* of the Umoristi (The Good Humorous Ones) and Lincei academies of Rome—in particular, Cassiano Dal Pozzo's collection—represent one of the best examples of a continuous interest in illustrated biographies. In her studies on this extraordinary collector, Caterina Volpi has revealed how Dal Pozzo was particularly active in seeking portraits for his own collection, while he developed an interest in the physiognomic studies that underpinned the representation of people's characters. Still in the Umoristi environment, Giovan Battista Marino's *Gallery* (*Galeria*; Venice: Ciotti, 1620)[15] and the Neapolitan Giano Nicio Eritreo's *Picture Gallery of Illustrious Men, Praised Either for Their Doctrine, or for Their Inclinations* (*Pinacotheca illustrium doctrinae vel ingenii laude virorum*; Coloniae: Cornelium ab Egmond, 1643–48)[16] did not contain portraits but were very influential to subsequent collected biographies.[17] Eritreo was inspired by the portraits of individuals either in Cassiano Dal Pozzo's possession or on the Umoristi Academy's premises, and, following Giovio's style, Eritreo wrote lively and amusing sketches of contemporary people and their characters, with descriptions of their intimate passions, fears, and bizarre behaviors.

After Marino's *Galeria*, it is in Padua where the Bishop of Città Nuova, Jacopo Filippo Tomasini (1595–1655),[18] started collecting portraits in imitation of his brother, the jurist Paolo Tomasini, who wanted to adorn his library with images of his colleagues. In the space of 17 years, between 1630 and 1647, Tomasini devised and published three collections of illustrated biographies: *Praises of Illustrious Men Adorned with Icons* (*Illustrium virorum elogia iconibus exornata*; Patavii: Donatum Pasquardum et socium, 1630) was the first publication of its genre to include the portraits of the authors listed in Tomasini's book.[19] In this case, the author chose a collection based on the intellectual contributions of the sitters in fields such as mathematics, science, law, and medicine rather than on their social status or political influence.

The second volume features more sitters: *Praises of Men Who Are Famous for Their Letters and Their Knowledge, Adorned through Clear Images Alive* (*Elogia virorum literis et sapientia illustrium ad vivum expressis*

ex imaginibus exornata. Ad sacram maiestatem christianissimae reginae Annae Galliae et Navarrae Regentis; Padua: Sebastiano Sardi, 1644), and the emphasis is on the biography rather than the commendation of the sitters. For this publication, Tomasini and Cassiano Dal Pozzo established an intense swapping of portraits, as demonstrated by their epistolary exchanges.[20]

In the third publication of illustrious men of letters, *Parnassus Euganeus that is, Museum of the most famous men adhorned with images of ancient records* (*Parnassus Euganeus, sive Museum clarissimorum virorum, et antiquor. monumentorum simulacris exornatum Ad . . . cardinalem D.D. Dominicum Cechinum*; Padua: Sebastianus Sardi, 1647),[21] Tomasini republished, with some additions, the portraits he had collected and published in the previous two volumes, dividing them according to the visual medium, such as medals, paintings, engravings, and so on. The fourth publication, *Parnassus Euganeus that is, about very famous writers and men of letters of this century, by Jacopo Filippo Tomasini: to be added to the Index of those whom Elogia hid, and discussed different writers* (*Parnassus Euganeus, sive de scriptoribus ac literatis huius aeui claris. Auctore Iacobo Philippo Tomasino: Accedit index eorum qui Elogia condidere, ac de scriptoribus diuersis tractarunt*; Padua: Sebastiani Sardi, 1647),[22] was conceived after a meeting in his villa with the French Gabriel Naudé; the German anatomist, surgeon, and director of the botanical garden Johan Vesling (1598–1648);[23] and the Danish physician Johan Rhode (1587–1658), member of the Ricovrati Academy. Over lunch, as Tomasini later told Cassiano dal Pozzo, each attendee started narrating the lives of men of letters of their respective countries. This volume presents a bare prosopography of scholars according to their nationality and the field in which their contribution was most prominent, but it did not include portraits.

This story shows that Tomasini's, Cassiano dal Pozzo's, and Gabriel Naudé's works were not isolated and solitary projects whose sources found an antecedent in the classical heritage. Tomasini's books were completed while the author was in close correspondence with the Umoristi and Lincei circles in Rome, in particular with Dal Pozzo and Naudé, who would later visit Tomasini in Padua.[24] The three scholars knew each other well and were all interested in collecting portraits of illustrious men of knowledge and in showing such portraits as a stimulus for a virtuous life.[25] While this idea was first conceived for adorning private libraries, it ultimately resulted in the elaboration of illustrated biographies. Tomasini reports to have added ekphrastic comments under each of the portraits he had placed atop the shelves of his library, as did Naudé for each portrait in Dal Pozzo's gallery.[26] Naudé had previously expressed his fascination for words commenting on authors' characters in *Advice on How to Adorn a Library* (*Avis pour dresser*

une bibliothèque; 1627),[27] where he stressed, with a touch of sarcasm, the utility of having authors' portraits in one's own library:

> Il n'est point aussi question de rechercher et entasser dans une bibliothèque toutes ces pieces et fragments des vieilles statuës,
>
> *Et Curios iam dimidios, humeroque minorem,*
> *Corvinum, et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem*
>
> Nous étant assez d'avoir des copies bien faites et tirées de ceux qui ont été les plus célèbres en la profession des lettres, *pour juger, en un temps, de l'esprit des auteurs par leurs livres, et de leur corps, figure et physionomie* [emphasis mine] par ces tableaux et images, lesquelles, jointes aux discours que plusieurs ont fait de leur vie servent, à mon avis, d'un puissant aiguillon pour exciter une âme généreuse et bien née à suivre leur pistes et à demeurer ferme et stable dans les airs et sentiers battus de quelque Belle Enterprise et résolution.[28]

> [Nor is there any point in seeking out and amassing in a library all the pieces and fragments of old statues
>
> Half Curii, Corvinus short a shoulder,
> Galba, too, minus a nose—and his ears,[29]
>
> since it is enough for us to have good copies carved or cast of those which portray the most famous literary men, so that we may at one and the same time form a judgement of the minds of authors by their books and of their bodily shape and facial expression by means of these pictures and statues, which joined to the accounts which many have made of their lives—may serve, in my opinion, as a powerful spur to excite a generous and well-born soul to follow in their footsteps and to continue steadfastly in the spirit of some noble enterprise resolved upon, and to follow the established path.][30]

Thus in the context of book collecting, Naudé believed in the moral utility of the description of people's characters, which finds confirmation in a list of recommended authorities on the theme of human character and attitude, including the controversial Spanish author Juan Huarte de San Juan's *Analysis of Talents* (*Examen de ingenios*; Alcalà de Henares: 1575)[31] and the Italian Antonio Zara's *Anatomy of Natural Dispositions and Sciences* (*Anatomia ingeniorum et scientiarum*; Venice: Ambrogio Dei e fratelli, 1615), which used Huarte's material.[32]

On his part, Dal Pozzo was exposed to the traditional interest for physiognomy that goes back to Paolo Giovio[33] and to the mutual influence that the founder of the Lincean Academy, Federico Cesi, and the Neapolitan Giovan Battista Della Porta had on each other in terms of their interests in medicine, chemistry, and astrology and their relationship with Neapolitan naturalists.[34] While Della Porta published *On Human Physiognomy*

(*Della fisonomia dell'huomo*) with a dedication to Cardinal Luigi d'Este and a eulogistic description of the dedicatee's physiognomy, Cesi chose Della Porta's description of the lynx as the most appropriate animal for representing the real aims of his academy.[35] However, the Lincei's interest in the art of judging someone's' character through his facial features was not confined to the mutual exchanges of praises: in 1637, Francesco Stelluti published a compendium of Della Porta's work in synoptic tables,[36] and in the same year, he wrote three letters with anecdotes describing Della Porta's astonishing capacity at predicting people's future.[37]

Thus the interest in collecting authors' portraits should be combined with the contemporary fascination with physiognomy,[38] as well as with the practice of book collecting. A cultural interest from which Tomasini was not immune, as he also tended to comment on the facial features of the sitters, especially in the first of his publications.[39] As Tomasini was also involved in the publication of *Le Glorie degli Incogniti* a few years later, I suggest that he acted as *trait d'union* between Roman and Venetian intellectual circles.

Between the two editions of Tomasini's work, Leone Allacci, a Greek scholar living in Rome, published *Urban Bees. on the Illustrious Men Who Were in Rome between 1630 Through 1632* (*Apes Urbanae, sive de viris illustribus, qui ab anno MDCXXX per totum MDCXXXII. Romæ adfuerunt, ac typis aliquid evulgarunt*; Rome: Grignanus, 1633). Although this book did not contain portraits of the listed authors, it is relevant to our argument because of Allacci's interest in the publications issued by the innumerable men of letters, scientists, and philosophers living in Rome between 1630 and 1632. Moreover, it has been argued that *Le Glorie degli Incogniti* was in part a direct response to Allacci's work, asserting the importance of Republican Venice as a secular cultural center, in contrast to Barberini's authoritarian and religious Rome.[40] Other explanations about the purpose behind Allacci's book should also be considered. The book was dedicated to Antonio Barberini, Urban VIII's brother, and some scholars argue that by referring to the bees appearing on Barberini's coat of arms, as well as the implication of their *urbanitas* (sophistication) and productivity within Barberini's *urbs*, this publication aimed to make peace with the newly elected Pope Urban VIII, Maffeo Barberini (1568–1644), whose authority Allacci had ignored a few years before when he resigned, without permission, as professor of Greek language in the college where Cardinal Barberini was the rector. Another interpretation considers *Apes urbanae* the triumph of Allacci's intellectual network: "Allacci a employé les suppléments de caractère biographique et anecdotique surtout pour tracer le réseau de ses alliances."[41]

The Incogniti Network

In 1626/1627, according to the date proposed by Nina Cannizzaro, or in 1630, according to Clizia Carminati,[42] the Accademia degli Incogniti was taking shape around the 21-year-old nobleman Giovanfrancesco Loredan. A few years after the Incogniti foundation, and before joining Loredan's academy, Girolamo Ghilini from Monza published *Theatre of Men of Letters* (*Theatro di huomini letterati*; 1638)[43] and radically changed the approach to the genre of biographies.[44] Ghilini listed the entries in alphabetical order,[45] adopted the Italian vernacular instead of Latin, and added a list of publications to each biography, but he did not use portraits, thus taking a biobibliographical approach rather than an iconographic one, and excluded women from his list. In the second edition, he increased the number of sitters, bringing the total to about 500 individuals. About 25 percent of these were foreigners (Polish, German, Spanish, English, Dutch, Bohemian, Hungarian, etc.), and the detailed list of their publications included Italian translations of titles in foreign vernacular languages. The presence of Loredan's biography in the first edition was acknowledged by the Venetian nobleman through an invitation to Ghilini to join his Incogniti Academy. This is why the second edition of Ghilini's work (1647) was published in Venice by Guerigli—a printer close to the Incogniti circle—and the title page bore the Incogniti emblem.[46] The wide spectrum of sitters' nationalities and the detailed information gathered by Ghilini has led Paolo Cherchi to affirm that Ghilini was copying from Latin books containing foreign biographies. The reason he did this remains unclear. However, his work is useful because it shows that *Glorie* was not an isolated enterprise, rather, it was one example within a developing genre.

Another publication that relates to the widespread interest in physiognomy and illustrated biographies, the theory of humors, and their influence on the human character is the work of another member of the Incogniti, Giovanni Imperiali, a physician from Vicenza (1596?–1670).[47] A pupil of the controversial natural philosopher and member of the Ricovrati Cesare Cremonini (1550–1631),[48] Imperiali was praised for his achievements at the university and for the high esteem in which Pope Urban VIII held him. He combined his interest in medicine and physiognomy in *Museum Pertaining to History and to Nature* (*Musaeum historicum et physicum*; 1640).[49] The *Musaeum* is divided into two parts: the first deals with short biographies of the subjects and their portraits; the second follows Huarte's work and discusses the theory of individuals' character and creativity, describes the differences between them and their causes, and suggests how every man can cultivate his own inclinations and increase his foresight and acumen. Following Galen's work, Imperiali explains what kind of food makes

minds lazy and dull and what kind of air and climate makes them inclined to understanding and to science. Eventually, Imperiali comments on the exterior signs identifying the positive or negative characters and the intellectual inclinations of the sitters. Imperiali's *Musaeum* was hailed as one of his most outstanding works, while Imperiali's eighteenth-century biographer praised him for expressing the theory of man's inclinations better than his predecessor Huarte de San Juan had done.

According to critics, Loredan himself put together the biographies of the academy's members in *Le Glorie degli Incogniti*[50] with valuable assistance from Girolamo Brusoni and from the academy's secretary, Agostino Fusconi, some 20 years after the creation of the academy. However, Thomas Cerbu has brought to light documents that show how, in 1641, Giovanni Argoli, a professor of *humanae litterae* in Bologna and a member of the Umoristi, Gelati, and Incogniti academies, informed Leone Allacci about Loredan's intention to involve Tomasini in arranging the material in view of the publication of *Glorie*. It was Tomasini who pressured Allacci to send both his biography and his portrait to Loredan, while he also warned the Greek scholar that the volume would not be published soon. Probably around 1643, Tomasini withdrew from Loredan's project, but clearly, Jacopo Filippo Tomasini must now be counted among Loredan's inspirations and assistants in the collaborative effort that produced *Le Glorie degli Incogniti*.

The insertion of Allacci's biographical sketch in *Glorie*, in return for Allacci's "commemoratione onorata" regarding Loredan and his academy in *Apes*,[51] suggests that *Glorie* sprang from imitation and networking, rather than from the idea of a competition,[52] between the two most important cultural centers of the time, Venice and Rome.[53] In *Glorie*, Loredan carefully disguised his central role as a networker as well as the celebration of his *persona* by including his profile in the collection according to the egalitarian alphabetical order already put forward by Ghilini. Later on, the publication of Loredan's two volumes of letters (published in 1653 and 1661, as well as a posthumous third volume in 1665)[54] would further confirm his extraordinary number of contacts, which included important scholars and artists of the time, both in Venice and abroad. In these letters, Loredan appeared as a great organizer of culture, a protector, and a patron, but above all, he demonstrated his key role in the activities of the Venetian press in the 1630s and 1640s.[55] He was the one who granted publication privileges, he was the dedicatee of several publications, and he interceded in favor of publications by large and small publishers. Enlisting the services of Francesco Ruschi and Tiberio Tinelli, the artists who devised the image of the academy's emblem—about 14 engravers of at least 3 nationalities (Italian, French, and Dutch) were involved in preparing the 100

academicians' portraits and biographies—this book is a celebration of the "sociability of printing," although it should be said that the printer himself, Francesco Valvasense, had little influence on Loredan's typographic initiatives and was merely an instrument of the nobleman's frenzied activity.[56]

The Serenissima had become a point of attraction for this kind of publication, and it was there that another volume of historical biographies appeared between Incogniti's *Glorie* and Gelati's *Memorie*: the Neapolitan Lorenzo Crasso's *Praises of Men of Letters* (*Elogi d'huomini letterati*; Venice: Combi-La Noù, 1666).[57] Bordering erudition and encyclopedism, Crasso, a member of the Neapolitan Oziosi and Bolognese Gelati,[58] included portraits of individuals and put all sitters under the banner of literature, from Cardinal Girolamo Seripando (born 1493) to Leone Allacci, Francis Bacon, and other foreign men of letters. However, given the little research undertaken on this author, it is unclear why Crasso decided to publish his work in Venice rather than in Naples: Was it easier to find engravers working for Venetian printers than for Neapolitan ones? Was Crasso interested in physiognomy?

From Incogniti's *Glorie* to Gelati's *Memorie*

Among the books of historical biographies including portraits, the Accademia dei Gelati's *Memorie degli accademici Gelati* (1672) has received far less attention than *Le Glorie degli Incogniti*. *Memorie* is a substantial volume of 405 pages, with short biographies and pictures, either portraits or *imprese*, of about 200 members, dead and still living.[59] One thing that distinguishes *Memorie* from *Glorie* is the style of representation of members that brings us back to the question of self-representation in books of biographies. As the editor, and also secretary of the academy at the time, Giovan Battista Capponi (1620–75)[60] declares in the introduction, both portraits and *imprese* of deceased academicians would be shown, while current members would only have their *impresa*. According to the editor, this different visual treatment was important in order to show to the public the Gelati's practice of devising *imprese*.[61] Several writers collaborated on the editing of the biographies, and it is likely that many academicians wrote their own autobiographical sketch. The systematic use of emblems by academicians distinguishes the Accademia dei Gelati from other academies of the time, while a theme of self-irony can be detected in some of the emblems.[62] Thus the portrait could be considered a tribute to the deceased academician, while the emblem represented its playful side. The comparison between Gelati and Incogniti shows, first of all, that the invention of a personal emblem by each academician was not a common feature of all

academies. As Capponi stated, in 1590, two volumes of Gelati's poems were released using individual emblems and nicknames as an introduction to the contributions of academicians.[63] Moreover, Jane Everson has proved that there was a strong interest of the Gelati academicians for the poetic representation of their own emblems.[64]

The publication of this substantial volume was justified by the academy's scarce activity in the previous decade. After Mario Casali's leadership (1658–68), there followed that of Valerio Zani (1669), called "Il Ritardato" (The Delayed, or Retarded, One), whose emblem was a frozen fountain with the motto *mox fluet* ("soon it will flow"). In the dedication to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the secretary of the academy, Giovan Battista Capponi, called "L'Animoso" (The Spirited One), apologized for the absence of the academy from the public sphere in recent years. Giovan Battista Capponi was also a member of the Incogniti, and his biography featured in the *Glorie*. This is, I believe, an important indication that the Gelati's *Memorie* was imitating the Incogniti's *Glorie*.

Scholars have hitherto not considered the coincidence between the Gelati's publication of *Memorie* and the creation of their library, largely based on Capponi's own book collection, where works by Gelati academicians would form a substantial part of the collection.[65] This connection between illustrated biographies and the creation of a library had already been noted by Gabriel Naudé and should be linked with the fascination for the art of physiognomy. These overlapping interests can be found in the biography of the academy's secretary, Capponi, whose activities as a respectable man have been normally based on the biographical sketch included in *Memorie*. He described himself as an *enfant prodige*, a teacher of anatomy at the University of Bologna, and an expert scholar of hieroglyphics and archaic languages, as well as a member of several academies in Bologna and in other cities throughout the peninsula. Particularly relevant to our argument are Capponi's study of anatomy and astrology, as well as his affiliation with several academies, including the Venetian Incogniti, the Bolognese Indomiti (1640–46), and Coro Anatomico (1650–ca. 1656), which have long been recognized as important places for the discussion of scientific subjects, where the old medical school clashed with the *adepti* of the new experimental medicine.[66] Capponi inherited his interest in anatomy and astrology from his father, Giovanni,[67] along with the initiative of promoting academies. Capponi's father had also been involved in a publication of the little known Accademia dei Vespertini. This publication was a celebration of the art of judging one's character based on his or her facial features and had been issued some 40 years before in the Franciscan father Cornelio Ghirardelli's manual *Physiognomic Cephalogy* (*Cefalogia fisonomica*; Bologna: Heredi di Dozza e Compagni, 1630).[68] The volume

explained the character of 100 types of men according to their facial features by employing extensively the classic theory of humors. The description of every facial type was followed by a poem, and Giovanni Capponi Sr. wrote at least one of them.

A case that exemplified the blurred boundaries between the fascination with magic and the new medical revolution in medicine is the private life of Giovan Battista Capponi. In 1651, when he was a professor of medicine and promoter of a new experimental method, Capponi was accused, tortured, and sentenced to house arrest by the Holy Office in Bologna, which was acting under the direct orders of the Roman Holy Office, following the accusation of apostasy of the Christian faith in favor of the false and blasphemous worship of the devil.[69] Capponi's house was meticulously searched, and several books, mostly in manuscript, relating to practical magic, astrology, and physiognomy were confiscated. The author whose works Capponi consulted the most was Girolamo Cardano, whom Capponi used for both his university lectures and his magical practices. After his formal recantation, the professor of medicine and his followers—some of whom were his university students and who would later make a brilliant career for themselves at the Bolognese studio—were granted clemency, and after a short time, Capponi was allowed to return to his work. It was some 20 years after this shameful event when Giovan Battista, now the secretary of the distinguished Gelati Academy, promoted the publication of the two most important collections of the Gelati academy, *Prose dei signori Accademici Gelati* (Bologna: Manolessi, 1671) and *Memorie* (1672).

At this point, a comparison between *Glorie* and *Memorie* can show similarities as well as interesting differences between the two publications. Both stated that the list of names was given in the alphabetical order, thus adopting Ghilini's methodology:

> Nella dispositione dei ritratti s'è osservato puntualmente l'ordine dell'alfabeto, onde chi credesse d'esser pregiudicato nel luogo, conoscendosi ricco di meriti, dia la colpa al proprio nome che gl'impedisce l'esser collocato tra' primi.[70]
>
> [Portraits have been arranged according to the alphabetical order, therefore those who think they have been penalised for the place they have been assigned, because they believe they have plenty of merits, should blame their own name, which prevents them to be placed among the first ones.]
>
> Per ultimo avverti non essersi osservato altra precedenza, che quella dell'alfabeto, l'ordine del quale se non parrà puntualmente osservato, sappi che chi è stato più frettoloso nell'inviare i rami delle imprese o dei ritratti, quegli ha occupato nella propria lettera il posto anteriore.[71]

[Finally, please note that no other order has been used but the alphabetical order, which, when it has not been carefully followed, it is because those who have been faster in sending their plates of *imprese* or portraits, have been given the first place.]

Notwithstanding this initially similar approach, the two publications differ in that *Glorie* offered a rather superficial presentation of each member, while *Memorie* delved deeper into the story of each academician's life, as some examples will show. Both publications provide some amusing elements in the academicians' biographies: in *Glorie*, we have Baldassarre Bonifacio's couplets under each portrait, while the Gelati used *imprese*.

Some Examples

A few Gelati academicians were also member of the Incogniti network. The different biographical and visual approaches adopted in the *Glorie* and the *Memorie* can be analyzed by examining a few biographies of figures who appeared in both works.

Count Andrea Barbazza (1581/2–1656) was a member of several academies in Rome and Bologna, as well as of the Venetian Incogniti. His biography in *Glorie*,[72] with his portrait as a young man and a Latin ekphrastic epigram, praises his personal combination of arms and letters and briefly mentions a famous ancestor: "Claruit Andreas literis Barbatius alter; / Tu clarus calamo, clarus et ense cluis" ("The other Andrea Barbazza became famous with letters, you are famous with your pen, and you acquired a reputation with your sword"). The biographical sketch praises his enthusiasm for armies and letters, commends Barbazza's close friendship with Cavalier Giovan Battista Marino, and his role in freeing Marino from prison in Turin is proudly declared as the perfect combination of action and literary engagement. Among other contacts emphatically stressed is Ferdinando Gonzaga, the Duke of Mantua, whom Barbazza served first as a master of the chamber when Gonzaga was a cardinal and, subsequently, as first "cameriere," when Gonzaga was given the title of duke. As for other academies, the Umoristi in Rome and the Indomiti in Bologna have a special place in the text. Of course, among Barbazza's achievements, great emphasis is placed on a gift he received from the French sovereigns, the chain of Saint Michael. Finally, the text describes Barbazza as an old man full of glory living his last years in his native Bologna and lists the titles of his literary publications: *Le Rime* (which is now considered lost)[73] and *The Amorous Perseverance. Pastoral Tragicomedy* (*L'amorosa costanza. Tragicommedia boschereccia*).[74] In general, Barbazza's biography in *Glorie* does not go into great detail.

The representation of Barbazza's life in Gelati's *Memorie*,[75] in contrast, is more informative, perhaps due to the fact that Barbazza was Bolognese and that he was deceased when *Memorie* was published. Thus the details about his origins could be more meaningful to the reader. First of all, the count's involvement in both arms and letters is traced back to his ancestors, whom are highly praised for their distinguished roles in the literary world, for their noble lineage, and their family networks. After recounting the nobility of his birth and his learned ancestry, much space is dedicated to Barbazza's activities and networks, including academies and friendly contacts. This point stresses one of the tenets of the academic movement: to be part of several academies and to have an extensive network was considered a sign of distinction in the Republic of Letters. As opposed to the rather unadorned portrait that we see in *Glorie*, Barbazza's iconography in *Memorie* emphasizes once more his engagement with arms and letters by depicting both his armor and the book tied to his family arms, as well as the chain clearly visible on his chest.

Another link between the Incogniti and the Gelati was the Bolognese Ovidio Montalbani (1601–71), who may have been responsible for promoting the imitation of the Incogniti's initiative in his native city. In *Glorie*,[76] after the couplets "Pelignus dedit huic nomen, Geniumque Poeta,/ Fors tamen huic melior, maior, et est pietas" ("Peligno gave this man his name, and the poet gave him his genius, chance however, gave him a better, and more important name, and this is piety"), we read a generic and encomiastic description of his life and deeds, in which Montalbani was described as a successful teacher and learned man.

On the other hand, in *Memorie*,[77] his nickname "L'Innestato" (The Grafted One) is represented in his *impresa* by a grafted tree and the motto "And it will marvel at the new grafts."[78] Montalbani's origin is revealed in detail, and the dates of his teachers' names and degrees are meticulously specified. However, we find nothing about Montalbani's activity as a writer of almanacs, where he warned landowners about the harshness of the upcoming winter season and provided all sorts of advice on how to best deal with natural disasters.[79]

The presence of Girolamo Preti (1582–1626) among the Incogniti[80] could not be justified unless we accept Cannizzaro's proposed early date for the creation of the Incogniti Academy. In *Glorie*, the couplet thus comments on his contribution: "Sapius ob carmen Praetus memorabitur unum / Quam levis ob numeros Myrtalus innumeros" ("Preti will be remembered more often for one poem, than the light Myrtalus for his innumerable ones"). Once again, the comparison between his biographies in *Glorie* and *Memorie*[81] shows that the latter is updated and much richer in details. It provides more titles for Preti's publications, names and details of his

patrons, and the exact date and place of the storm at sea that caused his death.

My concluding example is the biography of Giovan Battista Capponi himself, which is more important because of his role in the publication of *Memorie*. His profile in *Glorie*[82] evokes a bright young man who was associated with several academies and enjoyed many cultural interests and who held a doctorate in philosophy, delivered presentations on medical topics, and had several publication projects in the pipeline. The punning Latin couplet under his portrait, reads: "Iam licet inter aves Capum numerare canoras, / Scilicet huic vocem mutuat albus olor" ("It is now allowed to count the capon among the melodious birds / obviously the white swan borrowed his voice from it"). When we look at Capponi's biography in Gelati's *Memorie*,[83] it differs in several details. First of all Capponi's *impresa* replaced his portrait. His nickname is "L'Animoso,"[84] and the image shows a capon facing a tree and the motto "si quid mea carmina possent"—that is, he wishes his verses could make the tree blossom. For this motto, Capponi borrowed from Vergil's *Aeneid* ("Si quit mea carmina possunt," IX, 446), where the Roman poet lamented the death of Eurialus and Nysus and wished his words would keep their memories alive through the centuries. In Capponi's *impresa*, the two verses refer to the thematic manifesto of the Gelati's *impresa* and its motto *Nec longum tempus* ("Not for a long time").[85] The narrative of *Memorie* continues the story of the bright young man full of virtuous interests and provides plenty of details about his upbringing, his teachers, and his intellectual interests, which included anatomy and logic, until he entered the Gelati Academy in 1636 at the age of 16. The biography continues by reporting the names of those who worked with him, where he worked, what subjects he taught, and where he traveled. Thus Capponi mixed self-celebration and the need to narrate a transparent story of his life, and for this purpose, he used this space to declare his obedience to Church authorities. In the list of books not yet published he writes:

> L'altre cose che sono notate sotto il suo nome nelle *Glorie degli Incogniti* sono state bruciate dall'autore, come ancora due piccoli trattati scritti avanti il dottorato—1) *De humano semine nequaquam animato adversus Licetum et caeteros*—2) *Paradoxon Philosophiae Democriticae*. I quali semmai n'apparisse copia, dichiara che non li riconosce per opere sue.[86]

> [The author has burnt other titles that appear under his name in *Glorie degli Incogniti*, as well as two short writings he wrote before his doctorate: 1) *On the human semen by no means alive, against Licetus and others* 2) *Paradox of Democritus' philosophy*. Should copies of these books circulate, he declares he does not recognize them as his own.]

Thus the Gelati's *Memorie* appears to be both a continuation of and a response to the Incogniti's *Glorie*. Once again, it is not clear whether there was a competitive intention behind this project, as has been suggested for the case of Venice versus Rome, or whether Capponi simply borrowed the Incogniti's idea and adapted it to the Bolognese reality. However, I hope I have demonstrated that such publications were the product of intellectual and social networks merging various cultural interests. At the same time, they were themselves promoting the importance of social and intellectual networks within the increasingly more connected Italian Republic of Letters.

The Importance of Being Networked: Vincenzo Coronelli

Academies' illustrated biographies continued in subsequent decades with notable examples from Vincenzo Coronelli and Giacinto Gimma. Although I treat them separately, these authors did not ignore previous books of illustrated biographies.

Ritratti dei celebri personaggi raccolti nell'Accademia cosmografica (Venice: Academia Cosmografica, 1697), is an impressive in-folio with portraits and short biographies of illustrious members of the accademia, edited by the Venetian Franciscan friar and cosmographer of the Serenissima, Vincenzo Coronelli (1650–1718),[87] whose publishing activity in geographical and political subjects should be seen as a continuation of the interests of previous Venetian academies.[88]

Coronelli was a clergyman who made a distinguished career in the Franciscan order, with a specific passion for geography and cartography. In 1685, he was appointed "cosmografo pubblico" of the Serenissima, a title that he proudly used in all his publications and which gave him the privilege of printing large atlases. However, his career was not limited to the world of atlases, and in 1700, was appointed "definitore generale" in the high ranks of the Franciscan order. Apart from studies in Italian on both his life and numerous works and his incomplete encyclopedia, his fame abroad is mostly due to the atlases and globes he produced, and it is generally linked to a period of decadence of the Serenissima, when the Venetian state emphasized its previous successes through well-targeted publications, of which Coronelli was instrumental.[89]

Between 1681 and 1684, Coronelli was in Paris where he worked on two globes for King Louis XIV. On his return to Venice, he founded the Accademia degli Argonauti,[90] generally considered the first geographical association, supported by the patrician Giovanni Battista Donà and under the patronage of Doge Marcantonio Giustiniani and the Polish King John III

Sobieski. The Argonauti was from the beginning an international and elitist organization that included among its members princes, clergymen, lawyers, men of state, magistrates, and nobles form all Italian provinces and abroad, as well as libraries. The final list of members that Antonio Sartori[91] drew by combining the 3 lists issued by Coronelli, includes 309 names: 89 in Venice; 84 in France (Paris); 73 in Rome; 5 in Milan; 5 in Bologna; 4 in Florence 11 in Siena, Pisa, and Livorno; 2 in Naples; 13 in Sicily; 2 in England; 8 in Poland and Germany; 1 French diplomat in Constantinople; and 12 in various locations. As a reminder of Coronelli's anxiety in publicizing the members of his geographical society, there is a fourth publication discovered in 1950s that included a further list of members: *Impresa of Cosmographic Academy of the Argonauts. Catalogue of Its Associates and Index of the Works Published by Father Coronelli, Cosmographer to the Serenissima Repoublic of Venice* (*Impresa dell'accademia cosmografica degli Argonauti, Catalogo degli Associati, et Indice delle opere pubblicate dal P[adre] Coronelli Cosmografo della Serenissima Republica di Venetia*; with neither place of publication nor date, but considered to be from 1688–89).[92]

The venue of the academy was the Church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, in the district of San Polo. Just to stress once again the great variety of kinds of private academies across the Italian peninsula and across time, it should be noted that the Argonauti Academy did not hold meetings and counted on an extensive mail network. According to all historians, Coronelli was a master of making potential members be grateful to him for being included in a very exclusive circle, which, Coronelli assured, would bring prestige to the person's name. The production of the Argonauti Academy included lavishly illustrated atlases,[93] and Coronelli could count on a team of highly skilled artists such as Domenico Rossetti, Matteo Pizzuti, and Alessandro Dalla Via, the best engravers of the second half of the century.[94] Other contributors included Pietro Piccini and her daughter, the nun Isabella, the Neapolitan Aniello Porzio, and the Dutch Arnold van Westerhout, who is possibly the party responsible for the splendid portrait of Father Coronelli reproduced in several of the Argonauti's publications.[95]

Ritratti de celebri personaggi Raccolti nell'Accademia Cosmografica degli Argonauti, dedicati all'illustrissimo, e reverendissimo signore Domenico Federici da Fano, Abbate di San Martino di Waska, Consigliere di Sua Maestà Cesarea già suo segretario, ressidente alla Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia dal P. Maestro Vincenzo Coronelli Minor Conventuale di San Francesco, Publico Cosmografo, e Professore di Geografia. A spese dell'autore (Venice: Accademia degli Argonauti, 1697),[96] a large in-folio (50 × 36 cm) that was the eleventh volume of the *Atlante Veneto*, a multivolume publishing enterprise,[97] is a less studied work of Coronelli's production—and probably an unfinished project now available only in a limited number of copies in

few libraries in the world—that continued the tradition of academicians' portraits and biographies and confirms the importance of academicians seeing themselves as part of a group.

Coronelli knew the downside of working in a state in which the wealth was not concentrated in the hands of one single person,[98] and his flattering publications served the purpose of attracting as many people as possible to the circle, where they would receive publicity by buying his expensive publications. In its attempt to adulate authorities and the nobility by reconstructing their biographies, *Ritratti* was not the only volume produced in Coronelli's workshop concentrating on the celebration of individuals and their identities. Other examples included prosopographical works such as Golden books devised for the members of the Argonauti; *Synoptic table of cardinals from their creation through the whole 17th c. where in chronological order we distinguish each one by name, surname, or the father and the patria, the religion, the charges he had before, and after the cardinalship; the day, month, year and papacy when they were promoted; the churches they run in Rome, the exact day of their death, and where they were buried, who among these cardinals was elected Pope and what name they chose; who were the saints, martyrs, and sainted. Also contained herein is the list of the pseudo-cardinals and anti-popes and other necessary information for studying ecclesiastical history for the use of the Cosmographic Academy of the Argonauts, with the addition of two copious alphabetical indexes, one according to the first name, the other one according to the surname of cardinals . . .* (*Tavola sinottica dei cardinali dalla loro istituzione, sin' a' tutto il XVII. secolo caduto; nella quale con ordine cronologico si distingue di cadauno il nome, il cognome, o il padre, e la patria, la religione, le cariche possedute avanti e dopo il cardinalato; il giorno il mese l'anno ed il Ponteficato, ne' quali furono promossi; il Titolo delle Chiese che sostennero in Roma; il tempo preciso della loro morte e il luogo dove furono sepelliti. Chi di essi fu creato Pontefice ed il nome assunto nel Pontificato; Quali furono santi, martiri, e beati. Con la serie de' pseudo-cardinali, ed anti-papi, e con altre notizie necessarie per lo studio della storia ecclesiastica, ad uso dell'Accademia Cosmografica degli Argonauti, coll'aggiunta di due copiosi indici alfabetici; uno del nome proprio, l'altro della famiglia de' medesimi. Divertimento letterario di Fra' Vincenzo Coronelli Min. Conv. Cosmografo della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia. Dedicata all'eminentissimo principe Gio: Battista Spinola Cardinal Cesareo, Camerlengo di Santa Chiesa, et c.*; Venice, 1701); *Coats of arms, and arms of all Princes, Republics, and Principalities of the Universe* (*Blasoni e armi di tutti i Principi, Repubbliche o Principati dell'Universo*; Venice, 1705–7); *Living Europe* (*Europa vivente*; Venice, 1715–16), with information on European royals' birthdays and genealogies; *Chronology of Venetian Bishops and Patriarchs* (*Cronologia dei vescovi e Patriarchi di Venezia*; 1707),

Chronology of Doges (*Cronologia dei Dogi*; Venice, 1707); a series of *Procurators of Saint Mark* (*Procuratori di San Marco*; 1705); coat of arms of the Venetian aristocracy; and so on.[99] However, *Ritratti* was certainly the most lavishly illustrated and surely served the purpose of bringing fame to the members of Coronelli's academy while inviting them to contribute to the friar's projects.[100]

The volume opens with an image of a marble pedestal with one woman on each side, one holding a book and the other holding a book and a paper roll, at the center, set into the pedestal, is an oval surrounded by laurel, with the inscription "Argonauti 1691"; the next page represents a woman on the left, Venice, sitting on a seat bearing the inscription "Gli Argonauti," at her bottom right is a lion laying down. The woman points to an approaching shell carrying two gods, one is Neptune with one foot on the boat and another on land, who shows the way to Venus, while in the sky above some flying cupids carry the emblem of the Argonauti Academy; the sea behind the figures is populated by dolphins and cupids.

