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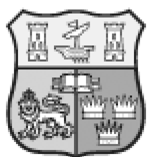

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ITALY IN THE BAROQUE

Selected Readings

edited and translated by
Brendan Dooley

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Preface

Early modern Europe is best studied from a comparative perspective. This may seem an odd way to present a book uniquely devoted to the history of the Italian states in the seventeenth century. However, the intention here is not to add another text to the growing library of works on Italy so much as to reintroduce onto the stage of early modern studies characters whose presence has long been missed, restoring the proper harmony to the whole performance. Specialists on early modern European life and culture have long recognized the ties that bind each of their particular areas. The Spanish political theory of the school of Salamanca is now compared to French Huguenot theories of resistance. French absolutism is now seen in the light of the absolutist theory of James I of England. The crisis of monarchy in England is now used as a standard for judging the crisis of monarchy in Naples. The revolt of Naples is compared with the other revolts and rebellions within the Spanish empire. The decline of Spain is compared with the rise of Holland. The Thirty Years' War is no longer viewed as a "German struggle," and the War of Mantua and Montferrat has been turned back into an episode of that larger war. Comparisons between English and Continental agrarian contracts have added important illumination to economic development on both sides of the Channel. The economy of the whole period over all of Europe, from London to Palermo, has been characterized as a world-economy. And the Baroque is now regarded as an international aesthetic movement. The cosmopolitanism of the century was fully recognized at the time. The arsenal of Venice was as important a stop for any young nobleman on the grand tour as the baths of Lucca were for any gouty aging statesman; and the Roman antiquities and the frescoes of Michelangelo and Raphael demanded the attention of any artists who could afford to see them. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Tommaso Campanella and Gian Domenico Cassini, each in their own ways, entertained the French court, while French-born painter Nicolas Poussin and Danish-born naturalist Nicolaus Steno entertained the Roman and Florentine ones. Lorenzo Magalotti was equally at home in Florence, England and the Holy Roman Empire. Meanwhile, Macerata-born Jesuit Matteo Ricci extended European influence all the way to China. Evidence from the Italian states, it is true, has come late on the scene of early modern European studies. Through the

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contributions of many of the scholars listed below and mentioned in the notes to the selections, the balance has been redressed. But curious readers may be impatient to learn about the diversity and complexity of the world of the Baroque without having to learn seven languages or steep themselves in the minutiae of scholarly disputation. Selected readings in translation concerning many other areas of Europe and concerning Europe as a whole exist in convenient profusion. None of these concern Italy. Thus, by putting back into the discussion all those cases upon which so much of what is known about the period has been based, this book hopes to convey marvelous discoveries affording unexpected delight, which as Emanuele Tesauro (one of our characters) insists, are the essence of useful pleasure.

"To liberate, through his own language, the language imprisoned in a work" is the task of the translator, said Walter Benjamin. I have tried to answer this difficult challenge by remaining as faithful as possible to the original texts, even when this produces some awkwardness in the final result. Anyone who has seen Claudio Monteverdi's *Orfeo* performed on period instruments and using period acting techniques knows how strange it seems at first; no one would dispute that greater authenticity yields special insights not available from a modernized version. At the same time, to make the seventeenth-century world as accessible as possible, I have endeavored, I do not know with what success, to be as elegant in English as my authors are, when they want to be, elegant in Italian.

A generous grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities provided all funding for this project. In addition, thanks goes to Open Court Publishing in Chicago for permission to include excerpts from Mab Bigelow's translation of Francesco Redi, to Penn State Press for permission to include modified excerpts from Catherine Enggass' translation of Filippo Baldinucci, and to the University of Chicago Press for permission to include excerpts of my own translation of Galileo. Thanks also goes to Harvard University Press for permission to use translations of poetry from the Loeb Classical Library and to Associated University Presses for lines from Joseph Tusiani's translation of Tasso. Once and for all, let me note that biblical quotations have most often been taken from the Douai Bible, which is a translation of the same Latin Vulgate that most seventeenth-century writers used.

Scipione Maffei, forerunner of the Italian Enlightenment, pointed out, "translations, so troublesome and difficult to bring to perfection, are rarely invulnerable to whatever objections and protests others might care to offer." In the hope of anticipating at least a few of these objections and protests, I have solicited the criticism of as many friends and colleagues as I could muster. Selections and introductions were read by Allen Debus, Maurice Finocchiaro, Albert Van Helden, John Headley, Paula Findlen, John Marino, George Gorse, Patricia Labalme, Domenico Sella, R. Burr Litchfield, Geoffrey Symcox, Peter Burke, Anne Schutte, John O'Malley,

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Pamela Jones, Theodore K. Rabb and Laurie Nussdorfer. My thanks to all of these and to many others who helped along the way, including the students in History 1326 at Harvard, for whom this book was originally written, and who, after careful scrutiny, endorsed several earlier drafts.

A special thanks goes to Barbara Dooley, whose assistance at every stage of the project, from her ingenious detective work in locating recondite citations, particularly in Latin, Greek and Spanish, to her fine judgment of nuances in Italian, were the *sine qua non* of this collaborative effort.

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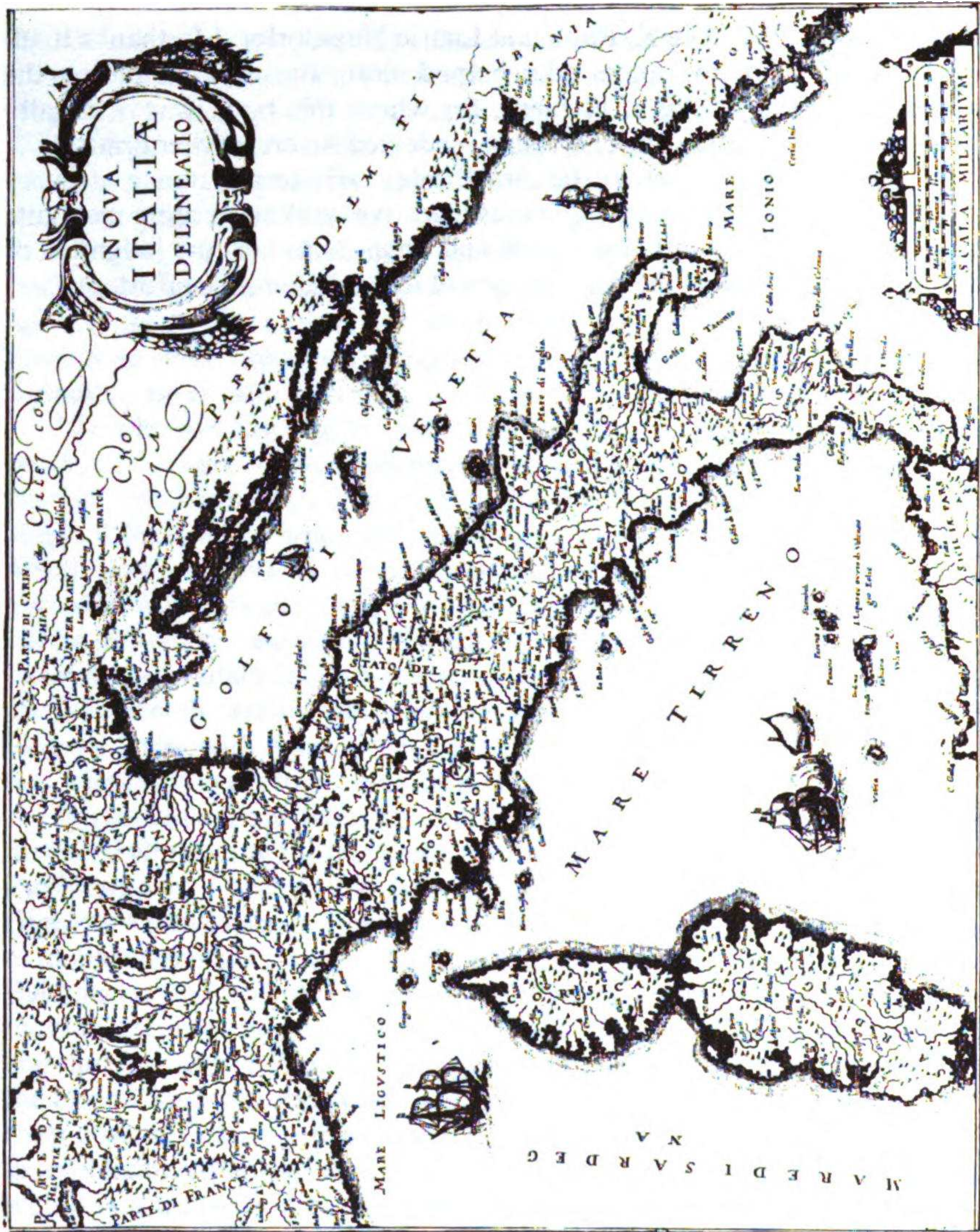

Map of Italy, Martin Zeiller, **Topographiae Italiae,** *Frankfurt, M. Merians, 1688.*
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Introduction

No lover of the fine arts needs any reminding that the age spanning the seventeenth century from the birth to the death of Gian Lorenzo Bernini was one of the most fruitful in Italian history. It was an age of remarkable achievement in many fields. And in spite of the numerous specialized works on the cultural context surrounding the art of Bernini, Caravaggio, the Carracci, the Bibiena, Guarino Guarini and Baldassare Longhena, not to mention the music of Claudio Monteverdi, Francesco Cavalli and the Scarlatti, the science of Galileo Galilei, Francesco Redi, and Marcello Malpighi, the poetry of Giambattista Marino, and the social thought of Traiano Boccalini, Virgilio Malvezzi and Arcangela Tarabotti, there has been no work in English aimed at satisfying the curious reader's interest in the whole period. However, this book is not devoted to the elite representatives of something called high culture. By situating the most famous figures among witnesses to the main political and social phenomena of the time, it tries to take the measure of the age as a whole; and in doing so, to open the doors so others may follow the many who in recent years have been discovering such rewarding companionship in the Italian originals of the texts collected here.

The curious reader may then find out what the scholars are so excited about. Defining a period is no easy task, but in the five areas of endeavor selected here—science and philosophy, the preservation of the past, political and civic affairs, aesthetics, and spirituality—the research of many of the specialists mentioned in the preface and in the notes and bibliographies to the various sections has identified enough continuity in method, outlook and institutions to associate the period with the Italian Renaissance, whose vitality it shared. At the lowest level of the social scale, there is no doubt that the monotonous rhythm of famine, plague, dearth and war experienced by the greatest portions of the populations makes Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's characterization of "immobile history" as true in most of Italy as it is in Northern Europe. Still, there are enough special features to make classification with the previous period somewhat awkward. Fundamental changes were taking place, many of

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which anticipated the even more incisive ones of the period of the Enlightenment, whose hopes the period often prefigured.

Each of the many separate political units of Italy was distinguished from the others by economic and social differences.[1] The South remained mostly agricultural, whereas industries flourished in the "golden quadrilateral" of Venice-Florence-Milan-Genoa. Naples, Sicily and to a lesser extent Lombardy shared economic interests with Spain, to whose empire they belonged. In the South, as well as in Piedmont and Savoy, feudal nobilities like those in France and Spain continued to exert an important influence, whereas the highest status groups of the cities of the "golden quadrilateral," including the aristocratic republic of Lucca, were urban patriciates more like those of the Dutch Republic. All over Italy, the civic traditions of the middle ages and Renaissance were still very much alive; and urban rituals connected with them helped define the particular identities of the inhabitants of each city. And all over Italy, the predominant type of political organization was a territorial state in which an administrative center exerted authority over subordinate cities through a system of alliances.

Unity in diversity marked the religious scene. In spite of efforts to implement the decrees of the Council of Trent, the Roman Church still had plenty of competition. Not all local branches were as obedient to it as was that of Naples, which often supported it against the government. In Venice, it fought with the local Church, which sided with the government. Here and there, it encountered local traditions, healers and savants offering alternative keys to salvation sometimes in contrast with the ones it regarded as exclusively effective. In Friuli, for instance, ancient beliefs persisted concerning white witches who fought against the enemies of the harvest. In the South, tarantulism demanded the curative powers of priest and healer alike. While increasing numbers of laypeople turned for spiritual solace to the kinds of mystical experiments performed by a few adepts at the end of the sixteenth century, Jesuit preachers became superstars; and religious energy permeated every level of experience.[2]

Cultural institutions flourished all over Italy—in the case of the universities, continuing the vitality they had received from the Renaissance curricular reforms.[3] Teaching and research were gradually coming to define the emerging profession of university professor. New chairs of humanities, mathematics, anatomy, botany, chemistry, and Justinian's *Digest* provided avenues for the introduction of innovative ideas. Thus, apart from expertise in the traditional texts required on the exams for law and medicine, students could expect to benefit from the ideas of the likes of Galileo and Hieronymus Fabricius of Aquapendente at Padua, Malpighi at Bologna, Tommaso Cornelio at Naples, Borelli at Messina, Benedetto Castelli at the Sapienza in Rome. Even relatively unimportant Turin could boast of the presence of a Galilean like Donato

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Rossetti. Completing the list of facilities now available for instruction and research, including classroom buildings, botanical gardens and anatomical theaters, the University of Padua opened the first university library in Italy in 1631.

The academies had been designed in the Renaissance to provide informal places of encounter for literary recreation—"to temper the austerity" of more serious studies, commented journalist, antiquary, and academician Benedetto Bacchini.[4] Hence their fanciful names: the Ricovrati ("sheltered ones") of Padua, the Oscuri ("obscure ones") of Pordenone, and the Tardati ("late ones") of Brindisi. They continued and proliferated because of their success in meeting the new demands of arts and letters in the seventeenth century—such demands as cosmopolitanism, disciplinary scope and adaptability to the needs of a wide variety of scholars, artists and writers. Thus, the Accademia della Crusca was dedicated to the study and propagation of the Tuscan Language; artistic academies flourished in Florence, Bologna, Rome and Milan; theatrical and musical academies flourished in Siena, Bologna, Venice, Verona, Vicenza and Naples. Newest on the scene were the academies dedicated to scientific pursuits: the Lincei and the Fisico-Matematica in Rome, the Cimento in Florence, the Fisiocritici in Siena, the Investiganti and the Medina Coeli in Naples, the Filoesotica in Brescia. And of the more than two hundred centers in Italy where over eight hundred new academies were founded during the century, some added a touch of cultural panache that permitted even the most unlikely locations to rise a hair's breadth above the level of mediocrity.

Institutions alone, of course, could not sustain the cultural revival of the early seventeenth century without the help of wealthy patrons. Writer-cartographer Girolamo Maria Muti said it best. "In the winter of miseries," he exclaimed "a man of letters . . . needs silver in his pocket if he wants to send a good Mercury up to the sphere of Eloquence."[5] The same went for all the other arts. Persistence of the Renaissance notion that money for the arts was a regular part of public relations contributed as much to keeping the universities and academies in operation as it did to keeping artists and writers prosperous in less formal ways. The necessity for expertise in engineering, military technology and public health brought about stiff competition between governments for the best practitioners. Although the existence of a particular sort of "court culture" seems contradicted by the similarity of cultural forms inside and outside the so-called courts of the Medici, the Este, the Farnese, the Gonzaga and the popes, there is no doubt that efforts to secure the generous, if undependable, patronage of the great and wealthy by demonstrations of unusual wit may well have inspired at least a few of the innovative proposals of the opponents to the Aristotelian philosophy reigning in the schools and to the standard aesthetic genres.

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For all this activity, the century did not begin auspiciously. True, half a century of peace after Câteau-Cambrésis (1559) had helped usher in a period of unprecedented prosperity.[6] Banking improved. Silk manufacturing spread all over Italy. Book publishing prospered as never before. New manufactures were introduced, such as wool in Venice. Even tourism flourished, as religious refugees from the various warring factions of Northern Europe came down to sample the mineral waters at San Casciano and Lucca. Governments were a considerable help; and indeed, in Venice, the Commission on Uncultivated Land did much to turn agriculture into a profitable business by the introduction of sophisticated irrigation works. And populations rose to new heights, creating new demand. Even the plagues of 1575 and the famines of the 1590s were not enough to stop the rise.

Meanwhile, the danger signals began to mount, and a series of early seventeenth century disasters wiped out many of the advances that had been made.[7] Genoese banking was hard hit by the increasing penury of the Spanish crown, which it financed almost single-handedly until the advent of the Portuguese. Venetian shipbuilding reached such a crisis due to the high cost of wood and also due to Tuscan, Berber and Turkish piracy that the government subsidized the merchant marine and eventually allowed goods to be moved in foreign ships. Demand for industrial goods collapsed in many of the traditional markets: Germany was knocked out by the Thirty Years' War; France put up protective barriers to favor local products; the Levant turned from Italian textiles to cheaper North European goods. Market change was difficult to overcome because of high living costs in Italy and because guilds preferred to tout quality products that enhanced prestige. Worse yet, a status-conscious bureaucracies hampered governments' ability to handle new situations, leading to unimaginative solutions and over-regulation.

Suddenly the population explosion and the wage-price spiral seemed ominous. And the economic downturn of the 1620s gave way to the plague of 1630, which cut the populations of Venice, Milan, Parma and Piacenza by between thirty and forty percent, reduced Crema's by sixty percent, and wiped out seventy-two percent of Mantua's.[8] Genoa, Rome and the South seemed relatively safe from plague at first, but when it finally hit Naples in 1656 it halved the population in the administrative center alone, while depopulating Rome by eight percent and Genoa by twenty percent. Employers were forced to pay higher wages to a more restricted labor pool, reducing still more the competitiveness of Italian industrial goods; and fields lay neglected, raising the cost of food and the specter of repeated famine.

Depression and plague were worsened by political turmoil. The early seventeenth-century War of the Mantuan Succession was closely followed by civil war in Piedmont and Genoa and by the War of Castro.[9] The Peace

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of Westphalia seemed to tranquilize things for a while, but this illusion soon disappeared; and in the last decades of the century Italy was torn by the struggles that reduced its states once more to pawns in the game between the French crown and the rest of Europe. Meanwhile, Venice fought Ottoman expansion in the Aegean Sea and the Greek Archipelago, culminating in the fiasco of the War of Candia. The popes poured out a continuous stream of financial and military aid for the Holy Roman Emperors against Ottoman expansion in Hungary and Austria even though nearly a third of their available budget after debt financing already went to defense.

The South managed to get away with only second-hand involvement in most of the interstate struggles. However, it was heavily charged with providing troops and financing for Spanish operations in Milan and Portugal. As the bureaucracy expanded to handle an ever larger volume of revenues and sold collection rights to private individuals, the fiscal burden on the Neapolitans increased still more. Increased fiscal burdens rekindled old complaints about political organization and provoked crises of legitimacy just when the Spanish government itself was riven with internal rivalries. The rebellions of Portugal and Catalonia were closely followed by revolts in Palermo in 1646, in the entire Kingdom of Naples in 1647-8, and in 1674-78 in Messina.

There was no reason, of course, to think culture would be entirely crushed by plague, war and economic crisis. After all, such disasters had actually provided stimuli to ever greater accomplishment in Renaissance Italy and again practically everywhere in Europe in the seventeenth century. The social groups and individuals capable of making enduring contributions to science, literature, and the arts were seldom the hardest hit. "This scourge," noted historian Girolamo Brusoni, "mainly falls on the poor."[10] Indeed, when disaster curbed the generosity of prospective patrons, cultural achievement went on in spite of them. "God has provided for this disorder" noted academician Giuseppe Malatesta Garuffi, "by making virtue its own reward." Most recent scholars have agreed. "The continuity of cultural evolution extending from the scientific revolution—from the age of Campanella, Galileo, Sarpi," says one, "goes on to the threshold of the Enlightenment and beyond."[11]

Disaster, in fact, provided endless opportunities for reflection in the human sciences.[12] Political theorists and functionaries responded to the sudden imposition of economic reality upon the political scene by analyzing the early modern economy and seeking a practical set of strategies. Their reflections turned mercantilism, the approach developed in practice since the Renaissance, into a recognized and indispensable instrument of rule. Historians witnessed the sudden disappearance of the "*crisis of content*" or literal absence of contemporary events to write about *that had led* to a lull in the production of humanist historiography after the

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Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis. They found endless subject matter in the apparent repetition of the North European irruptions into Italy that had inspired their illustrious predecessor, Guicciardini. The dangerous novelties of the mid- and late seventeenth-century revolts and revolutions, along with the available comparison of similar events abroad, gave them ample opportunity to conceive new explanations and causal schemes that might serve as the bases for preventive measures. Accordingly, they tried to expand the conceptual vocabulary offered by the elite-centered models to account for the involvement of plebeians as protagonists in such events. Meanwhile, the deepening of philosophical doubt about just what they were accomplishing with all this encouraged them to rejoin two fields that late sixteenth-century practice had begun to sunder: namely, history as rhetorical exercise and history as research. Ignoring the injunctions of contemporary theorists of historical writing like Agostino Mascardi, they began alternating between the rhetorical strategies of Livy and the antiquarian ones of Varro—or, better yet, of Carlo Sigonio, punctuating otherwise elegant accounts with extracts of letters and entire texts of treaties or decrees to prove a point.

Disaster inspired a good many of the cultural artifacts now grouped under the somewhat vague term of "Baroque," it is true, especially in the visual arts.[13] But the aesthetic content of those works was affected more by long-term trends within the particular genres to which they belonged than by the depressing effects of plague, war and economic crisis. For instance, Longhena appropriated the classicizing language of quintessential Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio in constructing the glorious church of the Madonna della Salute in Venice to commemorate recovery after plague, embellishing it by imaginative borrowings from the Venetian Gothic and Byzantine traditions. Bernini in Rome emulated Michelangelo in crossing the boundaries between architecture, sculpture and graphic arts, creating structures where light, texture and mass combined to produce a harmonious and even mesmerizing effect. Pietro da Cortona derived his style of monumental fresco painting in part from the late sixteenth-century reforms of Annibale Carracci, who had rebelled against some of the more awkward experiments characteristic of the movement later known as Mannerism in order to return to the High Renaissance artistic canons of naturalism and narrative clarity. And in part, he derived his style from the North Italian tradition going from Andrea Mantegna to Paolo Veronese.

The literature and literary theory later called "Baroque" seemed to be determined mainly by the continuing authority of the models of the humanists. Emanuele Tesauro developed the new genre of writing about heraldic devices from ideas explored much earlier by Paolo Giovio.[14] Both he and Paolo Beni elaborated their literary theses from the tradition of sixteenth-century Aristotelianism. Giovanni Francesco Loredan drew upon

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Heliodorus for the form and structure of his novels. Pastoral romance writers like Giambattista Marino and his followers continued to refer to the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century masters, and indeed, the surrealism or super-realism evident in their works may well have come from a shift in models from Petrarch to Dante. Their theatricality may have reflected the increasing skepticism about chivalric values that the seventeenth-century genre had inherited from its ancestor, the epic poem. Rather than by disaster, at least some of the features of seventeenth-century taste may well have appeared in connection with long-term epistemological developments. The detachment of poetical expression from the Renaissance rule of closely imitating nature or classic imitations of nature has been attributed to the failure of the proponents of any of the current philosophical systems to agree on the very possibility of comprehending reality.

Music, too, followed its own internal logic more closely than any clearly definable pattern imposed by external crises.[15] Early seventeenth-century experiments in the vocal solo with instrumental accompaniment, which came about through an effort to articulate the sentiments of poetical texts more accurately and effectively than current polyphonic madrigal technique, developed, in the hands of Claudio Monteverdi, into one of the most typical compositions of the century. Drawing upon this, as well as upon the interpretation, by Jacopo Peri and Giulio Caccini in Florence around 1600, of what was thought to be the ancient classical style of sung drama, opera was born. And in the work of Cavalli and others, provided with public facilities for staging productions and with stage designers like Giacomo Torelli and the Bibiena, the new genre became the fashion of the age.

The efforts of those interested in fields now regarded as scientific seemed to be determined solely by increasing divergence from the Galilean tradition. Donato Rossetti combined the Galilean approach with vitalism, and Borelli combined it with atomism, in spite of Galileo's reluctance to accept either of these views.[16] "Galileans" Giambattista Hodierna and Pietro Mengoli adopted a scientific procedure that took as scientific axioms biblical propositions that Galileo believed ought to be submitted to empirical proof. Differences between the Italian scientists became even more apparent with the increasing influence in Italy of the German chemical tradition and Paracelsianism. It had never been really absent, but the earliest Galileans had managed to keep it in the background by their insistence on limiting science to matter and motion. Later in the century, Elia Astorini and Sebastiano Bartoli, both reputedly up-to-date natural philosophers, extolled its benefits. The differences between the bearers of the Galilean tradition became most evident of all in the debate over Cartesianism. Malpighi insisted that it was impossible to accept "[René Descartes] founded his philosophy in a dark room, with his eyes

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closed, so as to see nothing but his own imagination," he remarked, "and he wrote it down exactly as he thought it out, without talking about it with the living or the dead." Nonetheless, Giuseppe Valletta and Leonardo Di Capua insisted on using a revised version of it as a working hypothesis for their own investigations.

Although culture seemed to be fairly well insulated from disaster, there was no escaping the impression that economic and political turmoil might make steady jobs in cultural fields more difficult to obtain. "Today . . . the harmony of the plectra and the elegance of the rhythms and the measure of the meter are decreasing sensibly everywhere," lamented Garuffi, ". . . because the muses no longer have shelter in the palaces of the great, so that the poets have gone back to hiding among the rugged crags of Parnassus." Those who managed to secure patronage were more afraid to lose it than ever before. "If I am now insignificant," observed naturalist Lorenzo Bellini, "I would otherwise become absolutely nothing . . . and cast about the earth without fixed abode, disesteemed, useless, powerless." Those who failed to obtain the patronage they sought were increasingly envious of those who did. "With leisure, spiritual serenity, and [in particular] the munificence of [Messinese nobleman] Giacomo Ruffo," said naturalist Giambattista Capucci about his more successful colleague, Borelli, "it is perfectly obvious that such a fertile man should give birth quickly to his ideas."[17]

Cultural figures who did not simply delve into professional practice in law and medicine often preferred university positions to any other sort of occasional patronage. There were disadvantages, it is true, in these possible careers. University teaching required those whose specialties lay in other fields to spend a good portion of their lives doing things they did not enjoy. Since the chairs of mathematics, philosophy, and humanities, through which literature and science had entered the university curriculum, were very few, those who desired university careers usually accepted one or another of the far more numerous chairs devoted to the purely practical aspects of law and medicine. The problem was fully recognized at the time. "[How] unhappy [are] Italian minds," noted Capucci, "condemned for life to the two galleys of law and medicine or else condemned to die of hunger." In spite of the disadvantages, there was no point in ignoring the advantages of a job whose incumbents were rarely dismissed except for flagrant negligence. Better yet, wage scales depended more frequently on strict rules of seniority than on the whims of government officials. Professors whose main interests were outside their areas of teaching easily switched to writing about exactly the same subjects that they were required to think about in their remunerative activities. It was no accident, indeed, that Italian scientific production shifted from physics and mathematics into medical fields.

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Those cultural figures who depended neither on direct patronage nor on private professional practice nor on the universities occasionally sought support, as did their counterparts in Spain, from a source that rarely lost value, always increased their esteem among their contemporaries and often imposed very few distractions: ecclesiastical benefices. Those who did so did not conform to any stereotype. They brought with them a wide variety of personal convictions and they established a wide variety of ecclesiastical connections. Not all of them responded directly to Rome, particularly in places, such as Venice, where the local church retained a considerable amount of independence. Even in the Papal State itself, local ecclesiastics lacked both a unified ideological viewpoint and the means to enforce one. The "reason of state" of the cardinal legates of the subject city of Bologna, for instance, was frequently at odds with the "reason of Church" of the local archbishop. What Marcantonio De Dominis lamented as the greatest defect of the Post-Tridentine Church—namely, that "it has become a secular assembly"—meant, at least to numerous sinecure abbots and archpriests, that the Church acted as a relatively unobtrusive source of funding for the arts and sciences. Even those who responded directly to Rome experienced a change away from the confusing pontificate of Galileo's persecutor, Urban VIII. With Benedetto Castelli, Raffaello Magiotti, Antonio Nardi and Michelangelo Ricci in Rome and Malpighi in Bologna, the Papal State enjoyed the presence of top representatives of the first and second generation of Galileans, so that a kind of scientific craze caught on by the last third of the century. And the first Italian scientific and literary periodical of them all, the Roman *Giornale de' letterati*, was promoted by Galileans and run part-time by Church officials—one of whom, Ricci, was a Galilean himself.[18]

While the cultural figures sought more harmless ways to overcome their economic obstacles, these very obstacles began to seem less serious within a few decades. Almost everywhere, in fact, recovery after the disasters gradually consolidated to ensure a continuing number of new entrants into cultural fields and a continuing market for culture.

The cities gradually returned to their pre-plague population levels. Florence gained three thousand inhabitants in just the two years between 1631 and 1633. Venice recovered almost twenty thousand inhabitants between 1633 and 1642. The long-term figures were even more impressive. Brescia increased by forty percent in twenty years, Bologna by thirty percent in thirty years; and in fifty-seven years, Milan's population doubled. The lesson of the first plague of the century served well during the second one in 1656, at least for some cities. The government in Rome, through preventive measures imposed by an active commission on health, managed to contain mortality. Even Naples, where government measures were distinguished only for their inefficiency, recovered, before the century was out, a third of the population it had lost in the plague. And one

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of the Italian cities became the great demographic success story of the time: Turin. With the Savoy government completing its territorial consolidation a hundred years after most of the other Italian states, opening new offices and improving social services, Turin acted as a powerful population magnet over the whole hinterland. Here, the population did not recover from the plague of 1630 by a third or a half as elsewhere, but exploded to no less than four hundred percent of its late sixteenth-century level. True, much of the new population here and in the other plague-stricken cities came from the immigration of laborers at the lowest end of the economic scale. This time, however, a Malthusian crisis did not follow. Since the birth rate in the countryside was usually higher than in the cities, a sufficient supply of field help, accompanied by experimentation with new crops but not by excessive expansion of the land devoted to the raising of livestock, guaranteed urban alimentation for the future.[19]

More importantly, the South of Italy reinforced its traditional role as a furnisher of agricultural products to the entire peninsula.[20] The competition of Transalpine grain producers motivated producers all over the South to direct their attention exclusively toward an Italian market. Moreover, the failure of industry to assert itself as a mainstay of the Southern economy ensured that investment continued in this sector. Industry in the kingdom of Naples managed to make enough adjustments by itself so that it regained the survival level it had maintained in the late sixteenth century. Paper and metal working weathered out the worst years mainly by the attrition of unemployed workers. Only shipbuilding actually increased. Other industries survived mainly by moving out of the cities. Textile manufacturing was somewhat successful where country households produced low-quality cloths for domestic consumption. All of these industries, however, took second place to the emergence of the kingdom as one of the great olive oil centers of the world, which occurred at the expense of textile firms producing the same goods that the Transalpine shippers desired to exchange for oil. Even more important than oil in the Southern economy were foodstuffs. In Sicily, the crisis of the textile trades, combined with increasing population growth, guaranteed the availability of cheap labor in the fields and encouraged the aristocracy to invest in the latest hedge against recession: the organization of new towns around single cereal products for export. In spite of the disastrous results of single-crop cultivation in every bad harvest, a problem that was not confronted until late in the century with experiments in the designation of more land tracts for livestock rearing, the relatively close availability of abundant food supplies turned the famine of the 1630s and 1640s in most places in Italy into the last ones until the eighteenth century.