The next page is occupied by the emblem of the Argonauti, followed by a marble pedestal containing the profile of the dedicatee, Domenico Federici, abbot of Vaska and advisor to the emperor.

Full-size portraits of select illustrious men include the emperor, the king of Britain, and some Argonauti members, such as Doge Francesco Morosini, the Patriarch of Venice Giovanni Alberto Badoer, and so on. Subsequently, the marble pedestal returns, and the oval laurel contains portraits surrounded by an inscription stating the sitter's name, surname, and sometimes either their age, job (e.g., Procurator of San Marco), or social status (ex. "nobile veneto"), followed by "Accademico degli Argonauti." Coronelli's portrait with the academy's emblem, books, maps, atlases, globes, and the instruments of the geographer and cartographer closes the volume.

Ritratti does not have an introduction, and many portraits come from previous publications such as *Book of Islands* (*Isolario*), *Venetian Atlas* (*Atlante Veneto*), or *Geography Course* (*Corso geografico*) or from *Voyages of Father Coronelli* (*Viaggi del padre Coronelli*), as is clearly the case for Lazzaro Ferro's portrait. Thus in *Ritratti*, Coronelli brought together the men who belonged to his academy and associated them with the very important people of Europe.

Coronelli bought the plates of the portrait and added the frame, such as a crown of laurel in which each leaf is embedded with landmarks in the sitter's life: important events in his career, works he accomplished, genealogical sequences, and anything that can highlight his individual contribution. Very important people represented in the volume include the Doge Francesco Morosini winner of the Morean War, whom Coronelli had followed closely and whose successes he reported at home; the Patriarch of Venice

Giovanni Alberto Badoer; and others. The Morean War and the propaganda surrounding it must have played an important part in associating the academy with such personalities, whom Coronelli was also praising in other publications. One further element pointing in this direction is the portrait of Sultan Achmet Han, which stands out because instead of the sitter's victories, Coronelli listed the defeats of the Ottoman Empire: "Serie cronologica delle perdite più considerabili dell'Impero Ottomano nelle guerre presenti, descritte dal p. Vincenzo Coronelli." The laurel leaves carry inscriptions such as: "1685 Moscoviti si collegano co' Polacchi a danni de' Turchi," "1686 da' Polacchi battuti al F. Pruth," "1686 Buda bassa sommessa dagli Imperiali," "1686, battuti da Veneti sotto Navarino," and so on. The representation of the Turkish monarch was not a novelty in illustrated biographies, but it is to be observed that Coronelli does not indulge in the representation of the Turkish ruler as a morally despicable man, as was fashionable in sixteenth-century iconographies of the sultan.[101]

Thus Coronelli's *Ritratti* is a clear example of the association of the Argonauti Academy with political power. By publishing this and other books, Coronelli was placing the academy and its members at the center of a distinguished network of learned men and men of action.

Networks and Knowledge in the South of Italy: Giacinto Gimma

The network of Italian academies takes us from Venice to the south of Italy, in Apulia. Among the members of the Argonauti, and the first biographer of Coronelli, was the abbot from Bari, Giacinto Gimma (1668–1735).[102] Not many studies have explored the works of this learned man who lived across the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Cesare Preti wrote a short biography, chiefly based on Gimma's own autobiographical memories and on accounts of the eighteenth-century biographer and friend of Gimma, Domenico Mauridonia.[103] Gimma's life demonstrates a continuous dialogue with the scholars of his times and a consistent interest in quasi-unorthodox subjects.

Giacinto Gimma grew up in Bari, where he studied Latin at the local seminary, humanities at the Jesuit college, and logic in the church of San Domenico. In the Carmelitan college, Gimma was taught by father Elia Astorini (1651–1702),[104] whose heterodoxy was to have a profound influence on him. He also privately learned gnomonics, the art of using or making dials. Astorini, had a profound interest for the mechanistic and materialistic view of Galileo Galilei, Pierre Gassendi, René Descartes, Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), and Thomas Hobbes. Such little orthodox interests, as well as his open rejection of the Galenic medical school and the

backing of the new experimental approach to medicine, lead to problems with church authorities.

A first example of Gimma's wide cultural interests is testified by a few volumes of notes that he took during lessons while he was a student and which he updated until his death, filling them with reflections drawn from his readings and other information he was gathering from various sources. Subjects of these notes are extremely varied, and they include the Greek philosopher and orator Demetrio Falereo's *De Locutione* (On Speech), notes on the age of Adam and Noah from the Jesuit father and biblical scholar Giovanni Stefano Menocchio (1575–1655), and a small treatise against judicial astrology. After his degree in both civil and canonical law in Naples in 1696, Gimma developed a special interest in mathematics, which he combined with hydrostatics and astronomy under the supervision of the Jesuit father Nicola Partenio Giannettasio (1656–1715). While working in the Brancacciana Library in Naples, Gimma consulted, among others, Johann Heinrich Alsted's *Encylopaedia Divided in Seven Tomes* (*Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta*; 1630) after receiving permission to read it from the Holy Office in 1693. The work included sections on history and the controversial topic of the art of memory,[105] and Gimma's project to complete a *New Encyclopedia* (*Nuova enciclopedia*), which he started in 1692 but never finished, should be seen as a consequence of these readings. The project[106] foresaw seven books, dealing with theology, mnemonics, natural sciences, mathematics, astronomy and possibly astrology, "philological science," ethics, and all mechanical arts. Gimma's plan was to update traditional knowledge in light of the new approach introduced by the expanding interest in empirical science.

During his Neapolitan years, Gimma attended groups that aimed to renew the Investiganti experience, an important academy in seventeenth-century Naples that promoted and discussed the role of experience in the understanding of nature.[107] In 1695, when Gimma was asked to reform the Spensierati Academy in Rossano Calabro, he invited many persons who had previously been familiar with the Investiganti Academy. In this context, the Apulian scholar's contribution joined the polemical exchanges between *veteres* and *novatores*—that is, scholars faithful to the Aristotelian tradition and those who wanted to dismiss most of Aristotle's works—a point of view that Investiganti academicians were supporting.[108] In the same year, Gimma was also associated with the Neapolitan Uniti Academy (The United Ones),[109] where several members were accused of libertinism and anticurial interests. While the association with scientific and heterodox academies was in line with Gimma's cultural interests, his name can also be found in more literary academies in Rome such as Infecondi, Platano, and Pellegrini, with the nickname Stellauro di Japigia. In 1695, Gimma was

invited to become promoter of the Pigri Academy (The Lazy Ones) in Bari, a group associated with the Jesuit college in town that apparently was trying to resuscitate its former glory, competing with the emerging Coraggiosi Academy (The Brave Ones). Gimma invited some prestigious personalities, such as the Tuscan scientist Francesco Redi, to join the Pigri, which led scholars to speculate on the possibility that Gimma was connected to the Pisan group of followers of Galileo's teachings in Pisa.

Gimma gave a major contribution to the Spensierati Academy of Rossano, which he renamed Incuriositi (The Intrigued Ones). In the official role as "promotore" (promoter), he had the task of inviting people of good repute to join the academy and to choose censors who would validate the literary production of members of the academy and thus work under the direction of the promoter and his cultural interests.

In 1696, Gimma returned to Bari and became a cleric by taking minor orders, which did not distract him from the intellectual life. In 1700, he became involved in a quarrel between the Spensierato academician Carlo Musitano, defender of the new experimental approach to medicine, and the Galenic doctor Pietro Antonio De Martino, who attacked Musitano.[110] In accordance with the regulations of the Spensierati Academy, Musitano asked his fellow academicians to intervene in his defense. Gimma made sure that the publication of Gaetano Tremigliozzi's *New Courier from Parnassus about the Affairs of Medicine [. . .] Addressed to the Most Illustrious Academy of the Lighthearted Ones of Rossano* (*Nuova staffetta da Parnaso circa gli affari della medicina [. . .] dirizzata all' illustrissima Accademia degli Spensierati di Rossano*; Francfort, 1700) served this purpose. Starting with the celebration of the Spensierati as an academy that defied Boccalini's assumption that all academies were doomed to cease their intellectual life after a short period of time, the book included Gimma's and other academicians' responses, which were a clear stand in defense of Musitano and the new approach to science. Following this publication, Gimma became famous and was invited to join the Filoponi Academy (Lovers of Work) in Faenza.

In 1701 and 1702, he worked to prepare the two volumes containing the biographies of the Spensierati Academy: *Elogi accademici della società degli Spensierati di Rossano* (Naples: Troise, 1703). The first volume includes the history of the academy written by his friend and fellow academician Gaetano Tremigliozzi and a celebration of the network surrounding the academy.

When there were rumors that he would become rector of the Archbishop of Naples, Gimma was associated with the Accademia Fiorentina, but when this option vanished, Gimma became the archivist, chamberlain, and confessor of the Archbishop of Bari. After a long epistolary exchange

with the Tuscan physician Antonio Vallisneri, Gimma became involved in the learned journal *Minerva's Gallery* (*La Galleria di Minerva*), which he left shortly afterwards due to a quarrel with Vallisneri.

In 1713, Gimma managed to interrupt his duty for the Archbishop of Bari, and to dedicate himself to writing scientific essays. His next great achievement was the *Compendium of the history of literary Italy presented in chronological order from its beginning up to the last century, including the information of specific stories of each field of knowledge, and noble arts: including many ideas of most famous writers, divided in two tomes with the tables of chapters and the controversies in the first tome, and about either praised, or criticized authors and other noteworhty information* (*Idea della storia dell'Italia letterata esposta coll'ordine cronologico del suo principio fino all'ultimo secolo, colla notizia delle storie particolari di ciascheduna scienza, e delle arti nobili: di molte invenzioni degli scrittori piu celebri [. . .] divisa in due tomi, colle tauole de' capitoli, e delle controuersie nel primo: degli autori o lodati, o impugnati; e delle cose notabili nel secondo. Discorsi di D. Giacinto Gimma*; Naples: Mosca, 1723), which marked an original contribution for its attempt to include more disciplines, apart from poetry, under the definition of literature and for its suggestion to include the sciences and the arts as part of the cultural achievements of the Italian people. For some scholars, Gimma's work was based on notions and was not sufficiently critical in its methodology, but it did inspire Tiraboschi's approach, and Tiraboschi himself duly acknowledged his debt to Gimma in the introduction to *Storia*. Arranged in chronological order, Gimma's two-volume work is a history of literature that includes histories of specific *scienze* and *arti nobili*. The author also inserts records about civil and ecclesiastical history, religions, academies, literary quarrels, and a defense against foreigners' criticism. His exaltation of Galileo's experimental method was just further proof of his consistent defense of the new approach to science. Gimma died in 1735 after completing another major work, dedicated to the classification of minerals, which allowed him to question the theory of the flood from the Bible. He was buried in a local church in Bari. Thus Giacinto Gimma represents an example of an academician deeply committed to the circulation of knowledge through intellectual academic networks, and with a critical approach to the culture of his time.

Giacinto Gimma's *Elogi accademici*

Gimma's *Elogi* is introduced by Gaetano Tremigliozzi's dedication to King Philip V (Bari, December 20**,** 1702) and by fellow academician and jurist Pietro Emilio Guasco's dedication to the reader. In this long eulogy

of Gimma's accomplishments, we read some interesting remarks, such as the jurist and poet Baldassarre Pisani's comparison with previous authors, some of whom we have encountered in our survey (Gian Vincenzo Imperiali, Giacomo Filippo Tomasini, Giano Nicio Eritreo, and Lorenzo Crasso). According to Pisani, however, they did not intersperse their works with knowledge comparable to Gimma's.[111]

The last part of Guasco's dedication to readers is a deliberate celebration of the Republic of Letters and consists of a long list of excerpts from scholars' letters who write to each other expressing their admiration for Gimma's work. Thus we read flattering words by Andrea Carlo Sinibaldi, prince of the Filoponi Academy of Faenza; Carlo Domenico Sango, Duke of Vietri; the philosopher Giovanni Battista Vico; Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni; Giulio Mattei, professor of philosophy and mathematics in the Offuscati Academy in Alessano;[112] Ignazio di Lauro, prince of the Spensierati Academy; and many others.

Gimma's few pages of introduction represent an essay on editing, where the author comments on the problems encountered by authors when they see their words printed on the page, but also reflect on the importance of an academy such as the Florentine Crusca for regulating the use of the vernacular language.[113] He also tells anecdotes about the care with which famous printers (Manuzio, Giunti, Gioliti) used to offer prizes to their proofreaders if they discovered mistakes, originating sometimes from the typesetters or the pressmen.[114] Subsequently, Gimma apologizes for the many mistakes the reader will find in the pages of the *Elogi* and goes into a long description of the construction of his sentences, something that could be very interesting from a linguistic point of view. Finally, Gimma comments on the frontispiece of the first volume, where the academy is in conversation with the Muses. While both Time and Envy lay on the floor defeated by Eternity, she is having the portraits of academicians placed on top of the pillars that surround the nine Muses, as they are described in Ripa's *Iconologia*. Once again, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, returns the emphatic representation of the sociability that academies promoted and the multidisciplinary character that could be found in these groups of learned people.

In the introduction, Gimma contextualizes his work within the genre of biographies of people belonging to specific groups. First come the religious groups and the authors of their biographies (Benedictines, Dominicans, Carmelitans, Jesuits, etc.), then the biographies of people living in the same city (Bolognese, Genoese, Milanese, Palermitans, etc.), and then the biographies of illustrious people (such as Giovio, Tomasini, Crasso, Giano Nicio Eritreo, and Gualdo Priorato). Finally, as for books about people of the same "Adunanza," a synonym of accademia, Gimma quotes the examples

of Incogniti and Gelati. The index of *Elogi accademici* is arranged according to a new order that challenges Ghilini's alphabetical list. In fact, Gimma declares that the only way not to offend people is by arranging the list according to their date of birth and assigning priority to old age.[115] Finally, Gimma, like so many others before him, explained the difficulty of receiving the necessary texts and portraits from people.

The list of biographees includes three women: Aurora Sanseverino, Duchess of Laurenzano; Vittoria Galeota, Marchioness of Sanginito; and Giovanna Caracciolo, Princess of Santobuono. Gimma was not insensitive to the dialogue with women, as can be seen from the dedication of his entire other work *Idea della storia letteraria d'Italia* to Countess Clelia Grillo-Borromea, which is a tribute to women's culture and their contribution to knowledge.

Let us now look at a few examples of biographies. The first and most interesting for our discourse is the biography of Vincenzo Coronelli. The similarity between Coronelli and Gimma includes their common interest in encyclopedic studies, as both of them attempted to complete an encyclopedia, but while Coronelli's project was in Italian, Gimma's work was in Latin. As for a more personal relationship, not only was Gimma part of the Accademia degli Argonauti, and Coronelli a member of the Spensierati Society in Rossano, but Gimma edited and prefaced the volume *Titles of works in various matters composed in several different languages and printed from the year 1740 by Father P. M. Coronelli, 78th General after Saint Francis, of the whole order of the Minori Conventuali. These are published by the Academy of the Argonauts, in addition to the Index, which was already published in Rome by Abbot Giacinto Gimma, of previously printed works by the same author. Altogether they sum up to 137, the majority in-folio and 13 in Imperial folio. They are enriched with more than 4,000 copper and brass pictures* (*Titoli delle opere di varie materie, in idioma diversi composte, e stampate dall'anno 1704 dal P. M. Coronelli, Generale 78[esimo] dopo il padre San Francesco di tutto l'ordine suo Serafico de' Minor Conventuali. Pubblicate dall'Accademia degli Argonauti, in aggiunta dell'Indice, già dato in luce in Roma dal S. Abbate Giacinto Gimma delle altre opere precedentemente pubblicate dallo stesso autore; che in tutte summano Tomi centotrentasette la maggior parte in Foglio, e tredici in Foglio Imperiale. Arricchite di più di quattro mille figure in Rame ed in ottone*; Venice: Academia degli Argonauti, 1708).[116]

Gimma's biography of Coronelli contains the list of works produced by the Franciscan friar and is followed by the works to be published in the future, which are *History of religions practiced by all nations throughout the world, from its origins to the present day, and particularly those practiced in cloisters and military religions, both existing and suppressed ones: with*

drawings and descriptions of their costumes. To this are added the missions, and the missionaries dispatched to different regions by the Holy Congergation for the Propagation of the Faith, and a summary of all Councils summoned, heresies developed, and persecutions sustained by the Church in defense of the Catholic faith (*Istoria delle religioni professate da tutte le nationi del Mondo, della sua origine fino al presente, e particolarmente delle claustrali e militari, tanto sussistenti, quanto suppresse:*[117] *con i disegni e descrizioni de' loro abiti. Coll'aggiunta di tutte le missioni, e missionari destinati in Regioni diverse dalla Sacra Congregatione di Propaganda: e con una compendiosa narrativa di tutti i coincilii convocati, eresie insorte, e persecutioni sostenute dalla Chiesa per la cattolica fede*) and *Universal library that is, Great Dictionary: the continuation of the first Tome* (*Biblioteca universale, o sia Gran Dizionario: cioè la continuatione del Primo Tomo*). Three poetic compositions in praise of Coronelli and his academy, written by other academicians, conclude the friar's biography.

Gimma's sketch contains two-and-a-half pages full of praise for geography as a discipline, which Coronelli promoted and enriched. In order to stress the particularly suitable attitude to studies of this man, Gimma reported the anecdote of an astrologist in Ravenna who, upon seeing the young Coronelli in the street, immediately pointed out that he had a very powerful rising star. It is to be ascribed to Coronelli's genius, Gimma notes in praise of the interdisciplinary approach to knowledge, the dissemination of geography as a subject to all members of the public, including military men who have to make decisions, doctors who must choose between different skin complexions and thus decide the efficacy of either *semplici* or drugs, retailers because of the safety of their commercial exchanges; orators; poets and historians; and most of all, "professori delle scienze e delle arti."

In another biography, Gimma praises the Milanese Oblate priest Bartolomeo Piazza, advisor to the Congregation of the Index of Forbidden Books, for his many publications on social, bibliographical, and religious subjects, from the Roman libraries and academies included in the new edition of *Roman Religious Charities* (*Eusevologio romano. Ovvero delle opere pie di Roma*; 1698) to other cultural interests such as the study of the history and practice of rituals among different peoples, which was to be published in 1711: *On the Use, Mystery and Antiquity of Funeral Rites and Ceremonies That Have Been Adopted in Our Christian Era* (*Dell'uso, mistero ed antichità appresso diverse nazioni, de' riti e cerimonie nell'esequie e funerali, passati a' secoli nostri Cristiani*).

The life of the Florentine librarian Antonio Magliabechi is the subject of the subsequent biography. Gimma lists all possible disciplines—physics, mathematics, rhetoric, grammar, history, magic, zoology, mineralogy,

chemistry, medicine, and so on—and states that Magliabechi is familiar with all of them. It is interesting the stress Gimma puts on the biographee's network, describing his house as a "continua Accademia" where men of letters always gather and discuss all sorts of subjects. The biography continues with the list of learned men across Europe who have written eulogies about Magliabechi's knowledge, thus reinforcing the idea of a network of scholars that goes beyond Italy and embraces all of Europe.

The biography of Carlo Andrea Sinibaldi, prince of the Filoponi Academy in Faenza, gives Gimma the opportunity to praise the Italian academic movement by providing a short list of "assemblee," or "adunanze"—both synonyms of accademia—with which Sinibaldi is affiliated. These are in Bologna, Rome, Modena, Urbino, Ravenna, Florence, and such peripheral cities as Arezzo, Forlì, Imola, Bitonto, Rieti, Spoleto, Foligno, and Lanciano. According to Gimma, there is no doubt that the affiliation with many academies is a sign of distinction, in that a scholar who is affiliated with so many of them demonstrates that he is well known in the Republic of Letters.

The biography of Gimma's former teacher, Elia Astorini, is very detailed and opens with the striking portrait of Astorini as a very young man. The first part of the biography is a history and explanation of the revival of Lullianism—a mystic movement that believed in the art of unifying knowledge—in seventeenth-century Italy, with its followers and methodology, a scholarly tradition of which Astorini was a keen practitioner. The accusation of returning to magic in order to acquire knowledge caused problems for Astorini with Church authorities, which drove him away from his native city and lead him to travel around Italy and Europe, mostly in Germany and Holland, where he taught at several universities. Gimma describes Astorini as a keen Catholic who had reasons to be afraid of Protestants. Great emphasis is given to Astorini's reconciliation with Church authorities and the new tasks assigned to him by the same hierarchy. Gimma is keen to mention Astorini's lectures in Italy and his trip to Pisa where he met Magliabechi, Redi, and other fully recognized scholars and scientists of the time, as a way of showing that Astorini's network was everything but unorthodox. Of course, Gimma gives a great deal of attention to Astorini's role as prince of the Fisiocritici Academy in Siena, one of the most advanced circles in the scientific debate of the time, and finally his return to his native city in Calabria.

Gimma's first volume ends with a detailed and very useful analytic index, which is in itself a proof of the author's interest in the circulation of knowledge. The index lists subjects where the entry "academy" deserves some attention. This is a list of all such groups mentioned in the volume, as well as other details: "Academy of Palermo for the victory over Vienna"

("Accademia di Palermo per la vittoria di Vienna"), which seems to refer to an event celebrating the victory over the Turks; "another [academy] where once the session was finished, it was customary to eat" ("altra in cui finita la sessione si mangiava"); "Academies of fine letters, and their aims" ("Accademie di belle lettere e loro fine"); "to be part of several academies is a sign of literary capacity" ("l'essere in più Accademie è segno di letteratura"); and so on. Under the letter "A" is listed "Aerologia e di che tratti," but the same subject can be found under the entry "Scienze ed arti nominate in questa prima parte."

Baldassarre Pisani may have a point when he stressed Gimma's commitment to knowledge. Gimma's volumes work as a living encyclopedia even more than previous examples in that the author provides readers the access to knowledge through both individuals' lives and the subjects they studied or contributed to. The fact that Gimma decided to list the biographees according to their birth date, and not their alphabetical order as had been the case in previous books of illustrated biographies, makes Gimma's work the first celebration of old age as a matter of distinction, thus abandoning the original idea of academies as the creation of young people driven by their enthusiasm for learning. It is also interesting to note that all sitters' portraits are surrounded by branches of a laurel tree, in imitation of Coronelli's *Ritratti*.

As for Gimma's autobiography, the introduction to the second volume reveals Gimma's interest in marking very clearly his identity in the academic world by describing and justifying his choice of academic nickname and emblem in the several academies to which he belonged, stating very clearly the date when he was aggregated.

As a conclusion, I suggest that books of illustrated biographies produced in Italy in the seventeenth century should be seen as the celebration of individuals within the group. However, I believe that they also had a place in the growing interest for systematic knowledge, protoencyclopedias, and more precisely biographical dictionaries as a recognized branch of encyclopedic dictionaries.[118]

4

The Italian Academic Movement and the Republic of Letters

The Republic of Letters

Scholarship about the social and intellectual phenomenon defined as *République des lettres*,[1] or Republic of Letters, has neglected the importance of the Italian academic movement as a predecessor of the phenomenon. In my view, we should not see the two as separate movements. Instead, we should consider the exceptional spread of academies throughout the Italian peninsula as the first instance of the Republic of Letters and its European reach. Although research is showing that learned sociability existed outside Italy,[2] and before the beginning of the Italian academic movement, the level of connections, social and cultural diversity, and mobility of the academic movement could not be found elsewhere. From a methodological point of view, my proposal to see the network that shaped the Italian academies as a social phenomenon that preceded the Republic of Letters originates from the famous interpretation put forward by the English historian Garrett Mattingly with regard to the rise of modern diplomacy. Historians commonly accept Mattingly's view that Italian regional states were a model, in terms of diplomatic practices,[3] that was later imitated by the rest of Europe. Notwithstanding the differences between the two phenomena, it is difficult not to see continuity between the Italian academic movement and the Republic of Letters, in particular when we consider how powerful the custom of creating private academies was for the promotion of cultural exchange between like-minded individuals. The phenomenon simply spread from Italy to the rest of Europe, as it has been argued on several occasions.[4]

Currently, scholars[5] define the Republic of Letters as a network of collaboration and exchange within a scholarly community, where knowledge

circulates among like-minded individuals, mostly in Latin, through letters, publications—at least since the spread of the printing press—the creation of learned periodicals where book reviews appeared along with obituaries and news that was of interest to the expanding community of European scholars, and personal meetings in universities and academies. While men dominated the scene in the sixteenth century, the presence of women was more and more common in subsequent centuries. With time, translation became a way to circulate information and knowledge, through scholarly journals, letters, and manuscript and printed publications. Surely, the ideal Republic of Letters was far from what existed, as several limitations were in place, such as censorship, the exclusion of minor centers to the advantage of capital cities, and the limited access for women.

In order to explore the meaning of the expression Republic of Letters, which can be particularly elusive and for this reason resembles the problem with defining "academy," it is important to look at the history and meaning of the expression. In her research, the French historian Françoise Waquet noted how *République des Lettres* is commonly used to define an international community of scholars who have in mind the enhancement of learning and who exchange ideas and objects such as manuscripts and books. Scholars who belong to this community would communicate first in Latin and subsequently also in French. This phenomenon flourished throughout the seventeenth and the eighteenth century. While reviewing previous scholarship on the subject, Waquet noticed that the definition current in the mid-1980s put too much stress on the original model of the Platonic Academy in Florence and on the political connotation of the phenomenon known as *Républiqe des lettres* by identifying it with the space of the free man who opposes the oppressing absolutism of his age through the creation of a network of fellow scholars dedicated to the advancement of knowledge.

Waquet's approach is different from her predecessors, as it aims to highlight the learned sociability underpinning the Republic of Letters. The French historian started by concentrating on the intellectual development of the expression, she searched for synonyms, locutions derived from and associated with the original *respublica literarum*, and she was able to broaden the timeframe of its recurrence. She started from the first occurrence, in Latin, in a letter from the humanist Francesco Barbaro to his friend Poggio Bracciolini in 1417, where Barbaro thanked Bracciolini for the list of manuscripts he had found during his trip to Germany. In this context, Barbaro also acknowledged his friend's work for the common good, a feature that would characterize the ideal ethics within the Republic of Letters.[6] After 1417, the expression recurs several times in different intellectual contexts, including the circle around the scholar and printer Aldus Manutius and his academy.[7] Manutius's dedication of Statius's works to his

Cretan friend and associate Marcus Musurus in August/September 1509 is particularly revealing, as it shows continuity with Barbaro's use of the expression *respublica literarum*. While Manutius expresses his gratitude to Musurus for helping him with editing the Greek vocabulary used by Latin authors, he also exalts the Republic of Letters as an international collaborative network of learned men,[8] spreading from Germany to France and England, where he remembers the two English scholars William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre who studied Greek and Latin languages in Florence under the Greek professor Demetrius Chalchondyles. Linacre had visited Manutius's printshop while Grocyn was in contact through epistolary communication with Manutius.[9] To stress the importance of the international network of scholars who wish to spread culture, Manutius tells the reader that he is waiting for manuscript texts of Latin authors from Germany and France that are difficult to find in Italy. After this instance, the expression recurs other times in Manutius's dedications.[10]

The same expression, in Latin, can be found in different contexts outside Italy. From another academic environment about two centuries later, we find the Italian vernacular "republica letteraria" used by the Cruscante academician Antonio Maria Salvini,[11] who wrote about "nostra Letteraria Repubblica" referring to the Crusca Academy (1697). Giacinto Gimma, too, in his introduction to *Elogi* (1703), and in several of the biographies he wrote, used the expression "Repubblica dei letterati." As Waquet states, the population of the Republic of Letters varied over time, and in particular, it followed the transformation of the meaning of the French word "lettres."[12] Thus Waquet researched the meaning of the word "litterae," which she found translated by Robert Estienne's 1543 *Dictionarium Latino-Gallico* as "sciences et estudes contenues par lettres et livres."[13] In 1612 came the addition of the Italian vernacular "lettera," meaning "dottrina," and the derivative "letterato," meaning "Scienziato che ha lettere," while the derivative "letteratura" signified "Scienza di lettere, dottrina."[14] Later on, the words were used in the plural form "lettere"[15] with the meaning "cultura, dottrina, erudizione, che si acquista mediante gli studi in generale e particolarmente quella che si acquista mediante la letteratura propriamente detta: e più specialmente usasi per contrapposizione a Scienze e Arti." Thus in Italian, *Repubblica delle lettere* indicated learned people of Europe or of individual states.[16]

The European Reach of the Italian Academies: Translations and the Presence of Foreigners

It is commonly accepted that one of the main characteristics of the Republic of Letters was its international network. Thus it is useful to look at the

translation of works published in relation to academies, as well as the presence of foreigners in the Italian Academies Database (IAD), with particular emphasis on the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This reveals a high number of collaborations and examples of cultural transfer from the Italian academic movement toward the rest of Europe as far as publications are concerned. At the same time, foreign scholars from all nationalities, including English, Greek, Armenian, French, German, Spanish, Dutch, and others, came to Italy and attended academies' meetings and contributed to or worked for their publications.

Translations

The IAD offers numerous examples of works published in relation to academies that were translated into other languages. In many cases, translations were based not on the original text but on a previous translation from another language.

The Intronati had several of its works translated in which the academy's name and the affiliation of the author were clearly visible. The Sienese Alessandro Piccolomini's *Dialogue about Women's Politeness, by the Dazed Stoned One* (*Dialogo della bella creanza delle donne dello Stordito Intronato*; Venice: Navò e fratelli, 1540) was translated into French in 1572, 1573, 1581, 1583, 1587, and 1593. The famous Intronati comedy *The Deceived* (*Gli Ingannati*, Venice: 1538), which started the academy's literary production, was translated into French as *Les abusez comedie faite à la mode des anciens comiques, premierement composée en langue Tuscane, par les professeurs de l'Academie Senoise, et nommee Intronati, depuys traduite en Francoys par Charles Estienne, et nouvellement reveue et corrigee* (Paris: Groulleau, 1549).

Italian academies have traditionally been associated with the push to use the vernacular language. This may be a generalization, nevertheless it is interesting to note that members of the Intronati promoted a program of translations for women and common men whose knowledge of Latin was limited.[17] Intronati members and members of other academies (Bernardino Borghesi, Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici—who had been patron of the Accademia della Virtù and had been involved in the Vignaiuoli Academy—Bartolomeo Carli Piccolomini, Aldobrando Cerretani, Vincenzo di Pers, and Alessandro Sansedoni) contributed to *The first six books of Vergil's* Aeneid *translated for illustrious and honourable women, in particular among them, Aurelia Tolomei de Borghesi. To whom the whole present volume is also dedicated* (*I sei primi libri dell' Eneide di Vergilio. Tradotti a più illustre et honorate donne. Et tra l'altre è la nobilissima madonna Aurelia Tolomei de Borghesi. A cui ancho è indirizzato tutto il presente volume*;

Venice: Comin da Trino, 1540, with subsequent reprints in 1541, 1544, and 1558). Alessandro Piccolomini also worked on *Vergil's sixth book translated into Tuscan vernacular language by the Dazed Stoned One, in free verses. Two orations from Ovid's thirteenth book of* Metamorphoses: *one deals with Ajax, the other with Ulysses also translated by the Dazed Stoned one in free verses* (*Il sesto di Vergilio, dal S[ignor] Stordito Intronato, in lingua Toscana, in versi sciolti da rima. Le due orationi le quali sono nel terzodecimo libro delle Metamorfosi d'Ovidio, l'una d'Aiace, et l'altra di Ulisse. Tradotte parimente dal medesimo S. Stordito Intronato, in versi sciolti da Rima*; Venice: Arrivabene, 1540).

The growing interest in experimental science involved several academies across the peninsula, and it is interesting to note that translations of these texts were mainly in English and Latin, suggesting the prevalence of northern European interest. The Carmelite father Paolo Antonio Foscarini's controversial letter, *Letter by the Carmelitan Father Antonio Foscarini about Pythagoreans and Copernicus' Opinion* (*Lettera Del R.P.M. Paolo Antonio Foscarini Carmelitano. Sopra l'Opinione de' Pittagorici, e del Copernico*; Naples: Scoriggio, 1615), in which he supported the Copernican system and which was commissioned by Vincenzo Carafa, a member of the Oziosi Academy in Naples, was translated into Latin. The English translation of the same text appeared in the mathematical collections and translations of Thomas Salusbury (1661), which included Galileo's texts and Foscarini's letter: *Mathematical Collections and Translations: The first Tome in Two Parts. The First part Containing I. Galileus Galileus His System of the World II. Galileus His Epistle to the Grand Duchesse Mother concerning the Authority of the Holy Scripture in Philosophical Controversies. III. Johannes Keplerus His Reconcilings of Scripture Texts et c. IV Didacus a Stunica His Reconcilings of Scripture Texts et c. V. P. A. Foscarinus His epistle to Father Fantonus reconciling the authority of Scripture, and judgements of Divines alleged against this system. By Thomas Salusbury Esq* (London: William Leybourne, 1661). Filippo Pandolfini, governor of Montepulciano and Livorno, affiliated with the Florentine Apatisti Academy (The Indifferent Ones) and possibly with the Roman Lincei, translated into Latin some of Galileo's texts. As I have highlighted before, academies had encyclopedic interests, thus it is hardly surprising to find a specialized science such as paleontology among their topics. *La Vana Speculazione Disingannata Dal Senso*. *Lettera Risponsiva Circa i Corpi Marini, che Pietrificati si trovano in varij luoghi terrestri. Di Agostino Scilla Pittore Accademico della Fucina, Detto lo Scolorito. Dedicata All'Illustrissimo Signore, il Signor D. Carlo Gregori Marchese di Poggio Gregorio, Cavaliero della Stella* (Naples: Colicchia, 1670),[18] considered the first work of paleontology,[19] was translated into Latin. *The Uncertainty of the Art of Physick* (London: Malthus, 1684) is the translation of a speech

by Leonardo di Capua in which the author discusses ideas linked to the controversial Investiganti Academy in Naples.

The work of the Bolognese Giovanni Battista Manzini[20] also enjoyed English circulation via a previous French translation. His *I furori della gioventù. Essercitii rhettorici di Giovan Battista Manzini. Dedicati al clarissimo signor Giovanni Maffetti* (Venice: Baba, 1629) is a collection of discourses celebrating the new literary taste called "concettismo." The collection contains three contributions, one of which was delivered in the Bolognese Academia della Notte (Academy of the Night) and translated into English as "The Sports of the Carnival" in *Manzinie his exquisite academicall discourses upon severall subjects. Turned into French by Scuderie and into English by a lady* (London: Harper 1654). Another copy is *Manzinie his most exquisite academical discourses upon severall choice subjects. Turned into French by that famous Wit Monsieur de Scudery Governour of Nostredame and Englished by an Honourable Lady* (London: Moseley, 1654). Matteo Pellegrini's *Il saggio in corte*, which originated from a speech he was invited to deliver at the Roman Desiosi Academy (The Desiring Ones), was translated into French as *Le sage en cour* (Paris: Rocolet, 1638).

The Incogniti Academy enjoyed a special circulation in English and other European languages. A recent miscellany[21] demonstrated that the Incogniti were keen to know what was happening in Europe, and their literary production was received and circulated in European countries through interesting and different methodologies. Giovanfrancesco Loredan's *Discorsi accademici* was translated into English by John Bulteel in 1664 and so was the Incogniti's miscellany *Novelle amorose: Choice Novels and Amarous Tales Written by the Most Refined Wits of Italy. Newly Translated into English* (London: Humphrey, 1652). The Incogniti as a group were particularly interested in current English political affairs, and their texts translated and circulated in England and Scotland. Within this exchange, it is interesting to note that the Incogniti backed the king's cause against the Parliament in the English Civil War and that their texts were translated within a Royalist network.[22] In general, the Incogniti were keen supporters of the Royalist Party in England, and this is also reflected in the biographies of the translators. As for the genre of the novella, Loredan's short text *L'Adamo* (Venice: Sarzina, 1640) was republished within a collection of his proses, "ad istanza dell'Accademia," in 1643. When tracking the circulation of the text in the Iberian peninsula, Davide Conrieri[23] observed how in the seventeenth century, the Spanish clergyman Antonio Vázquez heavily manipulated the text, both in terms of style, with constant verbal and syntactic expansion of the original narrative, and content, through heavy-handed censorship of passages containing even the slightest herotic nuance. The second

translation was based on the Spanish text and appeared in eighteenth-century Portugal.

The classical heritage also circulated through academicians' translations, as we have seen with the translations done by Intronati academicians. Outside that context, Alessandro Marchetti, affiliated with several academies in Tuscany, was the first translator of Lucretius's *De rerum natura* in the Italian vernacular. The Fucina Academy in Messina translated into Italian Guido Delle Colonne's *History of the Destruction of Troy* (*Historia Destructionis Troiae*) as an homage to the author, who was originally from Messina. Among the Lincei, normally famous for their scientific interests, Francesco Stelluti, called Il Retrogrado (The Retarded One), proudly proclaimed his affiliation with the Lincei in the frontispiece of his translation of Persius's *Satyres* into Italian. The volume was dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1630, perhaps in an attempt to attract some funding for the academy, which was struggling to continue its activities after the sudden death of its founder, Federico Cesi. David Freedberg has noted how Stelluti used the translation to attract the addressee's attention to aspects of the Lincei's research project and achievements every chance he could.[24]

Foreigners in Academies

As far as direct encounters within academies are concerned, in the late fifteenth century the Dutch Desiderius Erasmus, the British Thomas Linacre and John Gocelyn, and numerous Greek scholars attended Manutius's typography, before and after he started calling his entourage "academia" or "Neakademia."[25] In sixteenth-century Bologna, Achille Bocchi's academy also attracted several foreigners, such as the French Chancellor Michel de l'Hôpital, the Governor of Forez Claude d'Urfè, and the military commander Jean Hangest Seigneur de Gils, during their missions to Italy as delegates of Francis I and Henri II to the Council of Trent in 1547.[26] In the same year, Bocchi encountered financial difficulty while trying to build his palace, and for this reason, he turned also to his French acquaintances, who replied saying that their king, Francis I, promised some help. This would have been an interesting case of international patronage for an academy had it not been for Francis's death soon after. The English John Caius (1510–73) studied Greek and medicine in Bologna between 1539 and 1544, he knew Achille Bocchi as a university professor and commented on his pronunciation of Greek,[27] and he was probably present at sessions of the academy. Apparently, Caius was influenced by Bocchi to the point that he devised the gates of Humility, Honor, and Virtue for Gonville and Caius College in Cambridge on the basis of Bocchi's Temples of Symbol XXXIII.[28]

The Swiss German anti-Lutheran poet Simon Lemnius (1511–50) received a laurel crown in Bocchi's Academy in 1543,[29] and the German neo-Latin poet Petrus Lotichius Secundus (1528–60) also features as attender of Bocchi's Academy, which he praised in the poem "To the City of Bologna in Italy" "Ad Bononiam Italiae Civitatem."[30] In Bologna, Lotichius met the Hungarian Janos Zsambocky (1531–84), who dedicated an emblem to Bocchi in his *Emblemata*.[31] The Cardinal Otto Truchsess Von Waldburg (1514–73), prince-bishop of Augsburg, also attended the Bolognese circle, but his relationship with Italian academies did not stop there. Von Walburg is the dedicatee of the Accademia Veneziana's *New Explanation of Aristotle's Passages* (*Nova explanatio topicorum Aristotelis*; 1559), edited by the professors of logic at the academy—that is, Francesco Tron, Giacomo Zane, and Francesco Barbarigo.[32] The Accademia Veneziana's relationship with foreigners included many individuals who were not related to the scholarly world but from whom the academy hoped to obtain financial assistance for its grandiose publishing plan. Such distinguished people included the banker Johann Jacob Fugger and the governor of Flanders, Mary Habsburg. Moreover, the academy also published the Italian translation of works by foreign authors such as Cardinal Reginald Pole, whose oration addressed to Charles V in 1554 was translated by Pietro Flamengo from German into Italian as *Discorso intorno alle cose della guerra con un'orazione della pace* in 1558 (*Discourse about War, with an Oration on Peace*). In Cologne, the printer Gerwin Calenium issued the second edition of *Orationes clarorum hominum* (1560).[33]

The famous German scholar and Catholic convert Lucas Holstein (1596–61) was not only associated with three academies (Basiliana, Lincei, and Umoristi), but he also contributed significantly to the miscellany in memory of Peiresc, *Roman Monument* (*Monumentum romanum*), with a Latin poem, a Belgian carmen, and a Saxon poetic composition, and also acted as censor for the miscellany published in memory of Peiresc. Brothers Affan and Enriquez De Ribera were members of the Accademia della Stella (Academy of the Star) in Messina, Cristoval Lozano (1609–67) was associated with the Intrecciati Academy (The Woven Ones) in Rome, Francisco Hernandez wrote the *Nova Plantarum, animalium et Mineralium Mexicanorum Historia* (Rome: Masotti, 1651),[34] which the Lincei republished in 1648. Alfonso d'Avalos, Marquis del Vasto (1502–46) features among the Intronati Academy in Siena. Argensola Bartolomeo Leonardo and Lupercio Leonardo were both associated with the Oziosi Academy in Naples. Sancho De Londoño contributed to the miscellany of the Illustrati Academy from Casale, *Le Lagrime de gl'Illustrati Academici di Casale in Morte dell'Illustrissima et Eccellentissima Madama Margherita Paleologa Duchessa di Mantova, et Marchesana del Monferrato* (*Tears of the Instructed*

Ones from Casale, on the occasion of the death of the most illustrious and most excellent Madam Margherita Paleologa, Duchess of Mantua, and Marquess of Monferrato; 1567). Academicians from seven academies (Oziosi, Fantastici, Umoristi, Infuriati, Solitari, Incauti, and Affidati) contributed to a miscellany on the occasion of the death of Lope de Vega, *Essequie poetiche overo lamento delle Muse italiane in morte del Signor Lope De Vega insigne et Incomparabile Poeta Spagnuolo. Rime, e Prose raccolte dal Signor Fabio Franchi Perugino. Dedicate all'Illustrissimo e Eccellentissimo Signor Don Giovanni Antonio De Vera, e Figueroa Conte de la Roca* (*Funeral poetic rites that is, Italian Muses' lament for the death of Mr Lope de Vega, famous and uncomparable Spanish poet. Rymes, and proses collected by Mr Fabio Franchi from Perugia and dedicated to the very illustrious and very excellent Mr Don Giovanni Antonio De Vera and Figueroa and Count de la Roca*; Venice: Imberti, 1636) with poetic compositions in Italian. Julije Klovi (1498–1578) from Croatia was among the attenders of the Sdegnati Academy (The Indignant Ones) in sixteenth-century Rome. The Scottish John Barclay (1583–1621) attended the Umoristi Academy in Rome, and the French numismatist Scipion de Grammont (?–1638) and Vincent Voiture also joined the Umoristi.[35]

Users can perform a search on foreigners in Italian academies by selecting among the nationalities under "Advanced Search" in the IAD, which currently represents the provenance of Italians by city or town and the provenance of foreigners by nationality. Examples of foreign students in university towns bear witness to the interchange and blurred boundaries between the social and educational areas, between the academy and the university. Examples include the Austrian from Vienna, Mattheus Stuffio, who attended the Concordi Academy (The Unanimous Ones) hosted in Ferrara by Tommaso Canani, a member of a distinguished family of Ferrarese University professors.[36] The only known publication to be issued under the auspices of the Concordi was Stuffio's *A Systematic Method for divine philosophy, for both canon and civil law, and for general speculation about nature; with Theorems to be discussed at the flourishing school in Ferrara that are published for the most gentle Grand Duke of Ferrara, Alphonse D'Este II, by the Austrian Viennese Mattheus Stuffius, a public official of the citizens and prince of the Academy of the Unanimous Ones* (*Matthaei Stuffii Viennensis n. Austrii p. IV quiritium auditoris Academiae Concordum principis Methodica in divina philosophia, utroque iure, et communi nature speculatione; theoremata, in almo Ferrariensi gymnasio disputanda, proposita ad serenissimum Alphonsum II Atestinum magnum Ferrariae ducem*; Ferrariae: Baldini, 1581).[37] The Bohemian Francesco Tegnagel was a correspondent member of the Lincei and a pupil of Ticho Brahe. Giovanni Mormori, from Crete, acted as secretary of the Greek Nation

while a student at the university in Padua. Possibly, this is the same Mormori who was later appointed "Giudice al Maleficio" in Brescia and who joined the Ricovrati in 1661.[38] Giovanni Patrizio from Split in modern Croatia was a keen attender of Giovanni Ciampini's scientific academy in Rome. Six Danish people took part in the Italian academic movement with different roles, and Johannes Rhode, who was affiliated with the Ricovrati, contributed a poem to the celebration of the Scottish Catholic Thomas Dempster's ecclesiastical history of the Scots,[39] in which Dempster declared his affiliation with the Bolognese Accademia della notte with the nickname Evantio.

The Dutch presence in the IAD ranges from printers of books related to academies, such as the Elzeviers, to engravers[40] like Caspar Van Wittel, who produced stunning views of Rome, such as the Piazza del Popolo, in the Dutch engineer Cornelis Meijer's book on hydraulics, *L'arte di restituire a Roma la tralasciata navigatione del suo Tevere* (*How to Reestablish Navigation on the River Tiber*; Rome: Stamperia della reverenda camera Apostolica, 1685). In this book, Meijer wanted to show clearly that he was part of the Roman scientific elite and declared his affiliation with Ciampini's Accademia Fisico-Matematica right on the title page.[41] Another Dutch artist working for the Italian academic movement was Albert Clouet, the author of the Intrecciati emblem in *Heroes Wake (Heroum semita*; Rome: de Lazaris, 1665), as well as of some of the portraits in the Gelati's *Memorie imprese e ritratti* (1672). Interestingly, both Clouet and Van Wittel were part of the Bentvueghels,[42] a Dutch and Flemish painters society active in Rome in the seventeenth century that assigned nicknames to its associates and staged initiation parties. Affiliation with academies was not restricted to Europeans. The Armenian Ioannis Molini contributed with a poem in Armenian to the *Monumentum romanum*, also called *Panglossia*, dedicated to the French scholar Peiresc; another Armenian, Elia Saffar, wrote a poem in praise of the Infecondi Academy. The Ethiopian Asfa-Maria also contributed to *Panglossia*. The Sienese Accademia dei Filomati offers yet another example of the participation of foreigners in Italian academies. The British Library holds four manuscript orations by the English philosopher and physician Sir Kenelm Digby, who delivered them at a session of the academy on the occasion of his affiliation in 1621, with the nickname Fiorito. The orations contain numerous passages in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and they discuss alchemy and Kabbalah.[43]

The functioning of an academic gathering was captured by Sir Philip Skippon and John Ray, British travelers to Naples and future members of the Royal Society in London, who critically assessed the meetings of the Investiganti Academy. John Ray reported enthusiastically:

> While we were in this city we were present at the meeting of the Virtuosi or Philosophic Academy, which is held weekly on Wednesday in the Palace of that most civil and obliging, noble and virtuous person the Marquess D'Arena. There were of the Academy but 15 or 16 admitted, but at the meeting were present at least threescore. First there was shewed the experiments of the waters ascending above its level in slender tubes, upon which when they had discoursed a while, three of the Society recited discourses they had studied and composed about particular subjects, which were appointed them to consider the week before: and after some objections aginst what was delivered and reasonings to and fro about it, the company was dismissed.[44]

The report goes beyond a description of the meeting and insists on the scholarship demonstrated by academicians:

> A man could scarce hope to find such a knot of ingenious persons and of that latitude and freedom in so remote part of Europe, and in the communion of such a Church. They are well acquinted with writings of all learned and ingenious men of the immediately preceding age, as Galileo, Cartes, Gassendi, Harvey, Verulam; and of the present yet surviving, as Mr. Boyle, Sir George Ent, Dr. Glisson, Dr. Willis, Dr. Wharton, Mr. Hook, Monsieur Pecquet, etc. we were very much pleased and satisfied with the conversation and discourse of some of them. Amongst the rest, Dr. Thomas Cornelius hath made himself known to the world by his writings.[45]

Sir Skippon accurately described the ceremony, the subject discussed during one meeting, and gave a short prosopography of the Investiganti academicians:

> At the Marquis of Arena palace, 29 June, we were introduced into the room where the *Academici Investigantes* meet every Wednesday in the afternoon, when we observed about 60 persons in present. They discoursed about several things, and brought in the experiment of water ascending in glass *tubuli*, or small pipes: which they reasoned upon. After that, Leonardus à Capua discoursed about heat and cold; then Lucas Anton Portius seated himself in a chair, at the upper end of the room, and read a discourse on the same subject, and when the company was pleased with any thing, they cried *bene* (Note, none but those who are Academici may read in the chair). This done, Caramuel a friar of the Benedectin order, professor in Salamanca, and bishop of Campania, in elegant Latin, answered extempore the assertions of Franciscus ab Andrea, who most ingeniously defended the lord Verulam's opinion, that it is possible for a man to live ever, if he keeps himself in one and the same condition of health. The marquis of Arena moderated with great ingenuity and understanding; and he was particularly civil to us. There are about 14 Academici, viz. 1. Il Marchese d'Arena 2. Thomaso Cornelio 3.

> Joannes Caramuel 4. Leon a Capua 5 D. Mich Genitii 6. Fra Ab. Andrea 7. Januarius ab Andrea 8. Joan Bapt Cappucins 8. D. Josef Medices Princeps Octaviani 10. Lucas Ant. Portius 11. Dominicus Scutanus, a young man, but very learned for his years 12 Franciscus Rosti 13. D. Dominicus Emanuel Cirssi 14 Salvator Scatione.[46]

Finally, Skippon reported problems due to censorship and how it blocked the circulation of information: "they complained to us of the Inquisition, and their clergymen's opposition to the new philosophy; and of the difficulty they met with in getting books out of England, Holland, etc."[47] Italian academies represented a point of attraction for Skippon and surely were part of the foreign visitor's noteworthy institutions, as he noted the presence of such groups in Bologna (Ardenti, Indomiti, and the academy taking place in Mr. Calderini's house), Vicenza (Olimpici, of which he also gave a list of members), Verona (Filarmonica), Como (Accademia dei Veloci [Academy of the Speedy Ones], which met in Barone Porta's house), Bergamo (Eccitati [The Excited Ones], who "discourse on paradoxes, and meddle little on natural philosophy," p. 572), and Mantua (Accesi).

Many foreign travelers came to Italy and remained a short while, but some stayed for a longer period and left a lasting trace of their presence and contribution. Usually, academies are described as the background of such men's lives. In the following section, I shall comment on the importance that Italian academies played in the lives of two famous French men of letters.

Princes of the Republic of Letters in Italian Academies: Charles Patin and Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc

The French historian Françoise Waquet explored the theme of the Republic of Letters in a publication dedicated to the intellectual network of the French surgeon and numismatic Charles Patin (1633–93).[48] Her article poses questions relevant to our topic. After defining the Republic of Letters as an intellectual community of the seventeenth century, Waquet stresses the importance of correspondence as a means for the creation and maintenance of this community when it was not yet possible to count on either bibliographies or journals. Thus Waquet draws an important distinction between sociability based on correspondence and other forms, for example, one based on academic organization.[49] What was the genesis, the author asks, of these intellectual circles? How did they develop? And who created these circles?[50]

I believe that academies were important venues for the creation and the development of social networks, which were also based on correspondence,

and Charles Patin provides a useful example. In her article, Waquet explains how the French scholar started creating his social and intellectual network while he was still a young man in France with the help of his famous father Guy Patin (1601–72), who was highly representative of the spirit of the Republic of Letters, as well as being very active in the promotion and creation of academies. Charles Patin was a very successful physician, who also became very popular within learned circles due to his numismatic expertise and collection; however, in 1667, he had to flee from France following a scandal related to the smuggling of prohibited books, which he circulated among friends, as well as because of the desire of royal officials to get their hands on his collection of medals.[51] The political machinations set up against him were too big even for a well-connected man like Patin. When he fled his country, he had to leave behind his wife and two daughters, while the tribunal sentenced him in absentia to life on the galleys.

The French exile was to travel through Europe for eight years, particularly through Holland and Germany, where he could count on a network of friends and colleagues whom he had met through his father and who put him up during his travels. This network included Jacob Spon, Peter Lambeck, and Johan Georg Volkamer. Eventually, at the age of 42, Patin established himself in Padua, where he would remain for the rest of his days.[52] In 1676, he was awarded the Avicenna professorship of medicine at the prestigious local university, he received a substantial salary, and had his biography published in his collection of illustrated biographies of professors of the University of Padua: *Lyceum Patavinum, sive icones et vitæ professorum, Patavii, 1682. publice docentium. Pars prior, theologos, philosophos et medicos complectens. Per Carolum Patinum* (*Paduan Lyceum That Is, Icons and Biographies of Professors Teaching in Padua, in 1682. First Part, Which Includes Theologians, Philosophers, and Physicians*; Patavii: Frambotti, 1682).[53]

Apart from his commitments as professor in the University of Padua, the intellectual circle to which Patin made a substantial contribution was the Accademia dei Ricovrati.[54] Patin had been a member of the academy since January 19, 1674,[55] having being introduced by his fellow numismatist Giovanni Lazzara. Once he arrived in Padua, he began to work hard for the Ricovrati. He became counsellor in 1677 and then prince of the academy on June 30, 1678. His activities there ranged from several oral presentations, to editorial projects when this activity was less cultivated than orality, and networking. On July 15, 1676, on the occasion of the celebration of Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia's degree in philosophy, Patin proposed the following question to the academy: "*Dovendosi provedere un regno di governo di donna, quale sarà più desiderabile, di donna dedita alle armi, o alle lettere?*" ("Is it preferable to have a kingdom run by a scholarly woman or a

woman who is dedicated to warfare?"). On August 12, in a private reunion of the academy, Patin suggested that Lorenzo Malacreda's oration on the occasion of fellow academician Count Sertorio Orsato's funeral should be published. On the occasion of the birth of the emperor's son, Patin delivered a speech: "*Se sia maggiore allegrezza d'un padre in vedersi nato un desiderato figlio o in vederlo inclinato alla virtù?*" ("Does a father rejoice more upon the birth of his son or when the son demonstrates to be following virtue?"). After a discussion of each question by two academicians, Patin pronounced a final oration offering the solution, but, unfortunately, the content of this as well as other orations has been lost. In this circumstance, many poems were delivered at the academy, and Patin once again suggested that they should be published. The decision was that he could do so, but at his own expenses, and that he would be allowed to use his name with the title "Principe dell'Accademia" (Prince of the Academy).

As Patin's biographer Christian Dekesel's explained, "Originating from his well-known sympathy for the German race, [Patin] motivated the members of the Accademia to write a series of poems to honour the birth of the son of Emperor Leopold of Austria."[56] The collection should be seen within the genre of occasional poetry and in particular as examples of political poetry: *Compositioni delli signori Academici Ricovrati. per la nascita del serenissimo principe Gioseppe Giacomo Ignatio Antonio Giovanni Eustachio Archiduca d'Austria et c. procurate et raccolte da Carlo Patino medico di Parigi publico professore in Padoa et principe dell'Academia. Dedicate alle S. C. R. Maestà di Leopoldo Cesare et Leonora Maddalena Teresa; augustissimi genitori* (*Compositions of the Sheltered Ones on the occasion of the birth of Gioseph [. . .], Archduke of Austria et c. solicited and collected by Charles Patin, physician from Paris, professor in Padua and prince of the academy. Dedicated to Their Majesties Leopold Caesar and Leonor Magdalen Theresa, most august parents*; Padua: Frambotti, 1678), with 34 compositions touching on various themes such as fatherhood, anti-Turk propaganda, astrology, and prophecy in Italian, Latin, German, and Greek. On October 22, 1678, in a single session, Patin supported the academy's affiliation with ten of his foreign friends: Peter Lambeck, Johan Georg Volckamer, Paul de Sorbait, Denys Dodart, Sebastian Fesch, Jacob Spon, Johan Christian Kech, Schorch, Sebastian Scheffer, and Jacob Gronow. When on November 30, 1678, the Academy gathered to honor the departure of the *podestà* Girolamo Basadonna, Patin took the opportunity to deliver another speech, this time on the Roman Republic: "*Se la Repubblica romana si mantenesse più per la prudenza che per la virtù?*" ("Was the Roman Republic based on prudence or on virtue?").[57]

Following the academy's regulations, according to which civic relationships with Venetian institutions should be maintained regularly, on

December 13, 1678, Patin headed a delegation of the academy in welcoming the new podestà of Padua, Zaccaria Vallaresso. During a private academic gathering, Patin again suggested printing the poems on the occasion of Girolamo Basadonna's departure from his role as *podestà* of Padua: *Applausi dell'Accademia de' Ricovrati Alle glorie della Serenissima Republica di Venezia. In congiuntura che si partiva dal reggimento di Padova l'eccellentissimo signor Girolamo Basadonna suo podestà. Sotto il principato di Carlo Patino* (*Praises of the Academy of the Sheltered Ones for the glories of the Serenissima Republic of Venice, on the occasion of Mr Girolamo Basadonna's departure as podestà of the government of Padua. During the principality of Charles Patin*; Padua: Cadorino, 1679).[58] With 57 contributors, poems draw parallels between the Roman and Venetian republics and sing the praises of Basadonna's rule over Padua. To stress the international network that Patin had established through this publication, poems were written in four languages: Italian, Latin, German, and Greek. For this purpose, he advanced the proposal to select two editors, Lorenzo Malacreda and Carlo de Dottori. During the same session, and motivated by the growing membership of foreigners, Patin also suggested creating a diploma, to be issued by the academy, in order to acknowledge the affiliation of any new member.

In 1679, he proposed to print the laws of the academy with his name, although he would no longer be prince of the Ricovrati. His commitment to the academy did not cease after his role as prince ended in April 1679, and he continued to promote the academy and to support its affiliation with foreign members, thus making the Ricovrati one of the most international academies in Italy; moreover, he opened up membership to women to a degree that had not been seen before, resulting in at least 26 female members, the majority of whom were of French origin but also included German and Italian women. Patin also mentioned the Ricovrati with sincere gratitude in the introduction to an essay on the ethics of the surgeon,[59] just two years after he finished his second mandate as prince of the academy. Thus Charles Patin should be seen as one of the most enthusiastic promoters of the international network through both academic affiliation and miscellanies of poems, and his hard work should confirm how important the academy was to him.

The importance of Paduan academies can be seen in the life of another illustrious member of the Republic of Letters, Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc,[60] who is usually referred to as "Prince de la République des lettres." Usually, Peiresc's association with the Umoristi Academy in Rome is acknowledged. In the second part of *Monumentum romanum Nicolao Claudio Fabricio Perescio Senatori Aquensi doctrine virtutisque causa factum* (*Roman Monument for Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, Senator from Aix-en*

Provence, in Praise of Both his Doctrine and Virtue; Rome: Typis Vaticani, 1638),[61] also called *Panglossia*, there is an outstanding collection of poems issued under the auspices of one single academy. This was edited by Jean Jacque Bouchard, the then prince of the Umoristi Camillo Colonna, and Bishop Joseph Marie de Suares, who was specifically in charge of editing the Latin verses included in the publication.[62]

Monumentum romanum[63] was a special collection of poems reuniting some 72 contributors who wrote poetic compositions in 30 languages, including ancient languages (Latin, Greek), modern European languages, oriental languages (Arabic, Armenian, Chaldean, Hebrew), dialects (Breton/Armoric, Cantabria regional language, Irish, Saxon language), Danish, Scottish, Illyrian, Ruthenian, Russian, Polish, Sarmatic, Hungarian, Albanian, Japanese, Quichua, Old Provençal, and New Provencal. Cardinal Francesco Barberini, an old friend of Peiresc and at the time very involved in the promotion of Rome's cultural life, likely in conjunction with the Umoristi prince, Colonna, promoted the publication of the miscellany as early as 1638, just a few months after Peiresc's death. Censors of the Umoristi Academy evaluated the poems and recommended that some be corrected. Possibly Barberini himself was in charge of corrections. The dedication praises Barberini and the openness to culture that Barberini has traditionally granted. After this, the epitaph acknowledges Jean Jacques Bouchard as the editor and Francesco Barberini as the author of the book. The printed version of Bouchard's oration follows in the form of a letter to a common friend. The author describes the funeral organized in the Umoristi Academy and how poems were recited in front of Peiresc's portraits. Poems follow the oration, and this section celebrates Rome as the center of culture. The third section of the book aims to convey the sense of Rome's centrality in the world and as being the place where all languages are spoken. In fact, the section titled "Panglossia," features poems in all languages of the world, both ancient and modern, from the Far East to western Europe. Thus through Peiresc's funeral, Barberini's patronage, and the Umoristi friendship and collaboration, Rome is celebrated as the place where linguistic barriers are overcome and universal unity is found.

Peiresc is also remembered as an important element of the network surrounding the Paduan scholar Gian Vincenzo Pinelli and his library.[64] In Padua, he became acquainted with Galileo Galilei, possibly through the Ricovrati Academy, which was founded the same year as Peiresc's visit to Padua and of which Galileo was among the first to join. Here, Peiresc was assigned the specific duty of gathering and checking the validity of members' emblems. Moreover, there is one more intellectual link that connects Peiresc to Padua. The French scholar is normally praised for explaining a phenomenon known as "rain of blood."[65] This was the effect of the

transformation of chrysalis in butterflies, which, according to the narrative proposed by Pierre Gassendi, was normally ascribed to metaphysical origins. Gassendi narrated Peiresc's interpretation of the phenomenon as though he was the scholar who, with a secular and naturalistic approach, explained the phenomenon for what it was: a natural process. However, it would be interesting to know whether Peiresc drew his conclusions from a publication that was issued under the auspices of a Paduan academy many years before—a publication Pinelli may have had in his library, though at present, it is not possible to say with certainty. The author of this publication was the physician and philosopher from Friuli, Camillo Carga, and his text was the discourse he had pronounced at a meeting of the Paduan Accademia degli Animosi in 1573 and then had published as a small pamphlet a few pages long: *De Sanguine, qui 17 Kal. jun. 1573 Patavii pluere visus est. Disputatio habita, in nobiliss. Animosorum academia. Ad illustrem et reverendissimum Ascanium Martinengum, comitem et abbatem* (Patavii: Pasquatum, 1573).[66] Carga's conclusions were the same as Peiresc's.

Thus the spirit of collaboration, the international reach, and the circulation of knowledge were all characteristic of the Italian academic movement in various forms. Only recently has the idea of associating Italian academies with the Republic of Letters and the advancement of learning gained momentum. While he was commenting about academies as places devoted to the transmission of knowledge, as an alternative to universities, the historian Hans Bots stressed the particular importance of academies, both for their formal and informal characters.[67] Within a broad description of the history of the Republic of Letters, the link between this and the Italian academic movement has been stressed by Marc Fumaroli,[68] who explicitly acknowledged that Peiresc found in the Republic of Letters of Italian origin his ideal Republic of Letters that transcended nationalities.

To sum up, the creation and the spread of Italian academies across the peninsula introduced the affirmation of a European Republic of Letters in a subsequent period. I shall now describe how it is possible to navigate across the peninsula, and across time, using the links of the IAD.

Paths of Intellectual Networks

As I stressed in Chapter 1, Dionisotti[69] noticed an increasing number of shared publications emerging in 1540s Venice, such as collections of letters, prose writings, and poems by many different authors. In his view, the publication of miscellanies containing contributions from various authors, including "i minori e i minimi" (the lesser known and those of minimal importance), was yet another manifestation of the spreading fashion of

collaborative literature, which, in turn, should be evaluated together with the increasing number of academies spreading across the peninsula. Thus it appears that shared publications depended on the growing trend of what we may now call a "sociability of literature," and it seems obvious, in my view, to see academies as major players in the promotion of this trend. In this context, the long-despised genre of occasional literature is now being critically revised, and more importance is being given to its social function, rather than simply focusing on the aesthetic achievements of contributions.[70] If seen in this perspective, the genre of occasional literature and the miscellanies published by academies may shed new light on the political and social reasons behind these publications. While we have seen the case of an impressive collection published on the occasion of Peiresc's funeral, and its apparent political and propagandistic background, the IAD provides many other examples. Academicians from the Filomati (The Lovers of Learning), Accesi, Travagliati (The Tormented Ones), Risoluti (The Determined Ones), and Uniti (The United Ones) academies of Siena published *Poesie toscane e latine. Da diversi autori composte. Nell'Essequie dell'Illustre Signora Isabella Marescotti de' Ballati, Gentildonna Sanese. Raccolte da Salvestro Marchetti* (*Poems in Tuscan and Latin Languages, written by several authors, on the occasion of the funeral of Lady Isabella Marescotti de' Ballati, Siennese noblewoman. Collected by Salvestro Marchetti*; Siena: Bonetti, 1596). The Infecondi academicians celebrated Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia when she obtained her degree in philosophy: *Applausi Accademici alla laurea Filosofica dell'Illustrissima Signora Elena Lucrezia Cornara Piscopia Accademica Infeconda* (*Praises of academicians for the degree in philosophy of the illustrious lady Elena Lucrezia Cornana Piscopia, academician member of the Unfertile Ones*; Rome: Dragondelli, 1679) is a collection of 42 poems under the auspices of the Infecondi Academy. The same academy also lamented her premature death in *Le pompe funebri* (1686). Miscellanies of occasional poetry that included foreigners' contributions strengthened the ties among participants and thus helped to shape the European Republic of Letters. We have seen the miscellanies edited by Charles Patin on the occasion of the birth of the emperor's son and the miscellany on the occasion of Peiresc's funeral, which was preceded by the funeral of Pietro Della Valle's wife, the Persian Sitti Maani Gioerida, under the auspice of the Umoristi Academy, 11 years earlier. As I have mentioned, the Accademia dei Fantastici honored the death of the Spanish author Lope de Vega with a collection in three languages (Latin, Italian, and Spanish) that brought together contributors from seven academies. The IAD lists many other examples of collections of occasional poetry that include foreign languages, thus helping reconstruct the social network established by such academies, through both their memberships and their publications.

One of the interesting features of the IAD is the opening and detailed description of the objective spaces where the Republic of Letters was shaped, in particular academies and publications, both printed and manuscript, by recording the lists of individuals taking part in the academy, the paratext of publications related to such academies,[71] and the links of these spaces to the prosopography of the people involved in either the academy or the publication of books. The paratext is the space where different people meet, either to hide or to reveal their identity, and construct the social and intellectual network surrounding the author.[72] Lisa Sampson's analysis of the 15-verse compositions introducing Barbara Torelli's manuscript of *Partenia*[73] has uncovered the social and intellectual network revolving around the poem and its author, and it is interesting to note that the geography of contributors shows that they were not all from the same city, Parma, that Torelli and her text are associated with, while some of them were members of the Innominati of Parma. Moreover, the place of the compositions and the number that could be attributed to one contributor, help establish a hierarchy among the poets who commented on the text and allow scholars to make a hypothesis about the role of various contributors within the author's network. Visualizing the network was possible thanks to the identification of the authors of the occasional verses, their background, and their relationship with the writer, as well as by commenting on their poems.

In the IAD, people, publications, and academies are connected through the hypertext, so that the Italian network of the early modern period is visually reconstructed both in a diachronic and synchronic dimension. It is because of the hypertext that we can navigate from one city to the academies present in that city, and from one academy to its members, and then on to the individual publications related to that academy. From one publication we can see the names of censors, dedicatees, printers, engravers, and contributors and also see with which academies they were interacting.