With freedom from famine secured, entrepreneurs in the traditional industrial centers of the North devoted their attention exclusively to

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avoiding, by economic fine-tuning, the collapse that Transalpine industrial competition seemed to presage. In Venice, for example, textiles and shipping declined while less risky occupations that provided goods and services for the immediate urban market prospered. Financial operations replaced commercial ones. At the same time, industry in the Venetian countryside continued to show signs of improvement. The government encouraged some industries directly related to provincial raw materials, such as copper and lead mining; and the Brescian iron mines became the center for a flourishing industry in firearms. Further South and throughout the Po valley, former urban industries such as silk manufacturing flourished because of the proximity of natural resources, cheap space for large buildings, and the absence of guild regulations. In Tuscany, investments in foreign trade were replaced by investments in local trade and in land, although here silk manufacturing developed mainly in the administrative center instead of in the countryside and so was less successful. In Milan, provincial entrepreneurs helped make up for declining urban markets by successful experimentation in such new fields as paper, wire, and felt hats, and such old ones as cheap cotton clothing. In Genoa, some entrepreneurs took advantage of the recovery by shifting investments out of the Spanish government and into the increasingly attractive and secure public debts of the other North Italian states. And even though this meant neglecting the silk and shipping industries, which foreign competition had made unprofitable anyway, the accumulation of profits from new investments produced a boom in the construction industry that created the first significant new employment since the crisis. Here the countryside provided the setting for a paper industry that rivalled all the others in Italy. Even in the Savoy state, not usually included among the industrial areas, improvements in construction toward the end of the seventeenth century may have pointed to a general expansion in the economy.

The post-plague economic resurgence did not benefit everyone; and indeed, the poor may have become much worse off.[21] During the course of the century, they came to be regarded with increasing hostility. All over the peninsula, the experience of plague reinforced suspicions about their connection with disease. Their involvement in revolts and rebellions provided constant reminders about their potential volatility. Already in the previous century, governments had begun to replace the haphazard charitable almsgiving of an earlier age with institutions to confront poverty as a social problem—caring for the sick or the orphaned or the "imperilled" and female as well as the purely indigent. Ideas about how to improve upon these policies in the seventeenth century, reflecting a somewhat harder attitude, ran from virtual quarantine in large hospitals, such as the ones set up in Rome and Genoa, to never realized plans for transportation to island communities.

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Even some groups who benefited from the economic resurgence did not gain accompanying improvements in social status. Levantine Jews, who had been trading in Venice since the middle ages, still had to pay periodically for permission to reside.[22] Others more recently arrived from the West (Ponentine) or from the North (Tedeschi) continued to suffer from the inconveniences of most recently-arrived foreigners in a deeply identity-conscious society where full citizenship usually depended on generations of residence, as well as from special rules on clothing and trade. The movement to confine them in particular locations, now called ghettoes after the location (near a foundry) of the most famous of all such areas in Venice, continued in the seventeenth century, and as soon as the papal government took over Ferrara and Urbino, it promptly set up ghettoes there. All over Italy, the Jews were blamed in one way or another for every economic disaster that occurred. In spite of these disabilities, the Jewish community in Venice, at least compared to those elsewhere in Italy, enjoyed the same sort of indulgence accorded to North European communities by the Holy Roman Emperor because of economic benefits to the city. It remained prosperous enough to have the Ponentine and Levantine synagogues restored and beautified by Longhena and his school. And the ties between Jewish and Christian culture continued to be developed in the work of Leone Modena, famous alike for preaching and for prosody in both Christian and Jewish circles, and in that of Simone Luzzatto, whose erudition in Christian traditions equalled his erudition in Jewish ones.

The situation of women changed at a snail's pace.[23] Girls continued to be regarded as a danger to families because of the possibility of family dishonor before matrimony and of family loss of property to grooms' relatives afterwards. In only a few places, such as rural Naples, was family property sometimes passed down through the female line. Elaborate stratagems were occasionally devised to allay the costs of dowries by having daughters marry into families that could provide marriageable daughters in exchange. At least among the wealthy, women's confinement in nunneries became more widespread as the economic crisis brought about more incisive efforts to preserve wealth by restricting marriages. Widowhood and religious asceticism held out the only opportunities for some women to gain a measure of independence or distinction. However, a few advances were worthy of note. In Tuscany laws were passed to give women more freedom to decide what to do with their dowries. Girls' elementary education advanced through the efforts of the Piarist and Ursuline orders. And more women began to play first-person roles in cultural endeavor. Standard diatribes against women were now countered not just by men like Cristoforo Bronzini, whose landmark two-volume work was intended as a definitive reply, but also by Lucrezia Marinelli, and, with notable feminist verve, by Arcangela Tarabotti (see the selection

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below). Roman painter Artemisia Gentileschi (1593-1652) went far beyond her predecessors Lavinia Fontana and Sofonisba Anguissola in turning the female heroes she depicted into feminist heroes. And Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, at the University of Padua, became the first woman laureate in the world.

Other groups enjoyed improvements in status otherwise denied to them by birth. To the most fabulously wealthy new families, the door to nobility was opened a crack at least somewhere on the peninsula. In Venice, they could buy membership in the nobility outright during the ongoing War of Cyprus. At all times, Venetian "citizen" families—in other words, those which had been around the longest—could practically advance into the patriciate if they had enough money to attract patrician spouses for their daughters; their grandsons accordingly entered the Great Council and obtained the right to active political participation denied to non-nobles. In Naples, the purchase of important offices like the secretaryship of the Collateral Council could lead to nobility; and entrance into the aristocracies of provincial towns was relatively easy. Even in Genoa, one of the most immobile societies on the peninsula, membership in the patriciate was occasionally made available to those who could pay. True, the privileges of wealth were so significant in themselves that in places like Venice, where nobility happened to be particularly expensive, there seemed little point in actually going through with the ceremony. Thus, in such places new ennoblement never contributed much to replenish the diminishing numbers of established nobles about which observers continuously complained. Where nobility was cheaper, such as in the Este and Papal states, it was regarded as a good investment for obtaining fiscal privileges and control of the agricultural market, and ennoblement in these places picked up considerably by the end of the century.[24]

At least at the theoretical level, merchants acquired some new prestige from their role in the economic resurgence. In spite of the insistence of a few theorists on the strict distinctions between noble and ignoble behavior drawn in the previous century by Baldassare Castiglione, and in spite of the tendency of wealthy nobles and non-nobles alike to shelter their gains by investment in land and agriculture, commerce had never really fallen into disrepute. In most Italian states, the nobles, a mixture of office-holders in the dominant cities and office-holders in the subject cities, continued the economic *ethos* of the Renaissance merchant bankers. In Florence they continued to invest in wool and silk manufacturing whenever it promised good profits. In Genoa, they kept foreign governments indebted to their banking operations. In Siena, they engaged in the commerce and manufacture of wool and silk, in banking and finance, in all kinds of wholesale trade, and in the administration of agriculture or sheep-herding; and these constituted almost all the major lucrative economic activities then available. Even in the Kingdom of

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Naples, where the landed nobility more closely resembled that of Transalpine Europe than anywhere else in Italy, they rounded out rent income with heavy involvement in sugar dealing, grain exporting and silk manufacturing. In the late seventeenth century, a new movement got under way to demonstrate that tradesmen, too, by their very connection with the kinds of activities sometimes regarded as ignoble, were anyone's equal. They deserved respect, insisted Ovidio Montalbani, professor at the University of Bologna (in a selection translated below), because of the nobility they derived from the act of creation, so near to divinity. Anyone could see, echoed Venetian merchant Antonio Zambelli, that "by means [of the tradesmen] cities, armies and entire states are provided with commodities, munitions and money." Indeed, he continued, there was no higher value than action, the heart of commerce, which had been a main component of the concept of nobility since Leon Battista Alberti had introduced it back in the Quattrocento. "Speculative knowledge may be much more noble than practical science," he admitted. "But it seems to me that practical knowledge exceeds in utility and praise the theoretical, since virtue consists in action."[25]

The liberal professions made some advances. Doctors capitalized on the emergence of the new mystique of experimental science and the discovery of new pharmaceuticals. They were given at least some credit for what were perceived to be modestly successful measures against the plague. Lawyers made gains in status by their role in the legal measures accompanying the recovery of commerce; and in many instances they actually controlled applications for nobility and monopolized government jobs. Neapolitan lawyer Francesco D'Andrea drew the obvious conclusion. "[Those who are from] private families," he counselled, "[can] improve their mediocre fortune ... subtract themselves from the oppressions of those more powerful ... [and become] equally wealthy and esteemed." That was why so few of his fellow-lawyers bothered to emulate colleague Andrea Giuseppe Gizzio, who invented a fabulous genealogy to confer on himself the status that birth had denied, managing in the end to hoodwink the Austrian emperor into giving him a real title.[26]

These enhancements of the social position of doctors and lawyers may have contributed to the stabilization of university enrollments by local students in the second half of the century in spite of the increasing number of Transalpine students who decided to stay home and take advantage of newly opened or newly strengthened universities in their own countries. Even the University of Pisa managed to keep an equal number of Tuscans in spite of the aristocratization of government jobs in the capital city of Florence. And great universities like Padua managed to absorb enough Italians to surpass pre-plague enrollment figures reached by Italian and Transalpine students combined. It was this success, indeed, that convinced

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the duke of Modena that the 1680s was a propitious time to put an entirely new university on the map.[27]

For those unable to achieve esteem through wealth, titles, and professions, literacy was at least the doorway to status. To be sure, it was not sufficient in itself. In one of the most literate societies in urban Europe, anyone could benefit from the continuation of the Renaissance system of basic literacy education, administered by both state and church. In fact, some instructors were in such demand that communities called for higher stipends on their behalf, as did the tiny town of Cascine from the government in Pisa in 1655, "considering the continuous profit that the scholars draw from it." Such education was supplemented, for at least some students, if not by a university degree, at least by the grammar schools of the religious orders. Among these, the Jesuits were the most prestigious; whereas the Piarists specialized in teaching the poor and agreed to accompany students home in some instances to help them withstand the jeers of their contemporaries.[28] In this literate society, moreover, reading was necessary for everyday existence. Readers could seek information about new political developments via newspapers and political pamphlets. In their businesses, they occasionally looked up what they did not know in manuals—like Antonio Neri's for glassmakers, Cintio D'Amato's for barbers, and, for practically everyone else, Timoteo Rosselli's *Secrets* about everything from snakebite cures to leather dyes. They stayed abreast of changes in commercial legislation by the long government documents that were posted and distributed for the widest dissemination and reduced by printers to handy pocket size for quick consultation. They stayed up to date on important celestial events and their nautical or astrological significance by perusing the many almanacs and tide tables, sometimes in the dialect they knew best, such as a pseudonymous Parmese *Discurs d'astrulzie* for "anyone who is courteous enough to pay the money." They found out how to protect their families from contagion by special manuals that claimed to deliver what would permit "everyone [to] be consoled by the resplendent light of his own health." Finally, they expressed their religious convictions by reading spiritually uplifting works such as lives of saints and, most popular of all religious works in the seventeenth century, Paolo Segneri's *Praises*.[29]

Status won by education, by profession, by commerce, or by birth had to be accompanied by material ornaments representing a cultural ideal—ornaments such as a collection, however small, of carefully preserved books. A few late seventeenth-century examples from in and around Venice will suffice. According to the painstaking inventory taken after his death, merchant Bortolo Zambelli still had his copy of Antonio Guevara's *Marcus Aurelius;* and since his schoolboy days he had managed to accumulate a collection of opera librettos and a history of China. Some of his contemporaries obviously made considerable sacrifices to keep up

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appearances. Shopkeeper Giambattista Tavernire left "thirty-four books" carefully distinguished as being "for reading" even though his furniture was "in hock to the Jews in Ceneda." Giovanni Bavella, owner of three merchant ships, had fifty-seven books carefully listed, in every subject from trade manuals to religious works to Enrico Caterino Davila's *History of the Civil War in France*. Sebastiano Moretti, respected Prior of the Merchants' guild, listed only the most important things—an entire collection of already precious sixteenth-century Venetian imprints. And a particularly flagrant case of ready-made culture was that of pharmacist Giacomo Robbacini, who acquired at a stroke the entire library of dilettante Bernardin Calcaneis, including over four hundred volumes.[30]

Modest collections of paintings were exhibited by everyone who could. Camillo Piccoli, a major in the Venetian army, showed off portraits of poet Carlo Maria Maggi and others, as well as a panorama of the city of Castel Nuovo. Bortolo Gastaldi, pharmacist, left to his wife Lucrezia no less than twenty-nine paintings, including a fine portrait of Christ done in leather and a Byzantine-style Madonna. Merchant Gasparo Chechel possessed a Breughel, judged by the notary, however, to be a fake. Lawyer Giacomo Pighetti specialized in Dutch portraiture and paintings of the great sixteenth-century Venetian masters. Both of them had portraits of their families done so their physiognomies would be remembered along with their efforts to establish their dynasties. And neither of them could compete with merchant Bartolomeo della Nave, whose collection of Venetian art rivalled the patrician collections and was admired by none other than art connoisseur Giambattista Marino.[31]

And finally, the most obvious ornament of culture and affluence was the purchase of seats in the new public opera theaters, opened first in Venice in 1637.[32] Nightly seats on the benches in the stalls could be purchased relatively cheaply. Season tickets to the boxes could be purchased for various rates according to location and prestige. Best of all, however, were lifetime boxes. They could be bought outright, and were often sold as shares in the construction of the theater. They were then resold and exchanged almost like currency and as payment for debts; and in 1680s Venice, that was how they came into the hands of the likes of Antonio Abbati, nail merchant, the Caregio brothers, cloth merchants, Michele Ombroni, haberdasher, Vincenzo Furi, grocer, and Francesco Beltrame, tailor. As the opera turned into the main place in Venice to show off, the price of seats was bid up so high that the construction of new theaters became one of the most lucrative items in the portfolios of the wealthiest investors.

If any social and economic cause had a direct effect on culture itself, it was the wider market for cultural artifacts. Tracing this effect, however, is no easy task. "The fact on the one hand that society influences art, and on the other that art influences society," says art sociologist Arnold Hauser,

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"does not mean that a change in one corresponds to a change in the other. Art and society exist as two discrete, though not necessarily isolated realities side by side with each other."[33] We should be careful, then, of jumping to the conclusion that the disappearance of the obviously collegial many-voiced madrigal signalled the dissolution of civil society or that operas about kings reflected the tightening grip of absolutism. However, a few generalizations are possible. Opera librettists no doubt sought to achieve greater levels of audience appreciation as the genre became more popular; and to this change may be traced the unrealistic flights of fancy and interminable arias that were continuously denounced by purists toward the end of the century. Actual themes may well have been affected, too. At the turn of the eighteenth century, for instance, social climbing among the common people became a potent comic theme in work by Reggio-born writer Pietro Pariati.[34]

Among the most striking effects of increased interest in the accoutrements of culture was the growing diffusion of what might for want of a better term be called self-education literature. Said Nicolò Serpetro, author of one of the most famous examples, "Consider what is necessary, convenient, or memorable for conversation, and it is clear that whoever has experienced the marvels of nature, learned the virtues of the plants and metals, known the nature of the animals, and looked minutely at the anatomy of man will be able to speak with more grace and enjoyment."[35] According to him, knowledge was a basic part of social techniques. By the end of the century, the proliferation of such works was counted as one of the wonders of the age. "Today in the world of letters" noted rhetorician Camillo Ettore, "there are so many handbooks, so many 'shops' [a reference to the title of Serpetro's book] so many theaters of human life, and so many collections of ceremonies, of facts, and of sayings, that anyone can quickly prepare himself for any occasion." And at the dawn of the eighteenth century, Giuseppe Malatesta Garuffi explicitly addressed his *Satisfaction of the Minds of the Learned* [*Il genio dei letterati appagato*] to "whoever, being rather uncultivated, [desires] to throw off [his] own rusticity."

All of the economic changes, subtle and gradual though they were, released some of the pressure put by crisis on urban resources that could be redirected toward cultural enterprises. Even in hard-pressed post-plague Naples, cultural enterprises enjoyed a remarkable rebirth.[36] And finally, in the 1680s, conditions seemed propitious for turning attention to cultural change on a larger scale.

Political conditions, moreover, seemed to guarantee the states of Italy a moment of respite from involvement in European wars. After the Peace of the Pyrenees and its Italian prelude, the peace between the duke of Modena and the king of Spain in 1658, the storm's eye seemed to have turned once again northward. The campaigns of Europe's rising star Louis

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XIV after the Peace of Nimwegen in 1678 seemed to have nothing to do with Italy, so Italian observers allowed themselves to admire him from afar. Complaints about Spanish outrages by Traiano Boccalini in the early seventeenth century were echoed later on by Girolamo Brusoni; and the Neapolitan barons and the Sicilian ones declared their readiness to switch sides from Spain to France and back again at every opportunity. But almost everyone else believed that the long-term advantages of the current political system far outweighed the disadvantages. The views of Pier Giovanni Capriata (on whom, see the selection below) were typical. The Italian princes did well, he explained, to put up with the Spanish who "possessed the better part of Italy," rather than to "provoke against themselves those arms and forces in the desire for more absolute liberty." Indeed, peace would actually be promoted by the fear that "as in earlier times, the disagreements between [Italians] . . . which had given rise to the greatness of Spain, would thus in the future aid in the further progress [of Spain into Italy]." And future wars seemed unlikely to hold any surprises, as Venetian dilettante Alberto Lazari predicted while assembling a three-volume compendium of all the possible causes of war and their results, from the descent of Charles VIII into Italy in 1494 to 1673.[37]

With political unity closed off because of the advantages of the present political system, the Italian states seemed likely to benefit from whatever they had in common only by uniting the various cultural experiences all over the peninsula. This, in fact, was the program poet Giovan Mario Crescimbeni and jurist-poet Gian Vincenzo Gravina, in Rome in 1690, expressed in the time-honored form of a new academy: the Accademia degli Arcadi.[38] Like Federico Cesi, who had attempted to establish a national academy in the early part of the century, they called for opening branches in every major city on the peninsula—and the minor ones as well. Unlike Cesi, however, they kept their program deliberately vague, in order to incorporate Italy's rich cultural patrimony in its entirety—from aesthetics to spirituality to political and social thought to historiography to natural science and philosophy. Furthermore, unlike Cesi, they promised to admit as members anyone with even an amateur's interest in cultivating those fields. Only in this way, they insisted, could the arts and sciences acquire the infusion of new enthusiasts promised by the economic and social changes then taking place. Before the century was out, the academy already had branches all over Tuscany, the kingdom of Naples and the Papal State, and in thirty years it covered no less than 220 places from Turin to Palermo. A national regeneration seemed about to begin. "If . . . truly extraordinary minds . . . [came] to light," exclaimed Benedetto Menzini, in a selection included below, "then the world would owe to Arcadia what the Heavens owe to the new discoverers of its stars."

Not everyone shared in the general euphoria that surrounded the academy's endeavors. Giambattista Vico, one of the most original thinkers

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of the time, believed culture was afflicted by problems far more serious than organizational disunity.[39] And in this, Italian culture was not alone. All over Europe, the seventeenth-century obsession with observational science had dealt a serious blow to rational inquiry. The diffusion of Cartesianism had discredited metaphysics, the spirit and inspiration of all knowledge, and encouraged useless speculation in physics. The arts were not immune to the general decay; and Vico singled out Baroque poetry for particular vilification. To all these problems he had no definite answers. Instead, he proposed a radical reconstituting and new method of investigation in the only fields where useful and valid conclusions could effectively be drawn—namely, the human sciences.

Meanwhile, the Arcadians' hopes for a cultural resurgence foundered on newly emerging political contingencies. The Spanish Succession War destroyed the illusion of peace and security, repeating the North European incursions that had troubled Italy at the beginning of the seventeenth century. But this time, Spanish power was actually destroyed, and the Austrian monarchy, unfamiliar and deeply suspected, took over in the North and South. And a new generation of cultural figures responded. Their notion of national regeneration as a hedge against political and economic disaster began to take precedence over the more modest plans of the Accademia degli Arcadi. Their ideas laid the groundwork for the next pan-Italian movement, the Italian Enlightenment. So the seventeenth-century world gave way to that of the eighteenth century.

By the end of this book, the reader should have some idea of how all this came about. While exploring the five areas of endeavor chosen for scrutiny, it provides a narrative of the main events of the whole seventeenth century. It starts out with the euphoria of the beginning of the century, when intellectuals thought the Renaissance had finally set art and culture on a trend toward ever greater improvement (Cesi). The victory of the Venetian government over the Roman Church in the Interdict Controversy seemed to confirm the continuing validity of Renaissance political science (Sarpi). The bubble burst in 1620-1630, when the plague decimated the populations of the Northern cities and brought economic progress to a halt. In the midst of the Italian episodes of the Thirty-Years' War and the revolts of the following decades (Giraffi), Italians managed to put their states' economies back together. They placed a new emphasis on trade and industry (Malvezzi, Montalbani). At the same time, they continued, in an ever-greater variety of forms, the cultural accomplishments of previous centuries (Agucchi, Bellori, Filippo Baldinucci, Marino, Guarini, Ivanovich). In the climate of the Spanish Succession War of the early eighteenth century, however, those who had benefited from the post-plague and post-crisis revitalization turned their backs on the seventeenth century and began to prefer abolition of

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traditions to reformation of them (Muratori), helping to form the black legend of the seventeenth century that has persisted to our day.

The immobile structures of the period emerge both from above and from below. From above, they emerge in the various attempts of the authorities to regulate political and religious belief (Degli Albizzi), to establish legitimacy (Boccalini) and to oppress by force of arms (Capriata). From below they emerge in the numerous autobiographical testimonies here of everyday experiences by the populations. Paluzzi explains the situation of rural women whose options were limited by lack of education; Tarabotti examines the limitations on well-to-do women. Giovanni Baldinucci exposes the precariousness of life amid the unsanitary conditions of a crowded city. Leti elucidates the concept of civic identity and the obstacles to civic unity among the various cultures of Italy. Luzzatto analyzes the situation of the Jews as a marginal group not enjoying the benefits of civic participation, and he explores the phenomenon of gentrification among Italian merchants.

None of this means to imply that the historiographical debate about these texts has finally ended. Indeed, a main criterion for their selection has been their importance in current controversies. An example is Sarpi's *Thoughts*. According to one recent scholar, this work is so far advanced along paths that were later to bring about the destruction of traditional ideas that it calls for predating the Italian Enlightenment by a hundred years. According to others, it reflects the continuing dynamism of Renaissance humanism. Another example is Galileo Galilei's *The Assayer*. According to some scholarship, this work is a well-concealed attack on current notions of the Eucharist. Other scholarship views it as a rhetorical tour de force for heliocentrism. Accetto's *Honest Dissimulation* has been seen as a demonstration of the retreat of cultural figures from the practical implications of what they did; more recently it has been seen as a major contribution to modern political thought. Giraffi's account of the Masaniello revolt has been seen as a mere fable; other scholarship says its layers of interpretation can be peeled away to reveal the meanings of the event. Lorenzo Magalotti's *Letters against Atheism*, finally, have been seen by some as a deliberately weak argument for the existence of God in order to provide more ammunition for the atheists; others have viewed it as a powerful plea for the use of human reason in theological matters to reinforce faith. The reader does not have to delve into all these on-going debates among the specialists in order to appreciate the many works brought together under these covers.[40]

No single book, of course, could offer everything that is interesting and important about Baroque Italy; and the reader may find added enjoyment in the works mentioned in the introductions and notes, as well as in the currently available translations of Galileo's major works (Stillman Drake), Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun* (Daniel J. Donno), Torquato

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Tasso's *Dialogues* (Carnes Lord and Dain A. Trafton), Giambattista Della Porta's *The Two Rival Brothers* (Louise George Clubb), Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *The Impresario* (Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella), Leone Modena's *Autobiography* (Mark R. Cohen) as well as Giambattista Vico's *On the Study Methods of Our Time* (Elio Gianturco)—not to mention the out-of-print translations of Malpighi's work on chicken eggs (Howard B. Adelmann), the Accademia del Cimento's *Essays on Natural Experiments*, (William E. K. Middleton), Marino's *Adonis* (Wilfred Priest), short novels by Bisaccioni and Brusoni (Thomas Roscoe); artists' biographies by Carlo Cesare Malvasia and Giovanni Pietro Bellori (Catherine and Robert Enggass), and Giovanni Botero's *Reason of State* (Stanley K. Jacki). The ideal reading list on our topic would include all of these.

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1
Science and Philosophy

There was more to seventeenth century science than the great discoveries in astronomy, physiology and physics that are now so well recognized. For one thing, in spite of the apparent "modernity" of the period, the moral and physical worlds were still viewed in close connection, with metaphysics serving as a mediator between both—i.e., between what we might call philosophy and science. The microcosm-macrocosm analogy remained a powerful tool for explaining how man and society were affected by the natural environment. In the previous century, what made this question investigable was a more or less common method of observation of both worlds, enhanced by rational thinking and speculation and anchored to respected, although by no means passively accepted, ancient models. Paolo Sarpi's *Thoughts* (in the selection below) exemplify this. However, finding a unified system capable of replacing increasingly discredited Aristotelianism and its scholastic offshoots for understanding all reality was no easy task. Tommaso Campanella made an attempt by his theory of a universal life force (in the selection below), showing natural and moral philosophy in collaboration with metaphysics. Meanwhile, new developments in the fields we now call scientific, which at the time were loosely grouped under the rubrics "natural philosophy and "natural history," the ancestors to modern fields like biology, botany, geology, metallurgy, physics, chemistry, and the like, as well as in medicine and mathematics, led to increasingly specialized methods for studying the natural world. Investigators began to rely more and more on observation, and their efforts were paralleled by similar trends in moral philosophy (in the emulators of Machiavelli and Guicciardini). They began to retreat from the kind of rationalist speculation that continued to go on in metaphysics. And when they observed nature under pressure in a controlled environment they gave this approach the name of "experiment." Galileo Galilei exemplified these changes. Rather than to metaphysics, he turned to mathematics as a model for the kind of knowledge he wanted to gain, and this he used as a method for organizing and understanding his observations and experiments.

The emergence of new common methods in scientific fields and the high cost of applying them to new problems suggested the possibility of organized collaboration. Programs for institutional reform ranged from the

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never fully realized Utopian ideas of Federico Cesi and the Roman Accademia dei Lincei to the more successful efforts of the Accademia del Cimento in Florence and the Investiganti in Naples. Meanwhile, Francesco Redi extended the new methods to fields like botany and entomology; and Geminiano Montanari extended them to hydraulics. To be sure, science was not all purely Galilean. The Montanari selection demonstrates how a few later scientists threw aside Galileo's caution about matter theory and thoroughly endorsed the corpuscularism currently in vogue among the followers of René Descartes. In fact, this selection on the viscosity of fluids gives a foretaste of Francis Haukesbee's Newtonian explanation for the behavior of water in glass containers. The selection from the Roman scientific journal in the section on Spirituality illustrates Curial support for the new particle physics, in spite of its supposed incompatibility with orthodox theological teachings. Leonardo Di Capua summarizes the discoveries of the century, attempting to make a case for a particular Italian approach to chemistry, medicine and public health, and outlining its prospects for the future.

1. Federico Cesi, *Free Inquiry and the Accademia dei Lincei*

By the early seventeenth century the battle between the supporters and the opponents of the authority of the classical authors in the study of nature—Aristotle, Plato, Ptolemy, Pliny and the rest—had become more intense than ever. However, practical considerations began to get in the way of the intellectual issues involved.[1] The breakdown of geographical barriers helped spread knowledge about scientific innovations to so many practitioners all over Europe that even the experts had difficulty keeping up to date. Containing major scientific events among a small circle no longer seemed possible. And while printers preferred to print books of devotion, pedagogy and entertainment rather than less lucrative scholarly ones, the number of books necessary to consult rapidly began to pass the financial capabilities of most individuals, and universities usually did not provide enough of these or any other sorts of research facilities.

In an elegant palace in Rome in 1603, four friends met to propose a solution to these problems worthy of the sixteenth-century founders of the Accademia della Crusca and the Accademia Fiorentina: they founded an academy dedicated to their favorite pastimes. Noblemen Federico Cesi, Francesco Stelluti and Anastasio De Filiis and physician Johannes van Heeck adopted the motto "wiser than this," referring to the sharp-eyed lynx (*lince*) on the emblem representing their new group. They proposed to bring together all the experts in mathematics and natural philosophy and get them to collaborate and communicate their findings to the general

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public. Patronage would provide financing for joint publication projects, a library and a botanical garden in Rome for use by the whole academy. All would live together in intense mutual instruction as "captains and ... soldiers in [the] philosophical army."[2] In a significant break with their predecessors, whose academies were limited to single cities, they promised to set up subsidiaries all over Italy, with rigid entrance requirements and bound by the Roman center's statutes. And Cesi, elected Prince of the new Accademia dei Lincei, dedicated himself to the enterprise with a fervor that so perplexed his powerful relatives that they managed to hold things up for several years. Finally in 1610, the twenty-five-year-old Cesi achieved independence and inherited one of the most considerable fortunes in Rome, giving him the financial means to underwrite the project himself. And by 1613, he had gained the support not only of Giambattista Della Porta, one of the most innovative philosophers in Naples, but of Galileo Galilei in Florence. By the time Cesi died in 1630, however, the academy had evolved chiefly into a lively correspondence society between its thirty-some members around Italy and abroad, and the original plan remained a Utopian dream. War, pestilence and economic crisis may have had something to do with the academy's demise, but the main cause was the disappearance of Cesi, the academy's heart and soul. Penned in 1616, the following text, reminiscent of Francis Bacon's nearly contemporary *The Advancement of Learning*, unites the academy's principal themes.

Everyone is born with an innate desire for knowledge. This desire finds nourishment in the nobility and dignity of its objects; it is encouraged by the delight it brings; it is increased by the usefulness and by the absolute perfection it imparts to every degree, condition and occupation among men. In fact, knowledge is very well known to be proper to mankind among all the living creatures and to be the purpose for his ability to reason, which ability indeed has no other use. And there is no more sublime operation than that of the intellect. Why, then, among so many vast numbers, are they so few and so rare who arrive not just at the perfection of knowledge and at the complete fulfillment of this innate quality, but even those who manage to satisfy some tiny particle of it and to obtain just some single particular knowledge or science? . . .[3] Everyone hears that the acquisition of the sciences is a very laborious undertaking, and prefers admiring to imitating the virtuoso. . . .[4] The sweetness and usefulness of knowledge are regarded from afar, separated from us by the bitterness of the long labor in between. The pleasure and convenience of quiet indolence, so present and immediate, can and indeed must be attained without any effort at all. To this, the attractions are continuous, whereas to the other, the impulses and provocations come rarely; to this, the pull comes from our bodies, and to that, from our minds. Small wonder

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that the more delicate and noble object is easily supplanted by what for the most part has greater and deeper roots. The body, which ought to obey, Oh! how much does it try to rule! By a continuous siege it comes gradually in possession of the power of the submissive mind! The mind then flees every effort and the good inclination is replaced by the pleasure of idleness, coddled by the allurements of luxury and the company of vain pleasures strong enough not only to impede the inclination to study given to us by nature but also to deviate and deflect those already fervidly engaged in it in the midst of their careers. . . .

Men are not distracted from their natural desire for knowledge just because of these purposes alone, which they pursue by every path and every means. They are alienated from it also by the ordinary occupations and affairs in which they are engaged either for themselves or for their friends and relatives, which employ them and keep them so busy that they are entirely wrapped up in and plunged into actions of every other sort. . . . True, many are born with a natural temperament of complexion[5] or with a particular disposition of bodily instruments that make them lukewarm to this quality or less apt to develop it. This is a defect of nature, but it is also sometimes a lack of will, because they could try to overcome that deficiency. . . .

To these difficulties depending partly or entirely on us, let me add others arising from the conditions of doctrine itself and its modes, and we will seem to be partially excused for the small number of the learned. The great difficulty of acquiring the sciences, just as every other great and praiseworthy enterprise, is unfortunately obvious and well known. The difficulty comes from effort, time and assiduity requiring the dedication of the entire man, and from the nature and needs of our lives that very often get in the way. The learned need nine guides, according to Ficino:[6] three of them celestial—Mercury, Phoebus and Venus; three from our souls—a stable and ardent will, acuity of mind, tenacious memory; and three from our surroundings—a prudent father, a good maestro, and a good physician. Most people lack all of these and many lack most. The only one of them that depends entirely on us is will; and in this, by the errors above, we are usually deficient.

Study requires teachers to teach us by voice and books to make subjects clearer to us and communicate to us the thoughts and efforts of others. The former transmit things to our understanding by many techniques, words and signs; the latter make us hear the doctrine of past teachers and surround us constantly with the conversation of the most eminent among the learned. All this is not enough. To add something of our own, we must read this great, true and universal book of the world. We must visit its various parts and use observation and experiment to form the basis for an acute and profound contemplation[7]— the first representing to us things as they are and as they vary by themselves, and the second

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representing to us things as we can alter and vary them ourselves. How many parts of the world we must see and how many difficulties we must encounter in our wanderings and visits into certain places at certain times anyone can imagine, without being too terrified by the death of Pliny.[8] And to increase the progress of studies, and especially, to make them yield benefits to others, which every good philosopher ought to try to do, the aid of companions, secretaries, writers, and presses and the like will be necessary. . . .