Siena is the place where the academic movement starts, in that it is the Sienese Academia degli Intronati that is traditionally considered the first to draft statutes and membership rules, or *capitoli*. When you select "Siena" in the "Advanced Search" page, you get the "Academies Brief Display" page with the full list of the 47 Sienese Academies represented in the IAD,[74] from Accesi to Uniti.[75] If you select the Intronati, you enter the "Full Display" page dedicated to that academy. Here you will find, in synthesis, the anagraphical details of the academy, including a list of academicians. If you click on Alessandro Piccolomini, Bishop of Patrasso, also called lo Stordito Intronato and among the most famous Intronati, you will navigate to his page. Piccolomini attended the Infiammati Academy, which he helped form in Padua by offering his Sienese experience together with his fellow citizens Mariano and Celso Sozzini. The list of books to which he contributed in one role or

another include *Lettura del S(ignor) Alessandro Piccolomini Infiammato fatta nell'Accademia degli Infiammati 1541* (*Lecture by Alessandro Piccolomini, academician of the Inflamed Ones, delivered in the Academy of the Inflamed Ones, 1541*).[76] This was the publication of a reading delivered at the academy on February 6, 1541, and was a critical assessment of the sonnet "Ora te 'n va superbo, or corri altero," written by the Sienese lady Laodomia Forteguerri, the inspirational muse of Alessandro Piccolomini. The text of the lecture was followed by sonnets of other academicians in praise of the woman. The book is dedicated to Forteguerri and Leone Orsini, Bishop of Frejus and founder of the Infiammati. The volume was printed in Bologna by Bartolomeo Bonardo and Marc'Antonio Grossi and includes the typographic ornament of a swan and a bull with the words "Posa a quest'ombra il toro col vago augel sonoro." Among the contributors was Benedetto Varchi, a famous key figure in the academic movement of sixteenth-century Italy, who, as much as Piccolomini, was interested in the popularization of culture.[77] He was associated with the Infiammati, the Florentine Umidi, and the Bolognese academy of his friend Achille Bocchi. If we click on Accademia Bocchiana in the page dedicated to Varchi, we are travel to Bologna, an important center of private academies, as well as the famous university town. The second edition of Bocchi's *Symbolicarum quaestionum* (1574) is important on our path because it features the young Agostino Carracci (1557–1602) as one of the engravers. We are now moving forward in time and are already in the next generation of academies. Some ten years after contributing to the reissue of Bocchi's famous book, Carracci also helped found the Accademia degli Incamminati (The Headed For Ones)[78] around 1582 with his brother Annibale and his cousin Ludovico, but he does not appear as formally associated with it. His formal association to the Gelati is doubted by Roberto Zapperi,[79] but, once again, it is not the formal association that is interesting here but rather Carracci's contribution as engraver. When Agostino died in 1602, the Incamminati issued a publication in his memory: *Il funerale d'Agostin Carraccio. Fatto in Bologna sua patria da gl'Incaminati Academici del disegno. Scritto all'Illustrissimo et reverendissimo Cardinal Farnese* (*The funeral of Agostino Carracci that took place in Bologna, his patria, organized by the Headed For Ones, academicians of drawing. Dedicated to the most illustrious and most reverend Cardinal Farnese*; Bologna: Benacci, 1603).[80]

The practice of assigning personal emblems to individuals was common in Italian academies but was by no means a universal custom. The Accademici Gelati, however, were fairly consistent in adopting nicknames and choosing emblems for themselves. The contributors to the collection of love poems *Ricreationi amorose* (*Love Entertainments*) did not use their real names and signed only with nicknames: Faunio (The Faun One), Tenebroso (The Dark One), Immaturo (The Immature One), Pronto (The

Ready One), Intento (The Dedicated One), and Caliginoso (The Foggy One), which represented Paolo Emilio Balzani, Francesco Maria Caccianemici, Giovanni Battista Maurizzi, Lelio Testa, Senator Camillo Gessi, and Melchiorre Zoppio, respectively. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Gelati would be keener to publish works with an encyclopedic scope. Among their publications, we find *Prose dei signori Accademici Gelati di Bologna* (1672) and *Memorie imprese e ritratti*, on which I commented in Chapter 3. *Prose* contains several essays on subjects ranging from music to poetry, tournaments, linguistic, politics, and also astronomy. Geminiano Montanari's essay[81] *Sulla sparizione di alcune stelle et altre novità celesti* (*About the disappearance of some stars and other celestial news*) was reviewed by the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society in 1672 and was commended as an important contribution to the ongoing debate about astronomy. If you click on Montanari's name, on his page he appears as member of the local Accademia degli Ardenti, where he was brought up; of the Accademia del Cimento in Florence; and Accademia della Traccia, which he created in 1665 in order to further pursue his scientific interests. This academy was inspired by experimental science and focused on physics and mathematics. Montanari joined the Gelati and then moved to Padua in 1678 to join the Accademia dei Ricovrati, where he also became "censore sopra le stampe" (censor of printed contributions).

The participation of a person in more than one academy within his own city, or in different cities, was very common, as was the foundation of new academies in the cities where people were been redeployed following their careers.[82] The IAD helps visualize this broad and complex network, which could be based on membership within the same academy, on intellectual exchange through contribution to editorial activities, or on patronage. One interesting example comes from an encomiastic publication issued by the Accademia dei Rozzi in Siena that was dedicated to the young Bolognese Virgilio Malvezzi (1595–1654), the son of the governor of Siena, Periteo Malvezzi: *Mascarata rappresentata da' Rozzi. Nella venuta dell'Altezze Serenissime di Toscana a Siena, l'Anno 1611 il dì 30 di Ottobre. Dove con la venuta del Sole, e dell'Aurora, s'intendono le Grandezze, e la Nobiltà dello Stato di Siena. Composta dal Dilettevole della Congrega de' Rozzi. All'Illustriss(imo) signore, e padrone Osservandiss(imo) Il Sig. Conte Virgilio Malvezzi* (*Masquarade staged by the Rough Ones, on the occasion of the arrival their Majesties of Tuscany to Siena, in the year 1611, on October 30th. Here, the arrival of the Sun and of Sun Rise mean the greatness and the nobility of the Sienese State. This is composed by the Amusing One of the Congrega of the Rough Ones. It is addressed to the most illustrious lord, and most honorable patron Mr Count Virgilio Malvezzi*; Siena: Florimi, 1615). By mentioning the Rozzi, we return to Siena, where the Congrega took

shape in 1531.[83] The Rozzi were created just six years after the Intronati, in polemical antagonism with them: While the Intronati gathered the intellectual aristocracy of the city, the Rozzi insisted on stressing their humble origins by adopting the more informal name "Congrega," as opposed to academy. The emblem was a cork tree, and their motto was "chi qui soggiorna acquista quel che perde," meaning that by joining the Rozzi, the new affiliate would acquire the name of Rozzo, but he would also lose his roughness.[84] Founding members of the Congrega were artisans and members of the petty bourgeoisie: ferrier, painter, jeweler, harness maker, shoemaker, and pack-saddle maker are just some of the crafts of the members of the early Rozzi. In the Congrega's *capitoli*, or statutes, the activities based on *serio ludere* are prominent. The president recommended that members should read Dante's, Petrarch's, Boccaccio's, and Sannazzaro's proses and poems,[85] but alongside these, the Congrega welcomed games, or board games, to be played during the vigils. As was the case with some academies, the Rozzi also had a favored printer, Simone di Niccolò di Nardi.[86] The Congrega was closed down in 1568 on Cosimo I's order, after Siena's liberty came to an end, and it restarted its activities in 1603, but its original informal character changed, which meant the loss of the original impulse and the transformation of the Congrega into a more formal academy.

If you begin your research with a publication such as *L'arte poetica di Horatio Flacco* (1714), you are presented with one of the numerous examples of publications associated with two or more academies. In this case, the translator was member of the Intronati, and the dedicatee was the Accademia delle Assicurate. Also, the editorial project wanted to revive the Intronati's interest in popularizing Latin texts for the benefit of women and took advantage of the creation of an academy entirely comprising women. If you click on the translator, Marc'Antonio Cinuzzi (1503–ca. 1590), you can see that he participated as contributor to other publications, such as *Primo volume della scielta di stanze di diversi autori toscani Raccolte et nuovamente poste in luce da M. Agostino Ferentilli. Et da lui con ogni diligenza riviste. Al signor Francesco Gentile*. This publication was a common effort by members of various academies, in particular Scipione Bargagli, who signed three sonnets as "Accademico Acceso." If you click on Bargagli's page, you have the list of his works, the most important of which was *Il Turamino. Ovvero del parlare, e dello scrivere sanese*, which at the beginning of the seventeenth century continued the debate on the importance of vernacular that was at the center of the interests of another Sienese academician, Claudio Tolomei. *Il Turamino* was published by Matteo Florimi, one of the most active printers between 1580 and 1612. Florimi published at least six books related to academies, among which was the comedy *L'amor disperato, commedia del molto Illustre signor cavaliere*

Ubaldino Malavolti Accademico Filomato (1612), dedicated to Francesco Canigiani, possibly of Florentine origin. Thus the path that I have followed so far shows connections that take the user from Siena to Bologna, and in both cities, they show the intellectual and social network revolving around one or more academies, as well as the different intellectual and social interests of academicians, printers, and dedicatees.

Another intellectual path I want to follow briefly starts from the city of Messina, which aspired to a cultural supremacy in seventeenth-century Sicily, and takes us to the north of the peninsula and back. Messina was the place of a limited number of academies, among which the Accademia della Fucina (1639–78) played an important role.[87] Among the professors from the local Studium, one of the affiliates was the mathematician and man of science Giovanni Alfonso Borelli (1608–79), who was also affiliated with the Neapolitan Investiganti Academy and the Cimento Academy in Florence. Borelli left Sicily in 1641 and for a year traveled to Rome, Naples, Florence, and Genoa on a mission devised by the Messinese Senate to not only recruit teachers for the University of Messina but also establish political agreements, although their aims were not clear. He spent 11 years in Pisa,[88] where he made contacts with the Galilean circles and the Accademia del Cimento. Probably in Pisa, Borelli met the Bolognese Marcello Malpighi and Carlo Fracassati, who represented the vanguard of experimental medicine in Italy. Following the instructions of the Senate, Borelli invited both scholars to teach in Messina. Also among the acquaintances of Borelli was the protoscientist Luca Antonio Porzio (1639–1724) from Positano, on the Amalfi coast near Salerno. Porzio also made a significant impact in the north of Italy, in particular in the meetings at the Venetian Accademia hosted by Paolo Sarotti, where he delivered speeches on medicine and promoted new critical reflections on the status of the doctor in light of the debate about medicine that was taking place during those years.[89] As we can see from Porzio's page, he is also associated to Giovanni Ciampini's Accademia Fisico-Matematica in Rome, where Porzio attended the meetings during his travels through the peninsula.

It is difficult to find a conclusion when the temptation is to explore more paths of intellectual networks across the IAD. Users could start from any of the cities, academies, books, or persons represented in the IAD and find that they were all connected. I hope I have explained throughout the book and in the preceding examples that such connections could be motivated by several different reasons, such as patronage, collaboration, imitation or competition, familial networks, intellectual affinity, and serious or playful activities. However, if we want to approach the networks covering the Italian peninsula, it is certain that from Rome to Brindisi, from Naples to Bologna, from Genoa to Siena, and from Venice to Palermo academicians, publications, and academies were tightly interwoven.

Conclusion

I divide my conclusion into two parts: The first part concerns the overall idea behind this book and its individual chapters. The second part concerns future plans on how to use the Italian Academies Database (IAD) for further research inspired by the methodology that is being developed in the social sciences.

First, I hope that previous chapters demonstrate how individuals and the networks they established through both academies and publications worked as mediators for the circulation of knowledge. As other scholars before me have observed, contacts between individuals constitute the backbone of the networks that gradually covered Europe like a web. It is to the analysis of these networks that we should turn if we want to bring forward new evidence on the mobility of scholars and the circulation of ideas. Apart from the succinct description of academies and the prosopography of individuals, the use of the paratext for the description of books in the IAD was important because it allowed us to define the social context of a text, without going deeper into its content. In this way, we could bear in mind the broader picture of the Italian academic movement from a social point of view, look at the mobility of academicians, and the influence this may have exercised on the texts, whatever their importance to subsequent literature. As for the IAD, it is desirable that this will expand to include Florence—the last big center yet to be catalogued—its academies, and their publications, as well as all other cities and towns of the peninsula. Another line of research that is likely to deliver interesting results concerns a comprehensive analysis of academies' statutes and membership rules, comments on their fundamental principles, and whether and how they differed from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, as well as according to geographical areas.

Let me now turn to the individual chapters. Chapter 1 followed in chronological order the various interpretations of the extraordinary phenomenon that was the Italian academic movement, but surely my overview is incomplete. I could not concentrate on the historians of the academic movement within their own cities. Moreover, it is important to highlight the scarcity of studies on the author to whom we owe the first systematic

mis à point of the Italian academic movement, Michele Maylender. The little research I could do in the archive of the Società di studi fiumani showed a wealth of information on this scholar that is just waiting to be critically evaluated.

In Chapter 2, I hope I have drawn readers' attention to the close contact between academies and the ruling class in Venice. Initially, it was my intention to continue assessing the discourse on politics and geography until the end of the seventeenth century with the Argonauti academy. However, I had to sacrifice this section for another occasion if I wanted to finish this book. It is desirable that the same analysis I attempted in Venice could be done for other cities. In this way, we can achieve a better understanding of the influence that academies exercised on other social spaces, such as universities and courts, or vice versa, and think about a comparison between different situations: How did the relationship between academies and institutions compare in Venice and Genoa? How did two cities of the papal state, Bologna and Ancona, compare with one another in terms of the relationship between academies and local élite and also between academies and institutions?

As for Chapter 3, I wish I could follow the practice of illustrated biographies in two directions: From a geographical point of view, I would look into similar publications outside the Venice-Bologna and Venice-Rossano trajectory and observe whether the same genre took root in other cities such as Siena, Genoa, and so on or whether, and why, this genre was typically Venetian. From a chronological point of view, I would like to follow the spread of illustrated biographies well after the beginning of the eighteenth century, up to our modern social networks, and see how this genre changed according to the changing fashion in the self-representation of members of a group.

Since the beginning of the Italian Academies project, on several occasions I have come across research investigating academicians' intercity and interregional links and networks. While previous chapters took the interaction between academies and academicians for granted, I hope I have demonstrated in Chapter 4 the thick web of contacts that covered the Italian peninsula through academies and related publications and how the Italian peninsula worked, once again, as a laboratory for the rest of Europe. In this circumstance, the IAD works not only as storage for a large amount of data but also as a visual tool, facilitating scholars to see links between people that would be otherwise difficult to detect. As far as I am concerned, my research has certainly benefited from the visualization of interactions. Thus one further line of research could point to the place of databases in the world of digital humanities, their utility, and their contribution to the enhancement of our knowledge of social networks.

The Italian Academies Database and Social Network Analysis

The increasingly important realm of digital humanities allows me to introduce the second part of my conclusion, which is an invitation to further interrogate the IAD. This is a very rich resource where the data collected are underpinned by a strong theoretical framework: the study of the Italian academic movement. However, in its present form, the IAD allows selected analyses of its data. During my Visiting Fellowship at the European University Institute in Florence, I became interested in the interrogation of a large database such as the IAD through a methodology that is in use in the social sciences, namely social network analysis (SNA).

According to SNA, structural relationships are typically conceived as consisting of "nodes" (representing individual units within the network, and these can be a single academy, a single person, or a single publication) and "ties" (representing links between individual units), while the "attributes," such as the social status of academicians, the duration of a specific academy, the themes discussed in the academies, or the subjects of their publications, serve to describe the "node" in more detail. The key aims of SNA are to map structural relations, to explain how they have come into being, and their consequences. In my analytical framework, we have to think about three different networks. Individuals, academies, and publications represent the nodes, while the ties are the relationships between academies, or between academicians, or between publications. Two academies are connected if a given member belongs to both academies or if two academies collaborate on one publication. Two persons are connected if they collaborate on the same publication or if they belong to the same academy. SNA will enable us to first go beyond the bare evidence of links between academies as can be seen in the IAD and provide a formal and critical mapping of the network of Italian academies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a second point, SNA will provide an analysis of the structure of the network to determine, for instance, which academy was most central to the Italian geography and to explore issues such as those of "homophily," when nodes form ties on the basis of their similarities of status and so on, and "propinquity," when nodes create links on the basis of their geographical proximity.[1] Moreover, SNA will be able to tell us, for example, who enjoyed a central role in the network of academies and who acted as a "broker,"—that is, a person who connected different cultural areas without playing a central role in any specific network but who profited in some way from connecting them.[2] Third, by adopting SNA we can investigate the consequences of the position within the network for the success of a given academy, above all in terms of its connectedness (the

degree of relations established by its members with other academies) and the survival of specific academies over time.

Since academies were created at local level in every Italian city or town, and subsequently influenced European institutions, further research could situate the literary achievements of academies' members in their historical and geographical context and lead to the study of academies as a social, political, and cultural phenomenon, first on a municipal level, subsequently on a peninsular level, and ultimately on a continental level. Such a structural approach would allow researchers to explore the ways by which networks fostered the creation of academies and to see whether the tenet can be confirmed, by which "in the short time nodes create ties, in the long time ties create nodes."[3]

Once we have identified the "nodes," such as academies, people, and publications, we have to study in more detail the "ties" between such nodes and what they reveal in terms of the structures of academies.[4] This can be done by the adaptation of IAD data into three purpose-built bidimensional matrixes. One matrix should be dedicated to academies and people, the second to academies and publications, and the third to people and publications. The analysis will cast some light on the following question: What sorts of ties did founders of academies have with one another: uniplex (i.e., they were associated only in the creation of the academy) or multiplex (i.e., they were members of the same family, they were from the same city, or belonged to the same profession, before being cofounders of academies)? One of the main questions emerging from a comparative analysis of academies in different Italian cities concerns the criticism that has been directed toward such groups since at least the time of Traiano Boccalini: the generally short duration of academies. Thus the aforementioned matrixes should allow us to investigate whether this was due to the age of the founders or whether it depended on other factors, such as the drafting of membership laws or the publication of miscellanies to which members of the academy would contribute. The matrixes will also give other answers, such as the enquiry into the social and professional status of the founders of academies and whether this factor had an impact on the longevity of academies.

The implementation and the consultation of the IAD reveal a degree of mobility throughout the peninsula that is worth exploring further. For instance, it would be interesting to see the sense of the flow from one city to another: Did academies in Rome attract more people than academies in Venice? Did Bolognese academies attract more people than Genoese academies? Something we still do not know is whether academies were, or were not, self-sufficient groups recruiting from the city in which they were created or whether they were mostly founded by people from other cities who imported their previous experiences.

Notes

Introduction

1. A more in-depth discussion on the biography and historical context of Maylender can be found in Chapter 1.
2. A description of the criteria followed in the creation of the IAD is available in the following publications: Simone Testa, "Un nuovo progetto sulle Accademie: *Italian Academies 1530–1700. A Themed Collection Database*," *Bruniana e campanelliana* 14 (2008), pp. 243–48; Simone Testa, "Le accademie senesi e il network intellettuale della prima età moderna in Italia. Un progetto online (1525–1700)," intro. Jane Everson, *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 117 (2010), pp. 613–37; J. E. Everson, "Le Accademie italiane del Cinque e Seicento: Nuove richerche e una nuova risorsa on-line," in *Le virtuose adunanze II. la cultura accademica tra XVI e XVII secolo. Emblemi simboli e linguaggi*, ed. Clizia Gurreri et al. (Avellino: Sinestesie, 2014), http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/GenesisOfItalianAcademies.aspx.
3. Corrado Pecorella, "Note per la classificazione delle Accademie italiane," *Studi sassaresi*, 3rd ser., 1 (1979): 205–31.
4. Bruno Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana*, 4th ed. (Florence: Sansoni, 1963), p. 295.
5. Poggio Bracciolini, *Poggii Epistolae*, ed. Thomas de Tonellis (Florence: Marchini, 1832), p. 149. This is now called Accademia Valdarnese and hosts a museum of paleontology: http://brunelleschi.imss.fi.it/itineraries/place/MuseoPaleontologicoAccademiaValdarnesePoggio.html.
6. Arnaldo Della Torre, *Storia dell'accademia platonica* (Florence: Carnesecchi, 1902), p. 364.
7. Accademia della Crusca, *Il vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca* (Venice: Alberti, 1612).
8. Accademia della Crusca, *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca. Quarta impressione* (Florence: Tipografia galileiana, 1863).
9. Antonio Gamba and Lucia Rossetti, eds., *Giornale della gloriosissima Accademia Ricovrata. A. Verbali delle adunanze accademiche dal 1599 al 1694* (Padua: Accademia galileiana di scienze lettere ed. arti, 1999), p. 23.
10. Maria Fedi, "*Tuo lumine.*" *L'Accademia dei Risvegliati e lo spettacolo a Pistoia tra Sei e Settecento* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2011), pp. 34, 35.
11. Maurice Agulhon, "Introduction. La sociabilité est-elle object d'histoire?," in *Sociabilité et société bourgeoise en France, en Allemagne et en Suisse*

(1750–1850), ed. E. François (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1986), pp. 13–23.

12. Arjan Van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch, eds., *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 16. Still in the Italian context, there were several Jewish academies whose features were similar to the academies created by Christians. This important example of cultural transfer deserves to be studied further, see Andrea Yaakov Lattes and Mario Perani, "Un poema per la rifondazione della 'compagnia di mezzanotte' nella Lugo ebraica di metà settecento," *Materia giudaica*15– 16 (2010–11): 439–56.
13. Mario Diani, "Networks and Social Movements," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Social and Political Movements*, ed. D. A. Snow, D. Della Porta, et al., 3 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2013), vol. 2, pp. 835–40. Enrico Franceschini, "Quando le Accademie erano come Facebook," *La Repubblica* 1 (2011, December): pp. 61; Roberta Macedo, "Facebook renascentista," *Correio Braziliense*, January 28, 2013, p. 18.
14. Dixhoorn and Speakman, *The Reach of the Republic of Letters*, pp. 1–16.
15. Richard S. Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi, the Accademia degli Infiammati, and the origins of the Italian academic movement," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29 (1976): 599.
16. Paula Findlen, "Academies," in *Encyclopaedia of the Renaissance*, ed. Paul F. Grendler, 6 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner, 1999), vol. 1, pp. 4–6.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Francesco Barozzi's 1561 opening speech in the Accademia dei Vivi (The Alive Ones), which he founded with other friends at the age of 24 in Heraklion, Crete, was deeply inspired by Aristotle. I am grateful to Marco Sgarbi for letting me read his introduction to, and critical edition of, Barozzi's text.
20. David Chambers, "The Earlier 'Academies' in Italy," in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David Chambers and François Quiviger (London: Warburg Institute, 1995), pp. 1–14.
21. David Chambers, Jennifer Fletcher, and Brian Pullan, eds., *Venice: A Documentary History 1450–1630* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 376–80. See also Peter Jordan, *The Venetian Origins of the Commedia dell'Arte* (London: Routledge, 2014), who discusses Compagnie della Calza in relation to carnival.
22. Tommaso Mozzati, *Giovanfrancesco Rustici, le compagnie del Paiuolo e della Cazzuola. Arte, letteratura e* festa nell'età della Maniera (Firenze: Olschki, 2008); Alison Brown, "Defining the Place of Academies in Florentine Culture and Politics," in *The Italian Academies 1525–1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, ed. J. E. Everson, D. V. Reidy, and L. Sampson (Oxford: Legenda, forthcoming).
23. Laura Riccò, "Introduzione," in Scipione Bargagli, *I Trattenimenti*, ed. Laura Riccò (Rome: Salerno editrice 1989); Laura Riccò, *La miniera accademica: Pedagogia, editoria, palcoscenico nella Siena del Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002).

24. Giuseppe Gabrieli, *Contributi alla storia della Accademia dei Lincei*, 2 vols. (Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1989).
25. Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi."
26. Monica Miato, *L'Accademia degli Incogniti di Giovan Francesco Loredan* (Florence: Olschki, 1998).
27. Michel Plaisance, "Une Première affirmation de la politique culturelle de Côme Ier: La transformation de l'Académie des 'Humidi' en Académie Florentine (1540–1542)," in *Les Ecrivains et le pouvoir en Italie a l'époque de la Renaissance*, ed. André Rochon (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1973), pp. 361–438.
28. Maria Pia Donato, *Accademie romane: Una storia sociale. 1671–1824* (Napoli: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2000).
29. See Chapter 2 for a bibliography of studies on Venetian academies.
30. Curzio Mazzi, *La Congrega dei Rozzi di Siena nel secolo XVI*, 2 vols. (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1881).
31. Umberto Pirotti, *Benedetto Varchi e la cultura del suo tempo* (Florence: Olschki, 1971); Vanni Bramanti, ed., *Benedetto Varchi. 1503–1565* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2007).
32. Florindo Vincent Cerreta, *Alessandro Piccolomini, letterato e filosofo senese del Cinquecento* (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 1960); Letizia Panizza, "Alessandro Piccolomini's Mission: Philosophy for Men and Women in Their Mother Tongue," in *Vernacular Aristotle*, ed. Simon Gilson (forthcoming).
33. Antonio Daniele, "Sperone Speroni," in *Filologia veneta. Lingua, letteratura e tradizioni*, ed. Gianfranco Folena, 2 vols. (Padua: Editoriale programma, 1989), vol. 2.
34. Elizabeth See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
35. Although it refers to a later period than the one analyzed here, see Ann Thomson and Simon Burrows, "Introduction," in *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. A. Thomson et al. (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010), pp. 1–15, provides a methodological starting point.
36. J. Scott and G. Marshall, *A Dictionary of Sociology*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 444.
37. Quoted in Linton C. Freeman, *The Development of Social Network Analysis. A Study on the Sociology of Science* (Vancouver: Empirical Press, 2004), p. 1.
38. Freeman, *The Development*, p. 2: "The kind of research that studies the links among the objects of study is called *structural*."
39. Ibid.
40. J. E. Everson, D. V. Reidy, and L. Sampson, eds., *The Italian Academies 1525–1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent* (Oxford: Legenda, forthcoming); Lorenza Gianfrancesco, *Academies and the Urban Sphere in Early Modern Naples (1590–1650)* (forthcoming).
41. Freeman, *The Development*, p. 3.

42. Ibid., p. 4.
43. "Social Movement," *Wikipedia*, accessed July 17, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_movement#History.
44. Diani, "Networks and Social Movements," p. 835.
45. Paul D. McLean, *The Art of Network. Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).
46. Donato, *Accademie romane*.
47. I am referring to the Post-Doctoral Multidisciplinary Research Workshop for the Max Weber Programme in the History and Civilization Department at the European University Institute: "History and the Social Sciences: Still a Dialogue of the Deaf?" (May 20, 2013), accessed November 5, 2014, http://www.eui.eu/ProgrammesAndFellowships/MaxWeberProgramme/Activities/MRWAbstracts20122013.aspx.
48. Carlo Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1967), first pub. in *Italian Studies*, 6 (1951): pp. 70–93 (page numbers refer to journal article).
49. Sergio Luzzatto and Gabriele Pedullà, eds., *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, 3 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 2010–12).
50. Christine L. Borgmann, *Big Data, Little Data, No Data: Scholarship in the Networked World* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015).
51. Patricia Cohen, "Humanities 2.0: A New Enlightenment: Digital Keys to the Humanities' Riches," *New York Times*, November 17, 2010, p. C1.
52. Cultures of Knowledge, "Networking the Republic of Letters (1550–1750)," accessed March 6, 2015, http://www.culturesofknowledge.org; Archilet, "Epistolary Network: Online Archive of Italian Literary Correspondences in Early-Modern Age," accessed March 6, 2015, http://www.archilet.it/HomePage.aspx.
53. Daniel Roche, "Prèmiere partie. Le movement académique. Fondations," in *Le siècle des Lumières en province. Académie et académiciens provinciaux. 1680–1789*, 2 vols. (Paris: La Haye, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 15–185.
54. Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier, and Jan Domolyn, "A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography," in *Prosopography: Approaches and Applications. A Handbook*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Unit of Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007), pp. 35–69.
55. Ibid., p. 37.
56. Pietro Della Valle, "Lettera del 23 febbraio 1621," in Pietro Della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle il pellegrino. Con minuto ragguaglio di tutte le cose notabili osseruate in essi, descritti da lui medesimo in 54 lettere familiari, da diuersi luoghi della intrapresa peregrinatione, mandate in Napoli all'erudito, e fra' più cari, di molti anni suo amico Mario Schipano, diuisi in tre parti, cioè la Turchia, la Persia, e l'India [. . .]*, 3 vols. (Rome: Mascardi, 1650–63), vol. 2, *La Persia, parte seconda* (1658), p. 221.
57. Sperone Speroni, "Apologia," and "Lezioni," in Sperone Speroni, *Canace e scritti in sua difesa*, ed. Christina Roaf (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1982), pp. 118, 221.

58. Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes on French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), pp. 145–90.
59. Luc Pawels, "Taking the Visual Turn in Research and Scholarly Communication Key Issues in Developing a More Visually Literate (Social) Science," *Visual Sociology* 15 (2000): pp. 7–14.
60. Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2000).
61. Ibid., p. 8.
62. Lauro Martines, *Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 4.
63. Ronald F. E. Weissman, "Reconstructing Renaissance Sociology," in *Persons in Groups: Social Behaviour as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, Papers of the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Centre for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, ed. Richard C. Trexler (Binghamton, NY: The Center, 1985), pp. 39–45.
64. Richard Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders: The World of Guilds in Venice and Europe (c. 1250—c. 1650)* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. xii.
65. Richard Mackenney, "Guilds," in *Encyclopaedia of the Renaissance*, ed. Paul F. Grendler, 6 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1999), vol. 3, p. 104.
66. Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early-Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 3.
67. Judith Bryce, "The Oral World of the Early Accademia Fiorentina," *Renaissance studies* 9 (1995): 77–103.
68. Maria Pia Donato, "Accademie e accademismi in una capitale particolare. Il caso di Roma, secoli XVIII–XIX," in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Italie et Mediterranée* 111 (1999): pp. 415–30; Antonella Romano and Stéphane Van Damme, "Sciences et Villes-Mondes, XVI^{e}-XVIII^{e} siècles. Penser les saviors au large (XVI^{e}—XVIII^{e} siècles)," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 55, no. 2 (2008): pp. 7–18.
69. Sandra Olivieri Secchi, "Laici ed ecclesiastici tra sonno e ragione in un' accademia padovana del '500: Gli Animosi,'" *Archivio Veneto* 130 (1988): pp. 5–30.
70. Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
71. Antonio Clericuzio and Silvia De Renzi, "Medicine, Alchemy, and Natural Philosophy in the Early Accademia dei Lincei," in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David Chambers and François Quiviger (London: Warburg Institute, 1995), pp. 175–94.
72. Tommaso Casini, *Ritratti parlanti. Collezionismo e biografie illustrate nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Florence: Edifir, 2004).

Chapter 1

1. Giambattista Vico, *Principi di una scienza nuova intorno alla natura delle nazioni, per la quale si ritruovano i principi di altro sistema del diritto naturale*

delle genti, 3rd ed. (Naples: Felice Mosca, 1744), p. 19, but it appears since the 1730 edition, which I could not see: "First there were the woods, then came the cultivated lands, the hovels, afterwards came the houses, and the villas, then the cities, and finally the academies."

2. Scipione Bargagli, *Delle lodi delle Accademie. Oratione di Scipione Bargagli da lui recitata nell'Academia degli Accesi di Siena* (Florence: Bonetti, 1569); Stefano Guazzo, *La civil conversazione* (Brescia: Bozzola e Sabbio, 1574); Fabio Patrizi, *Orationi del Signor Fabio Patritii I., all'ill.mo S. Fran.co Priuli Degnissimo Procurator di San Marco. L'una delle quali tratta le lodi della Musica: & l'altra, dell'Istitutioni dell'Academie* (Venice: Rampazetto, 1587).
3. Giovanni Battista Alberti, *Discorso dell'origine delle Accademie pubbliche e private e sopra l'impresa degli Affidati di Pavia* (Genoa: Farroni, 1639).
4. Giovanni Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, 9 vols. (Bologna: Stamperia di San Tomaso d'Aquino, 1781–84).
5. Giuseppe Gennari, "Saggio storico sopra le accademie di Padova," in *Saggi scientifici e letterari dell'Accademia di Padova*, ed. Academia Patavina, 3 vols. (Padua: Accademia patavina, 1786–94), vol. 1, pp. xiii–lxxi.
6. Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana del cavaliere Girolamo Tiraboschi*, 12 vols. (Modena: Società tipografica, 1772–82). I have used *Storia della letteratura italiana del cavaliere Girolamo Tiraboschi*, 2nd ed., 12 vols. (Modena: Società tipografica, 1787–94).
7. Francesco De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 2 vols. (Naples: Morano, 1870).
8. Conor Fahy, "Women and Italian Cinquecento Literary Academies," in *Women in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society*, ed. Letizia Panizza (Oxford: Legenda, 2000); Alexandra Coller, "The Sienese Accademia degli Intronati and Its Female Contributors," *The Italianist* 26 (2006): pp. 223–46; Virginia Cox, *The Prodigious Muse. Women's Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Jane Everson and Lisa Sampson, "L'Unica and the Others," *The Times Literary Supplement* (2013, April): 14–15; Lisa Sampson, "Amateurs Meet Professionals: Theatrical Activities in Late Sixteenth-Century Italian Academies," in *The Reinvention of Theatre in Sixteenth-Century Europe: Traditions, Texts and Performance*, ed. T. F. Earle and C. Fouto (Oxford: Legenda, forthcoming).
9. The page dedicated to the Sienese Accesi in the IAD includes a selection of publications issued in relation to the academy.
10. Battista Guarini, "Lettera del 3 Settembre 1590," in *Lettere del signor cavalier Battista Guarini* (Venice: Ciotti, 1594), pp. 60–61.
11. On Bargagli, see Nino Borsellino, "Bargagli, Scipione," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 6 (1964), pp. 343–46; Riccò, "Introduzione"; Riccò, *La miniera accademica: Pedagogia, editoria, palcoscenico nella Siena del Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002).
12. Lolita Petracchi Costantini, *L'Accademia degli Intronati di Siena e una sua commedia* (Siena: La Diana, 1928), p. 35.

13. Ludovico Dolci, ed., *Poesie toscane, et latine di diuersi eccel. ingegni, nella morte del s.d. Giouanni cardinale, del sig. don Grazia de Medici, & della s. donna Leonora di Toledo de Medici* (Florence: Torrentino, 1563).
14. I have used Scipione Bargagli, "Delle lodi dell'Accademie," in *Dell'imprese di Scipion Bargagli gentil'huomo sanese* (Siena: de' Franceschi, 1594), which also contains "Orazione di Scipion Bargagli, in morte di monsignor Alessandro Piccolomini arciuescouo di Patrasso, et eletto di Siena 1579 riveduta et nuovamente ristampata." Piccolomini (1508–78) had been an important member of the Intronati, and when he moved to Padua to study philosophy, he collaborated in the creation of the Accademia degli Infiammati in 1540, see Richard S. Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi, the Accademia degli Infiammati, and the origins of the Italian academic movement," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29 (1976): pp. 601ff.
15. Scipione Gonzaga's page in the IAD: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/PersonFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=022-000000135.
16. Scipione Bargagli, *I trattenimenti di Scipion Bargagli; doue da vaghe donne, e da giouani huomini rappresentati sono honesti, e dilettevoli giuochi: Narrate nouelle e cantate alcune amorose canzonette* (Venetia: Bernardo Giunti, 1589).
17. Scipione Bargagli, *Riverci di medaglie della Ventura befana. Con due ragionamenti: L'uno intorno alla materia delle Sorti, o Venture Befane, et l'altro intorno a' riverci di medaglie, et spetialmente a' proprii delle persone private.* This book was first published by Laura Riccò, *Giuoco e teatro nelle veglie di Siena* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1993), pp. 168–242.
18. Petracchi Costantini, *L'Accademia degli Intronati*, p. 48.
19. The Intronati are considered the first academy because they were the first to give themselves their own laws and statutes. According to Petracchi Costantini, *L'Accademia degli Intronati*, p. 41, the founders of the Intronati were part of the previous Sienese Accademia Grande. Leo Kosuta, "L'Académie Siennoise: Une Académie oubliée du XVI^e^ siècle," *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 87 (1980): pp. 123–57, challenged this periodization and proposed that the Accademia Grande was the first formalized academy in Italy. It survived until 1530 and had apparently drafted statutes and membership rules before the Intronati.
20. Bargagli, *Oratione*, p. 513: "[1] Ragionar primieramente dell'antica origine dell'Accademie, o della conformità, ch'elle tengono colla stessa Natura [2] nel secondo luogo udirete far non leggiera menzione della certa utilità, ch'a vero honor congiunta, elle portano con esso seco [3] Intenderete ultimamente quanto a ragione, Voi valorosi Accesi, sentendo le cagion raccontate atte a produrre, et accrescer quelle dobbiate ogn'opera et ogni industria vostra intorno al concorso delle scuole accademiche, et al seguito in esse, riporre."
21. Ibid.: "nell'accademia dimorarono persone in ogni qualità di scienze, et in ogni dottrina consumatissime."
22. Cicero studied under the Greek Philo of Larissa, the head of Plato's Academy. He wrote two books titled *Academica* in 45 BC, which were important vehicles for the transmission of the skeptical approach to knowledge in the

Renaissance, and although there are no proofs, it is possible that Bargagli had read them. For a list of sixteenth-century readers of Cicero's *Academica* and the importance of this text, see Charles B. Schmitt, *Cicero Scepticus. A Study of the Influence of the Academica in the Renaissance* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1972); Tiziano Dorandi, "Gli *Academica* quale fonte per la storia dell'Academia," in *Assent and Argument: Studies in Cicero's Academic Books. Proceedings of the 7th Symposium Hellenisticum (Utrecht, August 21–25, 1995)*, ed. Brad Inwood and Jaap Mansfeld (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 89–106. I am grateful to Andrea Rodighiero for pointing out this article.

23. Bargagli, *Oratione*, p. 514:"Quella non esser altro ch'uno adunamento di liberi, e virtuosi intelletti, con utile, honesto, et amichevol gareggiamento al saper pronti: li quali sotto lor proprie leggi, in diversi, et honesti studi, e principalmente di lettere, ora imparando, ora insegnando s'esercitino; per divenir ogni giorno più virtuosi, e più dotti."
24. Bargagli, *Oratione*, p. 515: "con un continuo loro travagliare e di continuo l'un con l'altro raffrontarsi per quello spazio vuoto, da essi posto, si congiungessero insieme ed in tal guisa il mondo nascesse e tutte le cose naturali prendessero la lor forma." For the influence of Lucretius's *De rerum natura* on Renaissance culture, see Alison Brown, *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); and Stephen Greenblatt, *The Swerve. How the Renaissance Began* (London: Bodley Head, 2011) for a fascinating chapter on the circulation of Epicurean ideas in Filodemo's academy at Herculaneum, where Lucretius's text was an important reading of the academy's attenders.
25. Bargagli, *Oratione*, p. 516, uses Dante's definition "il maestro di color che sanno." Aristotle, *La Politica di Aristotile ridotta in modo di parafrasi dal reuerendo M. Antonio Scaino [. . .] Con alcune annotationi e dubbi: E sei discorsi sopra diuerse materie ciuili*, ed. Antonio Scaino (Rome: Nelle case del Popolo Romano, 1578), p. 1253a, stated that "man is by nature a political animal" and affirms that "man is more of a political animal than bees or any other gregarious animal is evident" and that "a social instinct is implanted in all men by nature."
26. Bargagli, *Oratione*, p. 515: "chi mai potrà con ragion vera affermare le radunate, le scuole, i collegi, le corti i drapelli, le compagnie, le conversazioni, l'accademie de gl'huomini non esser dritto secondo natura fatte et a quella del tutto conforme ordinate?"
27. Ibid., p. 518.
28. Ibid., p. 522. This is a reference to the ten-year dispute, starting in 1553, between Castelvetro and Annibal Caro, when the first was asked an opinion on Caro's encomiastic *canzone* "Venite all'ombra dei gran gigli d'oro," dedicated to Alessandro Farnese. Castelvetro censored the poem, and this gave birth to a long quarrel that involved many other intellectuals of the time. For a summary of the controversy, see Valerio Marchetti and Giorgio Patrizi, "Castelvetro, Ludovico," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 22 (1979), pp. 8–21. For a critical assessment of the dispute, see Stefano Jossa,

"Exchanging Poetry with Theology: Ludovico Castelvetro between Humanism and Heresy," in *Beyond Catholicism: Heresy, Mysticism, and Apocalypse in Italian Culture*, ed. Fabrizio De Donno and Simon Gilson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 77–103.

29. I discuss the history of the academy and its publication plans in Chapter 2.
30. Apart from Bargagli's description of games in the academies, we can also point out Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum Quaestionum. De universo genere quas serio ludebat libri quinque. Condictio attende lector optime si forte quid contra patrum decreta sanctorum pia factum vedictumve his libris infectum id indictumve sit* (*The Bolognese Achilles Bocchi's Five Books of Inquiries about Every Kind of Symbol, Which He has Played with in a serious manner. With the warning, finest reader, that if by chance anything in these books has either been done or has been said against the pious decrees of the holy fathers, it should be considered poisonous or denounced*). (Bologna: Novae Academiae Bocchianae, 1555). The whole emblematic tradition has a very important playful aspect, as explained by John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion, 2002), pp. 143, 150–51.
31. Bargagli, *Oratione*, pp. 527, 536, 540, 543.
32. From a literary point of view, it is true that academicians often published collections of poems on such occasions, with titles such as *Orazione*, *Lagrime*, *Pompe funebri*, and *Esequie poetiche*, and the IAD lists 27 of such volumes. Collective poems were also published on the occasion of the birth of an academicians' son, but this seems to be a rare practice.
33. On Bessarion's academy, see Giovanni Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti arcivescovo di Siponto* (Roma: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1925); John Monfasani, *Bizantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Émigrés* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1995), ad indicem.
34. Tolomei would continue his enquiries later on, surrounded by likewise great scholars in Rome, first with the Accademia della Virtù and later on the Accademia dello Sdegno. On these circles and their temporal duration, see Paola Cosentino, "L'Accademia della Virtù, dicerie e cicalate di Annibal Caro e di altri virtuosi," in *Cum notibusse et commentaribusse: L'esegesi parodistica e giocosa del Cinquecento. Seminario di letteratura italiana. Viterbo, 23–24 novembre 2001*, ed. Antonio Corsaro and Paolo Procaccioli (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 2001), pp. 177–92. On Accademia dello Sdegno in particular, see Ginette Vagenheim, "Appunti per una prosopografia dell' *Accademia dello Sdegno* a Roma: Pirro, Ligorio, Latino Latini, Ottavio Pantagato e altri," *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 26 (2006): pp. 211–26.
35. Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols. (Bologna: Cappelli, 1926–30), vol. 5, mentions only the Accademia dei Velati that flourished in Bologna in 1615 and one in late seventeenth-century Ferrara, about which he only describes the emblem as a "pomegranate ripe and bursting."
36. Bearing in mind that the name is in the masculine form.
37. The Illustrati were based in Casale Monferrato, see Maylender, vol. 3, p. 144. My translation of their name cannot convey its real meaning, which should

be interpreted as "The Made Learned Ones." For their page in the IAD: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/AcademyFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=021–000007907&searchAssocType=.

38. Bargagli is the real author of the dedication, although this appears as written by the printer Luca Bonetti: Riccò, *La miniera accademica*, p. 33.
39. The reference here is to Maurice Agulhon, "Introduction. La sociabilité est-elle object d'histoire?," in *Sociabilité et société bourgeoise en France, en Allemagne et en Suisse (1750–1850)*, ed. E. François (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1986).
40. Bargagli, *Oratione,* pp. 536–37: "non è in vero di breve momento in qual clima, e sotto quali stelle e verso qual parte del cielo quello posto sia situato, di molto maggior rilievo per certo sarà, perché ivi l'edificio di cui favellando trattiamo alzar con honor si possa; che simil paese, e contrada a puro, e lieto, e dolce aere tutta sogghiaccia, e ben disposta sia; accioché grandi ingegni e chiari vi si possano in copia nascere, e senza alcun disagio sostenersi in vita."
41. The bibliography on this subject is very rich. I relied on Frank Lestringant, "Europe et théorie des climats dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle," in *Écrire le monde à la Renaissance: Quinze études sur Rabelais, Postel, Bodin et la littérature géographique* (Caen: Paradigme, 1993), pp. 255–76.
42. Bargagli, *Oratione*, p. 537, mentions Cicero, but he is not specific about the source: "Si come testimonia il primo lume della latina eloquenza, molto più desti e vie più acuti, et allo intender più pronti assai discerner si possan gl'ingegni degli habitanti di quelle contrade, ch'el beneficio dell'aria scoperta, e serena e lieta si godono; che di quelli non adiviene che sotto scuro, tristo e distemperato cielo allogati si vivono, et altri solenni savi dinanzi affermato havevano esser vera cosa che le diverse regioni o parti su del cielo, quelle ben sono, che le genti di costumi qui d'aspetto, di colore o di più mestieri, od esercizi rendono infra loro dissomiglianti."
43. Ibid., p. 538.
44. It should be remembered that one person could be academician, author, and contributor at the same time.
45. Bargagli, *Oratione*, p. 540: "s'è veduto chiaro com' esse siano mezzi attissimi a tenere i giovani gentili disposti e presti a vaghe et honoratissime imprese." Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, pp. 16ff.
46. Ibid., pp. 540–41.
47. Fahy, "Women and literary Academies," pp. 438–52.
48. Only 10 percent of the academies listed in Maylender's repertory devised membership rules and statutes. See Quondam, "L'Accademia," in *Letteratura italiana*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa, 13 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1982–2000), vol. 1, *Il letterato e le istituzioni* (1982), p. 852, which I discuss later in this chapter.
49. Coller, "The Sienese Accademia degli Intronati and Its Female Interlocutors."
50. Letizia Panizza, "Alessandro Piccolomini's Mission: Philosophy for Men and Women in Their Mother Tongue," in *Vernacular Aristotle*, ed. Simon Gilson (forthcoming). The program of popularization also included Benedetto Varchi: Anna Siekiera, "Aspetti linguistici e stilistici nella prosa scientifica

di Benedetto Varchi," in *Benedetto Varchi (1503–1565). Atti del Convegno, Firenze 16–17 dicembre 2003*, ed. Vanni Bramanti (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2007), pp. 319–76.

51. Rita Belladonna, "Gli Intronati, le donne, Aonio Paleario e Agostino Museo in un dialogo inedito di Marcantonio Piccolomini, il Sodo Intronato (1538)," *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 99 (1992): pp. 48–90; Valerio Marchetti, *Gruppi ereticali a Siena nel Cinquecento* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1975); Mario Scaduto, Review of *Gruppi ereticali a Siena nel Cinquecento*, by Valerio Marchetti, *Archivium Historicum Societatis Jesu* 46 (1977): 433–36.
52. Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, p. 17.
53. The example concerns the affiliation with the Sienese Travagliati of Virginia Salvi, whom they salute as proof that they match the Intronati, who list Laura Battiferri among their members: Fahy, "Women and Literary Academies," p. 444; Virginia Cox, *Women Writing in Italy 1400–1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), p. 118; Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, p. 17.
54. For the critical biography on Cornaro Piscopia, see Francesco Ludovico Maschietto, *Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia: Prima donna laureata nel mondo* (Padua: Antenore, 1978); Jane Howard Guernsey, *The Lady Cornaro: Pride and Prodigy in Venice* (New York: College Avenue, 2001), does not mention Piscopia's affiliation among the Intronati; Paula Findlen, Review of *Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia (1646–1684): The First Woman in the World to Earn a University Degree* by Francesco Ludovico Maschietto, *Renaissance Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2008): pp. 878–79.
55. Carolina M. Scaglioso, *Un'Accademia femminile: Le Assicurate di Siena* (Città di Castello: Marcon, 1993); George McClure, *Parlour Games and the Public Life of Women in Renaissance Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), which I saw too late to be able to include in the book.
56. For translations of volumes related to academies, see Chapter 4.
57. Antonio Gamba and Lucia Rossetti, eds., *Giornale della gloriosissima Accademia ricovrata A. Verbali delle adunanze accademiche dal 1599 al 1694* (Padua: Accademia galileiana di scienze lettere ed. arti, 1999), pp. 376 and 412. On the enrolment of Patin's family members, see Leda Viganò, "Le donne," in *L'Accademia in bilioteca. Scienze lettere e arti dai Ricovrati alla Galileiana: Aspetti e vicende dell'Accademia di Padova dalle raccolte delle Biblioteche cittadine*, ed. Paolo Maggiolo and Leda Viganò (Padova: Biblioteca Universitaria, 2004).
58. Gamba and Rossetti, *Giornale*, p. 437.
59. Ibid.: "hanno ambedue voluto confondere il proprio sesso et fare insuperbire la natura stessa nel vedere giovani sì tenere d'anni essere così mature di virtù."
60. Catherine Patin, *Oratio de liberata civitate Vienna. Habita Patavii Prid. Kal. Nov. 1683 a Carola Catharina Patina parisina academica. Imperatori Caesari Leopoldo Augusto Optimo Maximo Triumphatori Invictissimo dicata* (Venice: Valvasense, 1683). I am not aware that Patin's decision to open the academy to many foreign women had any repercussion on other Italian academies, but it would be interesting to investigate this topic further.

61. Bargagli, *Oratione*, p. 541.
62. Giorgio Patrizi, "Guazzo, Stefano," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 60 (2003), pp. 534–38.
63. Particular stress on this aspect is in Quondam, "L'Accademia," pp. 823–98.
64. I have used Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*.
65. There is no modern translation of this work. Another translation from 1738 does not contain Book 4.
66. George Pettie, *The civile conversation of M. Stephen Guazzo* (London: East, 1586), p. 15^{v}. Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, pp. 31–32: "Io non potrei dire a bastanza il gran beneficio che risorge dalla conversazione e dalla scienza che per l'orecchie ci viene infusa nell'animo dalla bocca de letterati."
67. Pettie, *The civile conversation*, p. 15^{v}. Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, pp. 31–32: "fra le quali non dee esser taciuta quella degli Invaghiti di Mantova, fondata in casa dell'illustrissimo signor Cesare Gonzaga, valoroso principe e singolar protettore degli uomini virtuosi; e quella degli Affidati di Pavia, la quale non è maraviglia se per la copia degli academici felicemente fiorisce. Bene è forse maraviglia che in questa picciola città di Casale abbia presa così bella forma l'Accademia degli Illustrati."
68. Pettie, *The civile conversation*, p. 16^{r}. Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, p. 32: "Percioché conoscendo che non può un solo da se stesso acquistar molte scienze, poiché l'arte è lunga e la vita è breve, come dice il nostro Ippocrate, quivi ottengono tutto ciò che vogliono. Perché discorrendo altri delle divine, altri dell'umane istorie, chi di filosofia chi di poesia e d'altre diverse materie, si fanno acconciamente partecipi di quel che faticosamente e con lungo studio ha ciascuno appreso: imitando coloro i quali, non potendo soli vivere largamente, convengono con altri in un luogo, e conferiscono insieme le loro porzioni, delle quali compongono uno magnifico e solenne convito."
69. Pettie, *The civile conversation*, p. 107^{r}. Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, p. 157: "Cavaliere: Di qui m'immagino quanta sia la Concordia, il piacere e 'l beneficio che sorge dall'Accademia degli Illustrati, instituita in questa città."
70. Pettie, *The civile conversation*, p. 107^{r}. Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, p. 157: "Annibale: Che in questa Accademia regnino quella concordia, quel piacere e quell'utile che voi dite, non v'ingannate punto, perché essendosi congregata nel nome di Dio, potete pensare che egli vi è in mezo e la mantiene in amore e pace ristretta. Della consolazione poi che ciascuno ne sente, non vi potrei dire a bastanza, perché ho provato in me stesso, e veduto chiaramente negli altri academici, che non è alcuno così afflitto per le communi miserie di questa città e per i suoi particolari travagli, che mettendo il piè nella sala dell'Academia non gli paia di giungere in un porto di tranquillità e non gli si rassereni l'animo rivolgendo gli occhi intorno al fregio di quelle vaghe e misteriose imprese."
71. Pettie, *The civile conversation*, p. 107^{v}. Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, pp. 157–58: "Io posso ben dire che quando questo mio corpo è rinchiuso là dentro, sono esclusi da lui tutti i noiosi pensieri, i quali aspettandomi alla porta, mi tornano nell'uscire a caricar la soma sopra le spalle. Ma del

beneficio che nasce da questa felice raunanza ne potete esser certo con l'imaginarvi la diversità delle scienze che quivi sono trattate, or con lezzioni publiche or con discorsi e dispute private, le quali fanno sorgere quella allegrezza del dare e del ricevere che già abbiamo detto. E posso ben io affermare senza vanagloria che avendomi l'accademia tolto in prestito come professore di filosofia, m'ha ora renduto a me stesso non solamente riformato in questa parte, ma anco dotato di quella intelligenza di teologia, di poesia, e d'altre lodevoli scienze, delle quali non mi conosco tutto ignudo."

72. Pettie, *The civile conversation*, pp. 22^{r}–22^{v}. Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, p. 40: "Annibale: [. . .] vogliamo inferire che 'l viver civilmente non dipende dalla città, ma dalle qualità dell'animo. Così intendo la conversazione civile, non per rispetto solo della città ma in considerazione de' costumi e delle maniere che la rendono civile. E sì come le leggi e i costumi civili sono communicati non solamente alla città, ma alle ville e castella e popoli che le sono sottoposti, così voglio che la civil conversazione appartenga nonché agli uomini che vivono nelle città, ma ad ogni altra sorte di persone, dovunque si trovino e di quale stato si siano: e insomma che la conversazione civila sia onesta. Lodevole e virtuosa."
73. Ottavia Niccoli, "Garzoni, Tommaso," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 52 (1999), pp. 449–53.
74. I have used Tomaso Garzoni, *Della piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, ed. Paolo Cherchi and Beatrice Collina (Turin: Einaudi, 1996), which is based on the 1589 edition.
75. Garzoni, *Della piazza universale*, pp. 260–61.
76. For Speroni's biography, see Francesco Cammarosano, *La vita e le opere di Sperone Speroni* (Empoli: Noccioli, 1920), and the summary by Elio Brancaforte, "Introduction," in Sperone Speroni, *Canace*, ed. Elio Brancaforte (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2013), pp.1 3–17.
77. Sperone Speroni, "Discorso circa il fare un'Accademia," in *Opere di M. Sperone Speroni degli Alvarotti tratte da MSS originali*, ed. Natale Dalle Laste and Marco Forcellini, 5 vols. (Venice: Occhi, 1740), vol. 3, pp. 456–60.
78. A useful introduction to both the institutional context and the influences of Platonism and humanism on music teaching is Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Music and Learning," in *Renaissance Thought and the Arts* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 142–62; Kristeller's brief mention of academies is expanded by Iain Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 118–23, though he does not deal with the world outside Venice and the Venetian state. Brian Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 234, describes the use of music for the social dissemination of texts.
79. Marco Sabino, "Dedica," in *Istituzioni di Mario Equicola al comporre in ogni sorte di rima della lingua volgare; con uno eruditissimo discorso della pittura, & con molte segrete allegorie circa le muse et la poesia* (Milan: Calvo, 1541).

80. Many examples are in Gamba and Rossetti, *Giornale*, pp. 326, 329, 340.
81. Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera," *Early Music History* 4 (1984): pp. 209–96.
82. Paolo Fabbri, "Diffusione dell'Opera," in *Musica in scena: Storia dello spettacolo musicale*, ed. Alberto Basso, 6 vols. (Turin: UTET, 1995–97), vol. 1, *Il Teatro musicale dalle origini al primo Settecento* (1995), pp. 106–7. For an overview of the employment of music in academies, see Gino Benzoni, "La simbologia musicale nelle imprese accademiche," *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., 22 (1991): pp. 117–36; Paolo Ulvioni, "Accademie e cultura dalla Controriforma all'Arcadia: Il caso veneziano," *Libri e documenti* 5, no. 2 (1979): p. 39.
83. Iain Fenlon, "The Mantuan Orfeo," in *Claudio Monteverdi: Orfeo*, ed. J. Wenham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 3, 12, 170, with the transcription of Francesco Gonzaga's letter announcing "dimani si farà la favola cantata nella nostra Academia."
84. Fenlon, *Music*, pp. 129ff.
85. Laura Callegari Hill, *L'Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna, 1666–1800* (Bologna: A. M. I. S., 1991).
86. For the collaboration between the two, see Roberto Marchi, "Monti, Giacomo," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 76 (2012), pp. 263–65.
87. Entries of the two Ferrarese academies, their publications, and their bibliographies are in the IAD.
88. His origins are not known, Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Memorie storiche degli scrittori nati nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples: Tipografia dell'Aquila, 1844), p. 261.
89. Pages are unnumbered. The entry "Fabio Patrizi" in the IAD gives more details about the content of the book.
90. Patrizi, *Orationi*, pages unnumbered: "Si come veggono maggiormente più occhi che uno solo; così molti spiriti nobili, et elevati, insieme accompagnati, possono via più con chiara intelligenza i dubbi de' scrittori intendere e manifestare: et quanto et più prestante l'occhio della mano, il capo de' piedi, la ragione de' sensi, l'animo del corpo, lo star del moto, l'eternità del tempo, tanto più fia eccellente la nostra accademia di qualsivoglia studio o scola."
91. Attilio Maggiolo, *I soci dell'Accademia Patavina dalla sua fondazione (1599)* (Padua: Accademia Patavina di Scienze Lettere ed. Arti, 1983), *ad vocem*; and Minieri Riccio, *Memorie storiche degli scrittori*, affirm that Scarano was member of the Accademia della Fama, but this might be a mistake as both institutions were called Accademia Veneziana. Other publications by Scarano bear the emblem of the second Accademia Veneziana.
92. Isabella Nuovo, "Panegirico di Muzio Sforza detto a Venezia sotto nome di Reina (Venezia, 1585)," in *Puglia neo-latina. Un itinerario del Rinascimento fra autori e testi*, ed. Francesco Tateo, Mauro de Nichilo, and Pietro Sisto (Bari: Cacucci, 1994), pp. 313–31, with bibliographical update. The brother of Francesco Maria Sforza, Bishop of Conversano, Muzio Sforza, moved to Venice in 1584. Luigi Russo, *Muzio Sforza poeta monopolitano tra Rinascenza e Controriforma* (Bari: Puglia Grafica Sud, 1985), affirms that he was

affiliated with the Uranici Academy. His name is also associated with the Accademia Olimpica: Maddalena Campiglia, *Flori, A Pastoral Drama*, ed. Virginia Cox and Lisa Sampson, trans. Virginia Cox (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 321n84.

93. According to Russo, *Muzio*, Sforza was affiliated with the Uranici.
94. Patrizi, *Orationi*, pages unnumbered: "perché signori quelle cose si debbono imparare che non solamente sono utili, ma ancora gioconde: imperché quelli cibi che hanno soavissimo sapore più agevolmente nella nostra natura trapassano. In qual loco dunque et in qual remota parte si trova così accompagnata et unita insieme l'utilità con la giocondità, in guisa d'hedera abbarbicata et avviticchiata a ben robusto olmo o faggio, quanto nell'Accademie?"
95. Luigi Firpo, "Boccalini, Traiano," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 11 (1969), pp. 10–19; Laura Marconi, "Traiano Boccalini studente a Perugia (1578–1582). Documenti inediti sulla sua permanenza e laurea nello Studium perugino," *Il Pensiero politico* 31 (1998): pp. 73–88. For an assessment of Boccalini's work, see Harald Hendrix, *Traiano Boccalini tra erudizione e politica. Ricerche sulla fortuna e bibliografia critica*, in *Il pensiero politico. Biblioteca* (Florence: Olschki, 1995).
96. Traiano Boccalini, *La Bilancia politica di tutte le opere di Traiano Boccalini parte prima dove si tratta delle osservazioni politiche sopra i Sei libri degli Annali di Cornelio Tacito. Il tutto illustrato dagli avertimenti del signor cavaliere Ludovico Dumay* (Castellana [Chatelnaut]: Widerhold, 1678), p. 119. Quoted by Firpo in "Boccalini," p. 13.
97. On Caporali's poetry and influences on other authors, namely, Cervantes and Giulio Cesare Cortese, see Norberto Cacciaglia, *Il viaggio di Parnaso di Cesare Caporali* (Perugia: Guerra, 1993), in particular pp. 17–18, 25–26, for the influences of Caporali on Boccalini and reciprocal quotations of their works. Caporali mentions Italian academies as a point of pride of Italy in another composition: Cesare Caporali, "Esequie di Mecenate," in *Rime di Cesare Caporali* (Perugia: Riginaldi, 1770), p. 262.
98. I have quoted from Traiano Boccalini, *I Ragguagli di Parnasso* (London: Moseley and Heath, 1656), p. 25. For a good discussion in English, see Edmund G. Gardner, *Traiano Boccalini: Satyr and History in the Counter-Reformation* (London, 1926).
99. Massimo Rinaldi, "Le Accademie del Cinquecento," in *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa*, ed. Giovanni Luigi Fontana and Luca Molà, 6 vols. (Vicenza: Cassamarca, 2005–10), vol. 2, *Umanesimo ed educazione*, ed. Gino Belloni and Riccardo Drusi (2007), pp. 333–37.
100. Dates and biographical details taken from Allegorie dell'Iconologia di Cesare Ripa:h ttp://dinamico2.unibg.it/ripa-iconologia/ripa.html.
101. Marco Tentori, "Somaschi," in *Ordini e congregazioni religiose*, ed. Mario Escobar, 2 vols. (Turin: Società editrice internazionale, 1951), vol. 1, pp.6 10–30.
102. Tommaso Vallauri, *Storia della poesia in Piemonte*, 8 vols. (Turin: Chirio e Mina, 1841), vol. 1, p. 423; Raffaele Soprani, *Li scrittori della liguria e massimamente*

della marittima (Genoa: Calenzani, 1667), p. 142; Agostino Oldoini, *Athenaeum ligusticum seu syllabus scriptorum Ligurum* (Perugia: Ciani and Desideri, 1680), p. 309; Giovanni Maria Mazzuchelli, *Gli Scrittori d'Italia. Cioè notizie storiche, e critiche intorno alle vite, e agli scritti dei Letterati Italiani*, 2 vols. (Brescia: Bossini, 1753–63), vol. 1, p. 305; Michele Giustiniani, *Gli scrittori liguri descritti dall'abbate Michele Giustiniani patritio Genovese de' signori di Scio e dedicati alla serenissima Repubblica di Genova* (Rome: Tinassi, 1667), p. 314; Girolamo Ghilini, *Teatro d'huomini letterati*, 2 vols. (Milan: Cerri et Ferrandi per Ghisolfi, 1638), vol. 2, p. 136; Giacomo Cervasco, *Breviario storico di religiosi illustri della Congregazione di Somasca* (Genoa: Tipografia della gioventù, 1898), p. 3.

103. On the history of the Addormentati Academy, see Romola Tomasinelli Gallo, "Anton Giulio Brignole Sale e l'Accademia degli Addormentati," *La Berio* 12 (1973): pp. 65–74; and Elisabetta Graziosi, "Cesura per il secolo dei Genovesi," in *Anton Giulio Brignole Sale: Un ritratto letterario. Atti del Convegno. Genova, Palazzo ducale (Palazzo Spinola, 11–12 aprile 1997)*, ed. Claudio Costantini, Quinto Marini, and Franco Vazzoler (Genoa: Università di Genova. Dipartimento di Storia moderna e contemporanea, 2000), accessed April 10, 2014, http://www.quaderni.net/WebBrignole/Br03Graziosi03.htm.
104. I suppose Alberti has in mind Zwinger's encyclopedic work, *Theatrum vitae humanae* (Basel: Oporinus and Froben, 1565). Alberti quotes the first book in the fifth volume, thus I suppose he was using the 1604 edition, which has five volumes.
105. Alberti, *Discorso*, p. 100.
106. Giovanni Botero, *Della ragion di stato libi diece. Con tre libri delle cause della grandezza e magnificenza delle città* (Venice: Gioliti, 1589), p. 330: "qui le penne sono cambiate in pugnali e i calamari in fiasche d'archibugi."
107. Lucinda Spera, "Garuffi, Giuseppe Malatesta," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 52 (1999), pp. 397–99; Claire Vovelle, "Introduzione" in Giusppe Malatesta Garuffi, *Il maritaggio della virginità*, ed. Claire Vovelle (Rimini: Raffaelli, 2006).
108. Paolo Procaccioli, "Accademia come palestra e come tribuna. Girolamo Ruscelli sdegnato, ardente, dubbioso, fratteggiano," in *The Italian Academies 1525–1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, ed. J. E. Everson, D. V. Reidy, and L. Sampson (Oxford: Legenda, forthcoming).
109. Giuseppe Malatesta Garuffi, *Il Rodrigo, dramma per musica d'un solo personaggio di D. Giuseppe Malatesta Garuffi riminese tra gl'Infecondi di Roma il Dimesso. All'illustriss. . . . D. Gio. Battista Rospigliosi* (Rome: Tinassi, 1671).
110. More details in the IAD.
111. Giuseppe Ricuperati, "Giornali e società nell'Italia dell'*ancien régime*," in *La stampa italiana dal Cinquecento all'Ottocento*, ed. Valerio Castronovo, Giuseppe Ricuperati, and Carlo Capra (Bari: Laterza, 1976), p. 112.
112. Piero Meldini, "Prefazione," in Garuffi, *Il maritaggio*, p. 6.
113. Giuseppe Malatesta Garuffi, *L' Italia accademica* (Rimini: Dandi, 1688), pages are unnumbered.

114. Ibid., f. a1r: "Mercati di virtù ove uno permuta coll'altro le merci dell'intelletto."
115. Ovid, *Metamorphoses. Books I–VIII, with an English translation by Frank Justus Miller, revised by G. P. Goold*, in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), III, vv. 1–114, pp. 124–133.
116. Garuffi, *L'Italia*, ch. 8: "Accademie altro non sono che uno scelto numero d'huomini onorati, e studiosi, i quali assieme s'adunano sotto la direzione d'un principe temporaneo, che essi creano, si governano con regole o con statuti, che per lo più i primi fondatori stabilirono, e compariscono a dare pubblico saggio de' propri talenti sotto una certa impresa, che alle pareti delle loro sale affiggono e serve come di Labaro Accademico, da cui fanno scaturire un nome che a tutta l'Assemblea è comune."
117. Garuffi, *L'Italia*, ch. 9.
118. Daniella Rossi, "The Illicit Poetry of Domenico Venier: A British Library Codex," in *The Italianist* 30 (2010): pp. 38–62.
119. Quondam, "L'Accademia," p. 827.
120. Don F. McKenzie, "Speech-Manuscript-Print," in *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and Other Essays*, ed. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp. 237–58; and Richardson, *Manuscript*, pp. 254–58.
121. The Academy's website is particularly well designed and rich: http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/en/pagina-d-entrata(a ccessed June 22, 2015).
122. Maylender, *Storia*, vol. 5, p. 193.
123. On Muratori, I am indebted to Sergio Bertelli, *Erudizione e storia in Ludovico Antonio Muratori* (Naples: Nella sede dell'istituto, 1960), pp. 1–99; Aldo Andreoli, *Nel mondo di Lodovico Antonio Muratori* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1972), pp. 81–127; Alberto Vecchi, "La nuova accademia letteraria d'Italia," in *Accademie e cultura. Aspetti storici tra Sei e Settecento*, ed. Alberto Vecchi (Florence: Olschki, 1979), pp. 39–72; Anna Burlini Calapaj, "I rapporti tra Lamindo Pritanio e Bernardo Trevisan," in *Accademie e cultura*, pp. 73–94; Françoise Waquet, "Ludovico Antonio Muratori. Le 'pio letterato' à l'épreuve des faits," in *Die Europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im zeitalter des Konfessionalismus. The European Republic of Letters in the Age of Confessionalism*, ed. Herbert Jaumann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), pp. 87–103; Françoise Waquet, "De la 'Repubblica Letteraria' au 'pio letterato.' Organisation du savoir et modèles intellectuels dans l'Italie de Muratori," in *Naples, Rome, et Florence: Une histoire compare des milieux intellectuels italiens (XVIIe–XVIIIe sècles)*, ed. Jean Boutier, Brigitte Marin, and Antonella Romano (Rome: École française de Rome, 2005), pp. 637–50; Brendan Dooley, ed., trans., *Italy in the Baroque: Selected readings* (New York: Garland, 1995).
124. Tommaso Sorbelli, "Benedetto Bacchini e la Repubblica letteraria del Muratori," in *Benedictina* 6 (1952): 85–98.
125. Giovan Gioseffo Orsi, *Considerazioni sopra un libro franzese intitolato* La Manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages d'esprit [by D. Bouhours] *della*

Compagnia di Gesù divise in sette dialoghi ne' quali s' agitano alcune quistioni rettoriche e poetiche, e si difendono molti passi di poeti e di prosatori italiani condannati dall'Autor Franzese, 2 vols. (Modena: Soliani, 1735), vol. 2, Muratori, *Memorie intorno alla vita del marchese Giovan Gioseffo Orsi* (1735), p. 569: "temperamento bilioso et facile a prender fuoco"; Corrado Viola, *Tradizioni letterarie a confronto: Italia e Francia nella polemica Orsi-Bouhours* (Verona: Florimi, 2001), p. 139. The murder of his wife under mysterious circumstances has cast a shadow over the legacy of this otherwise interesting man.

126. Burlini Calapaj, "I rapporti," pp. 73–94.
127. Dooley, *Italy in the Baroque*, p. 623.
128. Ibid, p. 623.
129. Ludovico Muratori, *Opere*, ed. Giorgio Falco and Lorenzo Forti, 2 vols. (Milano-Napoli: Ricciardi, 1964), vol. 1, p. 179n1.
130. This is how I translated "il bisogno delle lettere."
131. For instance, Claudio Tolomei's academy in Rome, the Infiammati Academy in Padua, and others examples of linguistic debates in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.
132. Muratori, *Opere*, p. 179n3.
133. Dooley, *Italy in the Baroque*, p. 623.
134. Ibid., p. 624.
135. Muratori, *Opere*, p. 182.
136. Only those who have published a serious book ("parto d'ingegno" rather than "opera di schiena") can aspire to the title of "arconte," Muratori, *Opere*, p. 183n1.
137. Vecchi, "La nuova accademia," 44ff.
138. Ibid., p. 60.
139. I am indebted to Franco Monteforte, "Note sulla personalità e l'opera di Francesco Saverio Quadrio," in *La figura e l'opera di Francesco Saverio Quadrio (1695–1756)*, ed. Claudia Berra (Ponte in Valtellina: Biblioteca Comunale, 2010), pp. 43–80.
140. Franco Arato, "Fra nazionalismo e universalismo: Giacinto Gimma e F. S. Quadrio," in *La storiografia letteraria nel Settecento italiano* (Pisa: Ets, 2002), pp.1 52–55.
141. Rinaldo Rinaldi, "Allargare il Quadrio. Norme e margini di un erudito," in *La figura e l'opera di Francesco Saverio Quadrio*, p. 118.
142. Francesco Saverio Quadrio, "Particella VI. Ragionasi delle Accademie a propagazione della poesia fondate e quelle distintamente d'Italia s'annoverano," in *Della Storia e ragione di ogni poesia*, 4 vols. (Bologna: Pisarri, 1739–52), vol. 1, pp. 48–113.
143. See Pliny's epistle "To Vibius Severus," in *Letters and Panegyricus in Two Volumes*, trans. Betty Radice (London: Heinemann, 1972–75), vol. 1, bk. 3, n. 18, p. 227. On several other occasions, Pliny comments about reciting poems or proses before selected groups of friends.
144. Paul Pellisson-Fontanier, *Relation contenant l'histoire de l'Academie Françoise* (Paris: Le Petit, 1553), pp. 30–33.