Do not believe that all the elders, the fathers and the uncles responsible for the careers of youth think to apply them to the virtues. Old and prudent, they may be; but many cannot, many will not, and many make an effort not to do so. Many who are ignorant do not want their heirs to know more than they do; and many who are learned do not want them to be their peers. Yet anyone with any virtue ought to know the value of it in their progeny and try all the more to make them imitators of themselves; and those who do not have it, hating their own deficiency, ought to make sure that it does not lack in their successors. Nonetheless, affected by the worst inclinations, they either do not want to provide them with the necessary things, or else they indulge youthful inclinations excessively and refrain from bringing a sweet and useful violence to bear in drawing them away from vice and employing them in virtue. . . .

But let us now consider how many are excluded from the perfection of knowledge because they do not use the means available or possess aids necessary for this. Strict regularity and a good method are as essential to learning as strong and secure foundations are to a large building. Nonetheless, they cannot be obtained easily and always, because the abuses and the different ideas or caprices of the teachers and the customs of the places in question vary according to chance; some approve one path, some another. In school, the course seems fast and easy; yet we are more likely to trip up, fall down and take a tumble than to proceed ahead. Frequent impediments are imposed by noise, chatter, buffoonery, and the reefs of bad and vicious company and distractions. And Oh how distorted, obscure, convoluted and distant from the desired end does the ordinary course of the teacher's lessons usually become! Good counsel and exhortation, conferences and amicable discussions of thoughts and arguments, which refresh and improve understanding, Oh how rare, how disordered and casual they are! Among such a great forest of writers of such different sorts and inclinations, who will tell us which are worth consulting for their relevance to our studies, thoughts and labors? How is it possible to read them all and memorize them? What can be learned from disputations whose only profit is what goes to the musicians, the organizers of festivities, and the printers? Who does not see that these are discussions in which the truth is lost instead of found, as the ancient poet said,[9] in which the only thing proven is a ready tongue and a biting wit,

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and in which, after a good show and the spending of thousands of conclusions, nothing is really concluded at the end? A pure and sincere intellect free from any passion and affection and able to grasp the desired truth by itself is as alien today from most of the learned and their students as it ought to be intrinsic to them. The authority of this or that ancient is used, this or that sect is sustained. But just learning the things philosophized by others and enjoying the fruits of someone else's intellect, while allowing our own to repose in idle sterility, we are reduced to doctrine-lovers instead of knowledge-lovers; and there is no wonder that someone seeing us posit a nullity called "privation"[10] as the principle of all existing bodies should ridicule us by the title of "Privatetics,"[11] truly deprived of science.

This passionate attachment to authorities, expressly prohibited by Aristotle and yet now so exquisitely followed by the Aristotelians, not only impedes the necessary perusal of the book of the universe but of any book not coming from the favored sect or from the cherished teacher, reducing still more the possibility that we will listen to other thinkers and release our subjugated intellects. Thus we remain totally blocked in our acquisition of knowledge. . . .

How much damage we suffer and how far behind we are kept by overlooking and not knowing or being able to use the convenient study tools presented to us in our own century! The copiousness of the thoughts and writings available makes the field of knowledge truly large and wide; and no one should think to gain much profit or find what he needs by simply filling his mind with a vast store of undigested materials or else by reading and perusing everything, without aids and conveniences. There are indexes and very copious repertories, dictionaries, lexicons of all the professions; the best writers have been digested into catalogues of commonplaces. . . . There is the synoptic method and art itself, whose categories represent all the materials to us together and their relations, conjunctions, divisions, unions and conditions; and in our *Mirror of Reason*[12] we have attempted to place the whole before the eyes of the contemplator, so both the most vivid memory and the most acute mind can easily proceed together to invention and composition, attentively mastering all the things proposed. Few, however, seek these conveniences, and most study by feeble methods and with little order and fewer aids. Small wonder that of the few who study even fewer arrive at a notable degree of knowledge.

I believe everything proceeds to this point from the purpose of study, which for the most part is not knowledge but earnings, honors, favors and convenience; and when men cannot gain such rewards by continuous study and the true attainment of the sciences, they try to spoil these sciences by directing their studies to gaining at least some of these rewards, thus abusing reason, study and science all at once. Most scholars follow the

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professions more apt for this approach, that is, law and medicine, the latter for the daily fees collected from house to house, and the former for similar fruit from employments, honors and ministries with princes, attorneyships and procuratorships. . . .

Those who wish to pay particular attention to these sciences and studies in order to profess them will always be very few, especially those whose purposes are different from the others'; most propose either to gain a public chair with a stipend or a situation with some prince, thereby to obtain the said earnings and conveniences, so there is no wonder they do not acquire learning or that they too fail to fulfill the natural desire.

If they pretend to or possess a public professorship, they try to gain or maintain it by continuously inventing new arguments capable of conferring a great name and authority. They are more interested in what they appear to be than in what they actually are, and more interested in having the reputation of knowledge than in having knowledge itself. Such a reputation must come from those who do not know, and particularly, from the attendance and the applause of the listeners, which they therefore seek to acquire by giving pleasure and bringing forth high-sounding and sonorous doctrines, careless of whether the opinions are true as long as they are plausible, magisterial and authorized by the more common views of the ruling sect. The satisfaction of the students is then usually procured by an aura of benevolence and a relaxation of all academic authority, accompanying them to the games, cracking jokes, enjoying vain entertainments, and indeed, being received at amusing banquets and engaging in facetious conversations. The teachers turn from superior to inferior by stooping to meet students at their houses, bringing them to the lesson and then bringing them back, and similar practices and ceremonies more proper to a court than to study and as alien to the acquisition of knowledge as anyone can imagine.

A position with a prince is all courtiership. One seeks the grace of the patron and of the whole court by acquiring the name of learned through continuous artfulness, and instead of attaining the honorable position of philosopher one is in danger of being degraded into a vile parasite, buffoon or even adulator, as the case of Aristippus very well exemplifies.[13] To gain the admiration of those who usually know very little does not require much knowledge. All that are needed are a few timely sayings and appropriate pronouncements, a few florid discourses and discussions in the antechambers; and the more one is able to banter, joke, and speak evil of others, the more learned he is reputed to be and the further he rises. For these purposes he is more interested in furnishing himself with conceits than with science. He passes his time in retinues and compliments rather than in lucubrations and passes even more in combating the envy that he immediately incurs due to the grace and favor of the prince, and he must

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learn how to parry this and defend himself, so that in the end, he can scarcely do anything to satisfy his good inclination.

These therefore are the defects and the impediments that make the perfection of knowledge so rare among men although available to and naturally desired by all. They are truly many and great, but the dignity and utility of knowledge is so evident that the absence of any provision to remedy them is amazing and calls for diligent effort to provide one. Heroic and great enterprises need to be aided and abetted; and those who are most enthusiastic about such enterprises have not been remiss in procuring every means possible. Particularly in view of the small weak force of a single person alone and the powerful force of well-ordered unions and collaborations, they have formed and provided aid and counsel to well-regulated congregations and associations to overcome every difficulty and thereby attain their ends. Thus, we see the success even of small private armies, the defense of people and public affairs, and the good direction and excellence of particular arts and crafts, great and small, whose marvellous and admirable continuity and development we duly note. Considering the number of organizations and associations directed to other ends and purposes, we are amazed to find that the important matter at hand, which is indeed the only matter proper to man, has excited so little enthusiasm, remained so neglected, and been left subject to so many obstacles.

There is no denying that the public universities or academies and the colleges and seminaries have had this aim partly in mind, and so also the private academies; nonetheless, they have either failed to provide sufficiently for it or else no longer pursue the purposes intended by the founders and have succumbed to the current abuses and the more common purposes mentioned above. Because these assemblies do not aim at the perfection of doctrine and do not have the force of union necessary to such enterprise, all the teaching is imparted in a course and with lessons finishing in the doctorate, and the listeners and the teachers alike confess that only the first terms and rules are taught in the university rather than the way and method of studying and reading books; and in this fashion they excuse the noisy applause and the bells and the cat-calls heard every day when the lesson is too long for the students' small appetites, which happens every day. And once these principles are learned, no one is seen to pursue study any further, but only to pursue profit and the stipends made available by the degree of doctor. Students could receive sufficient wherewithal for a retired life from the seminaries and colleges where they are mostly boarded; but instead, they are dismissed as soon as they finish the degree and the course. And the academic orations and exercises aimed only at the conferral of the degree serve only to elaborate and solemnize those first precepts. There are still a few literary academies (as they are called) that might produce considerable fruit if they insisted on choice

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erudition and on the benefits and usefulness of philology and poetry rather than on sonnets, madrigals, jokes and comedies, and spent more time in useful and substantial lectures than in pompous and vain discourses. However, even if all these scholarly exercises proceeded in a fruitful and orderly fashion, where are the philosophical and mathematical ones? What aids, what meetings are there for these studies, which everyone knows are almost entirely abandoned? In the public schools they are given a little corner, the most remote, the most solitary place, actually the most comfortable because so uncrowded, which the professors try to fill with friends and servants entirely ignorant of the matter at hand just to avoid the danger of being dismissed as supernumerary.

Therefore, in the absence of any other organized institution or philosophical army to undertake an enterprise so worthy, so great and so proper to man as is the acquisition of knowledge, especially that acquired by means of the principal disciplines, the academy or rather the association of the Lincei has been erected for this end and intent. By a harmonious union of persons adept at and trained for such a labor, it aims to remedy, in an organized fashion, all the above defects and deficiencies, remove all the obstacles and impediments and fulfill this beneficial desire of mankind. It suggests the very clever lynx as a continuous incitement and reminder to seek the acuity and penetration that the mind's eye must have in order to know things, and it proposes to observe minutely, diligently, and as much as possible, the outside and the inside of all the objects that present themselves in this great theater of nature.

By cultivating particularly these two fields of philosophical and mathematical doctrine while pursuing philological and poetical erudition as well, this academy will embrace the most abandoned fields, the most necessary and the most apt to satisfy the natural appetite and give us the knowledge of nature; it will profess single-mindedly those studies that are usually never examined by others or else only in passing, as well as studies that outside this academy are usually pursued for much different ends than knowledge.

In vigorous unity, the academy will exert all its force and means and bring to bear all good order and organization upon this purpose, omitting no aid or diligence that might be necessary or that could possibly contribute to such an enterprise.

The academy will first of all be freed of all occupations and affairs concerned with the body, whose needs will be satisfied by ordinary meal and health facilities so that these need not be sought by earnings deliberately and vilely procured, as physicians and lawyers try to do as soon as they finish their courses. Here such earnings cannot and must not be sought; rather, there will be established the sorts of positions and particular incomes of which these noble professions have been until now entirely deprived, unlike the other professions, which have seminaries and

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colleges that provide for the aspirants to some extent and for some time and then the incomes that come from practice. The academy will also be exempt and free from business and domestic and familiar affairs and from every other noise and bother, all of which will entirely cease in the places provided in the manner just described, and there will instead be the necessary quiet for raising the mind and keeping it always diligent in its labor.

Membership will not be limited to a given number of years or ended with the termination of the course or conferral of a degree or after a particular time but will last for the lifetimes of the members; it accompanies scholarly work for which a single life is brief indeed, so no one would think of leaving beforehand. Work will therefore be assiduous, incessant, and always greater and without any interruption or fatigue; nor will it be restricted to writings or sayings of this or that master, but to a universal contemplative and at the same time practical exercise, always seeking out whatever knowledge might come to us from our own discoveries or from the communication of others. . . .

The teachings of the learned, delivered orally, will be copious, libraries will be complete, there will be all the facilities necessary for experimenting and inquiring in an organized fashion, assistants, scribes, ready and dependable presses. There will be the continuous collaboration and aid of older members and colleagues, who will provide us with the best of company while they set us on the proper path, without the risk of the obstacles narrated above, shedding light on the best doctrines, correcting us, refining us, and enriching our thoughts and awakening new ones through continuous, friendly and faithful conversation, making themselves seem continuously present by useful counsels and directions and by signifying to us what is necessary in any matters concerning literature, new observations or instruments or compositions or otherwise. And in spite of such good guides and aids those modern repertories, methods, which can so much facilitate the enterprises, and synopses will not be ignored.

All this is doubtless most trying for the abilities even of choice persons, well united and fervent, provided with the three last guides noted by Ficino, especially with a firm and constant will to succeed in the enterprise, and urged on all the more by continuous benefit and delight as well as by the exhortations of the elders. Some members will effectively possess the celestial guides and the other natural ones.[14] Others will possess them enough so that the continuous heat and fomentation of the companions providing a constant stimulus, along with the good practices and rules offering an additional supplement to the medicinal remedies, will allow those nonetheless to gain a notable degree of doctrine who are less able to attain eminence in knowledge because of a lack of extreme mental acuity or of powerful memory or because of a natural laziness. There is no

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doubt that the renunciation of every other business by these less able members will remove every difficulty and facilitate every greater effort; and the bitterness of the initial effort will decrease once they become accustomed to the much greater sweetness of the fruits that they begin to harvest in ever greater quantity. And the sense of bitterness will soon be removed from their minds by the applause of the company itself and especially of the elders and experienced ones. The memories of this, the stimuli of honor, the competition with and emulation of peers in the minds of the most sincere, and, in the minds of the less pure, envy itself, and in the minds of all, the sparks of the hope of glory—Oh how sweet and tasty they make every laborious and difficult exercise! And, Oh how bitter and displeasing they make every distraction and negligence! Where the mind reigns and is able to exercise its divine superiority, the body with its passions must succumb in spite of itself, and there is no danger that the pleasures of the latter can detract from the sweetness of the former, with which it cannot possibly be compared.

That the desire for honors and dignities and the ambition for positions and employments should impede such persons and turn them away from their aims is much less to be feared, because souls so well composed and dedicated entirely to virtue will never permit entry to similar passions; indeed, any time such an occasion arises, as frequently happens, the desire for the glory that justly rewards all virtuous actions will only add to the ardor and zeal of their scholarly itinerary, inciting them all the more in their work.

The first aim of this academy is not only to make every effort to acquire the fullest intelligence of the said sciences and possess them by gaining the desired cognition of things, but also, after the observations and experiments, after the diligent contemplations, to illustrate them with the members' own compositions and writings. For this exercise is not only a completion and a confirmation of the authors' knowledge but a propagation of the sciences, a communication and perpetuation for the public utility of their virtuous efforts and discoveries. And such fecundity is owed to the authors' successors in recompense for the doctrine received from their own predecessors. To refrain from producing such fruits indeed is to invite blame either for ingratitude or for cowardice and laziness, since after such diligent labor and cultivation, a field will be either a little or else very fruitful, but never totally sterile without total infamy. These reasons move many, but many more are moved by the desire to obtain the glory which very copiously proceeds, since there is no better way to acquire name and fame in perpetuity than by demonstrating one's own knowledge and acquisitions of virtue—not just to the few within earshot, but to everyone in every place and in every time, just as we see so many heroes famous and immortalized. This, then, the Lincei will mainly seek: the completion of knowledge, but also the settling of the debt and the

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acquisition of present and future honors. And so this can be pursued with more spirit and ardor, all possible impediments will be removed. For there will be no doubt about the quality and merit of the studies themselves; carried out in the way mentioned, they cannot but be praiseworthy and full of doctrine, and the authors will be guaranteed this by advance assurance of the judgment of all the learned in the conferences and communications with their own companions. Furthermore, the press will be most convenient, not requiring any personal effort or expense, and distribution throughout the whole literary republic will be quick and orderly. This will avoid a great cause which often cools ardor in the composition of works and moves many to abstain entirely. Many more are discouraged by the possibility that an edition will be cancelled and their efforts wasted or else, coming into the hands of the ignorant, turned into scrap paper, or else claimed as the works of presumptuous scoundrels and idiots, or else suppressed by them, mined for the best parts, rearranged, reduced to compendia and passed off as their own works. All of which impediments will be removed; because compositions will be consigned immediately, either in life or after the death of the author, to the academic official deputed for this purpose, for eventual printing when the academic community gets through printing the others previously presented, and all the companions will be notified of the work, even during the life of the author and in academic conferences while the work is still in preparation, where the trustworthiness of all and presence of so many, each abundant in his own works, obviates all danger of the slightest usurpation of those of others. Authors will be more than assured that their works will be well-revised and proof-read, even after their death, when for the sake of the honor of the whole academy and by the explicit obligation enjoined in the regulations, they will be printed by the dear companions, with the same diligence as if the author lived. Indeed, for better security and to give a greater notice, indexes and summaries and the like will be printed of the larger compositions whose publication will be held up either because of their size or because of the number of pictures or engravings or because of other publications already in press; and the works that remain unfinished by the death of the authors will be completed and published and conserved faithfully in the name and to the memory of that person in the common archive according to the author's orders. Prompt and faithful and diligent editions are thus assured, whether a work is presented by the author in life or left by him at death or simply left in the hands of the companions; and there will be nothing against anyone printing some of his own compositions legitimately while living or, in case of his death, recommending them to any companions he should think fit.

Everyone can imagine how much honor and esteem may be acquired by such a communication of one's own thoughts and how much one can make them known to princes, to the other learned and to the whole civil

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population, securing prizes not only of praise and honors but also of positions, dignities and appropriate employments.

One may easily imagine why scholars seemed insufficiently prized and honored most of the time in the past, seeing with what little order and ardor most of them pursued knowledge and how few managed to achieve a notable degree of this, while remaining disunited, spread out, hidden and without any communication, guidance or counsel—indeed, without any testimony of their doctrine at all besides what was spread by a fallacious fame or else by rumors originating among the ignorant common people, impressed by those who know how to make an outward show. . . .

Today there is no other indicator and testimony of scientific perfection than the flight of fallacious fame or the common title of doctor. The first depends on rumors originated by the ignorant and the second upon the ordinary custom of the schools. So, what more necessary and what better approbation could be found than from the consent and union of so many learned men of long-proven valor? Just belonging to this academy should denote a high degree of eminence, greater doctrine, dedication of time, repeated practice and profit gained, and evidence of the value of the work and the approval of colleagues jealously protective of the common reputation of the academy and that of each member. This membership therefore will always be sought and give no little spirit and ardor to persons, while indicating very well the differences of valor and literary merits between them. . . .

We have examples that should provide us with no little encouragement, and we may get a good preview of the force of similar unions by looking into past times, first among the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans, at the number and sorts of persons who came out of these assemblies of philosophers, which provided opportunities for exercise and organization for continuous study. . . . Then we see this in the noble academy of Florence under Lorenzo the Great, in which Pico flourished, along with Poliziano, Ficino, Martio, Chalcondylas, Gaza, Trebizond, and others who brought Greek letters to us.[15] Then there were the Roman academy under the good Nicholas,[16] the Neapolitan one of Pontano, Sannazzaro and others under the kings of Aragon,[17] as well as many others under Leo X.[18] From the rich fruits and beneficial effects of these and other similar more or less strictly regulated assemblies we can get a general idea of how much a little union and correspondence can accomplish and how much princes can do to favor letters among their subjects.

Should we suspect that envy or competition can somehow damage these congregations and gatherings? The former will be nonexistent, and the latter will only produce a virtuous and praiseworthy exertion, providing great benefits to the enterprise by adding spirit and fervor; and any two people may possess knowledge to satiety without either one

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experiencing a lack. As far as envy is concerned, in good minds this certainly has no place at all, and so much less in the learned, who are always seeking virtue, and in their companions, who, in a certain way, participate in their glories and honors, and among whom by election, by similitude, and by obligation true love must always be maintained—indeed, not only among the academicians but also among them and all their learned acquaintances, especially those in their own particular professions, with whom they maintain a special tie of friendship and mutual goodwill. . . .

All this will be of great utility to the public and great service to princes. The sciences and virtues without a doubt encourage good behavior, skillful actions, and peace; so their proliferation will bring about the propagation of peace, of goodness and of valor. The public will have more persons to apply to any business—able and perspicacious, prudent and judicious—and it will have more justice- and peace-loving persons; so the laws will be less frequently transgressed and life will be quieter and without tumults, without seditions, and without the desire for novelty and trouble.

With these aids, those who now stop at the completion of their degree would doubtlessly continue. And many who would never study will apply themselves, encouraged by the example, help and exhortation of others. Many whose will power is forced to capitulate to the lack of means, seeing the latter supplied, would devote themselves with all ardor, and especially those who wish to live a secular life and see no provision for that. With the multiplication of both masters and disciples, a most auspicious and fruitful propagation of the sciences will ensue, both by word and by deed.

The public will enjoy many more learned and useful books and compositions—indeed, twice as many, because many that would ordinarily perish by neglect, by mishap, or by malice, will be secured, and many that would not be produced, would in this manner see the light and thus communicate to everyone the long labors of many years of observations, experiments and thoughts on all these subjects.

The public will similarly enjoy the usefulness of the great and amazing inventions that will come from the acuity of such minds, as they discover the properties of things and keep track of their effects and causes by continuous research, experimentation and contemplation. That is how admirable instruments are produced, and extraordinary medicines, explosives, arms, defenses, machines, water-finders, many new secrets for facilitating the arts necessary to procuring human food, for convenience, for health, foods themselves, as anyone can see by what the naturalists have done up to now, and particularly as we will show in our *Philosophica panurgia.*[19] And many more can be expected in the future through the present institution.

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Some inventions of great utility, although considered outlandish when they were first proposed, turned out to be wonderful—just think of the telescope, which adds so much to the sight and brings us so close to the stars and to the most remote things in an instant. It was discovered by Galileo at Padua, who perfected it for celestial use as soon as he heard the news from Holland. Della Porta had already speculated about it and promised marvellous effects. . . .[20]

Besides inventions, the academicians may also engage in heroic and virtuous actions of useful service to their contemporaries and superiors in peace and in war and in every state. Such actions always proceed from the virtue and perfection of minds steeped in science, both spontaneously and by the command of those in power, and in every sort of honorable affair. Let no one aver, as a deterrent to study, that letters are an impediment to the military profession, because the opposite will easily be shown—that they are not only of great use to that profession but also most necessary to commanders who happen to be particularly furnished with our kind of knowledge. Just remember Epaminondas,[21] Alexander, Caesar, and Scipio; and recall how Archimedes defended his country by keeping Marcellus and the Roman forces at bay, although he was so deep in contemplation that he lost his life by refusing to remove himself from his drawings. . . .[22]

The public will also benefit as the said academicians join in friendship, information, communication and correspondence not only among themselves but also with all other scholars, satisfying their debt and acquiring notoriety, so that everyone shall have a testimony of their knowledge and use it wherever necessary—especially princes and governments seeking to provide their universities or cities or courts with worthy learned men capable of propagating the sciences among the audiences and placing before them the best concepts and the choicest nectar, whereas the usual method of making appointments according to the opinion and favor of others provides little assurance of good and effective service and adequacy to the purpose. . . . The diversity of approaches, far from damaging philosophy, was very useful, because continuous efforts and exercises in each one served to make minds more subtle and refined so they could freely adopt whichever seemed more appropriate without having to swear allegiance to the master of any. In every sect, therefore, we see that after the death of one master, a new one was appointed by expert judges on the basis of excellence and merit after hearing lengthy disputations and exercises between the competitors. Even though this was not an infallible method, because verbal facility and a brazen face are often more effective than knowledge itself in public disputes and contentions, nonetheless, it was much better than relying on the reports of individuals and the fallacious rumor of reputation. . . .

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So the Lincei will be a congregation, a seminary, an assembly or rather a refuge for professors, writers and experimenters particularly in philosophy and mathematics, but not neglecting the ornament of philology. Well united and established in the love of the colleagues for each other and for all and in the love of each for knowledge, entirely dedicated and directed, sincere, possessing good order of communication and correspondence, provided with all necessities for meals and for the profession, relieved and exempted from every other care, ambition or interest, capable of overcoming all difficulties by its ardor, by the stimulus of glory, and by the aid of means and convenience, as well as by all force and assiduity, and removed from all distractions or contests, it will always seek to acquire these noble and abandoned sciences and to illustrate them by its own efforts and fruits for the public benefit. The scholars and the disciplines themselves will thereby acquire prestige, splendor, convenience, favor, notoriety among everyone, as well as an easy, copious and faithful administration and a wide and useful diffusion of their productions (so little regarded and recognized today) by voice, writings and deeds, in all places and on all occasions. And this part of man being invigorated, this part of the disciplines will also be facilitated and the number of scholars will continue to multiply, as the natural desire for knowledge is fulfilled and humanity reaches perfection.

2. Tommaso Campanella, *On the Sense of Things*

The school of Renaissance philosophy begun in the kingdom of Naples in the mid-sixteenth century by Bernardino Telesio and continued by Giordano Bruno and Giambattista Della Porta culminated in Tommaso Campanella, one of the most remarkable figures of the early seventeenth century.[1] Born Gian Domenico to the family of a Calabrian cobbler in 1568, without patronage, protection or money, he entered lower ecclesiastical orders at age thirteen to pursue his precocious inclination to study. A trip to Naples to learn law gave him the chance to become a Dominican friar instead, assuming the name of Tommaso, and in various monasteries he received the rudiments of scholastic philosophy and a taste for its modern critics. He was powerfully attracted to the ideas of Telesio, who died before the two could meet, and whose ideas oriented him in the direction he was eventually to follow. In the next few years he attempted to join philosophy, metaphysics, theology and the new natural science to a vision of civic welfare in one of the most ambitious encyclopedic syntheses ever attempted in modern times. Like Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, another thinker who strongly influenced him, he took on the reigning Aristotelian philosophy as well as every other orthodoxy.[2] The

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vastness of his vision and the daring cross-disciplinary connections he suggested could scarcely avoid exciting the jealousy or bothering the scruples of those to whom his lack of powerful protection left him highly vulnerable, even if his willingness to spar with anyone who disagreed with his views did not already guarantee him a host of enemies. He joined his first battle in 1588, defending Telesio's posthumous reputation (in *Philosophy Demonstrated to the Senses*) against an Aristotelian detractor. And no sooner did he begin his work as a controversialist than his superiors at the remote convent of Altomonte where he now stayed took fear at his intellectual pugnacity; so he sought once again the broader horizons of the city of Naples. While teaching here privately, he encountered Della Porta's work on the occult properties and powers of observable things, known as natural magic (not the demonic kind associated with witchcraft). He elaborated his own theory along similar lines in 1590, drawing freely from Platonic and Neoplatonic as well as other sources, in a preliminary version of what was to become, some fourteen years later, *On the Sense of Things*. In the same period, he began a work defending heliocentrism (*On the Sphere of Aristarchus*), a work on the method of naturalistic investigation (*On the Investigation of Things*), a treatise offering an *Exordium of a New Metaphysics*, and another launching a projected twenty-volume series *On the Universality of Things*. Denounced for necromancy by a fellow monk in Naples in 1592, jailed and tried by his order, he evaded exile in Calabria by traveling to the capitals of Italy in search of a more secure position. His lack of courtly accoutrements and interest in views that almost continuously flirted with heresy, however, gained him few takers. After Rome, he went to Florence, and when Ferdinando I's promises did not amount to a university position he proceeded to the Venetian republic and gave private lessons in the shadow of the university of Padua. There he met newly-arrived Galileo Galilei, whose views he later strongly defended in spite of the lack of affinity with his own, and, in Venice, Paolo Sarpi. Meanwhile, he began his latest work, the *De monarchia christianorum* [*Universal Monarchy*], an attempt to turn Christian Europe once again into a single flock under a single shepherd by reconciling Protestantism and Catholicism. His vision was now complete. In 1594, possession of some prohibited books brought him to the attention of the Inquisition in Padua; and the case, when remitted to Rome, turned into an imputation of affinity with the views of Telesio, just condemned. Now his real troubles began. Absolved after three years of imprisonment and house arrest on the basis of his vigorous defense of Telesio, he only had time to write a treatise on ethics and another on the art of verse before being brought up in 1597 on new charges. This time, sent back to his native Calabria with most of his known works condemned, he became involved in a vast and still obscure conspiracy to depose the Spanish government and, at least among the

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conspirators close to him, to set up a communistic version, later idealized in the *City of the Sun* (1602), of the new theocratic society he envisioned. A clever simulation of insanity saved him from execution at the hands of the Neapolitan viceroyal authorities once the conspiracy was discovered. But he spent the next twenty-seven years in prison, trying to defend his vision, communicate it to others and gain support for it, while elaborating it and putting into practice the more practical aspects. Voluminous though his extant works are, mainly printed by a growing group of scholarly admirers all over Europe (*On the Sense of Things* was first published in a Latin translation by Tobias Adami in Frankfurt in 1620), they form only a small part of his prodigious productivity in every area of knowledge in his time, from medicine to astronomy to logic to historiography.[3] After enjoying briefly the favor of Urban VIII while in liberty in Rome from 1626 and after having his name removed from the Index, he finally expatriated to France. There Nicolas-Antoine Fabri de Peiresc and Pierre Gassendi were ready to receive him enthusiastically, and there he enjoyed, until his death in 1639, the monarchy of Louis XIII, which he hoped might serve as a fulcrum for the Christian renewal he so desired.

In this selection, from one of his most influential works, Campanella explains the basics of pansensism.

Book 1

The effects must be in the causes; therefore the elements and the world must be sentient

That no being can give to others what it does not itself possess is proved elsewhere by us and is known to many. Experience demonstrates this very well, because no light ever caused darkness, nor heat coldness, nor thorns softness, nor heavy things lightness, and so forth. True, a hot body may become cold; but coldness is not caused by the heat, nor can heat be changed into cold. Heat enclosed in cold things may be accidentally reinforced and increase, although it is not increased by the cold but by its own expansive and prolific nature, unlike things that are sterile in themselves.

Now, if the animals are sentient, as everyone agrees, and sense does not come from nothing, the elements whereby they and everything else are brought into being must be said to be sentient, because what the result has the cause must have. Therefore the heavens are sentient,[4] and so are the earth and the world, and the animals are inside them like worms inside the human belly, which are unaware of man's sense so disproportionate to their tiny knowledge.

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There is no argument against the first proposition

But they[5] say: the sun is neither animal nor plant and yet makes animals and plants; it is subtle and noble and white and yet causes hardness and congeals the soil and blackens the Ethiopians under Cancer and Capricorn where it dwells the most; and fire heats and cold snow scalds the hand and fattens the land; and hot saltpeter cools beverages; and a fear, that is not cold, cools man; and one living thing kills another living thing. Many similar things, in other words, produce dissimilar things; and things are made of what they are not. Therefore, things without sense can be born of things with sense. I respond that everything made between the sky and the earth receives what it has from these two elements. So an animal is not sun but earth in which the sun's action caused spirit to be produced amid hardness. Unable to escape, spirit then organized matter and made it apt for animals' life, as will be said later on. Plants and animals receive spirit, heat, subtlety and motion from the sun, and from the earth they receive matter shaped through the artifice of the solar sense; but they receive only those things that are in the causes, even though not necessarily in the same way in which those things are in the causes. The variety between the things made and the causes comes from the admixture and violence between contraries produced by the adversity Blessed God gave the actions of the causal agents to make them instruments for stamping various models of the first Idea in matter, demonstrating his goodness in every thing. Which perhaps neither the sun nor the earth understand; but sun is fire and earth causes mass, and thus they are weakened and cause mixed things that, in the shapes of the first Idea, are its instruments and first models. But sense is not a model of existence the way a shape is, but it is a thing essential to every active power, as we will soon see. So the sun and the earth must have sense. Similarly, the sun does not harden the soil by producing hardness and dryness but by uncovering the earthly hardness already there under the softness of the water, hidden and mixed, because soil is composed of essentially hard earth and malleable water. Fire acts to convert water, similar to it and less resistant to its action, first into smoke and air and then into sky, whereas the earth remains alone with its own dryness, which nonetheless a great fire can liquefy to produce fire, as seen with salt and metals in furnaces and mines.