145. Giovanni Ferro de' Rotarij, *Teatro d'imprese* (Venice: Sarzina, 1623).
146. One exception is Carlo Dionisotti, "Appunti sul Quadrio," in *L'Età dei lumi. Studi storici sul settecento Europeo in onore di Franco Venturi*, ed. Lester G. Crocker et al., 2 vols. (Naples: Joevene, 1985), vol. 2, pp. 839–62.
147. On Burkhard's life and work, I am indebted to Frances E. Litz, trans., *The Charlatanry of the Learned by Johann Burckhard Mencke* (New York: Knopf, 1937). For a full bibliographical reference, see Léopold Derôme, *Les Editions Originales Des Romantiques* (Genêve: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), p. 252. In Italy, only 100 copies were published in 1880.
148. Horace, *Satires*, book 1, satire 1, vv. 24–25, in Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rhuston Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 6: "Quamquam ridentem dicere verum vetat?" ("and yet, what is it to prevent one from telling the truth as he laughs?").
149. Litz, *The Charlatanry*, p. 49.
150. Ibid., p. 60.
151. Jean Baptiste Le Rond D'Alembert, "Académie françoise," in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, recueilli des meilleurs auteurs et particulierement des dictionnaires Anglois de Chambre, d'Harris, de Dyche, et c. Par une societé de gens des lettres. Mis en ordre et publié par M. Diderot, et quant à la Partie Mathématique, par M. D'Alembert, de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Paris et de l'Académie Royale de Berlin*, 17 vols. (Paris: Briasson, 1751), vol. 1, p. 56; Quondam, "L'Accademia," p. 823.
152. I am grateful to Françoise Waquet for drawing my attention on this important detail.
153. On the Trasformati, its members, and its publications, see Maylender, *Storia*, vol. 5, pp. 340–41.
154. Mario Fubini, "Baretti, Giuseppe," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 6 (1964), pp. 327–35; Giuseppe Baretti, *La frusta letteraria*, ed. Luigi Piccioni, 2 vols. (Bari, Laterza, 1932); Paschal C. Viglionese, trans., *Italian Writers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: McFarland, 1988); Paolo Procaccioli, "Baretti antiarcade. Temi, modi e tempi di una fustigazione," in *Atti e memorie dell'Arcadia* (forthcoming).
155. Baretti, *La Frusta*, pp. 85ff.
156. Ibid., pp. 107ff.
157. Ibid.: "Io non ho poi quell'alta opinione delle accademie letterarie che il Cocchi mostra di avere in questo discorso e faccio poco caso della supposta possanza delle 'abilità congiunte' [. . .] d'un largo numero di studiosi."
158. Needless to say, all these people played some role in the world of academies. The IAD has entries for all of them except Antonio Cocchi.
159. On the history and the development of this polemical exchange, see Cristina Bracchi, *Prospettiva di una nazione di nazioni: "An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy" di Giuseppe Baretti* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'orso, 1998), in particular pp. 77–105 and 115ff.; and John Lindon's review in *Italian Studies* 56 (2001): pp. 175–76.

160. Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy; with Observations on the Mistakes of Some Travellers with Regard to That Country* (London: T. and L. Davies, 1768), p. 246.
161. Ibid. p. 258.
162. Ibid., p. 266.
163. Ezio Raimondi, "Letteratura e scienza nella 'Storia' del Tiraboschi," in *I lumi dell'erudizione* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1989), pp. 124–41; Michele Mari, "Il genio freddo, La storiografia letteraria di Girolamo Tiraboschi," in special issue of *Bergomum* 85 (1990): pp. 11–370; Maria Teresa Sapegno, "*Storia della letteratura italiana* di Girolamo Tiraboschi," in *Letteratura italiana. Le opere*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa, 5 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1992–96), vol. 2, *Dal Cinquecento al Settecento* (1993), pp. 1161–97.
164. Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 7, bk. 1 (1792), *Dall'anno 1500 all'anno 1600*, pp. 139ff.
165. Bruno Neveu, "'L'histoire litteraire de la France' et l'érudition bénédectine au siècle des lumièrs," *Journal des savants* 2 (1979): pp. 73–113. The influence of *L'Histoire literaire* on Tiraboschi was mentioned first by Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1967), first pub. in *Italian Studies*, 6 (1951): p. 25.
166. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura*, vol. 1 (1787), p. v.
167. Ibid., p. vi.
168. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura*, vol. 7, bk. 1 (1792), p. 139: "parve poscia che ciò non bastasse e ciascheduna di esse volle avere il suo proprio nome e poscia ancora l'impresa sua propria. Quindi vennero quei capricciosi et ridicoli soprannomi, altri di lode, come Infiammati, Solleciti, Intrepidi, altri di biasimo come degli Immaturi, dei Sonnolenti, dei Rozzi."
169. Ibid., p. 140: "Checché sia di ciò, le academie d'Italia giovarono mirabilmente nel secolo di cui scriviamo, ad avviare e a promuovere l'amor delle lettere."
170. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura*, vol. 8 (1793), pp. 43ff.
171. Attilio Marinari and Carlo Muscetta, "De Sanctis, Francesco," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 39 (1991), pp. 285–97.
172. Raul Mordenti, "*Storia della letteratura italiana* di Francesco De Sanctis," in *Letteratura italiana. Le Opere*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa, 5 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1992–96), vol. 3, *Dall'Ottocento al Novecento* (1995), pp. 573–665 (pp. 604ff.).
173. Mordenti, "*Storia della letteratura*," pp. 609–18.
174. Ibid., pp. 605–6.
175. The same attitude can also be found in Oreste Raggi, "Un Istitututo nazionale Italiano di scienze lettere e arti," in *Il Buonarroti di Benevenuto Gasparoni, continuato per cura di Enrico Narducci*, 2nd ser., vol. 7 (1872), pp. 29ff. In his pledge to the minister of culture to create a national academy on the example of foreign ones, Raggi mentions the academies of the Renaissance, but even before starting a short history of them, he states: "troppe, anzi infinite," clearly using the stereotype spread by the *Éncyclopedie*.

176. Francesco De Sanctis, *History of Italian Literature*, trans. Joan Redfern, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), vol. 1, pp. 440–41.
177. Ibid., p. 447.
178. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 695.
179. Ibid., p. 709.
180. Ibid.
181. This is one of the most famous academies, and is still active today. Critical studies on this academy are many. The list of publications issued in relation to the academy and the essential bibliography on the history of the academy can be found in the IAD.
182. De Sanctis, *History*, p. 628.
183. Mordenti, "*Storia della letteratura*," 661; Gianfranco Contini, "Introduzione a De Sanctis," in *Varianti e altra linguistica: Una raccolta di saggi (1938–1968)* (Turin: Einaudi, 1970), pp. 526–28, where Contini comments on De Sanctis's prose.
184. Giacomo Debenedetti, "Commemorazione del De Sanctis (1934)," in *Saggi critici. Nuova serie*, 2nd ed. (Milan: Mondandori, 1955), pp. 1–23.
185. Dionisotti, *Geografia*, p. 29.
186. Benedetto Croce, *Storia dell'età barocca in Italia: Pensiero, Poesia e letteratura e vita morale*, 5th ed. (Bari: Laterza, 1967), pp. 25–33.
187. Ibid., p. 253.
188. Ibid., p. 341.
189. Benedetto Croce, *Letteratura italiana del Seicento* (Bari: Laterza, 1911), pp.4 3–44.
190. Without a biography of Michele Maylender, I have relied on the following texts: Luigi Rava, "Introduzione," in Maylender, *Storia*, vol. 1, pp. viii–xxiv; Franco Minonzio, "La storia delle Accademie d'Italia," in *Biblioteche oggi* 8 (1993): pp. 72–74; Gianpaolo Dabbeni, "Profilo storico di Fiume" and "La lingua italiana a Fiume nella sua storia," in *Arcipelago Adriatico. Saggi e contributi*, accessed November 11, 2013 http://www.arcipelagoadriatico.it/saggi/ProfiloStoricodiFiume/dati/ProfiloStoricodiFiume.pdf.
191. Silvino Gigante, *Storia del comune di Fiume* (Florence: Bemporad, 1928).
192. Rava, "Introduzione," p. x; Dabbeni, "Profilo storico," pp. 4–5.
193. Rava, "Introduzione," p. xii In 1893, Maylender left a half-finished monograph titled "Le società Filarmonico-Drammatiche come mezzo di educazione morale e intellettuale."
194. William Klinger, "Due memoriali inediti di Riccardo Zanella al Consiglio dei ministri degli esteri di Londra del settembre 1945," *Fiume. Rivista di studi adriatici* 23 (2011): pp. 61–68.
195. Rava, "Introduzione," p. xiii.
196. Quoted in Rava, "Introduzione," p. xv: "le storie particolari delle single accademie contribuiscono a porre in rilievo la vita nell'Accademia, la quantità degli illustri soggetti che v'erano ascritti, le opere di scrittori di vaglia che nelle accademie faticavano."
197. Ibid.: "Dall'illustrazione particolare delle vicende accademiche si ritraggono anche con somma facilità dei dati importantissimi intorno alla vita,

abitudini, relazioni di famiglia, studi, ed opera di una gran parte degli scrittori d'Italia, e d'altra parte vi si legge quasi lo spirito dei tempi e l'influenza che esso esercitava sugli ingegni, sullo stile, sul modo d'avvisare le opere dell'ingegno, sui costumi, e sul carattere. E soltanto le storie particolari delle Accademie possono farci vedere lo stato e la fortuna dell'istituzione nel corso dei tempi, cioè il periodo della sua nascita, sviluppo, fiore e decadenza con tutte le fasi intermedie."

198. For more specific comments on how Maylender assembled his material and how he used previous sources, see Minonzio, "La storia," pp. 73–74.
199. Frances Yates, *The Italian Academies* (unpublished lecture delivered at Italian Summer School, Magdalen College, Oxford, August 23, 1949), accessible at Warburg Institute in Frances Yates, *Renaissance and Reform: The Italian Contribution* (London: Routledge, 1983), pp. 6–29.
200. Frances Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1947), p. 2.
201. On these academies, see Marc Deramaix, ed., *Les Academiés dans l'Éurope humaniste: Idéaux et pratiques* (Genève: Droz, 2008).
202. Eugenio Garin, "La letteratura degli Umanisti," in *Storia della latteratura italiana*, ed. Emilio Cecchi and Natalino Sapegno, 9 vols. (Milan: Garzanti, 1965–69), vol. 3, *Il Quattrocento e l'Ariosto* (1965), p. 138.
203. Alberto Asor Rosa, ed., *Letteratura italiana*, 13 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1982–2000); Sergio Luzzatto and Gabriele Pedullà, eds., *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, 3 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 2010–12).
204. Dionisotti, "La letteratura italiana nell'età del Concilio di Trento," in *Geografia*, pp. 236–37: "ogni interpretazione della storia letteraria di quell'età deve partire dal riconoscimento non di sforzi e di avventure individuali, bensì di un'attività collettiva, esuberante e irrequieta, ma fondamentalmente concorde."
205. Alberto Asor Rosa, *La cultura della controrifoma* (Bari: Laterza, 1974), p. 7.
206. Gino Benzoni, *Gli affanni della cultura. Intellettuali e potere nell'Italia della Controriforma e barocca* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1978), pp. 144–99.
207. Ibid., pp. 175–76.
208. Eric Cochrane, "Introduction," in *The Late Italian Renaissance. 1525–1630*, ed. Eric Cochrane (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. 14; Eric Cochrane, "The Renaissance Academies in Their Italian and European Setting," in *The Fairest Flower. The Emergence of Linguistic National Consciousness in Renaissance Europe* (Florence: Presso l'Accademia, 1985), pp. 21–39.
209. Cochrane, "The Renaissance Academies," p. 24.
210. Cesare Vasoli, "Le Accademie fra Cinquecento e Seicento e il loro ruolo nella storia della tradizione enciclopedica," in *Università, accademie e società scientifiche in Italia e Germania dal cinquecento al Settecento, Atti della settimana di studio*, ed. Laetitia Boehm and Ezio Raimondi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1981), pp.8 1–116.
211. Sergio Bertelli, *Ribelli, libertini e ortodossi nella storiografia barocca* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1973), pp. ix–x.
212. Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice* (Bologna: Il mulino, 1982).

213. Cochrane, "The Renaissance Academies," p. 25.
214. Quondam, "L'Accademia," p. 830: "se l'accademia è un gruppo, anzi un soggetto collettivo, costituisce, pertanto, luogo ed evento per eccellenza di produzione di rapporti sociali, non soltanto di pratiche intellettuali socializzate. Pertiene, insomma, all'ambito più generale della dinamica del sociale: di un sociale colto, ovviamente."
215. Ibid., pp. 843ff.
216. I have mentioned Ferro's rules before: de' Rotarij, *Teatro d'imprese*, vo1. 1, pp. 127–28; Quondam, "L'Accademia," pp. 842–48.
217. Angela Negro, *Il ritratto segreto. Miti e simboli nella quadreria dell'Accademia degli Incolti al Collegio Nazareno. Una collezione sconosciuta del Seicento e Settecento romano* (Rome: Campisano, 2004).
218. Quondam, "L'Accademia," pp. 852ff.
219. Ibid., p. 829.
220. Claudia di Filippo Bareggi, "L'Accademia: una struttura ambigua fra integrazione, opposizione e retorica," *Nuova rivista storica* 71 (1987): pp. 339–56.
221. "Reverendissimo Padre ho veduto con mio gran piacere dentro una serie d'esperienze fatte altri tempi dal signor dottor Montanari convinte in parte ed in parte sedate molte fallacie e discrepanze delle Filosofiche Scuole; il che mi obbliga a confessare che talvolta l'esperienze meglio che le speculazioni appagano le menti curiose del vero. E perché il tutto si compila senza offesa immaginabile della modestia e della religione in questo maestrevole discorso quindi e che quelle e questo reputo meritevole di luce."
222. Amelia Nigro, *Dalla parte dell'effimero: Ovvero Calvino e il paratesto* (Pisa: Serra, 2004), p. 16; Ferdinando Camon, *Il mestiere di scrittore. Conversazioni critiche* (Milan: Garzanti, 1973); Italo Calvino, "Colloquio con Ferdinando Camon," in *Saggi, 1945–1985*, ed. Mario Berenghi, 2 vols. (Milan: Mondadori, 1995–2001), vol. 2, pp. 2775–76.
223. Italo Calvino, *Six Memos for the Next Millennium* (London: Vintage, 1986).

Chapter 2

1. Clizia Gurreri, "'Nec longum tempus': L'Accademia dei Gelati tra XVI e XVII secolo (1588–1614)," in *The Italian Academies 1525–1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, ed. J. E. Everson, D. V. Reidy, and L. Sampson (Oxford: Legenda, forthcoming), and Gian Luigi Betti's forthcoming essay "Accademie scientifiche a Bologna tra il 1550 e il 1670: Storie di uomini e di 'discorsi.'"
2. The Viridario Academy of Giovanni Filoteo Achillini and the Oziosi Academy are discussed at greater length in Gurreri and by Gian Luigi Betti, in a forthcoming publication. Among others, evidence of a link between Bocchi's Academy and the Oziosi Academy is also in a poem addressed to the Vizzani brothers—Giasone, Pompeo, and Camillo—by Gavino Sambiguccio, a former attender of Bocchi's entourage and the author of a volume with interpretations of Bocchi's emblems. See Harry Ransom Center, Ranuzzi MSS, Ph 12670, f. 22^{r}: "Chi de' più chiari illustri et più graditi."

3. The bibliography on this academy is substantial. Elizabeth See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Elena De Luca, "Rhetoric, Silence and Secular Culture in the *Symbolicae Quaestiones* by Achille Bocchi, Bologna 1555" (unpublished PhD diss., University of East Anglia, 1999); Annarita Angelini, *Simboli e questioni. L'eterodossia culturale di Achille Bocchi e dell'Hermatena* (Bologna: Pendragon, 2003); Enrico Parlato, "*Hermatena* nelle Imagini di Vincenzo Cartari e nei libri illustrati del secondo Cinquecento," in *Vincenzo Cartari e le direzioni del mito nel Cinquecento*, ed. Sonia Maffei (Rome: Bentivoglio, 2013), pp. 229–44.
4. Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols. (Bologna: Cappelli, 1926–30), vol. 1, *ad vocem*, takes it for granted that Bocchi was imitating Manuzio. However, I could not find direct evidence for this argument.
5. Angelini, *Simboli*, pp. 63–64.
6. See Watson, *Achille Bocchi*, p. 54.
7. Donald Posner, "Carracci, Agostino," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 20 (1977), pp. 622–23; Roberta Cristofori, ed., *Agostino, Annibale e Ludovico Carracci. Le stampe della Biblioteca Palatina di Parma* (Bologna: Istituto per i beni artistici, culturali e naturali, 2005), pp. 3ff.
8. Samuel Vitali, "Sul rapporto fra testo e immagine nel fregio Magnani," in *Gli affreschi dei Carracci: Studi e disegni preparativi*, ed. Catherine Loisel (Bologna: Rolo Banca, 2000), pp. 45ff., especially p. 47. Also Clare Pace, "'Perfected through Emulation': 'Imprese' of the Academia degl'Incamminati," *Notizie da Palazzo Albani: Rivista quadrimestrale di storia dell'arte* 33 (2004): pp.9 9–137,1 08–9.
9. I am indebted to Lara Michelacci, "'Quali mancamenti commettesse il Petrarca nel rubbare un guanto a Laura.' Simbologie in Melchiorre Zoppio," in *Le virtuose adunanze II. La cultura accademica tra XVI e XVII secolo. Emblemi simboli e linguaggi*, ed. Clizia Gurreri et al. (Avellino: Sinestesie, forthcoming).
10. Sebastian Schütze, *Kardinal Maffeo Barberini später Papst Urban VIII und die Entstehung des Römanischen Hockbarock* (Hirmer: München, 2007), p. 176, revealed the plan for the decoration of the Hermatena in an unpublished document of 23 pages: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4811, "Discorso in dichiarazione dell'Hermathena, stanza per comodità dell'Accademia de' Gelati, fabricata dal Caliginoso ad honore del Protettore dell'Accademia l'Illustrissimo Cardinale Barberino Legato di Bologna," also discussed and described in Clizia Gurreri, "'Nec longum tempus.'"
11. Sebastian Schütze, "Sinergie iconiche: La Hermathena dell'Accademia dei Gelati a Bologna tra esercizio poetico e passioni per la pittura," in *Estetica Barocca*, ed. Sebastian Schütze (Rome: Campisano, 2004), pp. 183–204 (pp.1 90–95).
12. Ibid., p. 195.
13. Corrado Viola, *Tradizioni letterarie a confronto: Italia e Francia nella polemicaO rsi-Bouhours* (Verona: Florimi, 2001), pp. 154–55.

14. I am aware of the exception of Marta Cavazza, "Dal 'Coro anatomico' agli Inquieti (1650–1714)," in *Accademie scientifiche del Seicento*, ed. P. Galluzzi et al. (*Quaderni storici*, 48 [1981]), pp. 884–921.
15. On Capponi and his activities as an academician and university lecturer, see Chapter 3.
16. Peter Burke, "Early Modern Venice as a Centre of Information and Communication," in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1997*, ed. J. Martin and D. Romano (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 389–419; Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 53–80.
17. Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)* (Bari: Laterza, 2002).
18. Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early-Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
19. Karl Mannheim, "The Problem of a Sociology of Knowledge," in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge. Collected Works Volume Five*, ed. Paul Kecskemeti (London: Routledge, 1952), p. 186.
20. Neil Harris, "Ombre della storia del libro italiano," in *The Books of Venice: Il libro veneziano*, ed. Lisa Pon and Craig Kallendorf (Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 2008), p. 476; Mario Infelise, "Book Publishing and the Circulation of Information," in *A Companion to Venetian History 1400–1797*, ed. Eric Dursteler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 651–74.
21. Burke, *A Social History*, pp. 57–60.
22. Francesco Saverio Quadrio, *Della Storia e ragione di ogni poesia*, 4 vols. (Bologna: Pisarri, 1739–52), vol. 1, pp. 108–11.
23. Michele Battagia, *Delle accademie veneziane: Dissertazione storica* (Venice: Orlandelli, 1826), p. 4; and Chapter 1 in this book.
24. As Barbaro affirms in a letter to Arnoldo of Gand in Book I of Barbaro's Latin epistles, which can be found in Giovanni Battista Nani's codex A, p. 16. See *Giornale dei letterati d'Italia* 28 (1717): p. 127. The whole reference comes from *Istorici delle cose veneziane i quali hanno scritto per pubblico decreto*, 10 vols. (Venice: Lovisa, 1718–22), vol. 4 (1718), p. vii.
25. Paolo Preto, "Cicogna, Emmanuele Antonio," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 25 (1981), pp. 394–97.
26. Paolo Ulvioni, "Accademie e cultura in Italia dalla Controriforma all'Arcadia," in *Libri e documenti* 2 (1979): pp. 21–75.
27. Giuseppe Trebbi, "Morosini, Andrea," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 77 (2012), pp. 103–6, traces a history of the "Ridotto," its cultural interests, and a prosopography of the people involved, which included Paolo Sarpi, Galileo Galilei, and other patricians. The word *ridotto* is a synonym of *accademia* in that it refers to both the place and the group. It implies the gathering of friends for playful activities and conversation, but its activities are more informal than an *accademia*. See Salvatore Battaglia, ed., *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, 21 vols. (Turin: UTET, 1961–2002), vol. 16 (1992), p. 204.

28. Ulvioni, "Accademie e cultura," pp. 38ff.
29. Gino Benzoni, "Le Accademie," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi and Mario Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza: Pozza, 1976–86), vol. 4, bk. 1, *Il Seicento* (1983), pp. 131–62.
30. Gino Benzoni, "Le Accademie e l'istruzione," in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, ed. Gino Benzoni and Antonio Menniti Ippolito, 14 vols. (Rome: Istituto dell'enciclopedia, 1992–2002), vol. 4, *Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (1996), pp.7 89–816.
31. David Chambers, Jennifer Fletcher, and Brian Pullan, eds., *Venice: A Documentary History 1450–1630* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 376.
32. Angelo Ventura, "Scrittori politici e scritture di governo," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3, bk. 2, *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento* (1981), pp. 513–63; Donald Queller, "The Development of Ambassadorial Relazioni," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), pp. 174–96; Angelo Ventura, "Introduzione," in *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, ed. Angelo Ventura, 2 vols. (Bari: Laterza, 1980), vol. 1, pp. vi–cxxxix; Igor Melani, "Gli ambasciatori veneti nella Francia del primo cinquecento," *Archivio storico italiano* 152 (2004): pp. 453–505; de Vivo, *Information*, pp. 20–25.
33. Fernando Lepori, "La scuola di Rialto dalla fondazione alla metà del Cinquecento," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3, bk. 2, *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento* (1980), pp. 538–605.
34. The humanist geography in Renaissance Ferrara is discussed in Massimo Donattini, "Cultura geografica ferrarese del Rinascimento," in *Storia di Ferrara*, ed. Angela Ghinato, 7 vols. (Ferrara: Corbo, 1987–2000), vol. 6, *Il Rinascimento. Situazioni e personaggi*, ed. Adriano Prosperi, pp. 407–58.
35. Donattini, "Cultura geografica," p. 438.
36. The bibliography on Aldo Manuzio and his publishing firm is very substantial. Here I made use of Carlo Dionisotti, "Introduzione," in *Aldo Manuzio editore. Dediche, prefazioni, note ai testi*, ed. Giovanni Orlandi, 2 vols. (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1975); Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979); Luciana Bigliazzi et al., eds., *Aldo Manuzio tipografo 1494–1515: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 17 giugno-30 luglio 1994. Catalogo* (Florence: Octoavo, 1994); Mario Infelise, "Manuzio, Aldo, il Vecchio," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 69 (2007), pp. 236–45, has an updated bibliography.
37. An Italian translation of the rules can be found in Carlo Castellani, "*La stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio senior*," *Ateneo Veneto* 1 (1888): pp. 145–67.
38. See the introduction in Aldus Manutius, ed., *Thesaurus cornucopiae et horti Adonidis* (Venice: Aldus, 1496).
39. Martin Lowry, "Manutius Publicity Campaign," in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, ed. David S. Zeidberg and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi (Florence: Olschki, 1998), pp. 31–46.

40. Martin Davies, *Aldus Manutius Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice* (London: British Library, 1995), p. 13.
41. S. Günther, "Il cardinal Pietro Bembo e la geografia," in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche. Roma 1–9 aprile 1903*, 12 vols. (Rome, 1904–7), vol. 10, *Storia della geografia* (1904), pp. 55–68; Ross Kilpatrick, "The De Aetna of Pietro Bembo: A Translation," *Studies in Philology* 83 (1986): pp. 330–58.
42. Jane E. Everson, "The Melting Pot of Science and Belief: Studying Vesuvius in Seventeenth-CenturyN aples," *Renaissance Studies* 25 (2011): pp. 691–727.
43. Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 145 writes about the connection of Bembo's "exploratory interest to both Pliny and Columbus, Mediterranean antiquity and Atlantic contemporaneity."
44. Cecil Clough, "Bembo's Edition of Petrarch and His Association with the Aldine Press," in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, ed. David S. Zeidberg and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi (Florence: Olschki, 1998), pp. 47–80.
45. Bigliazzi, *Aldo Manuzio tipografo*, p. 33.
46. Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye*, p. 145; Pietro Bembo, *Della historia vinitiana di M. Pietro Bembo cardinale volgarmente scritta* (Venice: Scotto, 1552), pp. 72ff.; Bembo, *History of Venice*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), vol. 2, pp. 86ff.
47. Francesco Crifò and Wolfgang Schweickard, "'Vita et Sito de Zychi' di Giorgio Interiano: Trascrizione e commento dell'*editio princeps* del 1502," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 130 (2014): pp. 160–78.
48. Antonio De Ferrariis, *Antonii Galatei Liciensis [. . .] Liber de situ elementorum* (Basileae: per Petrum Pernam, 1558).
49. Crifò and Schweickard, "Vita et Sito de Zychi," pp. 162–63.
50. Ibid., p. 164.
51. For Ramusio's biographical sketch, I am indebted to Massimo Donattini, "G. B. Ramusio e le sue Navigationi appunti per una biografia," *Critica storica* 17 (1980): pp. 55–100 (pp. 81–100); Giovan Battista Ramusio, *Navigationi et viaggi*, ed. Marica Milanesi, 5 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1978–83). The most important publications on Ramusio are Stefano Grande, "Le relazioni geografiche fra P. Bembo, G. Fracastoro, G. B. Ramusio, G. B. Gastaldi," *Memorie della società geografica italiana* 12 (1905): pp. 93–197; George B. Parks, "The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's Navigationi," *Bulletin of the New York Library* 59 (1955): pp. 279–313; George B. Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," *Studies in Philology* 52 (1955): pp. 127–48; Marica Milanesi, "Introduzione," in Ramusio, *Navigazioni e viaggi*, pp. xi–xxiii; Sylviane Albertan-Coppola and Marie-Christine Gomez Géraud, "La collection des *Navigationi et viaggi* (1550–1559) de G.B. Ramusio: Mécanismes et projets d'après les para-textes," *Revue des études italiennes* 36 (1990): pp. 59–70; Massimo Donattini, "Orizzonti geografici dell'editoria italiana (1493–1560)," in *Il mondo nuovo nella coscienza italiana e tedesca del Cinquecento*, ed. Adriano

Posperi and Wolfgang Reinhard (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992), pp. 79–154; Luciana Stegagno Picchio, "'Navigationi et Viaggi' di Giovan Battista Ramusio," in *Letteratura Italiana. Le Opere*, 5 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1992–96), vol. 2, *Dal Cinquecento al Settecento* (1993), pp. 479–515; Andrea Del Ben, *Giovanni Battista Ramusio cancelliere e umanista. Con l'edizione di quarantacinque lettere al Bembo* (Trieste: Imprinta, 2004); Fabio Romanin, "*Se fussero più ordinate, e meglio scritte": Giovanni Battista Ramusio correttore ed editore delle Navigationi et viaggi* (Rome: Viella, 2007); Romain Descendre, "Dall'occhio della storia all'occhio della politica. Sulla nascita della geografia politica nel Cinquecento (Ramusio e Botero)," in *Nascita della storiografia e riorganizzazione dei saperi, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi. Torino 20–22 maggio 2009*, ed. Anrico Mattioda (Florence: Olschki, 2010), pp. 155–79; Massimo Donattini, "Ombre imperiali. Le Navigationi e viaggi di G. B. Ramusio e l'immagine di Venezia," in *Per Adriano Prosperi*, 2 vols., ed. Massimo Donattini, Giuseppe Marcocci, and Stefania Pastore (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011), vol. 1, *L'Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi*, pp. 33–44; Toni Veneri, "Giovanni Battista Ramusio, molto più di uno spettatore. Le quinte delle *Navigationi e viaggi*," *Italica* 89 (2012): pp. 162–201.

52. Annaclara Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d'Asola e la tipografia aldina: La vita le edizioni, la biblioteca dell'Asolano* (Genoa: Sagep, 1998), pp. 47, 214.
53. Ibid., pp. 186–87.
54. Ibid., p. 271.
55. Donattini, "G. B. Ramusio," p. 87.
56. Lesley B. Cormack, "Geography," in *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, ed. Paul F. Grendler, 6 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner, 1999), vol. 3, pp. 31–34.
57. Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana del cavaliere Girolamo Tiraboschi*, 2nd ed., 12 vols. (Modena: Società tipografica, 1787–94), vol. 7, bk. 1 (1792), p. 270.
58. Milanesi, "Introduzione," pp. xiv–xviii; Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco*, p. 199; and Ludovica Braida, *Libri di lettere: Le raccolte epistolari del Cinquecento tra inquietudini religiose e buon volgare* (Bari: Laterza, 2009), pp. 156–58.
59. Pietro Bembo, *Lettere*, ed. Ernesto Travi, 4 vols. (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1987), vol. 2, p. 177.
60. Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," p. 129.
61. Donattini, "G. B. Ramusio."
62. Veneri, "Giovanni Battista Ramusio," pp. 162–201.
63. Dorit Raines, "Book Museum or Scholarly Library? The 'Libreria di San Marco' in a Republican Context," *Archivio Veneto*, 3rd ser., 9, no. 2 (2010): p. 37.
64. Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco*, p. 190.
65. Marino Zorzi, *La libreria di San Marco: Libri lettori e società nella Venezia dei Dogi* (Milan: Mondadori, 1987), pp. 97–105.
66. Ibid., pp. 105–19.
67. Descendre, "Dall'occhio," p. 163.
68. Burke, "Early Modern Venice," pp. 389–419; Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*; de Vivo, *Information*.

69. Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. 2, pp. 59, 65, 494, and vol. 3, p. 111 (for the exchange of information with the Spanish historian Fernando de Oviedo about travels to the West Indies), pp. 146, 270 (Bembo asks for the transcription of Aristotle's *Poetics*), p. 289 (Bembo asks for the transcription of Pope Saint Clement's Greek text *Ta stomata*), p. 305 (Bembo discusses the hypothesis that Ferdinand Magellan lost one day on his circumnavigation of the Earth), p. 372 (Bembo asks for Sanudo's books to use for his History and enquires about the stage of the printing of one Messinese's books on astrology), p. 392 (Bembo recommends that the book "Matematico di messer Francesco Maurolico" should not be printed by the German printer introduced by Giacomo Doria and Geronimo Sarra), p. 524 (Bembo thanks Ramusio and Giunti for sending Rutilio's book *Spagna* and a quinterno on Africa and that he is waiting for Alvarez's book on travels to Portugal), p. 559 (Ramusio will be teaching pupils at home about ancient and modern cosmography).
70. Albertan-Coppola and Géraud, "La collection," p. 64.
71. Ibid., p. 68; and more extensively in Donattini, "Ombre imperiali," pp. 39–40.
72. Aldo Stella, "Badoer, Federico," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 5 (1963), pp. 106–8.
73. Ibid., p. 106.
74. Pietro Aretino, *Lettere*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli, 4 vols. (Rome: Salerno editrice, 1998), vol. 4, pp. 115–16.
75. Federico Badoer, "Relazione di Federigo Badoer tornato da Urbino," in *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimosesto*, ed. Eugenio Alberi, series 2, *Relazioni d'Italia*, 5 vols. (Florence: Società tipografica fiorentina, 1839–58), vol. 5 (1858), pp. 377–406.
76. Rawdon Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers: Venice*, 38 vols. (London: Longman Green, 1864–1947), vol. 6, bk. 1, *1555–1558* (1877), p. 801.
77. Chambers, Fletcher, and Pullan, *Venice: A Documentary History*, p. 52.
78. Badoer, "Relazione di Germania," in *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, series 1, *Relazioni degli stati europei tranne l'Italia*, 6 vols. (Florence: Società tipografica fiorentina, 1839–62), vol. 3 (1853), pp. 174–330.
79. Aldo Stella, "La regolazione delle pubbliche entrate e la crisi politica veneziana del 1582," in *Miscellanea in onore di Roberto Cessi*, 3 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1958), vol. 2, pp. 157–71 (pp. 166–67); and Aldo Stella, "Badoer," 107–8.
80. Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. 3, p. 522. The editor is mistaken in considering Federico Badoer an astrologer.
81. Aretino, *Lettere*, *ad vocem*.
82. Niccolò Franco, "Dialogo di Nicolò Franco nel quale induce Borgio Pedante impetrare da Caronte tempo da pensare l'Oratione che dee fare nel'Inferno dinanzi a Plutone," in *Dialogi piacevoli di Niccolò Franco* (Venice: Giolito, 1541).
83. Ester Pastorello, *Inedita Manutiana: Inventario cronologico analitico 1483–1597* (Florence: Olschki, 1957), *ad vocem*.
84. Paolo Manuzio, *Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini et eccellentissimi ingegni, scritte in diverse materie, Nuovamente ristampate ed in più luoghi*

corrette. Libro primo (Venice: Aldus, 1544). Manuzio's collection of Lettere volgari has also been considered a repository of evangelical ideas, see Braida, *Libri di lettere*.

85. Manuzio, *Lettere volgari* (1544), f. 25^{v}; Braida, *Libri di lettere*, p. 57.
86. Paolo Gerardo, *Novo libro di lettere scritte da i più rari auttori et professori della lingua volgare italiana* (Venice: Gerardo, 1544).
87. Despite the fact that this group never gave itself membership rules or statutes, the definition of "Accademia" is in a letter of Pietro Aretino to Girolamo Capello (May 1548), Aretino, *Lettere*, vol. 4, pp. 390–91: "come testifica l'Accademia del buon Domenico Veniero, che in dispetto della sorte, che il persegue con gli accidenti delle infermità, ha fatto della honorata sua stanza un tempio, non che un ginnasio," later quoted by Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura*, vol. 7, bk. 3 (1792), p. 1156. Subsequently, both Battagia, *Delle accademie veneziane*, p. 23, and then Maylender, *Storia*, vol. 5, p. 446, accepted the definition of "Accademia" for this informal gathering.
88. Angelo Ventura, "Badoer, Alvise," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 5 (1963), pp. 93–96.
89. Cited in Zorzi, *La libreria*, p. 144.
90. Andrea Calmo, *II Libro de le piacevoli et ingeniose lettere indrizzate a diversi, con bellissime argutie. Sotto varii et sottilissimi discorsi dechiarati Per M. Andrea Calmo* (Venice: Cavalcalupo, 1564); Ronnie Ferguson, "Ruzante and the Veneto," in *A History of Italian Theatre*, ed. Joseph Farrell and Paolo Puppa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 61–73; Vittorio Rossi, ed., *Le lettere di messer Andrea Calmo, riprodotte sulle stampe migliori* (Turin: Loescher, 1888), p. xi.
91. Valerio Marcellino, *Il Diamerone di Valerio Marcellino. Ove con vive ragioni si mostra, la morte non esser quel male, che 'l senso si persuade. Con una dotta et giudiciosa lettera over discorso intorno alla lingua volgare* (Venice: Giolito, 1564).
92. Stella, "Badoer," p. 106.
93. Paul Lawrence Rose, "The Accademia Venetiana: Science and Culture in Renaissance Venice," *Studi veneziani* 11 (1969): pp. 191–242 (pp. 193, 236–40).
94. Ibid., pp. 237–38.
95. Ibid., pp. 238: "Signore mio caro questi sono inganni grandi. V. S. non si lasci pascere di queste false opinioni: fugge celeramente questa terrena vita, sicché ella non è possente a trapassare in cose così varie e profonde [such as natural philosophy and theology]."
96. Ibid., p. 239: "quelle scientie che dalla terra al cielo innalzano le menti nostre."
97. Johann Gottleb Lunze, *Academia Venetiana seu della Fama* (Lipsiae: Tauchnitii, 1801); Battagia, *Delle accademie veneziane*; Domenico Maria Pellegrini, "Breve dissertazione previa al Sommario dell'Accademia veneta della Fama," *Giornale dell'Italiana letteratura* 22 and 23 (1808); Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle inscrizioni veneziane*, 4 vols. (Venice: Picotti, 1824–53), vol. 2

(1827), p. 138, and vol. 3 (1830), pp. 50–55; Antoine-Augustin Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Aldes ou histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs editions*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Renouard, 1834); Giuseppe Bianchini, "Un'accademia veneziana del secolo XVI," *Nuove veglie veneziane* 1 (1895); Maylender, *Storia*, vol. 5, *ad vocem*; Rose, "The Accademia Venetiana"; Pietro Pagan, "Sulla Accademia 'Veneziana' o 'Della Fama,'" *Atti dell'istituto veneto di scienze lettere e arti* 132 (1973–74): pp. 359–92; Ulvioni, "Accademie e cultura," pp. 21–75; Lina Bolzoni, "Il 'Badoaro' di Francesco Patrizi e l'Accademia veneziana della Fama," *Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana* 158 (1981): pp. 71–101; Barbara Marx, "Die Stadt als Buch: Anmerkungen zur Academia Venetiana und zu Francesco Sansovino," *Studi: Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Studienzentrums in Venedig* 9 (1993): pp. 233–60; Lina Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria: Modelli letterari e iconografici nell'età della stampa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1995). More recently, new interest about this academy has emerged in Shanti Graheli's "Reding the History of the Accademia Veneziana through Its Booklists," in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, ed. Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 283–320. For the entire list of publications issued under the aegis of the Accademia della Fama, documents related to its formal founding, and the list of people involved in the academy, see the entry in the IAD.