That the sun is hot we have demonstrated elsewhere, against Aristotle, as also that it produces fire comparable to and congruent with common fire; although where it is weak it produces less. In the same way, taking away the mobile part, what conferred motion remains immobile. And thus it blackens, not by producing blackness but by showing the material blackness that was hidden under the whiteness of the hot subtle parts. If I burn this white paper, you will see white flame come out, which is the tenuous part of the paper, and gross black matter remain. If the fire keeps

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acting it turns the paper into glass, and if still more, it turns the paper into tenuous white air, although we have proved in our *Philosophy*[6] that the blackness of inert matter is of an inert and not of an active sort, unlike the blackness of cold matter. But from these arguments one can see that soil and coal contain nothing that is not in the sun, the earth or in matter; and the action performed by the sun, when finished, will be observed to be always subtleness and whiteness, although clouds are usually black except for the ones about to be made that have not yet received the sun's action.[7] But in similar things it always whitens and attenuates and moves even though they are few in number; a fact that can nonetheless be observed from the absence of this action in all the other things. Snow does not heat the hand, but man's natural heat, sensing the cold, unites, increases and issues from the hand to chase away what hurts its dwelling place. Snow expands because it has a natural gentle heat apt for this. Its coldness is extraneous and not essential, because no such cold constitutes and enters into the works of nature; for the sun is much more powerful than the earth. Saltpeter cools because the extrinsic coldness of wine,[8] sensing such an adverse movement and inimical odor, concentrates and increases, though if it did this for a long time it would destroy itself and the wine would heat up. When animals are afraid, a similar flight occurs of the warm vital spirit into the inner parts to avoid damage from an enemy, leaving the outer parts less warm and almost cold and allowing more air to come in, which parts tremble because they do not have enough spirit to sustain their weight. Furthermore, that the living should kill each other is an accidental and not an essential action to the living being. And in art, a natural likeness is not sought between effect and cause. This writing is done by me who am not writing, but I have the likeness of the writing in mind and give that to the paper. Every effect resembles not the instrument but the principal agent. Therefore this doctrine resembles my mind and the characters on the page resemble the pen and ink in color and thickness and subtlety, because such are the principal instruments of those characters, even though they are not principal instruments of the thinking. Thus, when someone kills another, the death is similar to the mind of the killer, not to his being; the wound is wide and large like the sword; and random killing resembles the thought of the first mover, to whom nothing is random.[9] Nonetheless, when heat kills cold, chasing it from the firewood and destroying it entirely, which happens when we throw a snowball into a great furnace, this death must be said to come from the non-being of the cold and not from the heat, because the heat only has to heat in order to kill the cold. Therefore, the heat by itself gives to the wood more heat than it is and has; but the cold, unable to stay with the heat, by accident happens to die. The possibility of perishing, which is somewhat like impotence, as I said in the *Metaphysics*, threatens the cold because it is not heat, so it cannot be with that.[10] This possibility depends on some non-being, and, by

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consequence, on the common nothing from which things were born. There is no necessity to dispute such fine points here that I have mentioned elsewhere. I only wish to infer that nothing gives what it does not have.

Lucretius erroneously denies that things are sentient; Galen is worse; and what the wisest have said

Lucretius the Epicurean, agreeing with Democritus, said sense must be produced by things without sense, because men who can laugh are made from elements that neither laugh nor cry;[11] and he adduces many similar examples against the opposing view of Anaxagoras. I give my usual reply that laughing and crying do indeed exist in those elements, but not in the way they do in men. Laughing is a dilation of spirits, and this dilation is present in rarefied things; so that fire, when it senses the occasion to conserve itself, expands and becomes happy in its own way. Crying is a constriction of spirits, which to make itself felt expels the water between the membranes of the head and the cranium, just as when we squeeze watery earth and water shoots out. Therefore, everything is in the causes, but in different ways. In fact, Lucretius not only denies sense to things in their primordial state, but he says, with Democritus and Epicurus, that all things are made by the concourse of the atoms we glimpse through the sun's glare and that these atoms show various appearances and forms according to the various shapes they take as they agitate and join together. These atoms are neither hot nor cold, neither white nor black, and they have no sense. Heat comes from their coupling, that is, from the joining of the sharp ones; cold comes from the joining of the obtuse ones; the soul from joining of the round ones; the air from atoms widely interspersed with the void; water from their greater condensation; and earth from even greater compression.[12] This opinion, criticized by us in our *Physics*[13] and *Metaphysics*, cannot be examined here. I only say that if men have reason and counsel, and if trees have organized leaves, flowers and thorns, and if bees, ants and other animals appear to have great sense, all these must be said to participate in the primary wisdom called God, and even by throwing these letters up an infinite number of times, chance could never put them together to make this book (to adopt Lucretius' example) which art makes once and for all.[14] Thus the orderly structure of the world can only be attributed to the first artificer. So I say that heat and cold, being active things, cannot come from simple passive atoms without any active virtue. An infinite number of prickles and thorns can never heat, nor can gross grains cool, nor can so much light immediately transmitted everywhere be made of atoms, since it quickly passes through thick crystal but not through very fine paper. And how would the sun not disintegrate unless its substance, spreading around so widely, were not an active, diffused and incorporeal virtue? Lucretius suggests that the sun rises every

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morning, circles and sets in the West, all by chance, and then the atoms always produce another one.[15] But his suggestion that this could happen by chance, and yet with such order and in such precise times, is foolish; and indeed, his foolish impiety is demonstrated by the experience of those who have circled the entire world after Columbus' discovery. I am amazed that Galen and many Peripatetics, contrary to Democritus, locate the active virtues in the elements while denying those elements any sense, saying sense is nothing but a temperament of these qualities.[16] Yet surely, temperament is a relation between things united and tempered, and it cannot be a vital and sensitive virtue if the things joined in such a temperament are not sentient. Lute strings are made of a hard material and produce music when tempered.[17] Now, this music is not one thing but diverse blows against the air by diverse strings according to the strength wherewith they are struck by someone possessing the art or ability. Likewise, the united qualities will never sense if there is no sentient virtue in them to agitate and move them. And these philosophers, who concede that sentient things move by themselves, must also concede that they sense by themselves. I do not agree with Anaxagoras that everything is actually in everything else. For there is no doubt that eaten food divides into flesh, bones, nerves and skin, each part going to a similar part, and the same seems to occur in the world, since everything is made from every other thing by succession. However, I affirm that this occurs from the various dispositions of the same material, so one part is able to become bone, another flesh, another water, another smoke, and these dispositions have continued varying since the world was born, by the various actions of the active virtues. Anaxagoras thinks everything comes from an informing similitude, exists in confusion and returns to an informing similitude. He is right in saying all things come from what they are and not from what they are not; but he should not have said that each kind is made in that hidden way and then appears in a multitude of the same form. Fire is made from wood, which is not fire but is something else, and more from wood than from stone because wood is more apt. Stone when struck throws out fire like wood, and marcasite especially,[18] which has more hidden fire, as shown by its sulphurous odor and the ashes of the sparks. Aristotle is wrong to say motion causes this, because other stones throw out less fire under an even harder blow. But matter whose heat is sedated and constrained relaxes when struck, and the heat tries to manifest itself and emerge with the flammable particles, because nothing gives what it does not have. And even though St. Augustine affirms that the seeds of all things are hidden, apparently agreeing with Anaxagoras, nonetheless, he must be understood to mean the first dispositions of matter. Now, if sentient things are made, the elements can be said to be sentient, and likewise everything produced by them, as the good Telesio wrote[19] and as Thales of Miletus proved by using the magnet. Hippocrates, in his book on

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the *Nature of Man*,[20] gives sense and every cognitive virtue to heat. St. Clement the Roman introduces the figure of St. Peter telling Simon Magus that where there is order and reason there is sense, and since every plant, stone and animal is made with order and reason, they must have sense. The Creator is praised and obeyed by all creatures, say the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiastes, and David and Daniel[21] invite them all to praise him because they know him by the natural sense intrinsic to them all, whereby they enjoy being and rejoice in life and abhor non-being; and joy is a testimony of the exceeding joy of God, says St. Paul. But to see if something else forces them to act, such as the mind, as Anaxagoras thinks, or the *colcodea*,[22] as Avicenna thinks, or the active intellect, as Alexander thinks,[23] one must know what sense is and that every form is sentient.[24]

The actions and passions of beings prove that all are sentient, and without sense the world would be chaos and there would be neither generation nor corruption

Heat and cold are so inimical that they pursue one another unto death; the one that cannot resist flees, and whichever finds itself surrounded by the enemy concentrates, increases and acquires force. For example, heat buries the winter and, closed amid the clouds and the cold of the hail, they show off and perform all the tricks of the animals. Fire and earth kill each other with perpetual enmity. Therefore each must be said to know the other is their enemy and seeks to kill it in self-preservation, from which come the enfeeblement of both, the generation of mixed things and the corruption of things changed in this strife. There would be no generation and corruption in the world if not for contrariness, all the physicists concede; and if one thing did not know another to be its contrary, it would not fight against it. All therefore are sentient. Furthermore, fire conquers and attenuates part of the earth and then goes up high to its similar fiery sphere;[25] the earth that is drawn upwards then flees forcefully downward. Just as all animals flee their contraries and seek their kind and their dens—men live with men, wolves with wolves, fish with fish—so also among the large bodies. All therefore are sentient; otherwise the world would be in chaos, because fire would not go up, water would not go to the sea, stones would not fall down, and everything would remain where it was, without feeling the destructive effect of contraries or the preservative effect of similitude. . . .[26]

That the replies of other scientists[27] against the sense of things contain notable errors

Many say God puts these acts inside things. Anaxagoras seems to have been the first, because he believes chaos is distinct from the separated

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mind, so he would say fire is drawn up and other things are pulled down by the same mind, which separates and organizes. Thus, the same First Mind causes all generation and corruption by separating and joining. Gabriel the Theologian[28] refers to the same idea when he says the sun does not give light but God does through the sun, that man does not speak but God does in man, and that fire does not move but God does in fire. Others say these actions are performed by the angels; and St. Augustine seems to say this in his book *De cognitione verae vitae*,[29] where he affirms that storms and winds move not by themselves but are moved by the devils and the angels. Themistius[30] and other Peripatetics posit an unerring intelligence. Alexander and Avicenna seem to agree with Anaxagoras. Galen wonders about this mind in his *On the Formation of the Fetus*, and he ascribes to it the formation of animals. The Platonists resort to the idea of a world soul, with the applause of both Basil and Augustine. Many theologians attribute these actions to the constant operation of the Primal Wisdom.

I reply that all these opinions contain misunderstandings or errors, because if the works of God are perfect (as Moses says), God must have granted to each thing the powers necessary for its preservation. And because in the vicissitudes of all things no power is more necessary than the knowledge of the similitude that helps us combat the enemy who destroys us, this sense must be said to be in all natural things. We feel in ourselves that the flight from evil and the pursuit of good are born of the sense of these things, because we do not flee the evil we do not sense. Nor indeed do animals flee the net they do not see, nor sheep the wolf they do not see nor the unseen arrow. Likewise, fire and earth and everything else would not flee or pursue if they were not sentient. Furthermore, everything has appetite, love, hatred and abhorrence; and every love comes from the knowledge of the thing loved. Natural love confers natural knowledge. Therefore, if they concede that fire has an appetite to go up, they must also grant that it knows its preservation is there and its destruction is downward. Saying God goes up with fire and radiates with the sun is to negate the nature and form of things. Since the forms frequently err, this would be to suggest God errs, which is wrong.[31] Following this theory, our soul would not will and sense, but God would sense and will both good and evil in it; which surpasses the impiety of Calvin, who says God pushes the soul to perform evil and thus not only performs evil but performs it with us. Now, if one thing is similar in form to another, it will feel the other by this and not by anything else. And Anaxagoras, when he attributes everything to a separate mind, has to have them all pulled violently into order or else have them obey by themselves. They therefore must have sense to obey, since this obedience means acting according to the nature God gave the being—unless God becomes the form of things by taking over action in place of the forms; but Anaxagoras knew this was a

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perverse error, so he says mind is separate. God operates in all things as a first cause by providing all things with their being and their power to be and act and by contributing to actions of theirs that promote being and not non-being, for the latter as far as natural things are concerned constitutes a failure and as far as we are concerned constitutes sin, as I proved in the *Metaphysics*, pointing out that sin has no efficient cause but only a deficient cause.[32] Nonetheless, the forms also operate: fire heats, earth gets cold and weighs down. This shows that things act by themselves. The soul of the world or the common nature provides for them by learning from God; but particular agents cause particular actions. God formed the world and created things with the power to preserve themselves and change in time, and this power, like nature itself, lasts until the entire universe arrives at its grand conclusion. Nature participates in the eternal law, just as the light that is inside a house participates in that of the sun, says St. Augustine. To attribute to the angels the actions of the natural forms is an error; and I believe Augustine only means to attribute to them the actions of the supernatural and extraordinary forms. But ordinarily, the sea is swollen by nothing other than the sun and the moon; and the winds move to seek a spacious place appropriate for their subtlety where they will not be killed by confinement. Furthermore, the following books will show that waters are not made without sense. Animals must be formed by nature; and likewise everything else by its own form, as God has ordained. So to say that a stone falls to the ground drawn by an angel and not by itself or that fire flees its enemy because the angel pulls it along is a fiction unworthy of the Creator, suggesting he failed to give everything the necessary vigor, and demeaning to the angels, suggesting they are deputed to perform the natural acts of all the vile things and serve as forms to them, therefore implying that men and animals have forms more vile than the straw and dirt for whom the angels provide forms. Now, angels are extrinsic, not intrinsic to things, unlike God, who moves all natures without violence, for all are from him, through him and in him. Therefore, supposing the above, all motion would be violent. Yet if you say fire and earth obey him, you have to say they sense his commandment, because he does not lead them along by any corporeal instruments. Things have the power to obey from God, and he alone who made them performs miracles. If they sense, they have no need of the angels to move them in their natural actions. The angels must only be guardians of each species, as St. Jerome says; and indeed, I have experienced what I never intended.[33]

Let us conclude, then, that every thing has as much sense as is necessary for its preservation, and therefore, some have more and some less, unless later theorists disprove me. . . .

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The world is a great mortal animal, and what could be outside it

Aristotle believes there is no full place outside the world, no void, no time, no motion, nothing. Indeed, Alexander and many others say that outside the world God could produce nothing and that the first sphere is not in a place, because it has nothing surrounding it, but moves around always in itself. Everyone agrees that the world is still and does not move in any direction, although Democritus and Epicurus say there are infinite worlds outside our system.

I certainly do not believe God exhausted his power on this little ball,[34] even though Copernicus thinks it is incomparably larger than the others; but I believe other things could be outside it, and God could make infinite worlds of various sorts. True, we cannot know about them if we do not receive notice of their existence from God, whom we take to be both inside and outside, and not in some place, an infinite being through whom all things are sustained. If someone in the eighth sphere[35] tried to throw a lance and it did not go out, this would only prove that there is a resisting body, and if it went out, that there is space and a yielding body. If the sphere of nothingness is finite, then nothingness is circular, just like a sphere—therefore it is a being, and it cannot be understood to be truly nothing, neither in the mind nor outside the mind, neither in God nor outside God, because if nothingness exists, this being would then be finite and God would be finite.[36] Indeed, if fire were infinite in every way, earth, its enemy, could not exist. Likewise, if God is an infinite being, nothingness never was nor can be. True, God is said to have made the world from nothing, because he created it out of no preexisting matter and no form, bringing this being to it from his being by simple emanation; but I will not say too much about this doctrine, having explained it in my *Metaphysics*. I will however say that one cannot know whether or not the world moves in any direction, because someone inside a covered ship does not know that it moves. I have diligently shown this to my disciple Cortese in the four books of my *Astronomy* against Aristotle, Telesio, Ptolemy and Copernicus.[37] There I also show no one can tell by sight whether the stellar sphere or the earth moves around, because the appearance is the same if the vision moves and if the object moves; but arguing from the qualities, I stopped the motion of the heavens, removed violent motion and the division of the spheres, proving that they are one and that the wandering stars[38] move by themselves like fish in the sea. Likewise, I removed the concentrics and eccentrics and epicycles, I gave physical causes for the appearances and I demonstrated that the sun comes lower and lower to burn up the earth, and for this reason no longer strays 23° 52' toward the tropics and away from the equator, as it did before, but only 23° 28', and this will continue to decrease because the arc over the earth is

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getting smaller. Contrary to what Copernicus says, the sun will not regain the height it has lost since the time of Ptolemy, which amounts to about 31 parts, each part equivalent to one semidiameter of the earth, and for the same reason the equinoxes and solstices are anticipating themselves, and in the space of 6565 years of the world these have gone backwards, irregularly, around 77°; and all the stars are going backwards, some faster and some slower, some seeming to stay still and appearing to move from west to east, which is a motion of enfeeblement and not of existence.[39] I predicted the death of the world by fire, as Heraclitus[40] and St. Peter[41] taught. Therefore, this animal will be destroyed in the destruction of a contrary; but God will convert it to some other more excellent form. And the changes in the whole heavens, unknown to Aristotle who therefore affirmed the heavens to be eternal, foretell the death of the world. Telesio asserts that the sea connects the heavens with the earth, restoring to the earth by spongy passageways what the sun takes from the earth and regaining through rain and rivers what it has given. This is also a fine opinion of St. Basil, who calls water the blood of the world. Telesio also says that if the earth did not have this moisture in the middle, the heavens would separate from it, leaving a void in between. To me this does not seem true. The parts of the world, far from dissolving through contrariety, seem to be incited by that to join combat against one another and run toward the void in a struggle to be the first to occupy it and to multiply, generate and spread out to face the enemy, which they seem to encounter with spontaneous anger. Therefore, this animal will conquer itself just as in a fever, which is a fervid battle of the armed spirits against an enemy humor fighting for the illness of the enemy, causing the whole composition to break up. . . .

Book 3

The heavens and the stars are fiery and sentient

The preceding book demonstrated that heat is very sensitive, that the soul of beasts is nothing other than a warm spirit, mobile and capable of feeling, and that the warmer animals are more sensitive. Now it follows that the heavens are endowed with every most acute sense. In our *Philosophy* we have demonstrated they are entirely of the nature of fire,[42] because every star sends down light and heat; and the sun sends out more due to its greater size and vicinity. Every fire in the world is seen to come out of the sun, because stones or wood rubbed together yield fire generated by the sun, whose heat they condense and concentrate so that it cannot be released and manifested without the aid of blows. In mirrors, where focussed light is invigorated in the same manner as the light of other fires

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of ours, the sun is seen to be ignited and to light a fire just like ours; and under the tropics, where the sun remains the most, the earth dries out and burns from the excessive heat. . . .

The heavens and the stars have regular and irregular motion in common and in particular from their own sensitive virtue and from their own preservation

Every sense is a change in the sentient body. The heavens are a change of place,[43] and because of their subtlety, they easily receive every passion. We will therefore say that they are most wise and that his Divine Majesty most appropriately made the seat of his beauty and glory living and sentient rather than dead and stupid. Every nation in the world believes the heavens where God resides are a lucid, noble and pure place; and he told Isaiah that heaven was his throne and the earth his footstool.[44] This is to be understood allegorically, since God has no need of a support, and every being is supported by and lives through him; but God demonstrates life, glory and beatitude more in the heavens than elsewhere, so the heavens must be alive and knowing, as we see by their motion.

Nothing here below is made except by the sun and the earth, as I showed in my *Philosophy*. But because the animals move, and motion is not proper to gross things like the earth but only to subtle ones like the sky and the air, the animals must get their motion from the heavens. And motion is the action of a sentient power, for sense moves the animal here and there, inside and out. Therefore, denying that the heavens are sentient is as ignorant as denying they have motion. True, their motion is not between different positions, like ours. Composed as we are of body and spirit, if we were constantly in motion, our bodies would dissolve. Our spirit obviously always moves in the thorax, heart and brain, and as we need one thing and then another, which are in various places, we have to change our motion. The fortunate heavens do not have this necessity but always proceed according to the same rule; and elsewhere I demonstrated that motion never contrasts with motion but only with quiet.

The highest parts of the heavens are happy and live secure in the enjoyment of their equal motion, unoffended by the earth. So all the fixed stars always move in the same direction, and their turning around themselves causes them to twinkle. They do not start going backward every hundred years, as Ptolemy thinks, nor every sixty-six, as Albategnius[45] says; and motion is not proper to the Earth, as I wrote against Copernicus in my *Astronomy*.

The wandering stars move constantly, but not in such an orderly fashion, because they are close to the earth and try to vanquish and assault it in various ways from south to north, and then, turning their course, from north to south; and when they arrive at certain destinations, which we call

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Cancer and Capricorn, they return so the earth will not conquer the heavens on the opposite side. Furthermore, all the planets take power from the sun, follow it and incline amorously toward it; and it, as the commander of the war against the earth, gives them arms, and they will certainly win. This appearance of the world will be destroyed by fire, as Christ said and St. Peter[46] and Heraclitus[47] the philosopher predicted. Mercury and Venus, because they are close to the sun, the former above and the latter beneath, as I showed in my *Astronomy*, always surround it and never appear to separate from it. When they are high, in other words, at the apogee, they rise into a wider circle, and with the sun proceeding in a shorter route, they come to remain behind, Venus at 46° and Mercury at around 25°; there, lacking light and vigor, they fall and take a narrower circle and continue onward more quickly. Astrologers call them retrograde, thinking these planets move from west to east.[48] In fact, in the midst of this retrogression, arriving close to the earth and underneath the sun, they take on more light and raise themselves forward to appear in the morning before the sun.[49] Later they rise so high that the width of their circle slows them down to the speed of the sun; and after rising most high, they return to their first amorous dance. Similarly, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, when they are with the sun, take on great light and power and rise most high and are said to be in the apogee of their pretended epicycle. When the motion of the sun no longer keeps up with their motion because they go faster and faster as they proceed higher and closer to the Empyrean, the sun seems to fall behind; but the more it separates from them the more they fall toward the earth and the faster they go. When Saturn is at 108° away from the sun and Jupiter at 117° and Mars at 133°, they descend toward it, reducing the number of degrees; because what was higher first suffers the absence of the sun and sooner falls, and then runs forward faster than the fixed stars, taking a narrower circle, so that they seem to be closer to the earth, larger and more luminous. And when the sun separates more from them, they lower themselves, and when they are directly across from it, they come very close to us, who are in the middle between them and the sun, as though bending down to enjoy its light. Then they are called retrograde by the astronomers because they move more than usual and pass the fixed stars. As they get closer to the sun, always drawing their glory from it, they begin to rise again to the same degrees from which they fell; and finally, the breadth of their circuit makes them proceed slower, and they are called direct. It is true that in some parts of the world[50] they lower and raise themselves extraordinarily, and so does the sun, showing that they have some agreement either with the fixed stars in those places, if it is true that the apogees are stable, as Ptolemy says, or else with the space of the world, or with some virtue outside of the world, to which they are attracted like iron to a magnet, if they change their

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apogees, as Copernicus says and proves with experience. But that all these are operations of very sentient virtues must not be denied.

The moon too has its own unstable apogee and perigee, and it is the sun's messenger, always rising in the conjunctions and oppositions,[51] with greater velocity the more light it receives and directs towards us or toward the heavens; but in the quadrates, trigones and sextiles[52] it varies according as it more or less opposes and conjoins the sun. Unlike the others, it does not fall when it is in opposition because it is already below the sun and receives all its light from the sun, although the more it has of that light the more it rises in any place.

Observe also the artful movement of the sun, making the light in every part of the world equal to the darkness, giving long days in this position to whoever has long nights in the opposite position, giving always equal nights and days at the Equator, while elsewhere alternately assaulting and recompensing the earth in so many ways without giving it time to recover completely. The sun never stops moving because the cold and opposite shade would destroy the earth on one side, whereas flying to the other side and its heat being concentrated, the sun would vanquish the heavens and the stars. But it proceeds with art, and the first divine art uses this eager warfare to generate here below the beautiful things that are seen every hour to the glory of the Creator, whose idea is manifested in various forms by these instruments of his, acting with their joy and thought, and not pulled along forcibly by angels as Aristotle thinks.[53] But Averroes also says the motion of the soul is circular, even though the body makes it vary; therefore it is celestial. That nothing immobile causes motion, I showed elsewhere. And that the heavens and the spirit are not immobile except in so much as they need an immobile thing to support body, I and Telesio demonstrated against Aristotle; and the philosophers not without reason say that the soul is part of the aether and the body is part of the earth. . . .

Air is the common spirit that brings knowledge between the particular spirits enclosed in animals

Furthermore, air brings knowledge from one man to another when they speak; therefore the other hears, and what surrounds us is aware of the voice. Our enclosed soul cannot signify its concept to another, also closed in a body, although it might do this easily if it were freed so the two could touch together, just as one quantity of water gets movement from another contiguous quantity, suffers the same cold and knows what the other feels. The same goes for one quantity of air and another. But our spirit, which is aerial, unable to touch the other spirit, must communicate through the common spirit, striking it with the instruments and shaping it so that the other spirit taking in those shapes will come to know what the first one feels. Just as fish to the water, so also the spirits of the animals are tied to

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the air, and when separated from it by closing the nose and mouth, they suffocate in water or dissipate. Therefore, air is like a common soul that aids everyone and by which all communicate, as Pliny noted. Whence many wise and ardent spirits immediately sense in the air what another man thinks, because thought is a motion of the spirit, and this motion is gently communicated to the air, and the gentle motion is sensed by subtle and melancholy persons, who guess even too much and do not know how. When one speaks soft words, he lightly strikes the air, and communicates this gentle motion to another, calming him down. One who speaks harshly and loudly, even though not with injurious words, nonetheless causes resentment because the spirit is beaten and lacerated by the motions in the air. Air therefore receives not only the motion but also the emotion; otherwise it could not communicate.

Harsh words are pleasing in war because they move one to anger against the enemy and provide encouragement; mild and calm words please in church because they incite to piety; more or less titillating and slightly pungent ones please in amorous acts because they incite the tryst. As the air is moved, so moves the spirit, and if there were no voices between us to signify, everyone would feel the other through the way in which the affections are impressed on the air, just as we observers can understand when someone of another nation cries or laughs or sings. I believe God made the Apostles speak with their own natural affections and original voices, and these seemed to resemble the languages of all listeners, because the affection of their words, enflamed by the divine spirit, reached their listeners before the shapings and circulations of the air could be distinguished to the exposed sense; and thus everyone understood. Moreover, we see that when the air is serene and pure, we are happy and pleased, and when it is disturbed and dark, we are sad and melancholy. When it is too hot, we are angry and intolerant; when it is cold, we are tranquil and retiring. When it is gross, we are sleepy and with little sense; when it is subtle, we are acute and awake. When it is windy, we retire into counsel and company; when it is quiet, we go outside to play games. We thus seem to feel every effect together. Homer said *such is the soul of men as daily is Jupiter*—by Jupiter, meaning the aether and the heavens; and likewise Virgil says, *Then Heaven, the Father almighty, comes down in fruitful showers into the lap of his joyous spouse.*[54] And elsewhere, *Jove, wet with the south winds. . . , makes rare. . . .*[55] Thus one sees that if our immortal mind were not enveloped in this airy spirit, it would never feel along with the air; although when it has a greater passion in itself, it is little affected by what is outside. Likewise, anyone enjoying weddings and balls in turbulent weather feels little turbulence, but continues his festivities, even though less serenely. . . .

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The sense of stones and metals, and their amity and enmity

From the constitution of stones and metals we know they are not without sense, though they are more obtuse than other beings, because they are made of liquid earth that becomes hard. Stones are made of gross liquid without viscosity, so they are frangible and not flexible, whereas metals keep more viscosity and subtlety and therefore lose weight when liquefied. Gold is an exception because it is made of very equal parts, so it does not lose weight because all exhaled before, and the parts being equal, one does not liquefy more or become more attenuated than the others. All stones and metals, however, contain heat. Stones struck together show this, and metals rubbed vigorously together likewise throw off a sulphurous odor and some ashes, so you see that they, and not the struck air, are enflamed and ignite and send out sparks. Therefore, all have sense, since heat is sentient.

Furthermore, all metals and stones nourish themselves and grow, transmuting, by the aid of the sun, the soil where they are first born, just like grass in liquid, and drawing the soil to themselves through their veins. Diamonds grow in pyramids, crystals in a cubical shape, the stones of the Apennines are raised into such proud mountains and in some places are seen to rise in oblong rectangles. The sun cannot have created the Apennines of Italy, the Alps of France, the Pyrenees of Spain, the Acroceraunia of Dalmatia, the Libanus and Antilabanus of Syria, and the Caucasus, Taurus,[56] Gata[57] and Rhiphaei[58] all at once, which continue for so many thousands of miles and rise so high. And Pliny says that in Spain the marble in the mines keeps growing as more is taken out, as long as its roots are not extirpated. And how much iron does the island of Elba continuously generate! The mines that have been excavated there continue to be fruitful; and the same goes for the mines of Stilo, my country, and for the salt mines of Altomonte in lower Calabria. Anyone who observes will find this occurs everywhere.

Stones detached from their matrices grow only by external addition and no longer by vegetation. Likewise human bones, which grow until they are broken and taken from the animal; and also, when they reach a certain length they grow no longer. The same goes for horns and eggshells and teeth, which are very similar to stones. Oysters, scallops, snails and turtles have stone clothing that grows with them and is nourished up to a certain size and participates in some senses with them, although not much, as we know from our own fingernails and toenails. And everything that is nourished draws nourishment to itself—not from every substance and quality, but from what is similar to it, refusing the contrary. Indeed, iron and copper vomit the excrements, which proves their sense. And the magnet, which pulls toward the pole, shows proof of great sense, and so

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also iron that draws and moves toward it; and in the first book much was said about this.

No one can doubt the sense of mercury. Spirituous and liquid at the same time, it seems to move constantly, and when broken up into parts, it joins together again; it becomes spherical to defend itself and willingly runs to unite with the most perfect metal. Inside a box it runs all the way from one corner to the other to reach some silver, and even more to reach some gold, to which it attaches and from which it can only be detached with violence. Goldsmiths throw mercury down on to the floors of their shops to collect gold filings dropped there, and it embraces them all and unites them to itself; and then, placed in the fire, it exhales like something about to change into vapor because of its spirituousness, and the gold remains. For this reason, clever men try to fool others by saying they can make gold out of mercury. I myself carried mercury wrapped in some paper inside my baggage, and it left the paper to join entirely with a gilt brass medal. . . .

Of the sense of plants and the amity and enmity between them and with other things

No one ought to doubt the sense of plants, because they are born, nourish themselves, grow and make children and seeds like the animals. Plato wisely called them inverse immobile animals; and Pythagoras pronounced that they had sense. But Aristotle said they only have a vegetative soul and not a sensitive one, because their actions do not seem to be based on sense. Nonetheless, elsewhere[59] he recognized not only sense but reason in their acts, when he showed that they act for a purpose: the fruits to immortalize them, the thorns to defend them and the leaves to cover them. But how can plants have a soul and not have sense—just because they have no eyes, ears and nose? We have already demonstrated that these are not actually sense but only passages and windows of the sentient spirit. Aristotle should at least have granted that they have touch, because he knew their roots resembled the mouths of the animals, attached to the earth to suck up the nourishment, and he also knew they had taste, because not every plant seems to take nourishment in every place. Pepper occurs in India, not in Italy, and the bitter orange is in Italy, not in Germany.[60]

Therefore, plants are nourished by the terrestrial liquor most like them, which they suck, and when placed in a dissimilar place they die because they do not receive what is good for them. They are not nourished by the whole soil but by that liquor; therefore, we hoe around the plants so the sun can arrive and liquefy and ferment the soil whereby they can nourish themselves, and we place hot and fat manure at their roots. Therefore they can tell good from not good; therefore they have sense of what they need and do not need. They show this in the summer when they are dreary and

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pale, with the foliage drooping[61] because of excess heat, like afflicted animals; and when the rain comes or they are given water, they immediately become green, raise their tops, revive and become beautiful, demonstrating obvious sentiments of happiness and refreshment. And how could nourishment be distributed throughout their bodies with so much order, sending the solid part to the bodies, the loose part to the marrow, the viscous part to the nerves and skin, the oily part to the leaves, the greasy part to the seeds, the light and well-digested substance to the flowers, if every part did not have sense to draw its similar, and there was no spirit to digest and make the division? And indeed, plants appear to have nerves and veins under the skin and around the pit; and their soul must live there because they die when the skin is removed; but if they are cut more than halfway through, as long as there is some skin left in the unbroken part, they do not die, because their spirit is coarse and does not come out so easily at the breach, but pulls with its tubes in the unbroken part what is sucked up from the soil.