98. Pagan, "Sulla Accademia," pp. 367ff.
99. Rose, "The Accademia Venetiana," pp. 216–22. See Pagan for corrections on orthography and words in Rose's transcription, "Sulla Accademia," p. 360. John Rylands Library, Aldine Collection, 528.
100. The Latin version of the same project was issued in 1559 and was again dedicated to the Doge Lorenzo Priuli.
101. Bolzoni, *La stanza*, p. 17, explained clearly an earlier suggestion made by Giusto Fontanini, *Biblioteca dell'eloquenza italiana* (Rome: Bernabò, 1736), p. 555.
102. For this definition, see Salvatore Battaglia, ed., *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, vol. 16 (1992), *ad vocem*. The *Somma delle opere* refers readers to some volumes published in Lyon a few years prior.
103. These three categories should be seen in the context of the academy's proposal to reform the legal system of the Venetian state: Rose, "The Accademia Venetiana," p. 209n86; Gaetano Cozzi, "La politica del diritto nella repubblica veneziana," in *Repubblica di Venezia e stati italiani. Politica e giustizia dal secolo XVI al secolo XVIII* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), pp. 312–13; and Manfredo Tafuri, "Politica, scienza e architettura nella Venezia del '500," in *Cultura e società nel Rinascimento tra riforme e manierismi*, ed. Vittore Branca and Carlo Ossola (Florence: Olschki, 1989), p. 111.
104. On the importance of rhetoric for the formation of the Venetian ruling class, see de Vivo, *Information*, pp. 20–25.
105. On Sanuto's life, see Roberto Almagià, "Il globo di Livio Sanuto," *La Bibliofilia* 48 (1946): pp. 23–28; Roberto Almagià, *Commemorazione di Sebastiano*

Caboto nel IV centenario della morte (Venice: Ferrari, 1958). On Sanuto's literary sources, see Livio Sanuto, *Geografia dell'Africa* (Amsterdam: Theatrum orbis terrarium, 1965).

106. Roberto Almagià, "Carte geografiche a stampa di particolare pregio o rarità dei secoli XVI e XVII esistenti nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana," in *Monumenta cartographica vaticana*, 2 vols. (1948), vol. 2, pp. 21–22, 83–84; Robert Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1993), pp. 216–49; Dario Busolini, "Gastaldi, Giacomo," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 52 (1999), pp. 529–32.
107. Bolzoni, *La stanza*, p. 6.
108. Queller, "The Development," pp. 174–96; Ventura, "Introduzione," in *Relazioni*, pp. vi–cxxxix; Melani, "Gli ambasciatori veneti"; de Vivo, *Information*, pp. 57–58; de Vivo, "How to Read Venetian *relazioni*," in *Things Not Easily Believed: Introducing the Early Modern Relation*, ed. Thomas Cohen and Germaine Warkentin (*Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 34 [2011]), pp. 25–59.
109. Ludovico Zuccolo, *Considerazioni politiche e morali sopra cento oracoli d'illustri personaggi antichi* (Venice: Ginami, 1621), republished in Benedetto Croce and Santino Caramella, eds., *Politici e moralisti del Seicento* (Bari: Laterza, 1930), pp. 25–41.
110. The bibliography on reason of state is very substantial. Here it is sufficient to refer to Maurizio Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State: The Acquisition and Transformation of the Language of Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Romain Descendre, *L'état du monde. Giovanni Botero entre raison d'État et géopolitique* (Genève: Droz, 2009).
111. Fritz Blaich, "L'importanza della dieta imperiale nell'ambito della finanza pubblica: Imperatore—stati territorali—città dell'Impero dal 1495 al 1670," in *Fianze e ragion di stato in Italia e in Germania nella prima età moderna*, ed. Aldo De Maddalena and Hermann Kellenbenz (*Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico. Quaderno 14*) (Bologna, 1984), pp. 101–54.
112. Maria Luisa Doglio, "Ambasciatore e principe. L'Institutio legati di Ermolao Barbaro," in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca*, 5 vols. (Florence: Olschki, 1983), vol. 3, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento a Firenze e a Venezia*, p. 308. For the critical edition of the treatise, see Ermolao Barbaro, *De coelibatu. De officio legati*, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence: Olschki, 1969), p. 163: "Hic mos veneto peculiaris est et maxime apud omnes commendatur: nunquam, nisi aut rogatus aut missus, in regiam profiscitur, caeteris propemodum assiduis; quod quidem eos et principi molestos reddit."
113. Francesco Sansovino, *Del Secretario Di M. F. Sansovino Libri Quattro. Ne Quali [. . .] S'insegna Altrui à Scriver Lettere Messive & Responsive [. . .] Con Varie Lettere Di Principi À Piu Persone, Scritte Da Diversi Secretarii in Piu Occasioni E in Diversi Tempi* (Venice: Rampazetto, 1564), contains an introductory description of the qualities the secretary should possess. Salvatore Nigro, "Il segretario," in *L'uomo barocco*, ed. Rosario Villari (Bari: Laterza,

1991), pp. 91–108, argues that Sansovino took inspiration from Giovanni Battista Pigna's *Il Principe* (Venice: Sansovino, 1561).

114. Anna Buiatti, "Amalteo, Giovanni Battista," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 2 (1960), pp. 629–31.
115. Donattini, "G. B. Ramusio," p. 86.
116. Marx, "Die stadt," p. 259.
117. Eugenio Alberi, ed. , *Le relazioni*, 2nd ser., vol. 2, pp. 431–43.
118. Simone Testa, "From the 'Bibliographical Nightmare' to a Critical Bibliography: *Tesori politici* in the British Library and Elsewhere in Britain," *Electronic British Library Journal* 1 (2008): pp. 1–33.
119. Pagan, "Sulla Accademia," p. 368.
120. Melani, "Gli ambasciatori veneti," pp. 453–505 (pp. 484–90); Queller, "The Development," pp. 179–80.
121. For a recent critical assessment of the dialogue and its history, see Claire McCusker, "Between Natural Law and Legal Positivism; Plato's Minos and the Nature of Law," *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 22 (2010): pp.8 3–104.
122. This was known to Malatesta Porta when he wrote his dialogue *Il Rossi o vero Del parere sopra alcune obiettioni, fatte dall'Infarinato academico della Crusca. Intorno alla Gierusalemme liberata del sig. Torquato Tasso. Dialogo di Malatesta Porta, lo spento Academico Ardente* (Rimini: Salimbeni, 1589).
123. Giovanni Reale, *Introduzione a Proclo* (Bari: Laterza, 1989), p. 109.
124. Christoph Helmig and Carlos Steel, "Proclus," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2012 Summer), ed. Edward N. Zalta, accessed August 20, 2014, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/proclus/.
125. Simona Brambilla, "Brucioli traduttore del Somnium Scipionis," in *Antonio Brucioli. Humanisme et Évangélisme entre Réforme et Contre-reforme*, ed. Élise Boillet, Acte du colloque de Tours, 20–21 Mai 2005 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008), pp. 99–129.
126. Artemidoro, *Il libro dei sogni*, ed. Dario Del Corno (Milan: Adelphi, 1975).
127. Dario del Corno, "Introduzione," in Artemidoro, *Il libro dei sogni*, p. xlvii; Zorzi, *La libreria*, p. 102.
128. Hypneo Da Schio, *Predica de i sogni composta per lo reverendo padre d. Hypneo da Schio* (Venice: Marcolini, 1542).
129. Ventura, "Introduzione," in *Relazioni*, p. xix. A second vernacular translation was to appear: Aristotle, *La Politica di Aristotile ridotta in modo di parafrasi dal reuerendo M. Antonio Scaino [. . .] Con alcune annotationi e dubbi: E sei discorsi sopra diuerse materie ciuili*, ed. Antonio Scaino (Rome: Nelle case del popolo romano, 1578).
130. The online catalog of sixteenth-century Italian publications counts 21 editions of Machiavelli's *Discorsi*: 15 printed in Venice, 1 in Rome, 1 in London, 1 not located, and 3 in Florence. Census of Italian 16th Century Editions (EDIT 16), accessed July 2015, http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/eimain.htm.

131. Antonio Rotondò, "Bocchi, Achille," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 11 (1969), pp. 67–70; De Luca, "Rhetoric," p. 88, quoted the following manuscript: *Praelectiones in Libros de Legibus M. T. Ciceronis habitae Bononiae. In Academia Bocchiana* (1556), Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. Lat. 304. This detail, in addition to those already discussed earlier, adds to the similarities between Aldo Manuzio's enterprise and Bocchi's Academy. The presence of Antonio Manuzio (1511–ca. 1559) among those in Bocchi's circle, and as the printer of Sambigucius's *Gavini Sambigucii Sardi Sassarensis in Hermatenam Bocchiam Interpretatio* (Bononiae: apud Antonium Manutium Aldi filium, 1557), is yet another link between the two circles.
132. Accademia Veneziana, *Supplica dell'Academia alla Serenissima Signoria* [Venice: Accademia veneziana, before 1558], pages unnumbered, John Rylands Library, Aldine Collection, 568. This document, reviewed by Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie*, n. 34, was reprinted in Pellegrini, "Breve dissertazione," 22 (1808), pp. 206–11.
133. Accademia Veneziana, *Supplica*; Pellegrini, "Breve dissertazione," 22 (1808), p. 211: "Le facciamo anco offerta di volere per facile et ispedita strada guidar a la vera e perfetta cognitione de la latina e italiana favella, que' giovani che ne la sua cancelleria s'essercitano, tenendone presso di noi quando due, quando quattro e più e meno acciò che qui e nell'Ambasciarie et altri maneggi adoperandosi, ella ne venga a ritrar quell'utile e quell'honorato servitio che da valorosi ministri si riceve."
134. Carlo Sigonio, *Opere* (Milan: Stamperia palatina, 1737), p. 999. The letter is dated October 9, 1558. Bolzoni, *La stanza*, p. 23.
135. Accademia Veneziana, *Privilegio dell'illustrissimo senato all'Academia*, John Rylands Library, Aldine Collection, 569; Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie*, n. 35, also published in Pellegrini, "Breve dissertazione," 22 (1808), p. 212.
136. Accademia Veneziana, *Ob[l]igo dei Reggenti* [Venice: Academia Veneziana, 1559], John Rylands Library, Aldine Collection, 609; Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie*, n. 37.
137. Accademia Veneziana, *Capitoli e conventioni fatte e sottoscritte di propria mano da alcuni de' signori academici, a 13 d'agosto 1559.* John Rylands Library, Aldine Collection, 568, published in Rose, "The Accademia Venetiana," pp. 222–24.
138. John Rylands Library, Aldine Collection, 610.
139. Bernardo Tasso, *Delle lettere di Bernardo Tasso accresciute corrette ed illustrate*, 2 vols. (Padua: Giuseppe Comino, 1733), vol. 2, p. 459: "continueremo la lettura degli altri, e non solo delle scienze e arti, ma delle cose de' Stati, delle Province e de' Regni, cosa della quale niuna a' nobili giovani di questa eccelsa Republica dovrebbe essere più grata."
140. *Lettera di Monsignor Reverendissimo di Feltre alla nobile et eccellentissima Academia Vinitiana*, pages unnumbered, John Rylands Library, Aldine Collection, 634, published in Rose, "The Accademia Venetiana," pp. 240–41: "Due sono le cagioni che già da gran tempo hanno indotto l'animo mio ad

amar et ad haver in somma estimatione il nome della eccellentissima Academia Venetiana . . . l'altra perché è noto a ciascuno che due esercitationi tra V[ostre] S[ignorie] si fanno la Prima nelle scienze, nelle arti e nelle facoltà, che ora ragionamenti in ciascheduna di esse si fanno, e hora componimenti nelle predette si cimentano. La Seconda, che hora di questa, hor di quell'altra Provintia, e stato del Mondo si odono leggere institutioni, di maniera, che tutte le cose teoriche, e tutte le pratiche che desiderar si possono di saper di qua giù conviene, che col tempo ciascuno, che tra V[ostre] S[ignorie] conversa ne habbia quella cognitione dalla qual può depender la humana felicità."

141. On the circumstances of this publication, which was allegedly published without the approval of the author, see Cicogna, *Delle inscrizioni veneziane*, vol. 2, p. 138.
142. Accademia Veneziana, *Concessione dell'eccelso consiglio dei dieci all'Accademia 1560 a dì ultimo Maggio* [Venice: Accademia Veneziana, 1560]. John Rylands Library, 631.
143. Published in Rose, "The Accademia Venetiana," pp. 228–33.
144. This refers to the undated *Supplica*, possibly from 1558, that was discussed earlier. Published in Pellegrini, "Breve dissertazione," 22 (1808), pp. 206–11.
145. Federico Badoer, *Supplica ai Procuratori di San Marco* (1560), published in Rose, "The Accademia Venetiana," pp. 228–33: "L'altro beneff[ici]o che riceverà in particolare la nobiltà sarà questo, che s'averà l'istruttioni delle provintie e stati del mondo che vengono in consideratione non pur con questo Seren[issi]mo stato, ma con ogni altro potentato, e tra Christiani e tra infedeli, onde si verà a sapere, tutte le parti interne ed esterne di ogni Prencipe e Sig[no]re che regna al presente, tutte le forme di loro governi e corti sue, cioè quante e quali, et il numero, e ogni cosa dipendente da essi governi e corti, oltre di ciò la grandezza e piccolezza o mediocrità da loro principe e Sig[no]re possedute, con tutti quei particolari che possono dar vero lume a questa parte d'intelligenza, e di che cosa abbondano, e di che habbiano mancamento essi stati, circa poi gli habitanti di ciascuno di loro s'intenderà minutamente tutto quello che può esser necessario et a proposito di sapere, e delle forze di tutti li potentati del mondo se n'haverà così distinta e particolar cognitione che a niuna cosa per avventura potrà esser desiderata, ne intorno a le cose delle militie terrestri e maritime ne alla materia delli danari ne in quanto a le intelligenze, dipendenze, e pertinenze c'hanno essi principi con li suoi vassalli e tra loro principi del mondo. Questo S[igno]ri Ill[ustrissi]mi è Thesoro di tal qualità che nascendo da esse questo segnalatiss[im]o benefittio di dar un chiaro lume all'intelletto per poter sicuramente negociar e dentro e fuori di questo stato può esser chiamato Thesoro inestimabile, per che dal sapere nascono tutti i modi d'haver tutti i Thesori, e tutti i beni." For an exploration of the use of the word "thesoro" as a manual, see Simone Testa, "Treasures of Knowledge: 'Thesoro' as a Handbook in the Sixteenth Century," *in Festschrift in Honour of Jane Everson*, ed. Stefano Jossa and Giuliana Pieri (Oxford: Legenda, forthcoming).
146. Zorzi, *La libreria*, pp. 143–44.

147. Federico Badoer, *1560. 30 dicembre In Venetia in contrada San Cantian nell'habitatione del Clariss. Federigo Badoero* (Venice: Academia Venetiana, 1560). John Rylands Library, Aldine Collection, 636, p. 11[r]: "Quanto alle instruttioni di tutte le provincie, et stati del mondo, che sono nel Secreto dependente dal Consiglio Politico, voglio che elle siano godute, et poste in opera solo per li miei nepoti, et in quel loco non possi esser posto Reggente, ne Secretario, che non siano atti a poter intrar nella cancelleria della Serenissima Signoria."
148. Bolzoni, *La stanza*, p. 10.
149. *Mandati* (1559), John Rylands Library, Aldine Collection, 610.
150. Badoer, *1560. 30 dicembre In Venetia in contrada San Cantian*, p. 5[v].
151. Gaetano Cozzi, *La Repubblica di Venezia*, pp. 311–13, argued that the plan to publish all Venetian laws had a role in the hostile feelings toward the academy, a point accepted by Tafuri, "Politica, scienza e architettura," p. 112.
152. Anna Laura Puliafito, "Due lettere del Pinelli e l'Accademia della Fama," *Studi veneziani* 18 (1989): p. 295; Marx, "Die Stadt," pp. 233–60.
153. Paul Grendler, "Francesco Sansovino and Popular History," in *Studies in the Renaissance* 16 (1969): pp. 139–80; Elena Bonora, *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino: Imprenditore libraio e letterato* (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze lettere e arti, 1994).
154. Paolo Procaccioli, "Frammenti di sinopia. Indizi, chiose, illazioni intorno a Francesco Marcolini," in *Un giardino per le arti: Francesco Marcolino da Forlì*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli, Paolo Temeroli, Vanni Tesei (Bologna: IBIC, 2009), p. 35.
155. Bonora, *Ricerche*, p. 140.
156. Alessandro Gnavi, "Ferrero, Pier Francesco," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 47 (1997), pp. 35–36. Marx, "Die Stadt," considered this publication as Sansovino's continuation of Badoer's Academy projects.
157. Francesco Sansovino, "Francesco Sansovino a lettori," in *Del governo dei regni et delle repubbliche così antiche come moderne libri XVIII ne' quali si contengono i magistrati, gli officii, et gli ordini proprii che s'osservano ne' predetti principati. Dove si ha cognition di molte historie particolari, utili et necessarie al viver civile* (Venice: Sansovino, 1561), pages unnumbered: "Ho voluto anch'io formar una nuova politica, mettendola in pratica con descriver i governi a punto come essi stanno, parte vecchie e parte nuove." The translation is from Margaret Donnellan, "The Works of Francesco Sansovino with Particular Reference to Venetian Administration" (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, Warburg Institute, 1975), p. 62.
158. Grendler, "Francesco Sansovino," pp. 161–62.
159. In general, see Cicogna, *Delle inscrizioni veneziane*, vol. 4 (1834), p. 51, for bibliographical details.
160. This is a translation from Guillaume Postel, which Sansovino had published a few years prior under the pseudonym of Giovanni Tatti. It is possible that Sansovino may have avoided naming the author, as he had been put among the most dangerous authors in the Clementine Index of 1559. Cicogna, *Delle inscrizioni veneziane*, vol. 4, p. 51.

161. I have discussed this more at length in *Scipione Di Castro e il suo trattato politico: Testo critico e traduzione inglese inedita del Seicento* (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 2012).
162. On this publication, see Jean Balsamo, "Les origines parisiennes du *Tesoro politico*," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 57 (1995): pp. 7–23; Enzo Baldini, "Origini e fortuna del *Thesoro Politico* alla luce di nuovi documenti dell'Archivio del sant'Uffizio," in *Cultura politica e società a Milano tra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. F. Buzzi and Chiara Continisio (*Studia Borromaica* 14 [2000]), pp. 155–75. For a different interpretation, see Simone Testa, "Did Giovanni Maria Manelli Publish the *Thesoro politico* (1589)?," *Renaissance Studies* 19 (2005): pp. 380–93, and Simone Testa, "From the 'Bibliographical Nightmare.'"
163. De Vivo, "How to Read" discusses Ranke's approach to these documents.
164. Anonymous, *Relatione di Venetia*, in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, ms II, III, pp. 382ff. 127^{r}–164^{r} (ff.127^{r}–128^{r}): "si deve dar maggior fede et credenza alle Relazioni di detti signori ambasciatori, che a qualsivoglia altra historia, anchorché sia data alla stampa, perciò che havendo [essi l']obbligo di rifferire nell'eccellentissimo Senato la verità liberamente di tutto ciò che aspetta all'ufficio loro, non si ha da presupporre che faccino altrimenti."
165. Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 2nd ed. (London: Cape, 1962), p. 205.
166. Mattingly, "International Diplomacy and International Law," in *New Cambridge Modern History*, ed. G. R. Elton et al., 2nd ed., 14 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957–70), vol. 3, *The Counter-Reformation and Price Revolution (1559–1610)*, ed. R. B. Wernham (1968), p. 234.
167. Balsamo, "Les origines parisiennes," pp. 7–23.
168. Baldini, "Origini e fortuna," pp. 155–75.
169. Dennis Rhodes, *Giovanni Battista Leoni, diplomatico e poligrafo. Appunti biografici, bibliografia degli scritti, regesto della corrispondenza*, intro. Paolo Procaccioli (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 2013), p. 88, is also not convinced about Paris as place of publication.
170. For a synthesis of the interchangeable use of the expressions "ragion di stato" and "interesse dello stato" in political literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, see Christian Lazzeri, "Introduction," in Henri de Rohan, *De l'intérêt des princes et états de la chrétienté*, ed. Christian Lazzeri (Paris: Presse Universitaire de France, 1995).
171. In *La terza parte del Thesoro politico* (1605), we find another text that is more practical in its aim, "Ordine della casa del re cattolico," which is part of a longer manuscript report with the same title: "L'ordine della casa del re cattolico, 1576," in British Library, *Evelyn Papers MS*, pp. 79ff. unnumbered. This piece comes between a report on Spain, "Relatione delle cose di Spagna, 1587," and a piece of general advice on how to behave as ambassador, "Instruttioni per qualunque ambasciadore alla corte cattolica."
172. Rhodes, *Giovanni Battista Leoni*, pp. 22, 40, 95.

173. Simone Testa, "'Fuggire la mutatione del volte et ritenere la vista solita'. Dis/simulation in the Instruction to Cardinal Alessandro Peretti da Montalto," *Bruniana e campanelliana* 15 (2009): pp. 445–60.
174. On this treatise, Testa, *Scipione Di Castro e il suo trattato politico.*
175. Raines, "Book Museum," pp. 48–49.
176. Accademia Veneziana, *Summa librorum quos in omnibus scientiis, ac nobilioribus artibus, variis linguis conscriptos, vel antea nunquam divulgatos, vel utilissimis et pulcherrimis scholiis, correctionibusque illustratos in lucem emittet Academia Veneta* (Venice: Paolo Manuzio, 1559). This is the Latin version of *Somma delle opere* (1558). Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie*, p. 270.
177. Paul Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Printing Press* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 103ff.; Burke, "Early Modern Venice," p. 396.
178. Lorenzo Carpané, "Meietti, Roberto," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 73 (2009), pp. 218–21.
179. Mario Infelise, "Ricerche sulla fortuna editoriale di Paolo Sarpi," in *Ripensando Paolo Sarpi (1619–1799), Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi nel 450º anniversario della nascita di Paolo Sarpi*, ed. Corrado Pin (Venice: Ateneo Veneto, 2006), p. 527.
180. Dennis Rhodes, *Giovanni Battista Ciotti (1562–1627?): Publisher Extraordinary in Venice* (Venice: Marcianum Press, 2013), p. 43.
181. Infelise, "Ricerche," p. 522.
182. Nicola Pallecchi, "Una tipografia a Siena nel XVI secolo. Bibliografia delle edizioni stampate da Simone di Niccoló Nardi (1502–1539)," *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 109 (2004): pp. 184–233.
183. The considerable bibliography on Paolo Manuzio is in Tiziana Sterza, "Manuzio, Paolo," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 69 (2007), pp.2 50–54.
184. Massimo Firpo, "Ciotti, Giovanni Battista," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 25 (1981), pp. 692–96; Rhodes, *Giovanni Battista Ciotti*.
185. Ercole Cato, *Discorso del cavalier Ercole Cato. Accademico detto lo Scompagnato. Recitato nell'Accademia degli Intrepidi* (Ferrara: Baldini, 1603). But in Galeazzo Gualengo, *Perillustriss. Galeatii Gualengui, Ferrariensis Academiae principis* (Ferrara: Baldini, 1587), Baldini used the title "Typographus ducalis," and in Antonio Ongaro, *L'Alceo Favola Pescatoria d'Antonio Ongaro* (Ferrara: Baldini, 1614), he used "stampatore camerale."
186. Gamba and Rossetti, *Giornale*, p. 36.
187. According to Warren Boutcher, "The Private and Public Sessions of the Accademia Dei Ricovrati: Orality, Writing, and Print in Seventeenth Century Padua," in *Interactions between Orality and Writing in Early Modern Italian Culture*, ed. Luca Degl'Innocenti, Brian Richardson, and Chiara Sbordoni (Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming): "The demand for a printer arose in specific connection with the anticipated need to provide a printed version of the official verbal discourse, given in public session, on the choice and meaning of the *impresa*."

188. Mario Infelise, "*Ex ignoto notus*? Note sul tipografo Sarzina e l'Accademia degli Incogniti," in *Libri, tipografi, biblioteche: Ricerche storiche dedicate a L. Balsamo*, ed. Istituto di Biblioteconomia e Paleografia Università degli Studi, Parma (Florence: Olsckhi, 1997), pp. 207–23.
189. Giovanni Pellegrini, "Prospetto dell'Accademia veneziana seconda," in *Giornale dell'italiana letteratura* 32 (1812): pp. 356–77, which reports the academy laws and list of members; Maylender, *Storia*, vol. 5, pp. 444–46; Ulvioni, "Accademie e cultura," pp. 21–75. The list of people members of this academy and their connections to other academies are in the IAD.
190. Pellegrini, "Prospetto dell'Accademia veneziana seconda," p. 356.
191. de Vivo, *Information*, pp. 79–80; Rhodes, *Giovanni Battista Leoni*.
192. *Corrispondenze diplomatiche veneziane da Napoli: Relazioni*, ed. Michele Fassina (Rome: Libreria dello stato, 1992), pp. 20–25; Alvise Lando, "Relazione del Regno di Napoli," in *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 2nd ser., vol. 5 (1858), pp. 447ff.
193. Rhodes, *Giovanni Battista Leoni*, p. 30.
194. Filippo de Vivo, "Francia e Inghilterra di fronte all'Interdetto," in *Paolo Sarpi: Politique et religion en Europe*, ed. Marie Viallon (Paris: Garnier, 2010), pp.1 63–88.
195. de Vivo, *Information*, p. 80.
196. On Leoni's publications under his pseudonym, see Filippo de Vivo, "'Il vero termine di reggere il suddito': Paolo Sarpi e l'informazione," in *Ripensando Paolo Sarpi (1619–1799). Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi nel 450º anniversario della nascita di Paolo Sarpi*, ed. Corrado Pin, pp. 253, 255.
197. Lucio Scarano, *Scenophylax. Dialogus, in quo tragœdijs, et comœdijs antiquus carminum vsus restituitur, recentiorum quorundam iniuria interceptus* (Venice: Ciotti, 1601); Rhodes, *Giovanni Battista Ciotti*, p. 28.
198. "Renghe diverse," Museo Correr, MS *Cicogna* 978. Emmanuele Cicogna, "Nel mio codice in 4 picc. 2972 intitolato 'Renghe diverse,'" Museo Correr, MS *Cicogna* 2999, f. 11r.
199. Davide Conrieri, ed., *Gli Incogniti e l'Europa* (Bologna: I libri di Emil, 2011); Clizia Carminati, "Loredan, Giovan Francesco," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 65 (2005), pp. 761–70, for a profile of its founder and a bibliography about the academy; Monica Miato, *L'Accademia degli Incogniti di Giovan Francesco Loredan* (Florence: Olschki, 1998); Italian Academies Database. The Incogniti will be discussed further in the next chapter.
200. Maiolino Bisaccioni, *Historia delle guerre civili degli ultimi tempi* (Venice: Storti, 1652) is just one of the several publications on this subject.
201. Maylender, *Storia*, vol. 1, pp. 337–38; Augusto De Ferrari, "Coronelli, Vincenzo," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 29 (1983), pp. 305–9; IAD, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/PersonFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=022-000006145.
202. Anastasia Stouraiti, "Propaganda figurata: Geometrie di dominio e ideologie veneziane nelle carte di Vincenzo Coronelli," *Studi veneziani* 44 (2002): pp.1 29–55.

203. Edward Muir, *The Culture Wars of the Late Renaissance: Skeptics, Libertines, and Opera* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 2–3.

Chapter 3

1. Richard S. Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi, the Accademia degli Infiammati, and the Origins of the Italian Academic Movement," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29 (1976): pp. 601ff.
2. Antonella Orlandi, "Biografia e bibliografia nell'opera di Prospero Mandosio," *Esperienze letterarie* 29 (2004): p. 71: "Il signor Cavaliere, che sta intorno a tessere le Vite de' più celebri Accademici Umoristi che fiorirono, ha fatto ogni indagine per averne le notizie; ma quando queste gli venghino trattenute da chi dovrebbe più premerci, non sarà colpa sua, se si ritardino, o se ne tralascino alcune per mancanza delle dovute cognizioni. Sono però pregati quei che v'hanno qualche interesse a non trascurarle, acciò non venghino defraudati così chiari ingegni della dovuta lode."
3. David Kirkpatrick, *The Facebook Effect* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010), p. 180, tells how the application of pictures to Facebook came at a later stage: "The astonishing success of Facebook's photos application led to a bout of soul-searching at the company. What was it, Zuckerberg and his colleague asked themselves, that made photos so successful?"
4. I am referring to Peter Burke, "The Renaissance, Individualism, and the Portrait," *History of European Ideas* 21 (1995): pp. 393–400. For the extension of the concept of the "Renaissance" to a later period, see Richard Mackenney, *Renaissances: The Cultures of Italy: 1300–1600* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
5. For this approach, see Peter Miller, "The 'Man of Learning' Defended: Seventeenth-Century Biographies of Scholars and an Early-Modern Ideal of Excellence," in *Representations of the Self from Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Patrick Colemam, Jayne Lewis, and Jill Kowalik (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 39–62.
6. As Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 60–67 argues, there is usually little or no direct reference in the text between the sitter's facial features and his character. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out the common interest in this pseudoscientific approach to determining a person's character.
7. James Lawrence Fuchs, "Vincenzo Coronelli and the Organization of Knowledge: The Twilight of Seventeenth Century Encyclopaedism" (unpublished PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1983); Antonella Barzazi, "Enciclopedismo e ordini religiosi tra Sei e Settecento: La *Biblioteca universale* di Vincenzo Coronelli," in *L'enciclopedismo in Italia nel XVIII secolo*, ed. Guido Abbattista (*Studi settecenteschi* 16 [1996]), pp. 61–83.
8. Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 184–86.

9. I am indebted to the following studies: Carlo Dionisotti, "La galleria degli uomini illustri," in *Appunti su arti e lettere* (Milan: Jaca Books, 1995), pp. 145–55 (first published in *Cultura e società nel Rinascimento tra riforme e manierismi*, ed. Vittore Branca and Carlo Ossola [Florence: Olschki, 1984], pp. 449–61), sparked an interest for this genre of publications; Haskell, *History and Its Images*; T. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), provides a thorough analysis of Giovio's aims, style, and reception; Caterina Volpi, "I ritratti di illustri contemporanei della collezione di Cassiano dal Pozzo," in *I segreti di un collezionista. Le straordinarie raccolte di Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657), catalogo della mostra (Biella, 16 dicembre 2001–16 marzo 2002)*, ed. Francesco Solinas (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 2001), pp. 68–78, and Caterina Volpi, "Dall'Italia dei principi all'Europa dei letterati. Note in margine alla trasformazione del museo gioviano di uomini illustri tra Cinquecento e Seicento," in *Il volto e gli affetti. Fisiognomica ed espressione nelle arti del Rinascimento*, ed. Alessandro Pontremoli (Florence: Olschki, 2003), pp. 39–58, commented on the Roman context where the practice of collecting portraits and writing biographies matured; Paolo Cherchi, "Collezionismo, medaglioni di letterati e la repubblica letteraria," in *I luoghi dell'immaginario barocco. Atti del Convegno* (Siena 21–23 ottobre 1999), ed. L. Strappini (Naples: Liguori, 2001), pp. 483–97, focuses on Girolamo Ghilini's methodology; Tommaso Casini, *Ritratti parlanti. Collezionismo e biografie illustrate nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Florence: Edifir, 2004), insists on the authors' interests in medicine.
10. Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography: Four Lectures* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 96ff.
11. On *Elogia*, see Sonia Maffei, "'Spiranti fattezze dei volti.' Paolo Giovio e la descrizione degli uomini illustri dal museo agli *Elogia*," in *Ecfrasi. Modelli ed esempi fra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. Gianni Venturi and Monica Fernetti, 2 vols. (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 227–68.
12. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio*, p. 206. One example is the comment on Bartolomeo Facio, in Paolo Giovio, *Elogi degli uomini illustri*, ed. Franco Minonzio, trans. Andrea Guasparri and Franco Minonzio (Turin: Einaudi, 2006), pp. 317–18.
13. Accademia degli Incogniti, *Glorie degli Incogniti. Overo gli huomini illustri dell'Accademia de' signori Incogniti di Venetia* (Venice: Valvasense, 1647); hereafter referred to as *Glorie*.
14. Accademia dei Gelati, *Memorie, imprese e ritratti de' signori academici Gelati di Bologna. Raccolte nel principato del signor Valerio Zani il Ritardato all'eminentissimo et reverendissimo signor cardinale Francesco Barberino decano del sacro collegio accademico e protettore*, ed. by Giovan Battista Capponi (Bologna: Manolessi, 1672); hereafter referred to as *Memorie*.
15. Marino joined the Umoristi in the years preceding the formalization of the academy. For the troubled publication process of the *Galeria*, see Alessandro

Martini, "Marino, Giovan Battista," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 70 (2008), p. 519.