But if they have a mouth, nerves, veins, hide, bones,[62] marrow, clothes, horns, and produce children for self-renewal, then they must be said to be animals and to have sense; and the opposite argument only persuades the common people who do not know sense except through the organs (whereas the wise rightly attribute sense to the air and the heavens and the spiritual things without organs) just as idiots imagine God to be corporeal exactly like man and think he cannot have sense or pleasure if he does not have a human face and body, a view for which the great Origen in Egypt was condemned by so many monks and by the Patriarch Theophilus.[63] The wise understand that to attribute these organs and corporealities to God does not ennoble him but makes him imperfect.

Even if this were not enough, we would find that the plants are male and female and have a sex like the animals, and the female does not make fruit without the male. This is seen in the carob tree, in the palm, and in others, in which the male and the female incline toward each other and kiss and the female is impregnated and without the male makes no fruit and indeed, is almost aggrieved, squalid, and sorrowful. And in Nicastro[64] with even more amazement I saw cedars made like a penis and others like a vulva, just as artfully as in a man and woman.

Certainly, these are all amazing signs of the consensus of all things with all. . . .

3. Paolo Sarpi, *Thoughts*

Son of a modest Friulian merchant in Venice, Paolo Sarpi began his career with no premonitions of his future importance in politics (which we will

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examine in later sections).[1] As soon as he finished studying philosophy and theology in the Venetian public school system, he entered the Servite order in 1566 at age fourteen for what appeared to be an exclusively religious vocation. A precocious prowess in theological debating earned him a place among the young theologians called to Milan by the reforming bishop Carlo Borromeo even before he received his degree from the University of Padua in 1578. In the decade between 1579 and 1589 he dedicated himself to a reform of his own order, first as prior of the Venetian province and then as procurator general in Rome. Increasing contact with papal government persuaded him that recent reforms of the whole Church were far from sufficient, a conviction he was later to express in a *History of the Council of Trent*. Theology did not exhaust his interests. While at Padua, he won the acclaim of anatomist Hieronymus Fabricius of Aquapendente for his original scientific observations. An ambitious reading program embracing all the best works of science and philosophy in his day provided background for his work on magnetism. On a trip to Naples he met Italy's expert on the subject, Giambattista Della Porta. Back in Venice, he made contact with most of the important intellectual figures who passed through, including Galileo Galilei, who congratulated him on his mathematical knowledge and formulated the law of falling bodies in letters to him. The reflections he confided to his private notebooks, which have survived under the title of *Thoughts*, exemplify a growing uneasiness with current explanations for the nature of things as well as a widespread interest in drawing upon scientific ideas to explain civil life.

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114. If the first principles are the similar bodies of different natures, as Anaxagoras thought,[2] things are made only by congregation and separation; but if corporality is the first principle, besides these two means there will also be rarefaction and condensation, attenuation and thickening, whereby one of the similar bodies becomes another. Three therefore are the means of generation: the first, whereby similar bodies are given form, in other words, number and figure; the other two are the above. Other transmutations the mind cannot comprehend, because it does not understand anything that is not a body. So the form of the Peripatetics is nothing unless it means a very fine body that is the intrinsic acting virtue inside a larger one.

115. Form therefore is nothing but the disposition of matter according to number, figure, and place, and the Pythagoreans were right in calling it harmony and place. It is also called natural, if the virtue giving it is inside the matter; and if it is outside, it is called artificial. The form that the

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Peripatetics call substantial, if it is something, is either the disposition of matter, or else it comes from nothing when made and returns to nothing when it is no more. There is no use in saying that it is potential and returns to potentiality, because when it was potential, it was either entirely or partly so; if partly, the same difficulty arises concerning the part that was not potential, and if entirely, how could the thing not have been? If it then returns into matter, it can be taken out again; and being the same in number, the same in number will return.

133. The eternal causes have no other cause, but each is the first in its kind. The cause of all novelties is rather a motive virtue, but the latter has yet another cause, going back ad infinitum, and to consider them all is to consider both causes and effects and never causes that are not effects, because they are infinite. Just as each day follows from another and precedes yet another, and each numeral is both larger and smaller than another, if the generation of animals by seed were eternal, everyone would be both father and child, by the perpetual succession of things, not requiring an essential, i.e., eternal order.

146. There are four ways of philosophizing: the first by reason alone, the second by sense alone, the third by reason first and then by sense, the fourth by sense first and then by reason. The first is the worst, because thereby we know what we would like to exist, not what is; the third is bad, because many times it pulls what exists toward what we would like, rather than in the other direction; the second is correct, though it is rudimentary and makes us know little, and rather the being of things than their cause; the fourth is the best we can have in this miserable life.

1585

184. The so-called occult qualities are like the others, although we have no senses to feel them. Such is that of the magnet, because we do not have a sense of iron that can be moved by it, and to whomever lacks a sense, the corresponding qualities are occult. Thus also the pestilential and poisonous qualities are called occult, which damage the heart because it does not feel them.

185. Color—in other words, that which is in the medium and in the eye—is not without light, because it is modified light, but that which is in the colored body, which gives the quality to light, is still in pure darkness.

Here, then, is the answer to the question of whether the colors depend on light: the material ones that cause refraction of light do not, but the formal ones whereof refracted light consists do.

186. The sensors are specific to the special sensitive virtues. The optic nerve receives the colors and feels them by becoming transparent when it sees; so also the hearing must become the sound it receives, and likewise

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also with the other senses, so that whoever had a nerve that could become iron would feel the magnet.

188. The motive faculty can be lost without loss to the sensitive, or the latter without loss to the former, not because the nerves are of different kinds, but because some go to the muscles and cause motion, while others go to the skin and cause sensation, and the first can very easily be harmed without the second, or vice versa. Thus, whoever loses the first, would lose sight but not the movement of the eyes; and whoever lost the second would lose movement, keeping sight.

191. One motion cannot end if another does not begin. For a motion ceases either because it is blocked by an obstacle (which is brought about by another motion, since every contact involves motion), or else because the motive virtue leaves it (doing so by motion). Indeed, a motion that causes another motion to end must begin before the latter ends; and when a heavy body is thrown up, it is not stopped by the natural motion which follows it, but by the movement whereby the motive virtue exists. Therefore, it is shown that if motion is generally perpetual, at least one in particular must not be, as Aristotle thought he proved. And his proof concludes that an eternal individual makes the eternal species.

192. Every mixture is conserved by heat, which contains moisture, and this containing is movement. Therefore, in every thing the spirit always moves; take animals, for instance, though in these it moves much more, because they contain so many humors that it has a lot to do.

202. Against Copernicus it is alleged that the parallels go out of sight before they seem to come together, which I believe is false, because two distant lights appear to be one. And the same opponent, who considers the distance or radius of the annual movement of the earth to be imperceptible in comparison to the eighth sphere, must be answered by saying that even the tiniest stars are larger than this, because each of them is larger than any imperceptible quantity.[3] Copernicus would say that the star includes a second or third sphere around a sun, and perhaps the whole system.

206. Descending bodies gain in heaviness in proportion to their specific heaviness. If gold is two times copper, when they both descend, gold will acquire two times the heaviness acquired by copper in the same space.

207. A thing is known distinctly when all the sensible intentions are known in it, both proper and common, along with all the actions whereby the work of reasoning concludes that the virtues particular to that thing are present.[4] At first sight, time and place do not appear to belong to the universal form, because the prolepsis of the thing has already been made.[5] Then, after another similar thing is seen to lack one of those intentions or virtues, whatever is missing is judged as extraneous to the universal species, and especially after seeing a third and a fourth, thus gradually arriving at the most universal species. A proof is that when we have

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known a thing only once, it represents itself to us again with all those conditions—indeed, including time and place. So when a thing is seen for the first time, we do not know what it is, but it combines with the most similar things; or else, abstracting from it and from the already-present universals, we make a genus, i.e., a more universal thing. Therefore, knowing a particular thing is nothing but referring to the universal species already conceived in the mind.

208. In water, anything lighter clearly rises, not because it goes up, but because it is pushed by the water, which presses more.[6] It ascends with the same velocity no matter how deep and wide is the water around it, because it is pressed only by a quantity of water corresponding to the greatness whereby its own size surpasses the size of the water equal to it in heaviness, which pushes it up by greater heaviness. But air does not likewise push down the things heavier than itself, because then water too would do the same with the things heavier than itself, which does not occur, since experience shows that heavy objects by their nature go downwards. Therefore, things go downwards by their own virtue and go up because they are pushed, suggesting that heaviness is positive while lightness is negative. Greater material must have greater action, and water has more material than air, so it has more action—but only for pushing upwards, not downwards. Therefore, pushing upwards is positive and pushing downwards is negative. The latter is lightness in the agent, whereas the former is heaviness; so heaviness exists, but not lightness.[7]

209. However much the rising of wood in water increases, as for example when it comes from the bottom and jumps even above the water, this does not derive from anything intrinsic, but from the fact that the part of the water pressing increases with the motion and acquires greater power and therefore pushes all the more.

210. If there were a single motive virtue divided into species of lightness and heaviness, a comparison between one body and another would easily solve the problem of why a vacuum fills as soon as it is made, since once it was made, the part below would be pushed up and the vacuum chased out, just as lighter things are pushed out of water.

211. If the same thing were weighed in water, air and fire, the differences in its weight in water, air and fire would be proportionate to the difference in heaviness between water and air. If the force of water were entirely disproportionate to the force of air, an infinite amount of lead would not suffice to keep a squash under water, by the law of submersible bodies. If you weighed a cube of air as though it were a submersible body, you would find its heaviness.

214. Plato's opinion that three elements can be transmuted into one another but not earth seems borne out by the fact that moist things catch fire, whereas dry earth neither evaporates nor burns nor becomes water.

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239. Every body determined or qualified moves,[8] and every reception of movement is sense. What feels is the body, but the qualities or determinations are causes of feeling. Since these causes are various, they are capable of operating in various instruments, and are called different sensible qualities. Their number was restricted to five because we have that number of senses, but there can be other kinds capable of making impressions in other sorts of organs that we do not have. The magnet is a good example, which has a quality not evident in any of our five senses, the torpedo-fish is another, the purgative virtue is still another, as well as all others called occult. From this it can be asked whether there are other qualities that proceed from internal senses without touching the external ones, and whether they produce effects without other obvious cause, such as dreams, prophesies, etc. Nor can it be said that the internal ones are only active, because even though this is true about the discursive, it is not true of the imaginative and mnemonic.

251. Since we are one in form, happiness likewise in form must be one thing; but because we are also divided into parts, this too is rightly in parts. Whence the Peripatetics placed it in three goods: that is, of the soul, of the body, and of fortune, which goods constitute the instruments whereby we reduce the harshness of the changes we experience. The first human happiness therefore is that we should be affected as little as possible by those changes and therefore need those instruments less and come ever-closer to *self-sufficiency*, which can be called intrinsic happiness, in other words, with the mind trained to suffer every change of fortune with equanimity. However, since it is impossible for us not to be harshly affected by one of those changes, we need some instrument for obtaining extrinsic happiness; and this comes first of all from temperament, human liberty, and education, all of which cause us to be less affected by things and less in need of others; the second instrument is good fortune, which is nothing but the will of God.

255. The unreasonable animals seek only their natural and necessary pleasures, as the perfect man should, whereas the mediocre man also wants the natural unnecessary ones, and the vicious, not content with these, also wants the unnatural ones. This variety of ours can lead to the worst, just as the abundance of information can lead to error; and all the vain appetites arise this way. Not vain, however, but rather demonstrating our excellence, are the appetites that concern immortality, the sepulcher and fame after life, and children either growing under us or remaining after us.

291. Things seem colored because the light on the surface corpuscles is refracted more or less differently, so that more numerous species of colors emerge than the shades that can be obtained by mixing the simple ones. The colors of the clouds and of the prism are no different from these for being phenomena, because if the causes of these as well as of all other appearances of color, i.e., the surface corpuscles, were always present,

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these too would always be present. And the colors of a thing change by no other cause than by change in the said corpuscles, which disperse as others replace them or as they change place.

294. The many metals, minerals, alloys and salts inside the earth demonstrate well that this terrestrial mass is, as Anaxagoras says, a compound of many similar things and not the first thing. The sea, too, is full of all those things, and likewise the air, adding further demonstration to the same fact. Where, then, are those famous four elements?[9]

295. Cause needs an instrument when it has a principle of movement in itself but cannot move a given thing because that thing is larger than itself, in which case it needs a lever, because the thing is smaller, so it needs tongs, or because the thing is harder than it, so it needs a chisel. The instrument has a form apt for moving a thing but does not have in itself the principle of movement, both of which are needed together. Here the primary and secondary causes are demonstrated. However, where the cause can move by itself, it does not need in instrument; and where the instrument or secondary cause has a principle of movement in itself, it does not need a first cause, which can never be secondary or instrument.

296. Speed or slowness cannot be known in a movement except if compared with another. Time is movement; and considered only in itself it is neither fast nor slow, but the measure of everything. And the movement that we take as a standard and consider to be time will immediately show the ratio between slow and fast in time, if we compare it to another movement, and thus it can be said, this hour passed quickly. And since the motion of the sky is held to be uniform, when it is considered as time and when one part of it is compared with another, there is no ratio of speed or slowness, as it would have if an irregular motion were the standard or were time.[10]

301. Matter does not need form in order to exist, but only in order to be finished. Form however cannot exist without an object, because it is born within the confines of matter, which are inseparable from it. If form should be lost and then the same form return to the same parts of matter, the thing would seem to have been restored exactly as it was in spite of the time elapsed.

302. If matter is without quantity and the same, as Aristotle says, in large things as in small, there will be as much of it in a grain of millet as in a mountain, indeed, all matter could be in a grain of millet, and from that same grain could be made a body larger than the world in any proportion whatever. And supposing that matter without quantity has parts, then when it goes from large to small, one part must enter into another part, and in this fashion all matter could be in a grain of millet. Furthermore, the divisible accident cannot be in a divisible subject. Therefore, quantity, if it is not itself matter, can never be in matter.

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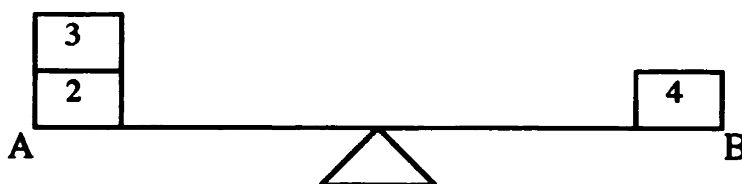
303. It seems that every mover moves, since otherwise how could it move others and what would it do?[11] Perhaps the moving body moves in its presence; but this is impossible because then it would do nothing. Other than this, moving, which is the same as carrying, means expelling with its own movement, just as attracting seems to be. Furthermore, everything that moves is body, because otherwise, what does it have to do with body? And a tiny thing can move a body of any size and at any speed. That the object is *merely not moved* makes no difference, because even though it does not move, that part of it does which goes out and operates on the senses.

305. Perhaps the opinion that place is an accident of body, because no body can occupy a larger or smaller place, is false. *And if the surface contiguous to it is its place*, then, a large body could be where a small one could not, because a cube of 32 must stay within a surface of 96, but a sphere of 44 can be in a surface of 92.

309. Mountains are generated either when the sea or another impetuous body of water brings a large quantity of land together or when the winds bring a large quantity of sand together, or else when earthquakes make faults and valleys, or else when winds or other subterranean causes make swellings in the earth.

310. Whether pulling or pushing something that resists can be called movement. The answer seems to be yes, since there can be no denying that a mandrel does something. But what does it do if not move? And in the diagram below let there be a lever AB. Alone, 2 does not lift it; when 3 is added, it moves. Yet 3 alone is not enough to lift it either; there must also be 2. But 2 cannot begin to move if there is no *remover of resistance*. The *remover of resistance* is not 3, which alone *does not remove*. Therefore also 2 was operating.



311. There seems to be no *greatest possible mover*, because the mover does not exceed the moved as a whole, but only in part. But half again of the difference between the mover and the moved could be added to the former, and it would still move the latter; therefore it was not the *greatest*. Rather you should say, the *smallest possible non-mover*, which is equal to itself.

312. No form can be more perfect than another, because matter would never spontaneously give up the more perfect, nor could it ever get rid of the less perfect, which would be less powerful; so there can be more or

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less strength in numbers, but not in species. A larger force in numbers cannot be overcome by a smaller one in number but greater in species; for example, nine of gold cannot move ten of silver. Every transmutation therefore occurs when the larger in number overcomes the lesser in number, and greatness in species is really nothing other than greatness in number, due to density or another similar cause.

313. A line may be potentially concave and convex, but when it is actual, that is, when it is the boundary of a surface, it is only one of these.

314. When a mallet strikes something it cannot drive, if it does not move, it does nothing, and if it does something, it moves nothing. And if something is driven by blows of a mallet or by the force of a press, or by great weight placed on top of it, clearly all three do the same thing: thus it seems that to press down with weight is to move. Therefore here is the solution to the question, *how does movement apply to weight;* because to weigh down is to move, and when two movements go in the same direction, one adds to the other and they perform an action.

315. A body weighs less in another dense body than in a rare one, to the same proportion that a quantity of the dense medium, equal in magnitude to the body, weighs in the rare body. Archimedes.

316. When a heavy body weighs down in a light one, the light one pushes upward at the same time in the heavy one. Therefore, a quantity of air equal to the amount whereby air surpasses in size an equal weight of water will keep the combination of a body and the air afloat.[12] Whatever a certain quantity of salt weighs, the same quantity of air weighs 2 units and of water 5, so the salt will be kept afloat by 1 of air. Because water is to wax as 1 to 30/31, therefore the wax will weigh upward at 1/31: therefore 31 times as much wax will keep up as much as 1 unit of air. Therefore the proportion of air to wax in water is as 31 to 1.

317. Two bodies increase the proportion of their heaviness as the medium they are in becomes heavier, because if equal things are raised by unequal things, they keep becoming more unequal until the less heavy weighs nothing, which will be when it is in a body that is itself, and becomes light. Because weight is nothing other than the proportion between the standard and the thing weighed, the same weight weighed in different places will weigh differently; but if it is heavier than the standard in particular, it will weigh more in grosser air and less in subtler air; and if it is lighter, it will weigh more in subtler air and less in grosser.

327. Living things have solid parts that are like fibrous wool thread, which play in life the role of a wick, and whose moist material basis has the same effect as it does on the wick. An oily moisture called flesh is spread among these fibers, and prevents innate heat from consuming too much of the moist material basis of the solid parts, just like oil and wax in lanterns.

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328. When bones are burned, the oily moisture is clearly seen to burn, leaving a porous substance. And again, when flesh is well boiled, that oiliness is seen to come out into the broth and the fiber of the muscles remains, which disintegrates when beaten.

329. Since the life of an animal is a continuous burning of innate heat, some of both of these humors is burned and consumed—but just as in the wick much of the oily and little of the material basis is consumed, thus in the animal, much of the flesh and little of the original material basis.

330. From this one can see the damage from a bad diet, because bad oil causes more of the material basis to be consumed and the wick to burn low and quickly incinerate, but with good oil it burns happily and long, with no need to be trimmed. Thus nutrition is necessary in order to refurnish what was consumed, because the animal would not live long if it lived only for the duration of the moisture with which it was born.

331. That the flesh is restored seems obvious in convalescents. However, the original moisture of the solid parts seems not to be restored; since it is a material basis, part of it goes out consumed, separate from the rest, and none of the part thus separated seems restorable, just as the wick's is not restored. If it could be restored, why could man not live—not eternally—but a thousand or two thousand years, or for any determined period of time?

332. Nutrition can occur through congregation and separation, without any transmutation. Digestion perfectly grinds up the food and mixes it with the liquid vehicle so it can flow easily and go into every minute cavity, and the hard parts are well-pulverized, and those that cannot be are set aside as too slight or too gross. The operation resembles the making of paper pulp, because there is the fibrous, the glutinous and the serous, all of which is relevant to the blood, where the serous is the vehicle of everything else, the fibrous what is applied, and the glutinous what attaches it. In the generation of animals, the bones are covered in this fashion. Then, if nutrition is digestion, digestion occurs through heat; it separates the different things and unites the similar ones, so that nutrition is nothing but congregation and separation.

333. Blood contains not only the oily moisture but also the serous, which serves as a vehicle and then leaves by way of the urine or else by perspiration or by insensible transpiration. It is hard to imagine that there should be any of the fibrous present, seeing that no solid part is restored. Perhaps this is not because of a lack of matter so much as of an agent that could give it form. And since part of the particle remains without the rest being restored, the form-giving spirit must be infinitely divisible, just as the parts.

335. The wick dies upon exhausting its moist material basis, lacking alimentation and suffocating in its own waste. In the two last ways the animal dies too, but does it die also in the first? Death through old age

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might be a case, but does the heart also contain solid parts? Perhaps the moist material basis consists in that interior membrane of the heart or whatever.

337. The blood has all the material for growth and nutrition, but whether it also has that of generation is not certain. Aristotle thought it did, and considered the semen to be only the active part, but this is wrong, because generation would not be natural if the agent were not intrinsic to the material; and besides this, there is no bloody part in many abortions of the first days. But even though there should be all the matter, there is still not the active virtue, so that it was necessary that this should come from the testicles. The latter receive that virtue from the liver and heart through the preparatory passages but apparently not from the brain, since the latter has no nerve going there; and even though the body of the testicles seems to be of the same nature as the brain, they are entirely separated from it, so that it should not suffer damage during coitus. Certainly the testicles have the same color, the same consistency of parts, and the same taste as the brain, so that they indeed seem to be of the same nature.

338. All veins and arteries from the uterus come together into a single one called the umbilical cord and then branch out in the fetus; and this is exactly the way in which plants produce their feti. The fetus cannot be said to be nourished for a few days by female semen,[13] because there would have to be a way for it to get there, and the deferents would have to form their own umbilical.

1588

386. Sounds make certain wave-like undulations in the air, which form dissonances if they never come together in unison and consonances if they do. Unison is the most perfect, because all are always united, every second one unites in the diapason, every sixth one in the diapente, and every twelfth in the diatesseron.[14]

391. The ascent of the clouds shows a great variety in the body of the air, because there must be something heavier than them below and lighter above, which in itself shows a great variety below and above the thousandth mile. Since this is the limit of the vapors showing the twilight, the air must be lighter above the clouds and heavier below them. And there must be no moisture there, because otherwise there would be vapor. So whoever defines air as being moist, as Aristotle does, will make it fire and not air.

392. No sea is deeper than five hundred paces. Water does not penetrate the earth to a great depth, and some say that in certain places it is two or three paces deep, and perhaps no subterranean vein or passage of water is below the greatest depth of the sea.

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393. The earth's center is rocky, and very dense. This appears from the fact that it is rocky near the surface, where metals are excavated, and because if it were sandy, it would fill up with water. And the sands found in the veins of water can be compared to the sediment in the blood.

394. It is no wonder that we seem to see in an instant, even though we see in time, because many intentions, which we know by reasoning and in time, seem to us known in an instant and without reasoning. Anyone would say he sees obliqueness or magnitude, etc., in an instant, and yet they are seen by reasoning and time, nor is the species of color seen before any of these intentions, because this species also is discovered by reasoning.

395. Why in the world do we believe someone who says Constantinople exists even though we have never seen it and yet we do not believe someone who tells us, for example, that there are celestial spheres, or that they are moved by intelligences?[15] Because the first is saying something we believe he might well know, whereas the second knows as much as we do; similarly, if someone lacked ears, he would believe what someone else, whom he sees to have ears, tells him about sounds.

401. If incorporeal virtue is capable of moving, it must surpass all corporeal virtues, and since the latter are capable of increase, the former must be infinite. Therefore, when it moves a finite body it must do so in an instant, because if it were divisible, would it move with all its virtue or with part? Things that have parts move because they also have parts of bodies; but how can incorporeal things have parts? And furthermore, who could say with which part it would move? It would not make that determination itself.

403. Men naturally live in a republic and in the thrall of a supreme power; this is natural, or rather, proper. Nevertheless, they would certainly live better in anarchy, with everyone ruling himself, as long as they were internally balanced; therefore the republic is a natural medicine, not a food. Moreover, there are many kinds of republics, not just one, and there are even more tyrannies, just as there are many medicines, some more potent and others less. They lead to happiness as long as they are sufficient for balancing virtue and vice; but if they go beyond, they are tyrannical, and if they are insufficient, they promote licence. In the same way, the Torah is necessary, and it comes in many forms.[16] This too is only medicine and may or may not have the proper correspondence to the subjects; it is beneficial when such a correspondence exists, which rarely occurs because there is only one way to be right but infinite ways to err.

404. The body that is kept healthy by medicine is not as good as the one that does not need it; and since man is the animal that needs it more than any other, he is the most imperfect of all.

405. From man's weakness arises his characteristic feature of living in a group, but from his depravity arises his need to live under a supreme

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power; therefore the republic is a feature of man, but the Torah is a feature of the republic, providing along with it for whatever majesty cannot. As long as there has been man, there have been society, the republic and the Torah; but this last keeps turning from one thing into another, because, as happens to all worldly things, it gradually changes, so that after a very long time it is no longer what it once was, either because many mix together into one, or because it is attacked by an enemy and destroyed. Therefore he made the Torah for society.

406. One of these three features may enjoy a longer life than the others. This happens either because it conforms to the nature of man, as in the case of society, or because it conforms to the nature of the country, or because it has within itself a tendency to go back to its origins and therefore never ages, or because it involves many people who behave well with it and not without it, as in the case of the Torah, or else because of antiperistasis, where it encounters continuous opposition without enough power to annihilate and so becomes stronger and resists old age and alteration, as occurred with the republic that lasted because of opposition from the Torah. Society very easily undergoes alteration, because it is unable to return to its origins and has no one to offer powerful opposition. Thus also the republic, which suffered alteration even before encountering opposition and afterwards became very strong.

407. Since a republic comes sometimes from the gradual multiplication of a single family, sometimes from one man who brings many dispersed families together, and sometimes from the corruption of another republic or republics, and finally, sometimes from the mixture of many together, so also the Torah sometimes emerges gradually from chance occurrences, as perhaps the first one did, or else it is instituted and brought about by many families, as the second, or else from corruption, as the third; and perhaps the fourth is a mixture and is no different from the second.

408. Speech is without a doubt natural to man, and it always existed as long as there was man. The instruments of the voice are finite, but their movements are infinite, because every short, long, harsh, soft, fast, slow, or other movement is infinitely divisible; so that the possible vocables are infinite, and so also the languages, even though in each one of these a finite number participate. Though the movements are by division infinite, nonetheless the sensible ones have to be finite.

412. The reason why the second group [in no. 407] conceived fear is not very important; because anyone who reads history will find that all the neighbors had only one fear, each of these groups consisting of many peoples or of many families, which joining together as one also shared this in common, or else of foreigners, who brought it along with their habitation, like Aeneas.

413. It is not true that the Torah maintains republics and that without it they would fall apart; for man is by nature timid or audacious, and if he is

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timid, other terrors are enough to restrain him, whereas if he is audacious, nothing would be sufficient to restrain him, no matter how great. For however excessive may be the harshness of the various types of death, they are never enough to restrain ferocious men. If the Torah did not exist, the timid could be restrained by other threats and the audacious would still be the same as if it existed. And even though we might think we would do much worse without it, nonetheless, this is not true, because whoever removes it from his soul follows the same habits, without any worsening. Indeed, there is no perceptible difference between two people of the same temperament and inclination of whom one has it and the other does not. If it and the other terrors should be removed, the republic would certainly suffer great damage, but very little if it were removed and not the others. Honor, though a false opinion, has the same effects: whoever should seem to do his duty only for the sake of honor, once he discovered this to be a false opinion, would act with the same attitude. Many believe the Torah to be true but act to the contrary if the contrary behavior suits their pleasure. The Torah therefore is not so useful as some think but is good to have because two can do more than one and every little bit helps.

414. Many seem to restrain themselves for fear of Hades and think this is the principle reason which, taken away, would free them from all scruples; however, wherever this fear is removed, there is no difference. We act toward terrors the same way we act toward suffering. We think a particular one is the most important and believe that all would be well without it; nonetheless, when it is removed, one of the remaining ones has the same effect. Thus, whoever is subject to any passion believes he is moved by a single object, but if not for that, another would move. Likewise, an ambitious man thinks he would be satisfied if he attained such and such a degree, but having attained it, he aspires to the next with the same ardor; and whoever arrives at the highest rank imagines others, and therefore is never freed from ambition. The Torah has more effect in the South and East; honor more in the North, ambition more in the intermediate countries.

1591

499. When a body changes its shape, the point of it that was once the center no longer is, so the center of gravity must also change. The earth changes its shape, and therefore also its center of gravity, because of the rivers that carry sand and pebbles and because of the animals that carry themselves and other things. But if this center must be at the center of the universe, the earth therefore moves. Perhaps the earth is not in the midst of the infinite and is where it is, wherever its center lies; therefore, when its center changes, it moves.

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4. Galileo Galilei, *The Assayer*

Born in Pisa in 1564 of a distinguished Florentine family, Galileo Galilei began his career in 1589 as a lowly mathematics professor at the University of Pisa, where he had obtained much of his scientific training as a medical student before embarking on an elaborate program of self-instruction.[1] Just when he was beginning to use practical demonstrations and imaginary practical problems to explore the weakness of current Aristotelian physical theories, the Venetian Senate, in an effort to increase its own prestige as a patron of science and augment its available resources in technical fields, had begun to attract the most promising scholars to the University of Padua. There, from 1592 to 1610, Galileo introduced what new ideas he could regarding geometry, fortifications, ballistics, and mechanics into a standard mathematics curriculum based on Euclid and, in the intervals between classes and private lessons, made many of the discoveries—including the law of falling bodies—that later brought him lasting fame. The immediate cause of his sudden celebrity in 1610, however, was his masterful exploitation of the newly-invented telescope. After perfecting his own version, he went into business to produce it for presentation to a few powerful prospective patrons. And by using it to undertake some of the first telescopic astronomical observations on record (the first having been made by Thomas Harriot the year before), he discovered the four largest moons of Jupiter and named them after Cosimo I de' Medici in a public relations coup that helped earn him a place as "official mathematician"—later "philosopher"—to the Tuscan grand duke.

Galileo devoted the next years to an energetic and unprecedented publishing campaign for converting the public—of scholars and laymen alike—to the heliocentric universe and to the quantitative observational approach to physics. He suffered a few setbacks, such as when a few disgruntled theologians in Rome managed to steer the scientific debate toward theological questions and convinced the Holy Office and Pope Paul V to cooperate in condemning Copernicus' *De Revolutionibus* "until it is corrected." But with friends like Roberto Bellarmino and Sforza Pallavicino, two of the most influential Jesuits in Italy, not to mention the members of Federico Cesi's newly-formed Roman Accademia dei Lincei, and many of the best scholars and researchers of the time, the prospects for success looked bright. Prospects for acceptance of Galileo's views looked brighter than ever with the arrival on the papal throne of Maffeo Barberini (Urban VIII) in 1623, who apparently desired nothing more than to surpass all previous popes as a patron of the arts, and soon lived up to his reputation by showing favor to Campanella and appointing Galileo admirers Giovanni Ciampoli and Nicolò Ridolfi to positions in the bureaucracy. So, under the name of his disciple, Mario Guiducci, he ghost-

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wrote an attack on Roman Jesuit College professor Orazio Grassi's conservative theories about the comets of 1618. And when Grassi defended himself, Galileo shot back with a methodological and rhetorical tour de force: the *Assayer*. There, he tried to push the comet dispute out of the way of the debate on Copernican astronomy and demonstrated the issues in his quarrel with Aristotelian qualitative physics while showing his support for a few ideas that apparently have little to do with modern science.

I have never been able to understand, Your Excellency,[2] how it came about that whenever I have had to make my studies public to please or to serve others, they have always encountered the animosity of those who sought to diminish, defraud and vilify the small return I believed was due me—if not from the work itself, at least from the intention. My *Starry Messenger* [*Sidereus nuncius*,1610], in which I revealed so many new and marvellous discoveries for which all lovers of the true philosophy should have been grateful, had only just been printed when immediately from all sides conspirators emerged who sought for themselves the praises due to my discoveries; there were even some who cared nothing about bringing into doubt, just to contradict my statements, the things they saw plainly and repeatedly. The Most Serene Grand Duke Cosimo II, my lord of glorious memory, commanded me to write my opinion about the floating and sinking of things in water; and, to satisfy this command, having written down on paper everything that came to mind besides the doctrine of Archimedes, perhaps everything that can truthfully be said about the subject, suddenly the print shops filled with invectives against my *Discourse on Floating Bodies* [*Discorso intorno alle cose che stanno in su l'acqua*. . . , 1612]; and heedless of the geometrical demonstrations that supported my arguments, they contradicted my statements, not noticing (such was the force of their passion) that to contradict geometry is openly to deny the truth. And by how many and in how many ways was the *Letters on Sunspots* [*Istoria e dimostrazioni intorno alle macchie solari*. . . , 1613] combatted? And the material there, which ought to provide manifold opportunities for exposing intellects to wonderful speculations, was either not believed or not esteemed, and entirely vilified and derided by many; others, who did not want to believe my ideas [*concetti*], produced ridiculous and impossible opinions against me; and some, compelled and convinced by my reasons, tried to take away from me that glory that was surely mine and, pretending not to have seen my writings, tried after me to make themselves the first inventors of such stupendous marvels. I will not mention a few of my private discourses, demonstrations and statements, many of which were never published by me in print, that have been evilly impugned or denigrated as nothing; some

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of these have even encountered persons who cleverly tried to usurp honor by pretending to have invented them by their own genius [*ingegni*].

I could name not a few such usurpers; but I wish to pass over them in silence now, since a first robbery is usually punished less than the next ones. But I shall no longer remain silent about the second robbery committed with excessive audacity by the same man who committed another one many years ago in appropriating my invention of the "geometrical compass," which I had much earlier shown and communicated to many and finally made public in print.[3] And this time let me be pardoned if I react perhaps too bitterly and declaim, against my nature, my custom and my intention, about something I have remained silent about for many years. I speak of Simon Mayr of Guntzenhausen,[4] who translated my description of my said compass into the Latin language while I was in Padua, and attributing it to himself, gave it to a disciple to print under his own name and immediately, perhaps to escape punishment, went back to his own country, leaving his scholar, as they say, in the lurch; against whom I had to proceed, in the absence of Simon Mayr, in the manner explained in the *Defense against the Calumnies and Impostures of Baldessar Capra* [*Difesa . . . contro le calunnie . . .*, 1607] that I wrote and published at the time. This same man, four years after the publication of the *Starry Messenger*, desiring to have himself decorated by the work of others, was not ashamed to make himself out to be the author of the things I discovered and published there; and printing under the title of *World of Jupiter* and so forth,[5] he has temerariously affirmed that he observed the Medicean stars[6] that circle around Jupiter before I did. But because the truth rarely permits itself to be suppressed by lies, he himself gives me now in the same work, because of carelessness or lack of intelligence, the opportunity to expose him with irrefutable testimonies and manifestly to demonstrate his error, proving that not only did he not observe the said stars before I did, but he did not even see them two years later; indeed, it can probably be said that he never observed them at all. And even though I could draw from many passages in his book very evident proofs of what I say, I reserve this for another occasion, so as not to go into it too deeply and thereby detract from my present intention; I shall therefore discuss only one.

Simon Mayr, in the second part of his *World of Jupiter*, on considering the sixth phenomenon,[7] writes of his diligent observation that the four planets of Jupiter are never on a straight line parallel to the ecliptic except when they are at their maximum digressions from Jupiter; but that when they are not in these maximum digressions, they always decline with notable difference from such a line; they decline, according to him, from that [line] always toward the north when they are in the lower parts of their circles and, on the contrary, incline to the south in the upper parts; and to save these appearances he establishes that their circles are inclined from

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the plane of the ecliptic toward the south in their upper parts and toward the north in their lower parts.[8] But this doctrine of his is full of falsehoods, which openly demonstrate and testify to his fraud.

First of all, it is not true that the four circles of the Medicean stars incline from the plane of the ecliptic; indeed, they are always parallel to it. Secondly, it is not true that the same stars are never exactly on a straight line except when they are at the maximum digression from Jupiter; indeed, it occasionally happens that at whatever distance they happen to be, maximum, medium or minimum, and when they are in contrary movements[9] very close to Jupiter, finding themselves on an exactly straight line and encountering each other, they join together exactly so that two appear one. Finally, it is false to say that while they are away from the plane of the ecliptic, they always incline toward the south in the upper halves of their circles and toward the north in the lower halves; indeed, they only occasionally decline from the straight line in this manner, and at other times they decline to the contrary—that is, toward the north when they are in the upper half-circles, and toward the south when they are in the lower half-circles. But Simon Mayr, since he neither understood nor observed this affair, has inadvertently made his mistake manifest. The real explanation is as follows:

The four circles of the Medicean stars are always parallel to the plane of the ecliptic; and because we are located in the same plane,[10] it happens that whenever Jupiter has no latitude and is therefore on the ecliptic,[11] the movements of these stars will seem to be on the same straight line, and their conjunctions in any place will always be corporal—that is, without any declination.[12] But when Jupiter itself is outside the plane of the ecliptic, to which the four circles of the Medicean stars are always parallel, and its latitude is north of this plane, the parts of the planets' circles that seem to be further above us[13] as we observe them from the plane of the ecliptic—where we ourselves are always located—will seem to incline toward the south with respect to the lower parts and the lower parts will seem more northern. On the other hand, when the latitude of Jupiter is southern, the superior parts of the same circles will seem more northern than the lower parts; so that the declinations of the Medicean stars will seem to be contrary when Jupiter has northern latitude to their declinations when Jupiter is southern. Therefore, the Medicean stars in the first case will seem to decline toward the south when they are at the upper halves of their circles and toward the north when they are in the lower halves; and these declinations will be greater or lesser according to the greater or lesser latitude of Jupiter. Now, when Simon Mayr writes about having observed that the said four stars always decline toward the south when they are at the upper halves of their circles, it must be that his observations were made at a time when Jupiter had northern latitude. But when I made my first observations, Jupiter was southern; and it remained that way for a

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long time without becoming northern, and thereby allowing the latitudes of the four stars to show that which Simon writes about, until more than two years later. Therefore, if he ever saw and observed them, it could only have been two years after me.

See him thus caught in a lie already by his own testimony that he made such observations before me. But I should like to add more. There is probable reason to believe that he never made the observations at all, since he affirms never to have observed or seen the planets exquisitely arranged one after another in a straight line except when they were at their maximum distances from Jupiter; for the truth is that for four months—that is, from mid-February to mid-June, 1611, during which the latitude of Jupiter was little or nothing—the arrangement of these four stars in all of their positions was always in a straight line. Notice, moreover, the sagacity by which he tries to prove he preceded me. I wrote in my *Starry Messenger* that I made my first observation on January 7, 1610, and followed this with others on the following nights. Simon Mayr comes along and, appropriating my observations, prints in the title of his book and also in the work itself that he made his observations at the end of the year 1609 to demonstrate his alleged priority to his readers. Nevertheless, the oldest observation he produces as having been made by himself is the second one made by me; but he claims to have made it in the year 1609, neglecting to caution his readers that he is separated from our Church and did not accept the Gregorian emendation, so that the only precedence of his pretended observations consists in this: that the 7th of January of 1610 of our Catholics is the same as the 28th of December of 1609 of those heretics.[14] He also falsely claims to have discovered the Medicean stars' periodic motions, which I myself discovered after long vigils and great efforts and made public both in my *Letters on Sunspots* and in the *Discourse on Floating Bodies* that Simon obviously used as the basis for his own account.

But I find that I have allowed myself to be drawn into an excessively long digression—longer, perhaps, than the present opportunity required. However, returning to where I left off, I should note that since such clear proofs prevented me from ignoring disaffection toward and obstinate opposition to my works, I had decided to avoid the displeasure I felt from being the target of such frequent sarcasms by keeping entirely silent, thus removing from others the temptation to exercise such a blameworthy faculty. It is true that I should never have lacked occasion to produce other works, perhaps no less unexpected in the philosophical schools and of no less consequence in natural philosophy than those published to date, but because of these occasions I am content to enjoy the opinion and favorable judgment of only a few gentlemen, my real and sincere friends, with whom, by communicating and discussing my thoughts, I have experienced the pleasure of contributing whatever the intellect occasionally provides,

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while avoiding at the same time a renewal of the injuries that caused me so much pain. Indeed, these gentlemen, my friends, demonstrating general approval for my ideas, attempted with various reasonings to steer me away from such a proposition. And they first tried to persuade me that I should scorn such impertinent attempts to contradict me, since these attempts all turned in the end against their own authors and thus reinforced and amplified my reasoning, giving a clearer argument that my compositions were not mediocre. They added to this the common opinion that vulgarity and mediocrity, since they are little if ever esteemed, fall by the wayside and that human intellects only go where they discover marvellous and exalted things, which instead in immoderate minds excite envy, and, in turn, slander. And even though these and similar reasonings, which I adopted on the authority of these gentlemen, nearly turned me away from my resolve to write no longer, nevertheless my desire to live in quiet away from so many contests subsequently took over; and thus established in my resolve, I thought I could shut up all the tongues that have until now shown such a desire to contradict me. But this design turned out to be vain, and I have not been able in any way to reduce this obstinate influence of mine by which there is always someone who desires to write against and quarrel with me.

Keeping quiet did not help me at all, since these detractors, in their willingness to torment me, had recourse to the strategy of making me the author of the writings of others; and when I violently objected, they then did something that no one ever does without giving clear evidence of being an emotional and unreasonable soul. And why should not Signor Mario Guiducci have been able to speak in his Academy,[15] according to the position he enjoyed there [as consul], and subsequently publish his *Discourse on Comets* [*Discorso delle comete*, 1619], without having Lothario Sarsi, a person entirely unknown, turn against me and, with total disregard for its real author, make me the author of that *Discourse* in which I had no other part except the esteem and honor the author gave to me by agreeing with my view,[16] heard by Signor Guiducci in the above-mentioned frequent meetings he had with those gentlemen, my friends? And even if the entire *Discourse on Comets* were my work (and no one who knows the work of Signor Mario could ever entertain such a notion), what kind of behavior was this of Sarsi, who pulled off the mask and impudently exposed me when I showed such a desire to remain unknown? Finding myself constrained by this unexpected and unusual behavior, I break my established resolution not to publicize my writings again; and by doing my best to make sure that the inconvenience of this fact should not go unrecognized, I hope to make someone wish he did not wake up the sleeping mastiff by picking a quarrel with him who was silent.

Although I know this name Lothario Sarsi, never heard before in the world, is a disguise for someone who wishes to remain unknown, I will not

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try to penetrate the disguise as Sarsi did, since I believe this action neither deserves my imitation nor promises to support my arguments.[17] In fact, dealing with him as an unknown person might make my own arguments clearer and give me more freedom to explain my ideas. Those who wear disguises are either low-class persons who desire to have the esteem due only to lords or gentlemen in order to use the honor that nobility brings for their own ends; or else they are gentlemen who, surrendering the respectable dignity appropriate to their station, allow themselves, according to the custom of many cities of Italy, to talk freely about everything with everyone, taking equal pleasure from allowing any person, whoever he may be, to talk and dispute with them without any fear. And I believe that the wearer of this disguise of Lothario Sarsi is among the latter (since if he were among the former, he could derive little pleasure from passing this work off as being greater than it is). Moreover, since he was induced to say something against me in disguise that bare-faced he perhaps would have kept to himself, he ought not to complain when, taking advantage of the liberties allowed against those who wear disguises, I deal with him freely; nor should the expressions I use while I exploit this liberty be taken amiss by him or by others.

I wish Your Excellency to see my reply first since, as a person well-versed in the subject and impartial because of your noble qualities, you ought to be sympathetic to my cause. I shall not neglect to reprimand the audacity of those who, defective in their ignorance but not in their possession of impassioned sentiment (since I have little to fear from the others), viciously misrepresented my arguments among the undiscerning common people. When I first read Sarsi's work, I intended to put my reply in the form of a simple letter to Your Excellency; nevertheless, when I began writing, the things worthy of comment somehow multiplied in my hands and eventually exceeded by far the limits of a letter. However, I kept my resolution to speak and write to Your Excellency regardless of the eventual form of this response, which I have decided to entitle *The Assayer*, using Sarsi's own metaphor.[18] But it seemed to me that in weighing the propositions of Signor Guiducci, he used a gross and inaccurate steelyard; therefore, I wish to use the tiny scales of the goldsmiths—so exact that they sense less than a sixtieth of a grain. Using the latter with the greatest diligence, I will take account of every proposition produced by the former and test each, annotating and numbering it so that if Sarsi ever sees this and wishes to respond, he can easily avoid neglecting anything.

But coming finally to particulars, it would be well perhaps to say something, so that nothing should remain unpondered, about the title of the work, which Signor Lothario Sarsi calls *Libra astronomica ac philosophica*. He adds in an epigram that he was moved to use this title because the birth and appearance of the same comet in the sign of Libra

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mysteriously indicated to him that he should librate in a good scale-pan[19] and ponder the things contained in Signor Mario Guiducci's treatise on comets. Here I note that Signor Sarsi confidently begins to change things as soon as he possibly can to accommodate them to his intention, according to the style he maintains in the entire work. After he got this idea into his head about punning on the correspondence between his *Libra* and the celestial Libra, the appearance of the comet in Libra seemed to add wit to his metaphor, so he liberally[20] says it was born there, not caring to contradict the truth and indeed himself, since this goes against the affirmation of his own master,[21] who draws the following conclusion in his *Disputation* at fascicle 7: "Indeed, whatever seems to be the first light of the comet, it always comes from Scorpio"; and twelve lines later, "this is so, because it was born in Scorpio—that is, in the principal house of Mars"; and a bit further, "I have inquired about its house and affirm, for my part, that it was Scorpio, as everyone agrees." Therefore, with much more propriety and truth, judging by what he says inside the book, he ought to have entitled it, *The Astronomical and Philosophical Scorpio*, which constellation the sovereign poet Dante calls the ". . . image of the cold animal/ Who stings and worries people with his tail."[22]

It now remains for me, according to the promise I made above to Your Excellency, to say what I think about the proposition, "motion is the cause of heat," showing the instances in which I believe it to be true. But first I must make a few remarks concerning that which we call *heat*, about which I believe the universally-held concept is very far from the truth—namely, that it is a true accident, affection, and quality that actually resides in the matter by which we feel ourselves heated.

Whenever I perceive a corporeal material or substance, I feel myself much drawn by necessity to conceive of it at the same time as being bounded by and in the form of some figure, as being large or small in relation to others, as existing in a particular time, as moving or staying still, as touching or not touching another body, as being one, few, or many; and I cannot by any imagination separate it from these considerations.[23] But as to whether it is white or red, bitter or sweet, noisy or silent, or of a pleasing or unpleasing odor, I do not feel that my mind is compelled to understand that it is necessarily accompanied by these conditions; indeed, without guidance from our senses, perhaps neither language nor imagination would ever invent them. I therefore think these tastes, odors, colors, etc., that seem to us to reside in the subject[24] are nothing other than pure names, residing in the sensitive body alone, so that all these qualities are taken away and annihilated when the animal is removed; nevertheless, since we have given them particular names that differ from those of the other first and real accidents, we would like to believe that the latter are truly and really different from the former.

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With a few examples I believe I can better explain my idea. I move my hand first over a marble statue, then over a living man. As far as the hand's action is concerned, with respect to the hand it is the same over both subjects—that is, of those first accidents, motion and touching, and we do not call it by any other name; but the living body that receives such operations feels diverse affections according as it is touched in diverse parts. And when it is touched, for example, under the heels of the feet, over the knees, or under the arms, it feels another affection besides the common touching, to which we have given the particular name, "tickling". This affection is wholly ours and is not in the hand; and it seems that whoever should say that the hand, besides motion and touching, should have in itself another faculty different from these—such as tickling, where tickling is considered to be an accident that resides within the hand—would be making a serious error. A bit of paper or a feather, rubbed lightly over any part of our body, completes, with respect to itself, everywhere the same operation—that is, moving and touching. But in us, when it touches between our eyes, our nose, and below our nostrils, it causes an almost intolerable titillation; and in other parts of the body it can hardly be felt. Now that titillation comes entirely from us and not from the feather; and when the living and sensitive body is removed, it is no longer anything but a pure name. Many qualities that are attributed to natural bodies, such as tastes, odors, colors, etc., exist, I believe, in a similar way and no more.

A solid and, so to speak, very material body, moved and applied to any part of my person produces in me that sensation that we call *touch*, which, even though it occupies the entire body, nevertheless seems principally to reside in the palms of the hands, and especially in the fleshy tips of the fingers, by which we feel very small differences of roughness, smoothness, softness and hardness that we do not distinguish as well with other parts of the body. Some of these sensations are more pleasing and others are less, according as the figures of the touched bodies are smooth, rough, sharp or dull, hard or yielding. This sense, since it is more material than the others and comes from the solidity of the matter, seems to have something to do with the element earth.[25] Since some bodies are continuously dissolving into tiny particles [*particelle minime*], of which those that are heavier than air descend and those that are lighter ascend, perhaps two other senses come into being when these particles touch two parts of our body that are more sensitive than the skin, impervious as it is to the incursions of such subtle, tenuous, and yielding matter. The descending particles, received over the superior parts of the tongue and penetrating in a mixture of its substance and humidity, bring tastes—pleasant or unpleasant according to the diversity of the touching of the various shapes of these tiny particles and according as they are few or many and fast or slow. The ascending particles, entering at the nose, strike some tiny protuberances that are the instrument of smell, and there in a similar fashion their contact and

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passage are received with pleasure or displeasure according to their shape and according as their movements are slow or fast and as their quantity is small or large. One sees the tongue and the canals of the nose very appropriately situated: the former extended below to receive the incursions that descend and the latter situated to receive those that rise. Perhaps fluids that descend from the air accommodate themselves by a kind of analogy to the stimulation of taste and the fires that ascend accommodate themselves to odors. The remaining element of air is for sounds, which come to us indiscriminately from above, from below, and from the sides, since we are located in the air, whose movement in its own region is itself uniformly disposed on all sides. The situation of the ear is accommodated, as far as possible, to all positions; and we feel that sounds are made (and they do not require any sonorous or sound-resistant qualities) when a frequent tremor of the air, rippled into very minute waves, moves some cartilage of a certain drum in our ear. Furthermore, there are many external means to cause this rippling of the air, all of which may be reduced perhaps to the tremor of some body that ripples the air by beating against it, so that the waves extend throughout with great velocity, from the frequency of which arises the highness of the sound and from the rarity of which arises the lowness of the sound. But I do not believe that something else in the external bodies is required besides greatness, shape, quantity and slow or fast movements, in order for them to excite in us tastes, odors, and sounds; and I think that if the ears, the tongues and the noses were taken away, there would remain the shapes, the quantities, and the movements but not the odors or the tastes or the sounds, which I do not believe are anything other than names when considered apart from the living animal, just as tickling and titillation are nothing but names when the underarms and the skin around the nose are removed. And just as the four elements are related to the four senses under consideration, so I believe that sight, a sense far superior to the others, is related to light, but in that proportion of excellence which obtains between the finite and the infinite, between the temporary and the instantaneous, between that which has quantity and that which is indivisible, between light and darkness. I do not pretend to understand more than a small amount regarding this sensation and the things pertaining to it; but to explain—or, more exactly, to sketch out on paper—that very small amount would take much time, so I therefore leave it in silence.

To return to my original purpose in this section, having noted that many affections reputed to be qualities residing in external subjects really have no existence except in ourselves and outside of us are nothing but names, I should like to add that I am very much inclined to believe that heat is of this kind, and that the matter which produces and make us feel heat, called by the general name of *fire*, consists of a multitude of tiny particles, shaped in such a way and moved with such a velocity as to

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penetrate our body through their extreme fineness when they encounter it; and that their touching, which we feel during their passage through our substance, is the affection that we call *heat*, agreeable or annoying according to the quantity and greater or lesser velocity of these tiny particles that prick and penetrate us. Thus, penetration is agreeable when it aids our necessary and imperceptible perspiration, and annoying when it causes our substance to be altered excessively in opening up during it and closing afterwards. Thus, the action of fire is nothing other than to penetrate, by its movement, all bodies with its extreme fineness, dissolving them sooner or later according to the quantity and velocity of the *ignicoli* [i.e., little fire particles] and the density or rarity of the matter of these bodies; and there are many of these bodies that, when they disintegrate, turn for the most part into other *ignicoli*, and keep dissolving in this fashion as long as soluble matter remains. But I do not believe that there are other qualities in fire besides shape, multitude, motion, penetration and touch, or that heat is one of these; and I believe that this heat depends so much upon us that heat is nothing other than a simple word when the living and sensitive body is removed. And since the *ignicoli* produce this affection in us by their passage and touching through our substance, it is manifest that when they are immobile, their operation should be nil; and indeed, a quantity of fire contained in the porosity and anfractuousness of a stone after it has been heated does not heat us, though we hold the stone in our hand, because the fire remains at rest. But when the stone is put in water, where the weight of the fire is less of a hindrance to its movement, and where the water passages are more open than those of the air, the *ignicoli* escape and encounter our hand, penetrate it, and we feel heat.

Since the presence of *ignicoli* is insufficient alone to excite heat but some movement is also required, I therefore believe motion was very justly said to be the cause of heat. This motion causes arrows and other wooden things to burn and lead and other metals to liquefy, since the tiny particles of fire, moved quickly either by themselves or, when their own force is not enough, chased by an impetuous wind from a bellows, penetrate all bodies; and of those bodies, some dissolve into other tiny flying *ignicoli* and some into very fine dust, and others liquefy and produce fluids. But if this proposition is taken according to the common view, which supposes that a stone or piece of metal or wood when moved becomes heated, I believe it is pompous idiocy. Now rubbing and scrubbing two hard bodies together, either by dissolving a part into tiny flying and very fine particles or by opening a passage to the *ignicoli* inside, excites the *ignicoli* eventually to motion; and when these encounter our bodies and penetrate and flow through them, the sensitive soul, feeling their touch with their passage, experiences that agreeable or annoying affection that we call *heat*, *burning*, or *scalding*. Perhaps when the dissolution and attrition continues and is contained within the smallest

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quantity of *ignicoli*, their motion is temporary and their operation is calorific only; and when they arrive at the last and highest dissolution into really indivisible atoms, they create light, which moves or, better, expands and diffuses instantaneously and is powerful enough—due to that which I should call its subtlety, rarity, and immateriality or perhaps due to another condition yet unnamed and different from all these—to fill immense spaces.

I do not wish, Your Excellency, to set out inadvertently into an infinite ocean, where I should not be able to return to port; nor do I wish, as I attempt to clear up one difficulty, to cause another hundred to arise, which I fear might happen even with this small distance that I have gone from the shore. Therefore, I shall save the rest for a more opportune occasion....

5. Mario Guiducci, *Letter to Galileo*

Galileo continued to teach and demonstrate the validity of heliocentrism without too much fear of official censure over the next few years, but storm clouds loomed on the horizon.[1] When he returned to Florence after paying respects to the new pope, his faithful disciple Mario Guiducci (1585-1646), a wealthy Florentine, served as his correspondent from Rome. And one of the letters he received, translated below, explained what the issues were and who was interested in pursuing them. He came to believe, after many such reports, that an even more earnest campaign was necessary to convert the Church and the theologians along with everyone else; and all he had to do was to suggest that other systems besides Copernicanism were "possible." He continued to develop and polish a reply to a 1616 discourse on tides by Francesco Ingoli that he had already been circulating privately. After many revisions, the eventual result was a masterpiece of popular science written according to the best traditions of humanist prose, the *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems* (1632), which he sent to whichever influential personages might be helpful for his campaign—in the Church, in politics, and in scholarship.

Contrary to Galileo's expectations, Urban VIII was far less interested in philosophy than he was in reinforcing the papal bargaining position in the Thirty Years' War, turning Rome into the artistic and architectural wonder of the age, and carving out a principality for his family in Italy. So when three theologians managed to pull enough passages from Galileo's works out of context to build a case they believed would cut Galileo down to size and so vitiate a dangerous threat to the opinions of their colleagues, the pope, perhaps already angered by Galileo's supposed tampering with his horoscope and reported satire against him in the *Dialogue*, offered no resistance. Galileo's only possible refuge lay with Grand Duke Ferdinando

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II of Tuscany, who had succeeded his father in 1621. And when the grand duke, whose territory was in the throes of the worst depression and plague since the fourteenth century, forgot philosophy temporarily in favor of more urgent projects, Galileo's cause was lost. After a retraction of his heliocentrism in Rome in 1633, Galileo went back to the comfortable estate in Arcetri, outside Florence, where the condemnation decreed that he should spend his retirement. There, until his death in 1644, he pursued his interests more quietly while continuing to offer advice and support to his discouraged disciples.

My Very Illustrious and Most Excellent and Honored Sir,

I have not written or received letters from Your Lordship for several weeks, even though I have always had information about you, your health and the continuation of your *Dialogues*.[2]

I have been to Signor Prince of Sant'Angelo[3] several times to discuss you and the works you have completed and are currently writing. By the counsel of His Excellency I have put off giving Ingoli the letter to him, and I will continue to put it off until Your Lordship, in spite of the considerations of My Lord the Prince, does not order the contrary.[4] The considerations are these. First, that some months ago, a pious person in the Congregation of the Holy Office proposed to have the *Assayer* prohibited or corrected, claiming that the doctrine of Copernicus about the motion of the earth is praised there. A cardinal took the job of informing himself concerning the case and passing it on; and by good fortune he happened to commit the care of it to Father Guevara,[5] General of a sort of Theatines that I believe are called Minims, which Father later went to France with My Lord the Cardinal Legate.[6] The former read the work diligently, and being very pleased with it, he praised and warmly recommended it to that Cardinal. He also wrote down a defense of it, saying the doctrine of motion did not seem to him to be damnable even if it were sustained there. So the matter was dropped for the time being. Now, without the support that Cardinal could give to us, there seems to be the risk of some rebuke, because in the letter to Ingoli, the opinion of Copernicus is defended ex professo; and even though the opinion is openly said there to have been discovered false by a higher light, nonetheless the malicious will not believe this and will cause a new clamor. And without the protection of the absent Cardinal Barberini, with the opposition of another principal gentleman who was once on our side, and worse yet, with Our Lord [the pope] so bothered by these entanglements of war that he cannot be approached, our affair will certainly remain at the discretion and *intelligence* of the friars. For all these reasons the best course seems to be, *as I said*, to set aside this question and give it a bit of a rest rather than

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keeping it alive by persecutions and by skirmishing with those who can deliver real blows. Meanwhile, time can help our cause.

As I wrote to Your Lordship, the work of Sarsi has not yet been printed,[7] and I believe that he too, in the midst of these entanglements of the Genoese, is worried about his country.

I hope to be there before mid-May. At my departure I will leave the letter to Ingoli with Signor Filippo Magalotti,[8] so he can present it when Your Lordship wishes.

Signor Prince Cesi told me that the Accademia dei Lincei has granted me the special favor of including me among the Academicians. I know this is mainly through Your Lordship; and I recognize the main merit is yours, and I will thank you at the proper time.[9] Meanwhile, let this be a start, or rather, let this serve as thanks for the news I have received. In conclusion, kissing Your Lordship's hands, I pray Our Lord God for your every happiness.

Your Most Illustrious and Excellent Lordship's Most Affectionate and Obedient Servant, Mario Guiducci

(Rome, 18 April, 1625)

6. The Accademia del Cimento, *Physical and Astronomical Observations*

The new discoveries of the early seventeenth century stirred up a lively interest in mathematics and natural philosophy everywhere among scholars and learned amateurs—or, as they called themselves, *virtuosi*. Toward the late 1650s in Florence, this interest was accompanied by entirely exceptional circumstances permitting a new kind of institution similar in its genial atmosphere and informality to the other academies that dotted the Italian cultural scene but different in its unique devotion to experimentation.[1] First of all, there happened to be present in and around the city numerous *virtuosi* connected in one way or another with the tradition of Galileo. Of these, Vincenzo Viviani (1622-1703), frequent guest at Arcetri, styling himself "Galileo's last pupil," had succeeded Evangelista Torricelli (d. 1647) as grand ducal mathematician and engineer. Another direct heir of Galileo, Candido Del Bono (1618-76), was a parish priest in Florence. Still another, Alessandro Marsili (1601-70), was in the philosophy professorship at Pisa that Galileo had secured for him. Apart from these figures there were several students of Galileo's disciples—for instance, Neapolitan-born Giovanni Alfonso Borelli (1608-79), former pupil of Benedetto Castelli (to whom he had been introduced in Rome by Campanella), and now a newly-appointed professor at the

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University of Pisa. Francesco Redi (1626-97), who had studied at Pisa in the time of Galilean pupil Famiano Michelini, was now a protegé of Grand Duke Ferdinando II. Alessandro Segni (1633-97), a former pupil of Torricelli, was now a secretary to Ferdinando's younger brother, Prince Leopoldo de' Medici. Still other scholars and courtiers in the city had no definite connection with Galileo at all, but they were caught up in the general enthusiasm for experimental science, such as Antonio Uliva (d. 1668) a Calabrian protegé of Prince Leopoldo, Carlo Rinaldini (1615-98) of Ancona, professor of philosophy at the University of Pisa, and Florentine gentleman Carlo Dati (1619-76). What permitted this assorted group of powerful and often contrasting personalities to become an organized assembly, acquire expensive instruments, perform experiments at regular meetings and record the results were the coordinating efforts and patronage of the Medici. Even Ferdinando himself was an amateur in his own right and occasional tinkerer in his own well-furnished laboratory. Prince Leopoldo (1617-1675), however, more studious, and, most importantly, sufficiently unoccupied by other activities, became the guiding light. Accordingly, on or about June 19, 1657, regular meetings of what was at the time called the "Academy of the Most Serene Prince Leopoldo" began to be held in a specially designated room in the Pitti Palace, and with considerable regularity thereafter. Subjects ran the gamut from the nature of matter to the question of the vacuum in nature to the springiness or pressure of the air to astronomy. Communication with experimenters elsewhere was assured through Galileian pupil Paolo Del Buono in Vienna, through Del Buono's student Geminiano Montanari there and in Bologna, through Torricelli's student Michelangelo Ricci and Florentine antiquary Ottavio Falconieri in Rome, and through orientalist Melchisédech Thévenot in Paris.

Essays on Natural Experiments

Three years into the academy's operations, Prince Leopoldo replaced the unreliable Segni with a new personal secretary, Lorenzo Magalotti, eventual compiler of the *Essays on Natural Experiments*. Born in Rome in 1637 of parents from prominent Florentine families, Magalotti received his earliest education at the Jesuit Collegio Romano. And soon after matriculating at the University of Pisa in 1656, he experienced a meteoric rise in Florentine court society, partly through the good offices of his mathematics teacher, Viviani. As secretary to Prince Leopoldo, his principal task was to put the academy's experiments into print. The job turned out to be more difficult than he imagined. He had to have his text approved by the rest of the members as well as by the prince. They objected to everything, from the manner of presenting experiments to

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grammar and spelling. Explaining experiments of course meant telling what they proved; but the academicians could not agree on that. Carlo Rinaldini, for example, remained an unregenerate Aristotelian. They also quarreled about what to put in and what to leave out. Borelli could not stand all of Viviani's many thermometers, and suggested leaving some of them out. After no less than five drafts and nearly seven years of work, the *Essays* finally emerged in 1667, in bare form and with very few explanations, reflecting the situation that had given them birth. By this time, discord among the academicians had become almost intolerable. Three members were on their way to new appointments—Rinaldini to Padua, Uliva to Rome and Borelli to Messina. And what was more, Prince Leopoldo, the soul of the academy, had been made a cardinal; and as his brother's illness became increasingly acute, he was forced to devote more attention to political affairs as well. The *Essays* thus provided not so much a faithful portrait of current experiments in an on-going society as a monument to a scientific ideal that had animated the post-Galileians for the whole life of the academy, enshrined, for the occasion, in a new emblem (depicting a distilling operation), a new motto ("testing and retesting") and, for the first time, in a distinctive name: the Accademia del Cimento, or, the Academy of the Experiment.