16. His real name was Gian Vittorio Rossi. Benedetto Croce, *Nuovi saggi sulla letteratura italiana del Seicento* (Bari: Laterza, 1949), pp. 129–38.
17. According to Carlo Caruso, "Saggio di commento alla *Galeria* di G. B. Marino: 1 (esordio) e 624 (epilogo)," *Aprosiana* 10 (2002): pp. 71–89, Marino's *Galeria* was "la più vasta e ambiziosa celebrazione poetica delle arti figurative mai apparsa in Europa."
18. For his biography, see Giuseppe Vedova, *Biografia degli scrittori padovani*, 2 vols. (Padua: Minerva, 1836), vol. 2, pp. 334–43, and *Glorie*, *ad vocem*; on the origins of his collection of portraits, see Dora Moscardin, "'Imaginum amore flagrasse.' Le raccolte di ritratti di Paolo e Giacomo Filippo Tomasino," *Bollettino del museo civico di Padova* 87 (1998): pp. 55–87.
19. According to one source, Tomasini kept the authors' portraits in his library: Jean-Pierre Niceron, ed., *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres, dans la république des lettres. Avec un catalogue raisonné des leurs ouvrages*, 39 vols. (Paris: Briasson, 1727–40), vol. 29, p. 163.
20. Moscardin, "Imaginum amorem," p. 75, who quotes from the unpublished manuscripts of Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, *Lettere di vari personaggi*, vols. 15 and 26. The correspondence between Dal Pozzo and Tomasini starts in 1630 and lasts until 1655.
21. Moscardin, "Imaginum amorem," p. 84.
22. The engraved frontispiece was the same on both of the editions released in 1647 and represents Tomasini's villa where the meeting took place.
23. See his biographical details on University of Iowa's prosopographical project Heirs of Hyppocrates: http://fm.iowa.uiowa.edu/fmi/xsl/hardin/heirs/record_detail.xsl?-db=heirs&-lay=weblayout&HeirsNo=476&-find.
24. Moscardin, "Imaginum amorem," p. 63; Volpi, "I ritratti," p. 74.
25. Giacomo Filippo Tomasini, *Parnassus Euganeus, sive de scriptoribus ac literatis huius aeui claris. Auctore Iacobo Philippo Tomasino . . . Accedit index eorum qui Elogia condidere, ac de scriptoribus diuersis tractarunt* (Padua: Sardi, 1647), pp. 3–4.
26. Gabriel Naudé, *Epigrammi per i ritratti della biblioteca di Cassiano Dal Pozzo,* ed. Eugenio Canone and Germana Ernst, trans. Giuseppe Lucchesini (Pisa: Serra, 2009). Originally published in Latin: Cassiano Dal Pozzo, *Epigrammata in virorum literatorum imagines quas illustrissimus eques Cassianus a Puteo sua in bibliotheca dedicavit, cum appendicula variorum carminum* (Romae: Lodovicus Grignanus, 1641).
27. I rely on Gabriel Naudé, *Avis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2008).
28. Naudé, *Avis*, p. 307.
29. Juvenal, *Satires*, vol. 8, pp. 4–5.
30. Gabriel Naudé, *Advice on Establishing a Library*, trans. Archer Taylor (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1976), p. 72.
31. The book was subsequently attacked by the Jesuit Antonio Possevino for its implicit determinism, as Huarte argued that human inclinations were

dependent on humors: Antonio Possevino, *Antonii Possevini societatis Iesu bibliotheca selecta. Qua agitur de ratione studiorum in historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda* (Romae: Typographia Apostolica, 1593), p. 138, later published in Italian as *Coltura de gl'ingegni* (Vicenza: Giorgio Greco, 1598).

32. The Jesuit Antonio Zara was born in Aquileia and received the bishopric of Peneda in Friuli in 1601. He used Huarte and Possevino extensively for his publication: Emilio García García and Aurora Miguel Alonso, "El *Examen de Ingenios* de Huarte en Italia. La *Anatomia ingeniorum* de Antonio Zara," in *Revista de Historia de la Psicología* 25 (2004): pp. 83–94; Paul Richard Blum, "Theoriensynkretismus bei Antonio Zara (1574–1621) aus Istrien," *Verbum. Analecta Neolatina* 1 (1999): pp. 21–29; Paolo Delorenzi, "Zara Antonio," in *Le muse tra i libri. Il libro illustrato Veneto del Cinque e del Seicento nelle collezioni della Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova*, ed. Pietro Gnan and Vincenzo Mancini (Padua: Biblioteca universitaria, 2009), pp. 128–31.
33. Maffei, "spiranti fattezze," vol. 1, pp. 234, 236, 239, 241–53, shows Della Porta's use of Giovio for the representation of Attila's character (pp. 250–51).
34. Antonio Clericuzio and Silvia de Renzi, "Medicine, Alchemy, and Natural Philosophy in the Early Accademia dei Lincei," in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David Chambers and François Quiviger (London: Warburg Institute, 1995), pp. 175–94.
35. Gabrieli, *Contributi alla storia della Accademia dei Lincei*, 2 vols. (Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1989), vol. 1, p. 754; Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early-Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 317–18; Volpi, "I ritratti," pp. 74–75.
36. Giambattista Della Porta, *Della fisonomia di tutto il corpo humano del s. Gio Batta della Porta [. . .] Hora brevemente in tavole sinottiche ridotta et ordinata da Francesco Stelluti Acc[ademico] Linceo da Fabriano* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1637).
37. Gabrieli, *Contributi*, vol. 1, pp. 755–61.
38. For the reference work on physiognomy, see Martin Porter, *Windows of the Soul: The Art of Physiognomy in European Culture 1470–1780* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).
39. For one example, see Giacomo Filippo Tomasini, "Bernardinus Tomitanus," in *Illustrium virorum elogia iconibus exornata* (Patavii: Donatum Pasquardum et socium, 1630), p. 66.
40. Letizia Panizza situates the Apes urbanae and Glorie in the historical context of opposing political and cultural policies between the two major power bases in Italy, Rome and Venice. Letizia Panizza, "Battles for Cultural Hegemony between the Venetian Accademia degli Incogniti and Papal Rome under the Barberini," http://backdoorbroadcasting.net/2012/09/letizia-panizza-battles-for-cultural-hegemony-between-the-venetian-accademia-degli-incogniti-and-papal-rome-under-the-barberini.
41. Little relevance to this publication is given by Domenico Musti, "Allacci, Leone," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 2 (1960), pp. 467–71. On

Allacci's *Apes*, see Carmela Jacono, *Bibliografia di Leone Allacci (1588–1669)* (Palermo: Presso l'Accademia, 1962) (*Quaderni dell'isitituto di filologia greca della Università di Palermo* 2 [1962]): pp. 11–12 and 46; Thomas Cerbu, "Leone Allacci (1587–1669): The Fortunes of an Early Byzantinist" (unpublished PhD diss., Harvard University, 1986). *Apes* was also famous for its rather detached assessment of Galileo's work, following the decision taken in 1633 by Pope Urban VIII to censor the *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi*. Thomas Cerbu and Michel Pierre Lerner, "La disgrâce de Galilée dans les *Apes Urbanae*," *Nuncius. Annali di storia della scienza* 15 (2000): p. 591. Allacci's *Apes urbanae* (Rome: Grignanus, 1633) has been reprinted, with an introduction by Michel Pierre Lerner (Lecce: Conte, 1998).

42. Nina Cannizzaro, "Guido Casoni padre degli Incogniti," in *I luoghi dell'immaginario barocco*, ed. Lucia Strappini (Naples: Liguori, 2001), pp. 547–60. This interpretation is not shared by Clizia Carminati, "Loredan, Giovan Francesco," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 65 (2005), pp. 761–70; and Clizia Carminati, "La prima edizione della 'Messalina' di Francesco Pona (1633)," *Studi secenteschi* 47 (2006): pp. 337–67.
43. Girolamo Ghilini, *Teatro d'huomini letterati*, 2 vols. (Milan: Gio. Battista Cerri et Carlo Ferrandi per Filippo Ghisolfi, 1638).
44. Cherchi, "Collezionismo," p. 491.
45. An approach followed by Loredan in *Glorie*.
46. The idea for the emblem came from Guido Casoni. For the interpretation of the Incogniti's emblem, see Nina Cannizzaro, "The Nile, Nothingness, and Knowledge: The Incogniti Impresa," in *Coming About: A Festschrift for John Shearman*, ed. Lars Jones and Louisa Matthew (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 2001), pp. 325–32.
47. Not to be confused with the Genoese Giovan Vincenzo Imperiali. See *Glorie*, *ad vocem*; Paolo Calvi, *Biblioteca e storia di quegli scrittori così della città come del territorio di Vicenza che pervennero fin' ad ora a notizia del P.F. Angiolgabriello di Santa Maria carmelitano scalzo Vicentino*, 6 vols. (Vicenza: Vendramini Mosca, 1782), vol. 1, pp. xxix–xxxiv.
48. On Cremonini's profile and social and intellectual network, see Charles, B. Schmitt, "Cremonini, Cesare," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 30 (1984), *ad vocem*.
49. Giovanni Imperiali, *Musaeum historicum et physicum Ioannis Imperialis phil. et med Vicentini* (Venice: Iuntas, 1640).
50. For the entry about the volume in the IAD: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/BookFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=023-000007615&searchAssocType=.
51. Allacci, *Apes*, p. 247, includes a letter in Latin by Antonio Bruni to Giovanfrancesco Loredan with a eulogy of the Incogniti Academy.
52. Whether "imitation" is a form of competition is an issue that deserves to be explored further.
53. For the correspondence between Allacci, Argoli, and Tomasini and Loredan's plan to edit *Glorie*, see Cerbu, "Leone Allacci," pp. 43, 79, 236.

54. Giovan Francesco Loredan, *Lettere*, 3 vols. (Venice: Guerigli, 1653–65).
55. Mario Infelise, "*Ex ignoto notus*? Note sul tipografo Sarzina e l'Accademia degli Incogniti," in *Libri, tipografi, biblioteche: Ricerche storiche dedicate a L. Balsamo*, ed. Istituto di Biblioteconomia e Paleografia Università degli Studi, Parma (Florence: Olschki, 1997), p. 221: Loredan was "vero e proprio controllore dell'editoria veneziana degli anni '30 e '40."
56. On Valvasense and his relationship with the Incogniti, see Mario Infelise, "Libri e politica nella Venezia di A. Tarabotti," *Annali di storia moderna e contemporanea* 7 (2002): pp. 31–45.
57. Caterina Serra, "Gli *Elogi d'huomini letterati* di Lorenzo Crasso," *Esperienze letterarie* 1 (2000): pp. 47–63.
58. His nickname among the Gelati was "Il costante," and his *impresa* was ivy climbing a dead tree trunk with the motto *frigore viridior* ("from frozen I become green again"). For his entry in the IAD, see http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/PersonFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=022-000000122. Both his biography and his emblem are included in *Memorie*.
59. For the volume *Memorie imprese e ritratti*, see the following page in the IAD: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/BookFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=023-000000280&searchAssocType=. The page dedicated to the Gelati Academy gives access to individuals' pages with information, portraits, and emblems, when they are available: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/AcademyFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=021–000000001&searchAssoc=Assoc&searchAssocType=.
60. Capponi's entry in the IAD visualizes his participation in several Academies: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/PersonFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=022-000000016. On his biography, see Gian Luigi Betti, "Giovan Battista Capponi: La 'carriera della gloria' di un mago e scienziato nella Bologna del Seicento," *L'Archiginnasio* 101 (2006): pp. 92–118; Gian Luigi Betti, "Il processo per magia di un 'bellissimo ingegno' nella Bologna del Seicento," *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 12 (2006): pp. 114–36.
61. Giovan Battista Capponi, "Al lettore," in *Memorie*, pages unnumbered.
62. The *impresa* of Giovanni Turchi, called "L'Inesperto" ("the inexperienced one"), is a snowball rolling downhill with the motto "acquirit eundo," which is taken from Vergil's *Aeneid*, IV, 175, and refers to Rumor: "vires acquirit eundo" (http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/PersonFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=022–000000181).
63. See Accademia dei Gelati, *Ricreationi amorose de gli academici Gelati* (Bologna: Heredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1590); Accademia dei Gelati, *Rime de gli academici Gelati* (Bologna: Heredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1597); and the entries of the two books in the IAD for more details.
64. Giovanna Perini, "Ut pictura poesis. L'accademia dei Gelati e le arti figurative," in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David Chambers and François Quiviger (London: Warburg Institute, 1995), pp. 115–16, notes the scarce allusion to the figurative arts in poetic compositions by members of the Accademia dei Gelati, especially between 1500 and 1600,

when the only reference to someone's emblem is in Melchiorre Zoppio's poem. This interpretation should be revised in light of Jane Everson, "Critical Authorities, Canonical Traditions and Occasional Literature: The Case of the Early Modern Italian Academies," in *Authority, Innovation and Early Modern Epistemology. Essays in Honour of Hilary Gatti*, ed. Martin McLaughlin, Ingrid Rowland, and Elisabetta Tarantino (London: Legenda, forthcoming), where she comments on several poems by the Gelati academicians who illustrate their own emblems through historical and mythological literature.

65. Marina Calore, "La biblioteca drammatica degli Accademici Gelati di Bologna: Saggio storico bibliografico," *Atti della Accademia delle scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna, Classe di scienze morali, Rendiconti* 81 (1992–93 [1995]): pp. 61–82.
66. Marta Cavazza, "Dal 'Coro anatomico' agli Inquieti (1650–1714)," in *Accademie scientifiche del Seicento*, ed. P. Galluzzi et al. (*Quaderni storici*, 48 [1981]), pp.8 84–921.
67. Giovanni Capponi (1586–1629). For his entry in the IAD, see http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/PersonFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=022-000000113. For his biography, see Gian Luigi Betti, "Giovanni Capponi: Filosofo, astrologo e politico del Seicento," *Studi secenteschi* 27 (1986): pp.2 9–54.
68. See the IAD for the full title and list of contributors: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/BookFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=023-000000986&searchAssoc=Assoc&searchAssocType=Author.
69. Betti, "Il processo," p. 125: "vehemente sospetto d'apostasia della santa fede di Christo e vero culto di Dio all'empio e falso culto del demonio e dell'heresia."
70. "Il segretario a chi legge," in *Glorie*, pages unnumbered.
71. "L'Animoso segretario dell'Accademia a chi leggerà," in *Memorie*, pages unnumbered.
72. "Andrea Barbazza," in *Glorie*, pp. 22–25.
73. See Nicola De Blasi, "Barbazza, Andrea," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 6 (1964), pp. 148–49.
74. Andrea Barbazza, *L'Amorosa Costanza fauola tragicomica boschereccia del co. Andrea Barbazzi senatore in Bologna* (Bologna: Monti, 1646), a second edition was printed in Bologna, by Heredi del Dozza in 1655.
75. "Andrea Barbazza," in *Memorie*, pp. 16–19.
76. "Ovidio Montalbani," in *Glorie*, pp. 356–59.
77. "Ovidio Montalbani," in *Memorie*, pp. 350–53.
78. "Mirabiturque novas." The Latin for "Graft" is "insertio" (feminine noun).
79. See Elide Casali, *Le spie del cielo. Oroscopi, lunari e almanacchi nell'Italia moderna* (Turin: Einaudi, 2003), *ad vocem*.
80. "Girolamo Preti," in *Glorie*, pp. 276–79.
81. "Girolamo Preti," in *Memorie*, pp. 192–97.
82. "Giovan Battista Capponi," in *Glori*e, pp. 216–19.

83. "Giovan Battista Capponi," in *Memorie*, pp. 256–63.
84. It should be noted that the same nickname was adopted by Capponi's father, Giovanni, in the Accademia dei Selvaggi.
85. For the entry dedicated to the Gelati academy in the IAD: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/AcademyFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=021-000000001&searchAssocType=. On the general laws about academies' *imprese* and their relations to the *imprese* of academicians, see Roberto Paolo Ciardi, "'A Knot of Words and Things': Some Clues for Interpreting the *Imprese* of Academies and Academicians," In *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David Chambers and François Quiviger (London: Warburg Institute, 1995), pp. 37–60.
86. "Capponi," in *Memorie*, p. 263.
87. The bibliography on Coronelli is considerable and mostly in Italian: Ermanno Armao, *Vincenzo Coronelli: Cenni sull'uomo e la sua vita catalogo ragionato delle sue opere lettere—fonti bibliografiche—Indici* (Florence: Bibliopolis, 1944); Miscellanea francescana, ed., *Il p. Vincenzo Coronelli dei Frati Minori Conventuali (1650–1718) nel III centenario della nascita* (*Miscellanea francescana* 51 [1951]), pp. 65–558; Augusto De Ferrari, "Coronelli, Vincenzo," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 29 (1983), pp. 305–9; Barzazi, "Enciclopedismo e ordini religiosi," pp. 61–83; Donatino Domini and Marica Milanesi, eds., *Vincenzo Coronelli e l'Imago Mundi* (Ravenna: Longo, 1998); Maria Gioia Tavoni, ed., *Un intellettuale europeo e il suo universo: Vincenzo Coronelli (1650–1718)* (Bologna: Costa, 1999); Laura Marasso and Anastasia Stouraiti, eds., *Immagini dal mito. La conquista veneziana della Morea (1684–1699)* (Venice: Fondazione scientifica Querini Stampalia, 2001); Anastasia Stouraiti, "Propaganda figurata: Geometrie di dominio e ideologie veneziane nelle carte di Vincenzo Coronelli," *Studi veneziani* 44 (2002): pp. 129–55.
88. See Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion about politics and geography in Venetian academies.
89. Burke, *A Social History*; Stouraiti, "Propaganda figurata."
90. For the academy's emblem, a partial list of its members and publications, and Coronelli's portrait in the IAD, see http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/AcademyFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=021-000006183&searchAssocType=.
91. Antonio Sartori, "Elenco degli ascritti all'Accademia cosmografica degli Argonauti," in *Miscellanea francescana* 51 (1951): pp. 389–400.
92. Lorenzo Di Fonzo, "La produzione coronelliana," in *Il p. Vincenzo Coronelli dei Frati Minori Conventuali (1650–1718) nel III centenario della nascita*, ed. Miscellanea francescana (*Miscellanea francescana* 51 [1951]), pp. 418–19.
93. Francesca Cocchiara wrote about "Rivoluzione coronelliana" in *Il libro illustrato veneziano del Seicento. Con un repertorio dei principali incisori e peintre-graveurs* (Padua: Il prato, 2010), pp. 140–50.
94. Cocchiara, "Rivoluzione coronelliana," p. 142.
95. Ibid., p. 149.

96. On this publication, see Armao, *Vincenzo Coronelli*, pp. 125–26; Ludovico Frati, "Una raccolta di grandi ritratti incisi," *La Bibliofilía* 22 (1920–21): pp.2 71–82.
97. A detailed list of the titles of *Atlante Veneto* can be found in Accademia degli Argonauti, *Titoli delle opere di varie materie, in idioma diversi composte* (Venice: Gonzaga, 1708), pp. 89–91.
98. Marta Cavazza, "I due generali: Le vite parallele di Vincenzo Coronelli e Luigi Ferdinando Marsili," in *Un intellettuale europeo e il suo universo: Vincenzo Coronelli (1650–1718)*, ed. Maria Gioia Tavoni (Bologna: Costa, 1999), p. 101.
99. For a complete list of such publications, see Di Fonzo, "La produzione," pp.4 08–10.
100. Cavazza, "I due generali"; Stouraiti, "Propaganda figurata."
101. Casini, *Ritratti parlanti*.
102. On Giacinto Gimma's life and works, I am indebted to the following: Giulia Belgioioso, "Aristotelici 'antiquari' e 'moderni' cartesiani: Giacinto Gimma," *Studi filosofici* 10–11 (1987–88): pp. 229–65; Raffaele Girardi, "Letteratura e scienza fra Sei e Settecento: Giacinto Gimma e il progetto degli Spensierati," *Lavoro critico* 11–12 (1988): pp. 91–124; Antonio Iurilli, "L'abate Gimma e il ruolo delle Accademie," in *Storia di Bari*, ed. Francesco Tateo, 5 vols. (Bari: Laterza, 1989–92), vol. 3, bk. 2, *Storia di Bari nell'antico regime*, ed. A. Massafra and F. Tateo (1992), pp. 223–48; Maurizio Cambi, "Giacinto Gimma e la medicina del suo tempo," *Bollettino del centro di studi vichiani* 20 (1990): pp. 169–84; Cesare Preti, "Gimma, Giacinto," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 54 (2000), pp. 768–74.
103. Domenico Maurodinoja, "Breve ristretto della vita dell'abate signor d. Giacinto Gimma," *Raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici e filologici dell'abate Calogierà* 17 (1738): pp. 339–427.
104. Mario Rosa, "Astorini, Elia," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 4 (1962), pp. 487–91.
105. Burke, *A Social History*, p. 106.
106. Giacinto Gimma, *Idea della Storia dell'Italia letterata* (Naples: Mosca, 1723), pp. 831ff.; Antonio Iurilli, "Aristotelici e Investiganti nella biblioteca di un abate 'fin de siècle,'" *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia* 66 (1988): pp. 11–31; Antonio Iurilli, "Introduzione alla 'Nova enciclopedia' di Giacinto Gimma," in *Archivio storico pugliese* 32 (1979): pp. 311–36.
107. Maurizio Torrini, "L'Accademia degli Investiganti. Napoli 1663–1670," in *Accademie scientifiche del '600*, ed. P. Galluzzi, C. Poni, and M. Torrini (*Quaderni storici* 16 [1981]), pp. 845–83.
108. Belgioioso, "Aristotelici," p. 229.
109. See the IAD for the list of academicians: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/AcademyFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=021-000003384&searchAssocType=.
110. The whole affair is detailed in Cambi, "Giacinto Gimma," pp. 169–84.
111. The text says "erudizione," but I suspect that, at the time, this was the same as "knowledge."

112. Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols. (Bologna: Cappelli, 1926–30), vol. 4, p. 100, refers to this letter when describing this academy.
113. Gimma, "Avvertimento dell'autore per gli errori di stampa," in *Elogi*, f. c1^{r}.
114. Ibid., f. c1^{v}.
115. Gimma, *Elogi*, p. 8.
116. There is uncertainty about the real involvement of Gimma in this publication, which may be considered apocryphal: Preti, "Gimma, Giacinto."
117. Interestingly, Gimma added in *Titoli delle opere*, p. 5: "Religioni claustrali ed equestri, eistenti e suppresse*, dell'uno e dell'altro sesso*, a beneficio della gerarchia Ecclesiastica."
118. Richard Yeo, "Alphabetical Lives: Scientific Biography in Historical Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias," in *Telling Lives in Science*, ed. R. Yeo and M. Shortland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 139–70.

Chapter 4

1. Françoise Waquet, "Qu'est-ce que la République des Lettres? Essai de sémantique historique," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chatres* 147 (1989): pp. 473–502; Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet, *La Républic des lettres* (Paris: Belin-De Boek, 1997); Ruth Whelan, "Republic of Letters," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Charles Kors, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), vol. 3, pp. 436–40; Donald Kelley, "Republic of Letters," in *Europe 1450 to 1789: Encyclopaedia of the Early Modern World*, ed. Jonathan Dewald, 6 vols. (New York: Thomson Gale, 2004), vol. 5, pp. 192–95.
2. Arjan Van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch, eds., *The Reach of the Republic of Letters. Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
3. Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 2nd ed. (London: Cape, 1962).
4. See Chapter 1.
5. Whelan, "Republic of Letters," vol. 3, p. 439. We should bear in mind that some of these limitations seem unacceptable by our modern social and intellectual standards. Moreover, even our connected world maintains limitations that are not dissimilar, in principle, to the ones of the early modern period.
6. Elizabeth Ezienstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent Of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 137; Waquet, "Qu'est-ce que la République des Lettres?," p. 475.
7. For a reassessment of the traditional idea of the Humanist printer in Europe, see Paul White, "Humanist Printers," in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, ed. Philip Ford, Jan Bloemendal, and Charles Fantazzi, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), vol. 1, *Macropaedia*, pp. 173–84. On Manuzio's academy, see Chapter 2.
8. Texts of the dedication letters in Latin and Italian are in Giuseppe Orlandi, ed., *Aldo Manuzio editore: Dediche, prefazioni, note ai testi*, intro. Carlo Dionisotti (Milan: *Il Polifilo*, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 62–63, vol. 2, p. 240 (Statius, 1502).

9. Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), p. 195.
10. Orlandi, *Aldo Manuzio editore*, vol. 1, p. 69, vol. 2, p. 246 (Ovid, *Methamorphoses*, 1502); vol. 1, p. 70, vol. 2, p. 247 (Ovid, *Heroidum Epistolae Amores, Ars amandi, Remedia amoris*, 1515).
11. Severina Parodi, *Quattro secoli di Crusca, 1583–1983* (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1983), p. 86; Waquet, "Qu'est-ce que la République des Lettres?," p. 478.
12. Waquet, "Qu'est-ce que la République des Lettres?," p. 478.
13. Ibid.
14. Accademia della Crusca, *Il vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca* (Venice: Alberti, 1612), *ad vocem*.
15. Accademia della Crusca, *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca. Quarta impressione* (Florence: Tipografia galileiana, 1863), *ad vocem*.
16. Waquet, "Qu'est-ce que la République des Lettres?," p. 481.
17. Letizia Panizza, "Alessandro Piccolomini's Mission: Philosophy for Men and Women in Their Mother Tongue," in *Vernacular Aristotle*, ed. Simon Gilson (forthcoming).
18. The title is translated as *Empty speculation undeceived by the senses. Responsive letter discussing marine bodies that can be found petrified in various terrestrial locations, by the painter Agostino Scilla, academician of the Fucina Academy, called The Discolored One.*
19. Marco Romano, "'The Vain Speculation Disillusioned by the Sense': The Italian Painter Agostino Scilla (1629–1700) Called 'The Discoloured,' and the Correct Interpretation of Fossils as 'Lithified Organisms' that Once Lived in the Sea," *Historical Biology: An International Journal of Paleobiology* 26 (2013): pp. 631–51.
20. Luigi Matt, "Manzini, Giovanni Battista," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 69 (2007), pp. 273–76.
21. Davide Conrieri, ed., *Gli Incogniti e l'Europa* (Bologna: I libri di Emil, 2011).
22. Stefano Villani, "Gli Incogniti e l'Inghilterra," in *Gli Incogniti e l'Europa*, pp.2 33–75.
23. Davide Conrieri, "L'Adamo di Giovanfrancesco Loredano nella Penisola Iberica," in *Gli Incogniti e l'Europa*, pp. 75–123.
24. David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends and the Beginning of Modern Natural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 186ff.
25. Lowry, *The World of Aldus*, *ad vocem*.
26. Elizabeth See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), *ad vocem*.
27. Ibid., p. 71.
28. Ibid., p. 75.
29. Ibid., p. 28.
30. Stephen Zon, *Petrus Lotichius Secundus Neo Latin Poet* (Berne: Lang, 1983), pp.2 93–304.

31. Joannes Sambucus, *Emblemata* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1564), pp. 76–77.
32. For the names, see Federico Badoer, *1560. 30 dicembre In Venetia in contrada San Cantian nell'habitatione del Clariss. Federigo Badoero* (Venice: Academia Venetiana, 1560). John Rylands Library, Aldine Collection, 636, p. 8[r].
33. *Orations of famous men.*
34. *New history of Mexican animals plants, and minerals*.
35. Francis W. Gravit, "The *Accademia degli Umoristi* and Its French Relationship," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 20 (1935): pp.5 05–21.
36. Giuliano Gliozzi, "Canani, Giovanni Battista," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 17 (1974), pp. 714–16.
37. I am grateful to Scott Blanchard for his help with the translation of this difficult title.
38. Attilio Maggiolo, *I soci dell'Accademia Patavina dalla sua fondazione (1599)* (Padua: Accademia Patavina di Scienze Lettere ed. Arti, 1983), *ad vocem*.
39. Thomas Dempster, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum libri XIX* (Bologna: Tebaldini, 1627).
40. The relationship between artists and academies has been discussed by François Quiviger, "The Presence of Artists in Literary Academies," In *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David Chambers and François Quiviger (London: Warburg Institute, 1995), pp. 104–12. However, it is not so much the formalized presence of such artists in academies that I want to highlight here but rather their contributions in various roles to publications.
41. Klaas Van Berkel, "'Cornelius Meijer inventor et fecit.' On the Representation of Science in Late Seventeenth-Century Rome," in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 290.
42. David A. Levine, "The Bentvueghels: 'Bande Académique,'" in *IL60: Essays Honoring Irving Lavin on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin (New York: Italica Press, 1990), pp. 207–19.
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47. Ibid.
48. Françoise Waquet, "Charles Patin (1633–1693) et la République des Lettres. Etude d'un résau intellectuel dans l'Europe du XVIIe siècle," *Lias* 12, no. l (1985), pp. 115–36.
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50. Ibid.
51. Ibid; Waquet, "Qu'est-ce que la République des Lettres?," p. 479.
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56. Dekesel, *Charles Patin*, p. 53.
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58. *The Ricovrati academy's applauses for the glories of the Serenissima Republic of Venice on the occasion of podestà Girolamo Basadonna's departure from the regency of Padua. Under the principality of Carlo Patino.*
59. Charles Patin, *Quod optimus medicus debeat esse chirurgus. Oratio, habita in Archi-Lycaeo Patavino; die 19 Novembris, 1681. A Carolo Patino equite D. Marci, Doct. Medico Paris. Primario Chirurgiae Professore* (Padua: Pasquati, 1681).
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61. *Roman monument to honour the Aix Senator Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peresc's doctrine and virtue*.
62. Gravit, "The *Accademia degli Umoristi*," pp. 505–21.
63. On the genesis and meaning of this monumental tribute to Peiresc, I relied on Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 377–429. I am grateful to Paule Désmulieres for directing me to this publication.
64. Angela Nuovo, "Ritratto di collezionista da giovane. Peiresc a casa Pinelli," in *Peiresc et l'Italie*, pp. 1–18.
65. Pierre Gassendi, *Viri Illustris Nicolai Claudii Fabricii De Peiresc, senatoris Aquisextiensis, vita*, 2 vols. (Paris: Cramoysi, 1641), vol. 1, p. 112.
66. This title translates as *On the blood that was seen raining down in Padua 17 June 1573. Discussion held in the most noble Academy of the Spirited Ones. Dedicated to the illustrious and most revered Count and Abbot Ascanio Martinengo*. Giuseppe Gennari, "Saggio storico sopra le Accademie di Padova," in *Saggi scientifici e letterari dell'Accademia di Padova*, 3 vols. (Venice: 2000), vol. 1, p. xlix. Gennari criticizes the authors of *Antologia romana* (1776) for attributing this finding to Peiresc's studies (n. 33). I could not find the precise passage in the *Antologia romana*.
67. Hans Bots, "De la transmission du savoir à la communication entre les hommes de lettres: Universités et académies en Europe du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle," in *Commercium litterarium. La communication dans la République des Lettres, 1600–1750. Conférences des colloques tenus a Pàris, 1992, et a Nimègue, 1993*, ed. Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet (Amsterdam-Maarsen: APA-Holland University Press, 1994), p. 111: "Nul ne doute que le vaste réseau d'académies au sens restreint et privé du terme qui couvre l'Europe savante depuis le XVIe siècle et qui constitue la veritable armature de la République des Lettres, ne se soit mis en place très tôt pour faire avancer le savoir."
68. Marc Fumaroli, "Introduction," in *Peiresc et l'Italie*, p. xiv: "l'idéal d'une république des ésprits libres dont la cooperation et la cohésion transcendent les nations, les temps, et la mort," such ideal "il trouvait réalisé dans la Respublica litteraria d'origine italienne et d'extension européenne à la quelle il s'était rallié à Padue en 1600."
69. Carlo Dionisotti, *Geografia Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1967; repr. 1999), p. 237 (page numbers refer to reprint): "Come per le accademie, così per queste raccolte che sono anzitutto e in ispecie di rime e di lettere e però, consentendo una scelta generosa fino ai minori e minimi autori, meglio rappresentano la tendenza espansiva e associativa della nuova letteratura."
70. Jane Everson, "Critical Authorities, Canonical Traditions and Occasional Literature: The Case of the Early Modern Italian Academies," in *Authority, Innovation and Early Modern Epistemology. Essays in Honour of Hilary Gatti*, ed. Martin McLaughlin, Ingrid Rowland, and Elisabetta Tarantino (London: Legenda, forthcoming). See also Paule Desmoulière, "La poesia funebre

all'accademia Olimpica di Vicenza," in *The Italian Academies 1525–1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, ed. J. E. Everson, D. V. Reidy, and L. Sampson (Oxford: Legenda, forthcoming).

71. Of course, universities should be included among the spaces where the *République des Lettres* was shaped. On the importance of the paratext for the reconstruction of the *République des lettres*, see R. Macksey, "Foreword," in Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. J. E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. xx, where he affirms that Genette's study is based on the "most socialized side of the practice of literature (the way its relations with the public are organized), and at times it will inevitably seem something like an essay on the customs and institutions of the Republic of Letters, as they are revealed in the borderlands of the text, a neglected region that the [Genette's] book maps with exceptional rigor."
72. Philiep Bossier and Rolien Scheffer, "Introduzione," in *Soglie testuali. Funzioni del paratesto nel secondo Cinquecento e oltre // Textual Thresholds. Funcions of the paratexts in the Late-Sixteenth Century and Beyond.* Atti della giornata di studi, Università di Groningen 13 dicembre 2007, ed. Philiep Bossier and Rolien Scheffer (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 2010), pp. 9–18 (pp. 16–17).
73. Lisa Sampson, "The Dramatic Text/Paratext: Barbara Torelli's *Partenia, favola boschereccia* (MS, c. 1587)," in *Soglie testuali*, pp. 103–37.
74. For the history of Sienese academies, I have mainly used Curzio Mazzi, *La Congrega dei Rozzi di Siena nel secolo XVI*, 2 vols. (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1881); Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols. (Bologna: Cappelli, 1926–30), *ad vocem*.
75. Other academies include Accademia d'Uomini d'arme, Accordati, Affilati, Appartati, Arrischiati, Assicurate, Avviluppati, Capassoni, Catenati, Insipidi, Desiosi, Fanfalini, Ferraiuoli, Filomati, Filomeli, Fisiocritici, Infocati, Innominati, Inquieti, Intrecciati, Intronati, Nobili senesi, Oscuri (first and second), Partenia, Puliti, Racchiusi, Raccolti, Raffrontati, Ravvivati, Rischiarati, Risoluti, Rozzi, Rozzi minori, Sborrati, Schiumati, Secreti, Sizienti, Smarriti, Solfansini, Spensierati, Svegliati, Sviati, Travagliati, and Accademia della Verità. Giuliano Catoni, "Le palestre dei nobili intelletti. Cultura accademica e pratiche giocose nella Siena medicea," in *I libri dei leoni. La nobiltà di Siena in età medicea (1557–1737)*, ed. Mario Ascheri (Milan: Amilcare Pizzi Editore per conto del Monte dei Paschi di Siena, 1996), pp. 131–69. For more information on Travagliati, see Daniele Seragnoli, "Annotazioni sul 'modello' drammaurgico senese: Assuero Rettori e la commedia 'Lo schiavo,'" *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, 3rd ser., 89 (1982): pp. 196–220.
76. Richard S. Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi, the Accademia degli Infiammati, and the Origins of the Italian Academic Movement," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29 (1976): pp. 606ff.
77. Anna M. Siekiera, "I lettori di Aristotele nel Cinquecento: I libri e le carte di Benedetto Varchi," *Studi linguisitici italiani* 39 (2013): pp. 198–218.

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79. Roberto Zapperi, *Annibale Carracci. Ritratto di artista da giovane* (Turin: Einaudi, 1989).
80. *The funeral of Agostino Carracci, organized in Bologna, his patria, by the Incamminati academicians of the art of drawing.*
81. On the biography and intellectual interest of Montanari, as well as his network of friends and colleagues, see Ivano dal Prete, "Montanari, Geminiano," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 75 (2011), pp. 816–23. Montanari's academic commitments should be supplemented with information from Attilio Maggiolo, *I soci*, *ad vocem*.
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85. The head of the Congrega was simply called "Signor Rozzo" instead of the usual definition of "Principe."
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Conclusion

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Lycosthene . . . iampridem inchoatum: Nunc vero Theodori Zuinggeri . . . opera, studio et labore, eo usq[ue] deductum, ut omnium ordinum hominibus ad vitam præclare instituendam, maiorem in modem utile et iucundum sit futurum. Cum gemino indice (Basel: Oporinus and Froben, 1565).

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Index of Academies

General Index