Proem

. . . Man does not take any Truth away from the effects of nature; instead, he simply makes up a false science assigning causes improper to them. Not that the sovereign beneficence of God, in the act of creating our souls, does not let them have a quick glance, so to speak, at the immense treasure of his eternal wisdom by adorning them with the precious gems of the first glimmerings of Truth; and we can verify this fact by the notions our souls possess that they could not have learned here below and must therefore have received from elsewhere. But to our great misfortune, as soon as our still too tender soul falls into the terrestrial habitat and begins to roll around in that mud, these fine jewels, awkwardly situated in their mountings, become dislodged and discolor so badly that they are no longer worth anything until put back in place by the diligence of careful study. This is exactly what the soul attempts in the investigation of natural things, and it can find no better aid, we must confess, than geometry, which takes aim at Truth from the very outset, freeing the soul immediately from the pursuit of every other more uncertain and difficult path. Now, geometry doubtlessly leads us a little further ahead on the path of philosophical speculations; but then it leaves us in the lurch—not because it does not traverse infinite spaces and cover the whole universe of the works of nature, inasmuch as all of them obey the mathematical laws whereby the

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liberal sway of eternal wisdom governs and disciplines them, but because we have only gone the first few steps along this lengthy and spacious avenue. When we can no longer go any further by geometry, we can do no better than to resort to faith in experiment,[2] which, in the same way that someone might try to take various loose jewels and place them in their mountings one by one, accommodates effects to causes and causes to effects and sometimes succeeds in hitting the mark by *testing and retesting*, though perhaps not at first strike, as in geometry. One must proceed, however, with great care not to be misled by excessive faith in experiment; for at times, when it has removed the first veils of the most obvious falsehoods but not yet shown us the manifest truths, it manifests certain deceptive appearances that resemble Truth although they are merely the indistinct lineaments showing through those last veils most closely covering Truth's beautiful figure, so bright and vivid through that fine fabric as to fool anyone into thinking he is looking at the bare body. Here a mastery of the manners of truth and falsehood is necessary, and an extreme perspicuity of judgment for discerning well whether something is true or false. To achieve such mastery, at least some direct glance at naked Truth some time no doubt is necessary; and only those who have some taste for the studies of geometry have this advantage. No less helpful than attempting new experiments is to seek out which among the ones already attempted have in some way counterfeited the candid face of Truth. Therefore, the aim of our Academy, besides the ones already mentioned, has been to test, either for useful curiosity or for study, also those things that have been done or written by others, since unfortunately, errors often creep in and gain accreditation under this name of experiment. And this was in fact what first excited the most perspicacious and indefatigable mind of the Most Serene Prince Leopoldo of Tuscany, who, for recreation from the assiduous business and pressing concerns due to his exalted position, seeks to tire his intellect along the steepest trails of the noblest knowledge. The sublime understanding of His Most Serene Highness therefore very easily comprehended the damage produced on minds because the authoritative presuppositions of the great authors are so often taken on faith by those whom excessive reverence prevents from daring to call them into doubt. So he decided to devote his great mind to testing, by the most exact and well-conceived experiments, the value of those assertions and discovering their truth or falsehood, as a welcome and precious boon to anyone anxious to find the truth. These prudent ordinances of our Most Serene protector, embraced with due veneration and esteem by the Accademia, have not aimed at making us the indiscreet censors of the learned works of others or the presumptuous dispensers of disabusal and truth. Instead, the principal purpose was to motivate others to try the same experiments with the same strict criteria, just as we have tried the experiments of others—not mentioned for the most part in these

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first essays we are publishing, in order to better accredit the sincerity of our dispassionate and respectful sentiments by due regard for all. Indeed, to realize most fully such a noble and useful enterprise, the most necessary thing would be a free communication between the various assemblies distributed today throughout the most illustrious and conspicuous regions of Europe and dedicated to the same purpose of attaining these important ends, opening a profitable commerce whereby all could equally seek and participate in truth as much as possible with the same liberty. As far as we are concerned, we will labor toward this end with the greatest sincerity and ingenuousness, and let the testimony of this be the fact that when reporting the experiments of others we have always cited the authors, if known, and we have freely confessed when we were unable to repeat many with the same success. But let the most evident proof of the frank sincerity of our proceeding be the liberty whereby we have always shared these things with anyone who came into these parts showing interest in what we were doing—out of courtesy, out of real interest in erudition or out of noble curiosity—from the very beginning of our Accademia, instituted in the year 1657, in which if not all, at least the greater portion of the things presently printed in these *Essays* was shown. If there happen to be, among the experiments we are giving out as our own, some that were earlier or later imagined or published by others, let us not be blamed. We cannot know and see everything, and there should be no wonder if some resemblance exists between our intellects and those of others, just as indeed we do not wonder there should be some resemblance between others' and our own. We do not wish anyone to believe that we presume to bring to light a complete work or even the perfect plan of a great experimental history. We know full well that more time and effort would be required for such an enterprise. Anyone can discern our purposes from our title of simply *Essays*, and we would not even have wished to publish these if not for the powerful insistence of worthy persons that we should sacrifice to their friendly persuasion our bashfulness about printing such imperfect things. Last of all, before beginning, we renounce the desire to quarrel with anyone, to enter into the subtlety of disputes or into the pique of contradictions, and if sometimes, to make a transition from one experiment to another or for some other reason, some hint of speculation may intrude, let this be taken as the concept or particular view of the academicians, but never of the Academy, whose single purpose is to experiment and narrate. For this was our first notion and that of the exalted gentleman who, by his singular protection and great knowledge, caused us to take this path, and whose wise and prudent counsel we have always exactly and punctiliously heeded. . . .

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Experiments on Artificial Freezing

Among nature's stupendous operations, its admirable action of removing the fluidity from water and joining it together and making it still, giving it solidity and hardness, has always been held in the greatest admiration. This action, though we have it before our eyes every day, has nonetheless in every time given to human ingenuity material as ample as the other more hidden and rare natural operations for most subtle speculations. Fire dissolves into darting sparks and rushes through the narrowest passages of stones and even metals, opening them up, liquifying them and reducing them to water. The cold, even more marvelously, hardens and glazes the most fluid liquids, converting them into frozen snow and ice, which afterwards, when any tepid breath is breathed out around them, melt again into running water. Indeed, the violence of the force of cold in the freezing of liquids adds to our amazement. It penetrates not only through glass but even through the occult passages of metals; and just as the angry fire in deep subterranean mines explodes with great force and furiously opens up every passage, likewise the cold, in the act of freezing, bursts closed vessels of the thickest crystal and stretches, distends, and finally tears those of the purest gold, and blows apart those of crude bronze of a thickness that only thousands and thousands of pounds of dead weight would ordinarily break. Therefore, based on the strange transformation of water and most other liquids in congealing, some have thought that cold operating down in its mines with fit materials, prepares pure water to receive such a temper as to be transformed into even the hardest rock-crystal and gems of various colors, according to the tints drawn from the essences of the neighboring minerals, and indeed, even into the invincible hardness of the diamond. Plato was of the opinion that diamonds were generated by the remnants of the waters that produced gold in the secret caverns of the earth; and for this reason, in the *Timaeus*, that divine philosopher calls the diamond the offspring of gold.

Throughout the ages many ingenious men have speculated about the causes of freezing. They have wondered whether it indeed comes from any real and proper substance of cold, such as the schools term "positive," which, just as light and heat reside in the deep mines of the sun, likewise may have its particular residence or storehouse and treasury in air, water or ice or in some other part of the world, in the sense indicated by the divine oracle in Holy Scripture, *Hast thou entered into the storehouses of the snow, or hast thou beheld the treasures of the hail.*[3] Or else they have thought cold might be nothing but a total privation or driving away of heat. Concerning this and other curious observations of nature's artifice in freezing, and whether it operates by contracting or rarefying the fluid, whether the change proceeds slowly or instantaneously, and so forth, we

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were induced to attempt some experiments using artificial freezing through the outward application of ice and salt, in the belief that this method differs in no way from the procedure of nature itself when it congeals water by the pure and simple coldness of the air.

What we have had the good fortune to observe concerning such a vast and boundless subject, inviting such great and endless observations, will be narrated to you in the following experiments.

Experiments to Discover Whether Water Expands in Freezing

Galileo believed ice was water rarefied rather than condensed, because, as he said, condensation consists in a diminution of mass with an increase of weight, whereas rarefaction consists in an increase in lightness and of mass. But water gains mass in freezing; and ice is lighter than water, since on this it can float, and so forth.

This being supposed, which experience will sufficiently prove, we were curious to see what water would do when enclosed in a vessel where it had no room to expand while surrounded on all sides with ice to freeze it. We observed, as Galileo supposed, that frozen water, whether formed into great sheets of ice or into the smallest pieces, and of any shape, always floats on the surface of other water. Taking into account the increase in mass, this seemed a certain proof that in the process of freezing it becomes lighter by the distribution of small and insensible voids or minute particles of air or similar matter, like the little bubbles in crystal and glass. Such bubbles can be seen unevenly distributed throughout when ice is held up to the light, and when the ice is broken into small pieces under water, they all rise in great numbers.

FIRST EXPERIMENT: We took a vessel of thin silver plate with two covers that screw on (fig. 1), such as we use to cool our sorbets and other drinks in summer, and having filled it with ice-cooled water, we set it to freeze. The water was pre-cooled, because if it had been at all rarefied by heat when it was put into the vessel, it might have had an opportunity to contract upon the first refrigeration and then dilate again in freezing. When the ice applied on the outside was thought to have done its work, we took the vessel out, and opening the first concave cover, we found the second cover cracked and covered over with a thin layer of ice, from the water forced to come out there during the rarefaction of what remained in the vessel as it froze. The condensation of the water in freezing cannot be considered to have caused this crack. If so, being forced by the violent action of the cold to withdraw into a smaller space to avoid a vacuum, the retreating water might gradually have drawn down the cover and made it crack when unable to stretch any further. But in this case we would have found the cover bent inward, whereas in fact it was forced outward and considerably raised from its previous flatness, and so too was the surface

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of the ice in the vessel. Moreover, the edges of the crack were turned outwards, suggesting a great impetus that would have been much greater had a larger portion of the water been frozen; for after breaking the first layer we found almost all the water was still liquid.

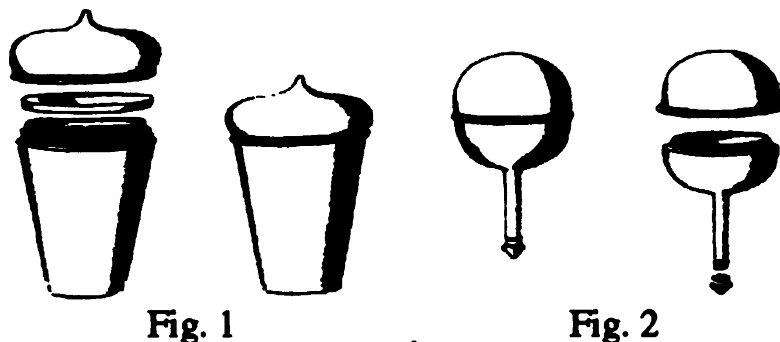

Fig. 1 . Fig. 2

SECOND EXPERIMENT: Having discovered that the force of freezing far surpassed the resistance of this first vessel, we decided to make a ball of cast silver of the thickness of a *piastra*,[4] oval in shape, the two halves screwing together in the middle, with a screw-fitting cap at the end of the neck. (fig. 2) Having closed this vessel, screwed the two halves together with a vise, and filled it with water at the neck and then screwed the little cap on that, we set it in a mixture of salt and ice to freeze. When we took it out after a short time, we found it perfectly whole. After opening it in the middle, we removed the core of ice, very soft and less transparent than usual, and perhaps also more dense and compressed, for when we placed it in water it did not seem to us to float as well as usual and tended, in everyone's opinion, to go down to the bottom. In the middle it had a cavity as big as a large shelled almond. We repeated this experiment several times with the same result.

THIRD EXPERIMENT: Some of the academicians wondered at this unexpected result, which at first seemed to contradict not only the opinion of Galileo but even experience itself. Though this ice seemed denser and heavier than that made without artifice by the cold air, it nonetheless had to be lighter than water because it still floated. They were even more perplexed as they saw the void always in the middle of the congealed water, suggesting that the water, which was enough to fill the ball when liquid, contracted when frozen into a space reduced by the amount of the said void. Recognizing from this obvious incongruity that there must be some fallacy, they set themselves to observe the whole progress of the experiment with the most exacting diligence. Taking the vessel very frequently out of the freezing mixture and carefully viewing it on all sides, they perceived an almost insensible bubbling out at the middle screw from time to time, an obvious sign that the water, with the great force of

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rarefaction, crept through the spiral passage of the screw. They thereupon waxed the threads and filled the ball again and set it in the ice and salt to freeze. Many times it was removed again, but the previous bubbling and whistling was not perceived. After the freezing was done, upon taking the vessel out of the mixture, it was found open on one side of the middle screw, where the rarefying energy of the freezing was so great as to force the threads. This experiment was often repeated, and every time with the same effect. The same thing happened using a ball of brass with a screw of twice as many threads as the silver one.

FOURTH EXPERIMENT: To avoid the difficulties created by the screws, we obtained some balls made of glass half a finger thick; and filling them with water, we set them to freeze after sealing them over a flame. The same thing happened to them as to the first vessel made of plate, for they all burst in various ways, some with their necks broken, others due to the unequal thickness of the glass or irregularity of their shape with one side split; others with cracks all over. The necks were generally broken off when the balls were entirely covered by the mixture of ice and salt, for the water in the necks, being the smaller quantity, froze first there and forced the glass. Then, in the procedure of freezing, the remaining water pushing in every direction easily broke the necks, either because these were already weakened or else because the ice there served as a cone or wedge. This never happened when the upper parts of the balls were left uncovered by the freezing mixture. How great the force of this rarefaction was may be gathered from this: that with the necks not turned downwards, when the vessels burst they flew two or three *braccia* up into the air, throwing up a great quantity of the ice that had covered them. . . .

On Saturn's Ring

The Accademia del Cimento's most famous opportunity for international collaboration concerned the rings of Saturn.[5] When Christiaan Huygens published his *System of Saturn* in 1659, proposing that Saturn's strange appearances (in the Supplementary Drawings below) could be explained by positing a (single) ring surrounding the planet, he dedicated the book to Prince Leopoldo as one of the great scientific patrons of the time. And when French Jesuit and Roman Church official Honoré Fabri countered with the *Brief Annotation*, explaining the planet's appearances by means of satellites, also dedicating the book to Prince Leopoldo, the prince submitted the whole matter to the Academy's arbitration on behalf of the learned community at large—with the results reported by Borelli in the following selection. Even Fabri himself eventually capitulated.

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Letter from Giovanni Alfonso Borelli to Prince Leopoldo, sent to Huygens in October, 1660

The new book about the globe of Saturn by Signor Christiaan Huygens[6] has been read by Your Serene Highness' academicians and unanimously judged worthy of that great astronomer, who is fortunate in being only the second one in the progress of so many centuries to have made new planets in the sky available to the view of men, with the new star circling around the planet Saturn that he has been the first to find, and whose period of revolutions he has established.[7]

And to that which has long agitated the minds of the most renowned astronomers of Europe for the variety of its remarkable appearances, he has discovered definite constants in shape and aspect, crowning it with a band.[8] Adding to this the vertiginous spinning of its globe around its own axis communicated out to bear along its moon,[9] he has constructed an intellectual picture making this planet among the most marvelous machines in the universe.

Nonetheless, this most noble concept of Signor Huygens has had the usual fortune of all things great and new, for his ingenious hypothesis has encountered opponents who have presumed to attack it.

According to the custom of the Academy of Your Most High Lordship, which is to investigate truth through experimental tests, we have considered this matter to whatever extent things so remote from our senses can be reduced to experiment; and finally, in the meetings held before Your Most Serene Highness we have examined dispassionately the concepts of Signor Huygens and his adversaries. Our observations will be explained in the writing below.

First Observation

As their most convincing argument against the band hypothesis, the adversaries[10] have pointed to the appearance of the little planets separated by a sensible space from the disk of Saturn; and they attribute the luminous continuation to multiple refractions of light like those frequently produced by imperfect lenses, through which many little bright areas may appear to unite that are really distant from one another and appear so to the best telescopes, as one sees in the Milky Way, where an indistinct whiteness is really divided into an infinity of stars that disperse the obscurity of the surrounding aether. If this is so, the telescope of Signor Huygens must certainly be numbered among the defective ones, since it shows him the appearance of the separated little stars as a continuous production of light. However, the weakness of this argument can be

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First Figure

Third Figure

Fourth Figure

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demonstrated with sense experiences; and we even managed to produce artificially the appearances of Saturn that could not be experienced except eight or nine years hence.[11] First, let us consider the argument.

FIRST FIGURE: This shows the globe of Saturn A surrounded by the flat band, BCEFG, to which the visual rays are noticeably inclined so that the smaller axis of the apparent ellipse is less than one-ninth of the larger one BE. It is obvious that the bright spaces BE will remain the same length but somewhat narrower, and likewise, the empty and dark spaces will somewhat contract in width, but the arms CDFG will be so thinned that at some distances they will be entirely invisible. Is there any wonder that the same luminous arms CDFG, because of their extreme narrowness, are lost at an immense distance, and the magnification of a telescope of medium length and perfection is not sufficient to view them? As the very subtle light outlines of the dark spaces vanish, the extreme ends of the band, BE, not surprisingly, remain visible, of notable though abbreviated length and width, in the form of two little bright spots very conspicuous to telescopes of no great length or perfection; and due to the distance and the weakness of the light, these spots seem detached from the body of Saturn and rounded like the luminous horns of Venus[12] and all objects seen from afar.

This was the outcome expected and then experienced in fact by the physical machine represented in the Academy of Your Highness. Its design is expressed in the second figure, in which you can observe that the proportion of nine to four suggested by Huygens has been exactly observed.[13] To make each appearance more obvious, both the ball and the band were painted entirely white, and then the surfaces were roughened and purposely made hilly by strokes of gesso to reflect the light from every direction.

SECOND FIGURE: When the said machine was placed at the end of a gallery 128 *braccia* long[14] and illuminated by four torches placed away from the visual range of the observer, the apparent ellipse was seen to become narrower as the angle of the visual rays to the plane of the band was decreased, until finally the areas GFECD became invisible to an imperfect telescope; nevertheless, the two extremes BE continued to be seen, although perfectly rounded due to the distance and the weakness of the light. Thus, the appearance of the machine in this position corresponded to the first appearance in the table of Signor Huygens, which is the ancient one of 1610 observed by Signor Galileo—that is, of three spheres, the middle one larger and the other two smaller and slightly separated from the disk of Saturn.[15]

This appearance varied considerably when the same machine, unaltered from its first position and distance, was observed with an exquisitely crafted telescope of 1 1/3 *braccia*. Then Saturn seemed no longer in the midst of two stars BE but crowned by a bright band, whose arms had been restored by the excellence of the second telescope.

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The same was observed in the light of day by the naked eye, with the machine situated 37 *braccia* away. From that distance Saturn appeared in the midst of the two stars BE, round and detached from their planet; after which the attachments of their arms were discovered using a very small hand-held telescope.

Do not believe there were ever any other appearances besides the ones we saw. Indeed, we had some difficulty asserting that we saw the two little stars BE detached, since, knowing for certain about their attachments and allowing our eyes to be guided beyond the little bright areas, we could often very easily imagine the very subtle filaments that joined them.[16]

Many people were called in to testify to the truth of this appearance, including idiots and those who had never seen the machine from up close to note how it was made. Each one was made to observe from the said distance of 37 *braccia* and separately to draw what he seemed to see; and the appearance was so obvious that almost all of them drew the disk of Saturn in the middle of two little round balls detached from it by an apparent space.

I said almost all—not because there was anyone with such perfect vision as to be able to reduce that distance, bring the most subtle lucid productions CDGF out of hiding and sketch Saturn surrounded by the band, but because there were some who either because of the excessive distance to their vision or else because of a strange concept emerging from their ignorance and the novelty of what was proposed to them, decided they had to produce some strange design, which they made, with no similarity whatsoever to the object seen.

Finally, Saturn is seen alone by situating the eye in the plane of the band; and then the external elements become invisible due to their extreme thinness, leaving the appearance of a perfectly round sphere.

I will note a fallacy whose cause was recognized at its first appearance and immediately eliminated by removing the rough spots of gesso on the plane of the band that had been purposely added to make the reflection more vivid; for however small they were, the said rough spots obviously had the same proportions to that small machine as very high mountains have to our earth. When the eye fell upon the plane of the band, they became perpendicular, and when illuminated, they fallaciously showed, by a bright though very subtle line, the facing exterior surface of the band to be also illuminated.

Finally, the rest of the appearances observed by Signor Huygens were found to adapt most admirably to those which, by diverse inclinations of the band with respect to the visual rays, were represented by our machine.

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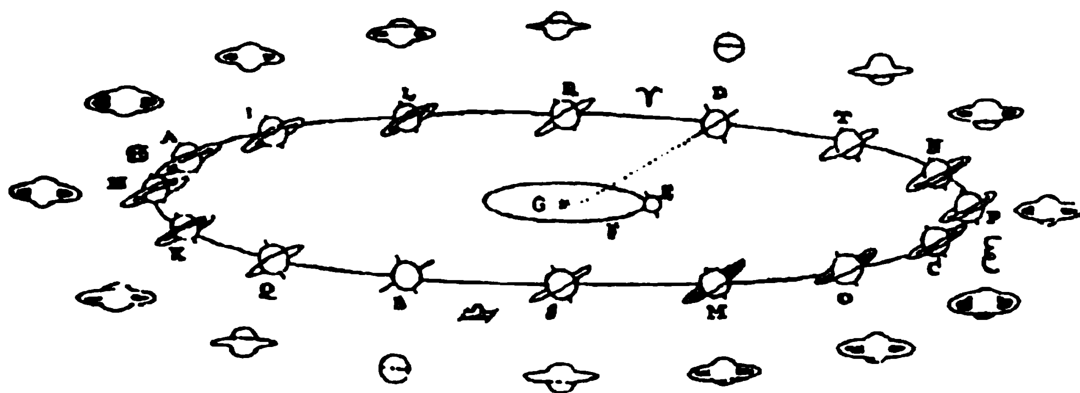
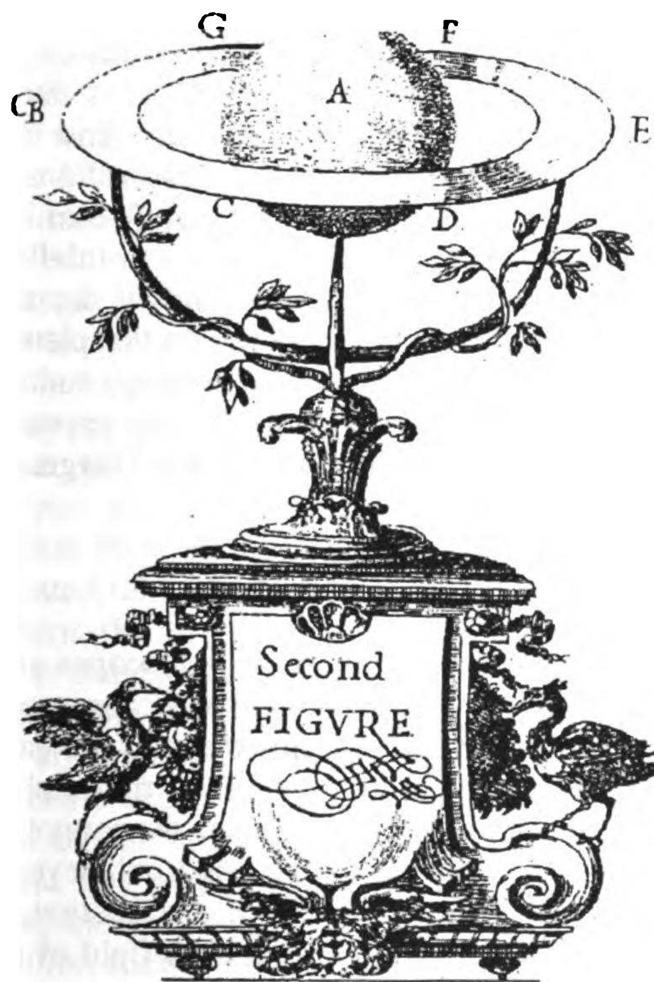


Supplementary Drawing from Huygens



Second Figure: The Model of Saturn

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Second Observation

Signor Huygens' adversaries make much ado about the fact that the machine in the new hypothesis cannot present to view all the appearances that have been collected by the various observers he reported in his table.[17] However, this does not seem to be a serious difficulty, since equal weight probably should not be given to all those observations, among which he includes some of Hevelius' that he never saw but arbitrarily accommodated to his hypothesis.[18] The most valid remaining observations supporting his hypothesis are therefore of Saturn alone, of Saturn accompanied by the two little stars, and finally, the one about which all the most diligent observers, and those with the most perfect telescopes, seem to agree, including the Most Serene Grand Duke and Princes of Tuscany, Signor Huygens, Hevelius, Divini, Riccioli[19]—namely, of Saturn's globe surrounded by an ellipse of unvarying length at its larger diameter and more or less narrow at its smaller diameter. And anyone analyzing Gassendi's[20] abundant though very strange observations will find that the line joining the centers of the companions of Saturn is proportional to Saturn's diameter as nine parts to four parts—an infallible argument for the constancy of this determined length and of the uncertainty of its shortening. Furthermore, whoever has observed this planet with telescopes of such perfection as we have here in Florence, and as the other said observers have, never encountered any of those appearances which are entirely incompatible with the band of Signor Huygens, but only those which are admirably compatible.

Third Observation

We did not succeed in observing with our telescopes any shadowy band across the globe of Saturn; indeed, we have encountered insurmountable difficulty in discovering any notable thickness in the band at all.[21] Since there is no example in nature of any other material as incapable of reflecting light as is the most tenuous aether, we cannot imagine how the material making up the thickness of the band, whatever it is, should not show even the slightest gleam or spark of a reflection, especially as its lateral extensions fall in the midst of the dark field of the aether. These difficulties, all tested with the machine, occur not only in its cylindrical convex surface, but also in the concave one exposed to our sight.[22] We therefore sought to make the band extremely thin, thinking to remove the difficulties that would be experienced in constructing it otherwise. We were well aware that even supposing the thinness of the band, another shadowy zone would have to circle the planet from time to time, not from the aspect of the cylindrical convex surface but from the shadow cast by the width of the band. This zone too must change position and sometimes

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entirely disappear; and we were not surprised at being unable to find it now, since our observations occurred when the positions of the globe of Saturn and of the sun hid it from our sight, as in the following demonstration.

THIRD FIGURE: Suppose the present position of Saturn in A, first in conjunction,[23] and then in opposition[24] to the sun in S. Opposed to Saturn, suppose the earth at T; and let there be a plane passing through centers T, S and A, perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic, with a common section at TS;[25] draw the circle GBC on Saturn, and draw in its band the right line ECAD passing through its center A. Obviously, in these current years the northern pole G of Saturn, according to the hypothesis of Signor Huygens, is equally exposed to the sight of the sun and of the earth, and therefore the lower part of the band EC, falling below the plane SA of the orb of Saturn, remains exposed to the rays of the eye as well as those of the sun.[26] Therefore, if a right line EF is drawn from point E parallel to SA, which will obviously fall within the solar ray, the point F can be conceived as the end of the shadow FC produced by the opaque band on the lower surface of the globe of Saturn. Now, since the latitude of Saturn in the next few years is northern, the ray TA must fall in I above the plane of the ecliptic TS, forming the angle SAI in the northern part G. So if a right line EO is drawn from point E parallel to IA, it will be caught by the visual ray and will fall beneath the luminous EF toward the southern pole of Saturn in the area illuminated by the sun. Thus, when Saturn is in conjunction with the sun, and for a quadrant[27] before and after, no part of the shadow cast on its disk by the lower part of its band will be visible from the earth

FOURTH FIGURE: Now suppose Saturn in opposition to the sun, with the earth at T, located between it and the sun. Since Saturn's latitude will be similarly northern, the visual ray TA will necessarily fall in I under the plane of the orbit of Saturn SA between B and C. The right line EO drawn parallel to IA will be the visual ray falling between points F and C. Now, since SA and EF are parallel,[28] this ray will strike in the shadowy space FC and the earth can perceive some of it, added to the blurry shadow that the sun produces on the surface of Saturn from point F down to the southern pole; and this will not only occur in the exact opposition of Saturn to the sun, but in the whole distance of a quadrant before and afterward. Therefore, there is no wonder that at present no part of that shadowy band is visible from the lower part,[29] which appeared quite distinctly perhaps in the month of April of this year and will be more obvious again in May of next year.

This necessarily most subtle strip of shadow does not stop reflecting; so we dare not assert unequivocally that it does not become visible enough also by itself to a telescope of the most exquisite workmanship when some other cause does not diminish it.

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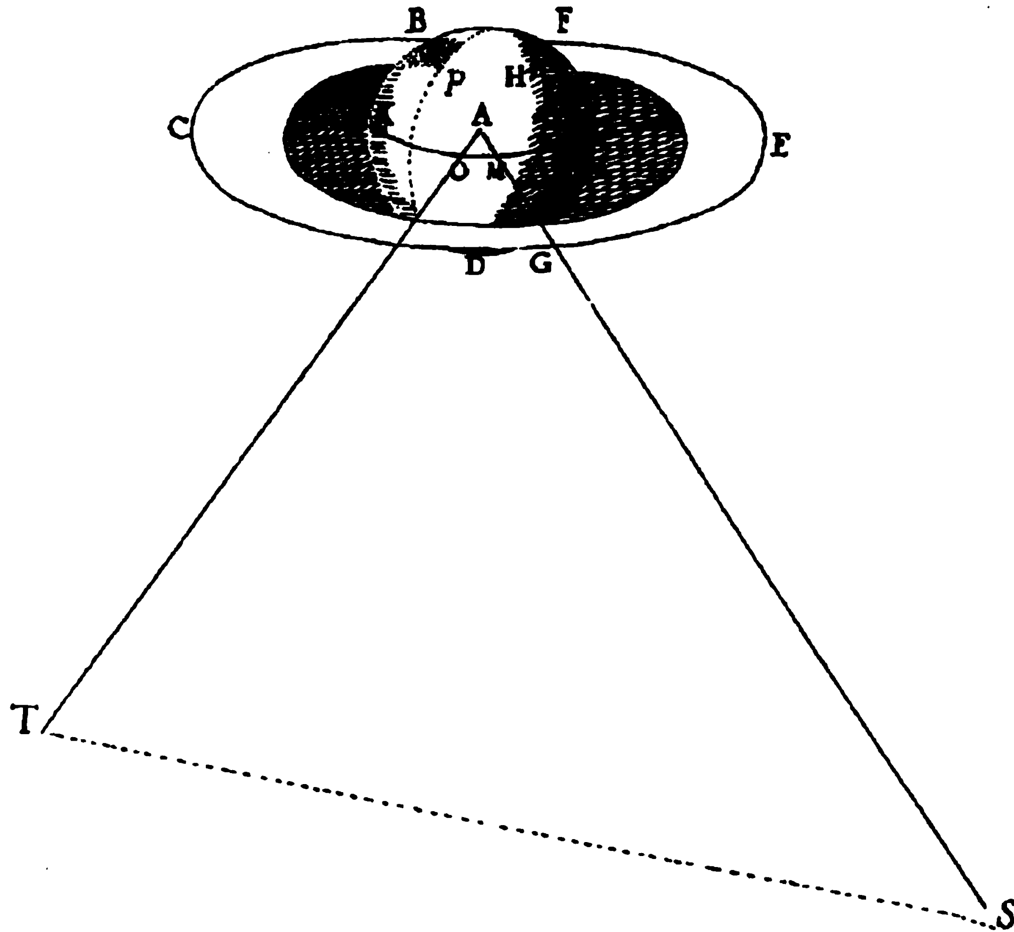
Fourth Observation

Most of our academicians agree in having observed, in these last two months of July and August, a small area of shadow on the upper Eastern



Fifth Figure

portion of the band of Saturn, causing the apparent disappearance of its attachment to the disk of the planet. This seems to suggest a very effective argument in favor of Signor Huygens, as one can see from the following demonstration, accompanied by a prediction concerning the alterations that should be observed in the said shadow during the months to come.

FIFTH FIGURE: Suppose the globe of Saturn at A, surrounded by its band BCDE, and the sun at S. According to the hypothesis of Signor Huygens, the northern pole of Saturn H, which is also the pole of the band, will fall for some years in the hemisphere lighted by the sun, BDGF, and the present appearance of the band will not change to any great extent in the next two years that the planet moves through the sign of Scorpio.[30] Supposing this, let the line SA joining the centers of Saturn and the sun pass through the pole M of the horizon circle BDGF, and the shadow cast

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in the opposing part of Saturn will be opposite the ray SA in the form of a cone whose base will be the same horizon circle BDGF.[31] Because the band BCDE is supposed to be detached from the globe of Saturn by a notable interval, and the ray SA is inclined to its plane, but not so much that the smaller axis of the apparent ellipse exceeds the apparent diameter of Saturn, the posterior part of the said band, which is BF, should fall inside the said shadow formed by the body of Saturn. And anyone observing the majesty of the entire band of Saturn would see the whole arc BCDEF illuminated by exposure to solar radiation, while the arc FB would be dark because immersed in the shadow of Saturn. Since the sun is now in 8° of Virgo, angle ATS with the earth comes to little more than 60° and angle TAS, which is the approximate position of Saturn, will be 5°.[32] Note also the position of the earth in T is more easterly than Saturn with respect to the sun. Now, the centers of the earth and the sun, as also the circle KMN, are in the same plane as the ecliptic. Therefore, the visual ray TA will have to cut the circle KMN in another point, such as O, 5° away from point M; and point O will mark the pole of the horizon circle of sight in Saturn just as point M marks that of the solar radiation. And since the great circles around these poles are as far apart from one another as the poles themselves, the great circle DLF*P*, which is the end of the visual rays, will be 5° away from from the circle BDGF; and for that much space the said circle DLF*P* will encroach upon the dark part, showing all the objects in that part of Saturn for the space of 5°. But in that space falls, as we said, the small portion B*P* of the band of Saturn BF, immersed in the shadow of Saturn; therefore to us, the part of B toward *P* will necessarily seem shadowy, situated as it is between the bright disk of Saturn and the rest of the illuminated band.

The appearance would be even more marvelous accompanied by the strange mutations that will soon be observed in the said shadow; because as observations continue, the shadow will gradually decrease, and toward the middle of the month of October around sunset, united to the disk of Saturn, it will entirely disappear. The shadow will again begin to appear in the upper western horn in F when the planet rises in the morning, and it will continue to increase up to the end of December, at which time it will seem the same as what is seen today. Not stopping there, it will continue to expand and finally reach the maximum toward the month of February of the following year. Finally, toward the beginning of May, its darkness will vanish.

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7. Geminiano Montanari, *Physico-Mathematical Thoughts*

After mid-century, the school of Galileo sought to refine his method of using mathematical concepts to explain the causes of physical phenomena by adding such notions as the corpuscular analysis of matter.[1] In doing so, they were able to extend this method to an ever greater variety of problems. Of course, becoming a Galileian natural philosopher called for instruction from Galileo's disciples. Fortunately, they could be found throughout Italy and abroad. One of the best of them, Paolo Del Buono, happened to be Emperor Ferdinand III's hydraulic architect and engineer and the Accademia del Cimento's foreign correspondent. From him, Geminiano Montanari of Modena (b. 1633) received his first initiation in the two main interests that were to dominate his work for the rest of his life: hydraulics and astronomy. Having given up his Florentine legal practice with no regrets, he finished his philosophy degree at the university of Vienna and changed his career to experimental science. Back in Florence in 1658 on family business, he joined the Accademia del Cimento with Del Buono's recommendation, refining his experimental technique on problems of fluid dynamics and his astronomical technique in the controversy about the rings of Saturn. Called back to Modena in 1661 as Duke Alfonso d'Este's mathematician, responsible for engineering and river works, he began collaborating with amateur astronomer and philanthropist Cornelio Malvasia on a project to revise and perfect Johannes Kepler's *Rudolphine Tables* of planetary positions and star locations. After continuing the following year on Malvasia's payroll in a private observatory in Bologna, his *Ephemerides* of 1662, a collection of observations including a precise lunar map, consolidated his reputation and paved the way for such later discoveries as that of the variability of the star Algol; and he soon secured the chair of mathematics and astronomy at the university there. By this time he had begun to depart from the philosophy of René Descartes that had attracted him in his youth, rejecting, like Pierre Gassendi, the notion that matter was a corpuscular plenum uninterrupted by vacuums. To test these views and bring his two main interests together, going from the celestial macrocosm to the earthly microcosm of matter, he formed his own version of the Accademia del Cimento, called the Accademia della Traccia, under the patronage of Carlo Antonio Sampieri and admitting local luminaries in diverse professions. There he investigated problems of surface tension in fluids that had dogged Galileo in the floating bodies controversy, discovered the law of capillary action, and suggested a modification of Galileo's assertion that water was not viscous. And he published these results in the *Thoughts*, written on behalf of his Accademia, where he showed his willingness to hazard daring interpretations of observed phenomena. Corpuscular theory

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led to work on the nature of light, perhaps influenced by Isaac Newton's first paper on optics; and hydraulics led to experiments with the transfusion of blood from a lamb to a dog, in further proof of William Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood. His distinguished productions gained him membership in the London Royal Society, through his colleague Marcello Malpighi, and eventually procured him a new chair of experimental philosophy, created expressly for him, at the University of Padua, which he held until his death in 1687.

The following selection is a perfect example of Galileo-style reasoning, exemplifies some of the issues in the controversy with Jesuit science, shows the deep philosophical implications of some relatively mundane experiments with tiny glass straws placed on the surface of water, and demonstrates a delicate balance between speculation and empirical observation.

... [Robert] Boyle, a mind not easily satisfied, sincerely confessed the difficulty of the question.[2] He said the pressure of the air outside that little straw which has been placed on the water's surface must be greater than inside, and he added some parenthetical remark concerning I know not what flexibility of the water particles causing them to adapt better to the glass; but then he left the problem unsolved without going any further or explaining his thoughts any better. He deserves praise for having attempted to recognize, however doubtfully, the path to follow rather than for having solved the problem.

Father [Honoré] Fabri, the ingenious Jesuit mathematician, went further; and in his *Dialogues* he suggests the problem is solved by the following argument.[3]

First, he supposes the heaviness of the air, and we cannot disagree. Very many experiments teach us that the air is heavy and exercises its heaviness against every body immersed in and placed beneath it, and even Aristotle himself, in *On the Heavens* book 4 chapter 4 asserts that *everything except fire has heaviness when standing stationary*. I am only puzzled by Fabri's determination of the height of the air, which, in his dialogue on the tides, he asserts is much higher than the moon itself when under the horizon. However, this is unimportant, because as you will see, he will benefit if we consider just the three miles of the height of the refractive air that the best astronomers consider as enough to produce the refractions apparent in celestial observations.

Secondly, he supposes that this heaviness causes the air around us to be compressed in such a way as to cause a force *everywhere in the sphere*. The quantity of this force, he suggests, can differ from the force of the heaviness producing it, so that where a smaller quantity of rays or right lines arrive, the effect of compression will be less. Thus, the water in a

long hollow cylinder, such as the glass straw ABC in Figure 1, feels this pressure less when standing at level B than standing at the rim C; because standing at B, it is only pressed by those lines that can pull themselves into the circumference of the rim C, whereas standing at C, its surface is pressed by all the lines coming from every place above its own level at C. He concludes that the proportion between the pressures is the same as that between the cones of air that press upon the surface by means of these lines, with the vertex pointing downward and touching the surface, or between the angles that can fit inside the hollow cylinder down to the said surface, from which alternatives it seems that he sees the same proportion between one cone and another of equal height as between one angle and another; yet I cannot imagine that he does not know very well that there is a triple difference in that proportion, as every one of you knows.[4]

And finally toward the end of his discussion of this matter he admits, or rather he declares, that the difference between these two pressures at B and C consists only in the air contained in the space BC inside the straw, suggesting that the surface B feels the same pressure of all the air as C does, except for the small portion contained in CB. Yet the difference in pressure is not the same as the proportion between the cones or angles that comprise it; so he seems to deny what he first pronounced, i.e., that the pressures were proportional to each other as the cones or as the angles of these cones.

Among his experiments there is one we actually saw come out differently from his account.[5] He says water does not rise in a relatively short glass straw as high as it does in a longer one. He explains this by saying the longer the straw is, so much smaller is the angle of the air pressing on the internal surface of the water; and, less pressed inside, this internal water gives in much more to the pressure of the external water. If this hypothesis were true, the effect would necessarily follow. But in fact, when we tried the experiment we achieved contrary effects. In a straw sufficiently narrow so that the water went up to five *dita*,[6] and indeed in others of different sizes, we have observed that the water rose to the same level, whether the straw was a foot[7] long or was broken into smaller sizes, right down to a size very little longer than the height to which the water itself rose, which is exactly the opposite of what he says he observed.

Let us move on from his experiments to his reasons. He says frankly in more than one place that the pressure of the air over the surface of the liquid inside and outside the straws is proportional to the angles. Now, if we have the jar with two necks BCED in Figure 2, of which the narrower part, from C to the opening at B, cannot contain an angle greater than one degree, we can attach a glass tube to the larger part AD long enough from its tip to level CA so it cannot contain an angle larger than half a degree, which would be when the proportion between the length of this tube of length AD and that of the narrow straw CB were twice that between the

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diameter of opening D to that of opening B. Then we add water up to level CA. And since according to this author the pressures of the air on surfaces C and A have the same proportion as the angles that can accommodate themselves in these straws, the pressure at C, which accommodates the supposed angle of a degree, would be greater than at A, which accommodates the angle of only a half a degree; therefore, the level of the water in the narrow straw CB would be lower than in that wider one DA. But we obtained a contrary result in our experiment. In fact, after a three-foot tube D was cut off two *dita* above the level of the water, the water did not rise any more or less than in the straw.

Fig. 1

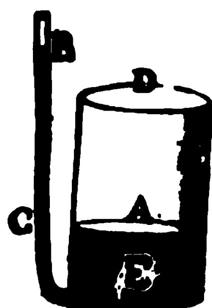

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

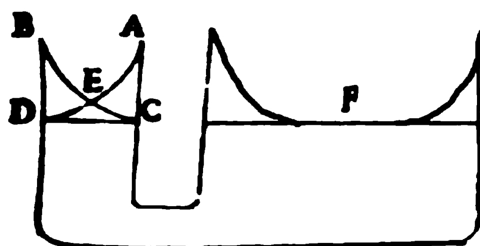

Fig. 5

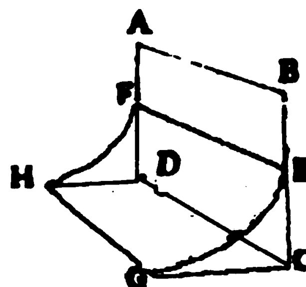

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

But remember, please, my good gentlemen, what I demonstrated to you elsewhere, discussing the equilibrium of liquids—that even though each portion of a base underneath a given liquid feels, so to speak, a portion of the weight of each part of the liquid directly above it, not only the parts perpendicular to it but also the other oblique ones, nonetheless, the weight which the whole base feels from all of these is always equal to the weight of the prism or cylinder formed above it up to the highest part of the water. You will remember that I then used a calculation to explain why two containers of diverse capacity, with the smaller resisting the weight of the

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larger, levelled off as though they were equal. Now, in the present experiment, it is still true that in the absence of any other cause, the cylinder, in other words, the greater prism of the air pressing in the larger container ought to come to the same level as the little cylinder of air contained in the narrow straw.

But if it is not true that the forces pressing down are as the angles,[8] nor even to the cones that can accommodate themselves in these straws, as we have shown, it is no less false that the said inequality comes only from the small amount of air contained in these straws, as this author asserts elsewhere, saying that air pressure is always the same down to the mouths of the containers and that the inequality consists in the small amount of air in them. That this is false we can easily show by calculation. We will not suppose, as he does in his dialogue on the tides, that the height of the air is from here to the moon; and for the moment, let us set aside our own calculation of four miles from the experiments with the height of mercury in a vacuum at the base and top of the Asinelli Tower.[9] Instead, we will take the view of the worthy astronomers who have deduced from refraction that it is about three Italian miles. Now, according to our author, the pressure of the air depends on its height, so it is equal at both mouths of the jar DA in figure 2, and the inequality comes from the air within the containers. And let us suppose that the inequality is in proportion to the cones described or accommodated inside these tubes, so that instead of pressing with its whole cylinder above the liquid, the air presses only with the cone described inside the tube, and consequently, with one-third of the force that the cylinder would have. Let us also suppose that the length of the tube is one foot (of the kind of which five hundred make an Italian mile). The force pressing outside the tube will then be that of a cylinder of air three miles high; and that pressing inside it will be of a cylinder three miles high minus two-thirds of a foot, because by that much the force of the air inside has to be reduced. These forces are to each other as 15,000 to 14,999 1/3; therefore, the difference in pressure inside and outside the tube must be less than 1/15,000 of what it would be if a cylinder of 15,000 pressed on one side and, counterbalanced by nothing on the other side. Now observe, my good gentlemen, that when we perform Torricelli's experiment of the vacuum using water,[10] on the outside of the tube there is the weight of the exterior air three miles high, and, on the inside, nothing weighing above the water, because the vacuum or aether does not have weight. In that experiment, the water rises above the external level a little more than sixteen *braccia*.[11] Let us suppose our author is right; now if there were a force inside those tubes equivalent to half of three miles of air,[12] the water would rise only eight *braccia*; and if there were a force of three quarters of a mile, the water would rise one-fourth of sixteen *braccia*. However, if there were a force inside of three miles less 2/3 of a foot, the water should rise to 2/3 of 1/15,000 of sixteen *braccia*.[13] Now,

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1/15,000 of sixteen *braccia*, which is not even 1/900 of a *braccia*, is imperceptible to our eyes; and so, according to this hypothesis, ought to be the differences in the levels of water inside and outside the tubes. Nonetheless, we see that in some tubes the water rises to 8 *dita*, which are almost 300 times more than it should according to the above calculation. Therefore, these effects must occur for another reason than the one posited by our author.

I could say much more, but I think I have already said enough to show you why I dissent from this author, whom I otherwise very much esteem. Furthermore, to explain why mercury in the smaller tube in this experiment, instead of rising like water, stays at a lower level than in the larger jar, he suggests that its parts are too gross to pass up through the narrow tube. If this were so, then once inside, it would have just as much trouble escaping as it did coming in; however, by pressing down the mercury in the larger jar by hand, we have made it rise higher than in the tube, and releasing the pressure, it immediately returns to its place, i.e., lower than the level in the jar.

Father [Francesco Maria] Grimaldi founded his hypothesis upon many solid speculations,[14] but he may not have observed the experiments concerning these effects, especially the one concerning mercury; and anyone making as few observations as he does would be likely to make the same errors as he.

He thinks water has a certain viscosity, or natural cohesion of parts not only to each other but also to contiguous bodies of other sorts, so that when drops of water are too small for their heaviness to overcome the force of that viscosity and pull them from the place where they are attached, they are forced to remain there, suspended from the tip of a twig or other thing in a horizontal plane without falling. Applying this consideration to the experiments with the glass straws, he demonstrates that when part of a straw is immersed and the first tiny portion of water enters up to the level of the water outside, its own viscosity attaches it to the internal surface of the tube, and unable to weigh downward, it cannot oppose the force exerted by the water beneath and is therefore forced to rise higher, with more water entering in after it, which also being held by that viscosity, is successively pressed upward until it arrives at the point where viscosity can hold no more water.

And indeed, this subtle thought is explained by the author and adapted to the present question in a fashion truly worthy of that great mind, who has already rendered great credit to this country by his very learned work and given even greater hopes of illuminating all of philosophy with other productions if he had not been borne away by an immature death. Certainly if he were still alive and had been able to see the rest of the experiments that are now being observed concerning this, he might have been able to find a more true and universal explanation of these effects.

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Now, we have often seen a little straw no longer attract as before, or not so much, and we attribute this to some obstacle inside or to some oiliness that remained after the water in it was removed by blowing. The same experience was probably what led him to conclude that the main effect we are seeking to explain could not succeed very well unless a good part of the tube was immersed in water; and he notes, *water never rises in the tube unless this part of it is sufficiently immersed in water*. However, we observe this to be false, because using the greatest diligence to make the tube just barely touch the surface, and not immersing it any deeper, we always caused the water inside to rise to its usual level. This invalidates his explanation that part of the water comes into the tube, and after reaching the level of the water outside, sustained by its own viscosity and therefore having no heaviness, is pressed higher by the rest of the water pushing to attain the level of the water outside.

Furthermore, I do not see how this hypothesis can explain why, when the little straws are held suspended in the air and water is poured along one side of them, as it passes the lower opening, it quickly rises inside [Fig. 3], since in this case the tube is not immersed in some external water pressing up to a certain level; indeed, rather than reaching a level, according to this hypothesis the water ought to descend, unable to remain suspended in the air. And much less could this hypothesis explain the effect that we see in small bodies placed on the surface of the water so they float at a certain distance from the sides of a jar, which run to the side as though attracted by magnetic power, and likewise this hypothesis can scarcely explain many other experiments we have performed.

Finally, Signor Fabrizio Guastaferri, that very ingenious Roman gentleman, in his second letter on virtuous pastimes, including many very ingenious inventions, bizarre experiments and curious speculations, assigns to corporeal substances a natural propensity to remain in the place assigned to them by the natural order. The order observed by air, water, glass and mercury, according to him, is that air floats above all the others, water above glass and mercury, and glass also above mercury, so that water rising in those straws tries to occupy the place above the glass, chasing out the air that ought to float above it, and mercury tries to remain lower than the glass and keep the glass, if possible, on top.

We, however, are not accustomed to attribute such propensities to inanimate things or such innate virtues to substances so they know their own natures and proper places as well as the natures of the bodies close by. We therefore remain very perplexed when we try to understand what might cause mercury to know the tube is made of glass and not gold, because mercury ought to rise above a gold tube and remain below a glass one. Furthermore, though these are indeed the places of these things in order of heaviness, nevertheless we do not know how bodies without any sort of understanding at all could conduct themselves to their proper

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places, especially since water cannot really be said to rise above glass when rising perpendicularly into a straw, but only when the straw was inclined horizontally.[15]

We have now seen what does not cause these effects. The time has come to find out if enough probabilities can be assembled from the effects and their circumstances along with other experiments and the commonly approved axioms in order to persuade us of some other hypothesis so close to the truth as to explain all the experiments we have seen or that should come to our minds beyond any shadow of doubt.

To do this, it will be necessary, my good gentlemen, to reflect first of all upon the nature of the air, which is obviously very important in these experiments. Now, the daily experience of the rarefaction and condensation of the air, whereby it occupies at times a larger and at times a smaller place, clearly shows it is composed of particles whose figures are incapable of filling up space. I call filling up space the accommodation of one particle so well to another as to leave no empty space between, as in the case of cube-shaped particles, for example, which arranging themselves one against the other would leave no space, unlike particles with a branchy or other shape. Not leaving any interstices at all between one another, such particles could not be compressed and dilated. On the contrary, if we suppose the air particles to be such that they do leave space between one another, we may suppose the many interstices to be completely void in the sense of Epicurus or Gassendi or others, or else full of another more subtle material considered by some to be the aether, which produces many effects such as flame, heat, light, and the like, very well explained by Descartes,[16] by Father Grimaldi and by others, or else we may suppose they are full of some other substance. None of this matters to us, as long as we understand the material between the air particles, whatever it is, does not weigh down and is much lighter than air; and in expanding, the particles admit more of these spaces between one another, and when pressed by an external force and reduced to a smaller mass, they admit a smaller number of these spaces, all of which actions of the air and other bodies we call condensation and rarefaction. For understanding how a substance does not increase or diminish when its quantity, the very measure of its extension, increases or diminishes, the concept we have described will be much more useful than the true Aristotelian rarefaction and condensation, which the mind can only pretend to understand by self-deception. . . .

Because these particles of the air do not totally fill the space, they therefore must not totally accommodate themselves to the surfaces, particularly the smooth ones, of other bodies, but rather partly touch and partly not, like cotton or other similar bodies pressed against the surfaces of jars containing them. So between this air and the bodies in question

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there remain tiny interstices, either void or else full of the subtle material mentioned above.

And do not wonder, my good gentlemen, if I do not determine here whether these tiny spaces are really void or full, in other words, whether I do or do not believe in the vacuum; because the arguments I want to suggest to you concerning our experiments equally satisfy those philosophers who sustain the vacuum and those who deny it, so I do not now want to engage any of them, reserving this debate for another occasion.

The air, besides everything that has been said, also has heaviness, as is demonstrated by the Torricelli experiments and many others invented and elaborated by others to find out if there is a vacuum or not. And weighing down, it squeezes the lower parts of itself, just as a very tall mass of wool would be compressed by its own weight, and the part closest to the ground is much more compressed than the higher part, and therefore more condensed. Because of its heaviness and fluidity, it exerts the same force in every direction, equal to the weight of the whole cylinder or prism of itself that is above a container, as I demonstrated with arguments and experiments in my past *Discourses* on the equilibrium of liquids.

If another liquid body is pressed by the air and has the possibility of going into another place where there is less or no pressure, it will be forced to go there.

Very little if any pressure will be exerted upon a liquid in those places where there is a true vacuum or else where there is some substance, subtler and lighter than the air, that can easily be displaced, as we find in the experiments concerning the vacuum, and therefore in those places we see water rises almost 17 *braccia*,[18] mercury 1 1/5 *braccia*,[19] and the other liquids in proportion to their heaviness, each balancing its own weight against the weight of the air outside, as taught by the very learned Torricelli, inventor of these experiments.

Having considered these things concerning the air, some consideration must also be given to the nature of water and other liquids.

First of all, there is no doubt that water and other liquids have that cohesion or adherence of particles which we usually call viscosity, observed by Father Grimaldi and known by everyone through daily experience; and we have made long inquiries in some of the experiments we have performed, as you know, to find out the differences in viscosity and other properties between various liquids. Because of this cohesion of the particles to one another, one of them cannot easily move without drawing many others along with it which are attached to it for this reason.

A great number of experiments and speculations would be required just in order to understand entirely the origin of this viscosity. Nonetheless, for present purposes, let us consider the effect we often observe in two solid bodies with surfaces so similar to each other that they

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adapt perfectly, like two exactly flat plates of glass or a concave and a convex one of equal sphericity, and similar things that unite so tenaciously that they are difficult to pull apart again; and these effects clearly show that the smaller the surfaces are that are attaching to each other, the less effort is required to pull the bodies apart, and the more exactly they unite with one another, the more tenaciously they resist being pulled apart. Now, if we imagine a great multitude of tiny corpuscles all accommodating each other on some small portion of their surfaces, as in fluid bodies, we can easily understand that this cohesion will bring about the effect we call viscosity.

The most learned Galileo considered the vacuum to be the cause of this effect; and he attributed the mutual cohesion of the smallest particles of solid bodies to very tiny little vacuums disseminated among them. Rather than attempting to prove or disprove these explanations, I will only say that the effect exists and must be caused by something in nature. Now, if we consider this effect as a given, then we can imagine that some liquids whose particles are sphere-shaped and therefore touch one another in only one part certainly could have no viscosity, since their particles could not accommodate each other for any large portion of their surfaces; just as other liquids may be composed of cylindrical or cylinder-like particles touching each other in lines, and these would also have little viscosity, although perhaps somewhat more than the first, and so on with other liquids, which would have more or less viscosity according as their parts touched more or less of each others' surfaces. Other than this, a liquid can be imagined to be well able to accommodate itself to the surface of one solid body but not to another when much of its particles' surfaces conform to the texture of the particles of the first solid surface but only a small portion of the particles' surfaces to those of the second solid surface. We see, in fact, that water easily extends over the surface of many smooth bodies but if these have some oiliness, it cannot attach to them without difficulty: and this, I believe, is because the water particles cannot accommodate themselves well to those of most oily bodies. Mercury, by contrast, does not leave any of itself on the surface of any smooth body except some metals like aluminum, gold, silver and so forth, and I cannot imagine any other reason for this except because its particles are unable to conform to the texture and porosity of other bodies except these and moisten them and leave them covered with itself in the same way that wood and other bodies are moistened with the water in which they are dipped.

It will not be out of place here to reflect on the reason why two flat plates of glass, marble, or another substance, which, as we said, can be exactly accommodated to one other, and unite even more tenaciously when they are not dry but moistened with water or some other liquid. This cannot be, I believe, for any other reason except because those surfaces,

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even though smooth and polished to our senses, nonetheless in fact have many tiny cavities and rough spots, so they can never exactly join with one another; but some tiny spaces between them always remain, which, if some material could fill them, removing all such irregularities, the surfaces would unite perfectly. If the air were able to fill these imperfections with its particles as well as water and other fluids, the said plates when dry would unite no less tenaciously than when wet; but the tiny parts of other fluids are more adapted for such an effect than those of the air, so the plates more solidly glue themselves together wet than dry. Mercury makes plates composed of those bodies to whose surfaces it accommodates itself, namely, gold, aluminum, and so forth, unite in the same way as water or any other liquid, as you saw last winter by experiment.

Let us take these effects as true and established. And in addition, let us recall that different surfaces of bodies to be moistened will produce different effects, as we showed. For ease of understanding, we will now, until further notice, suppose the same surface of a solid body in contact with different fluids, and this surface will be hard glass, free of all oiliness. We can now observe how water and other liquids ascending in little straws better accommodate themselves to the surface of this glass than does the air, because of the particular figure or else the especial flexibility of their tiny particles. We can easily understand how they must necessarily rise higher around the sides of the jar than in the middle; because pressed in the middle by the surrounding air, they are forced to enter into all those places where they find more convenience and a resistance less powerful than the pressure upon them. If not for the viscosity preventing any one of the particles from moving without drawing along its neighbor, I imagine that a little water placed in a jar would immediately rise around the surface of the sides and cover them all over with a very thin layer, filling in this fashion those tiny spaces between the particles of the air and the sides of that jar that are either void or else filled as we said by a very subtle material. Rock oil,[19] which our experiments showed to be not only much lighter but also much less viscous than other liquids, almost invisibly mounts to a great height along the sides of jars, oiling them, so to speak, very subtly; and anyone who wets a small part of the hand with a small drop of it will immediately see it spread around and oil his hand by itself to a considerable distance. But because water particles have this viscosity among themselves, the first of them rising along the sides are necessarily followed by such a quantity of others connected with them that instead of expanding in a subtle layer, as we said, they rather remain at a low height and form a wedge or chisel along the side, as in jar ABC of Figure 4, where the parts of the water are represented close to sides A and B.

In order to understand why water rises up the sides of jars and of other bodies partly immersed in it, two forces must be taken into consideration. One pushes the water into those little spaces we said exist between the air

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and the said sides; and this is the heaviness of the air itself pressing on the water surface. The other force keeps the same water from rising above a certain limit, and this, besides the water's own heaviness, comes from the rising water particles' viscosity, which causes them to bring up into those little spaces not only the particles that are directly underneath but also many lateral ones toward the middle of the jar; and these will rise against the heaviness of the air above them only to the extent that the force of those last ones immediately touching the side of the jar can pull them along while entering into the little spaces where there is no air so they will not feel pressure. The closest ones to the side rise successively higher and stop when these forces are in equilibrium—that is, when the particles touching the side cannot suspend any greater mass of water by their viscosity on that side, and the surface of that water will therefore remain concave from there to as far as the force of that viscosity arrives, leaving the rest of the water toward the middle of the jar flat and level.[20]

The jar may be so narrow that the force of viscosity arrives at the middle of the surface of the liquid, since this concavity usually expands for a half a *dita* or more away from the side, and in this case, the concavity of the surface of the liquid toward one side joining with the concavity rising toward the other side forms in the whole surface a half-sphere or perhaps a parabolic curve.

Taking all these things into account, let us please consider, my good gentlemen, what would happen if the two wedges at opposite sides of the jar (as we are calling the water rising like a chisel above the ordinary level) should join together. The force of one would extend all the way inside the other. Let us therefore observe Figure 5, showing the section of a jar with two necks, one larger and one smaller. The wedges of the wider one do not join in the middle, and therefore they leave part of the liquid on a flat plane at F. In the narrower neck, CD, the wedges ACD and BDC are so close that they overlap, leaving the surface AEB concave. In this case there is no doubt that the portion of water CED belonging to both wedges will be suspended by the viscosity of both and only half its weight will be suspended by each wedge. Now, the particles closest to side AC, for the reason mentioned above, rise only as much as they are permitted by the weight of wedge ACD attached to them by viscosity; so if the weight of this wedge is lightened by being held up in part by the opposite wedge, these particles must rise higher. And with the particles closest to the opposite side BD doing the same, the whole level AEB will rise higher than the level of the larger jar F. And because the rising wedges are accompanied by other parts of the water below joined to them by viscosity, they will stop rising when they have pulled up enough particles to serve as a counterweight to the force causing them to rise, that is, when enough of the cylinder ACDB will be pulled above the level FCD to contain a quantity of water equal to the wedges ACD and BDC taken separately.

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When these wedges are closer, due to the closeness of the sides, the portion of water common to both will be greater, the particles immediately next to the sides will be lighter and therefore rise higher. Inside narrow straws, where the sides are very close, in the tiny space between two plane surfaces touching each other, in the pores of wood, in sponges, in felt, and anywhere else where there are surfaces very close together, when water or some other of the mentioned liquids are applied to the lower parts, it will rise high in them, and so much the higher the more narrow the openings or fissures are in which they enter. And since the heaviness of the air pushes all liquids the same way, the lighter they are, and the less they have of their own heaviness to resist that of the air pushing them up, the higher they rise.

All other things being equal, the more narrow are the fissures between the flat plates or the openings of the straws, the higher liquids will rise. And the heights to which they rise are inversely proportional not to the bases of the empty shapes, as the previously mentioned Father Fabri imagined, but rather to the diameters of these bases;[21] so the mass of water rising in a narrower straw, no matter how high, is always smaller than that rising in a wider one. Consequently, given two straws with one diameter twice that of the other, the water will rise in the wider one to half the height to which it rises in the narrower one, and not to only a quarter of the height as would happen if the heights were proportional to the bases. . . .

To understand this supposition, let us conceive in our minds a portion of the side of a jar, or rather a solid plane perpendicular to the horizon, as in figure 6, plane ABCD. If this were the side of a jar filled with water, the water pressing on it would rise somewhat, forming a sort of wedge; and let us imagine that prism ECGFDH is the wedge of water that would become attached to that side. For the moment, we will not worry about the rest of the water in the jar besides this wedge, which is not expressed in the figure. Clearly, the mass of such a wedge or prism is always proportional to the width AB of the side supporting it, so that half of the side AB sustains half of the wedge, two times the width of that side would sustain two times the mass of the wedge, and so forth, since prisms with equal bases are proportional to each other as their lengths.

You can easily see now that if we take two flat surfaces, of which one is double the width of the other, and bend them to form the sides of two hollow cylinders, the same quantity of particles could be accommodated next to these sides as next to the plane surfaces, and these sides would be able to suspend exactly the same mass of water as they raised before when flat. Consequently, the mass of water rising in the greater cylinder will be double that in the lesser one. Now, the ratio between the masses of water rising in cylinders or little straws is the same as between the circumferences of their orifices, which is the same as between their diameters.

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We must now demonstrate that liquids rise in the little straws in inverse proportion to their diameters. Let there be two cylinders or straws AB and CD as in figure 7, and let diameter CD be two times diameter AB. If the water in CD rises, for example to E, it will rise in AB to double that height—that is, to F. Because the mass of water ED must be double that of FB, if we cut cylinder ED into two equal parts at G, the mass of GD will be the same as the mass of FB. Now, since the height of equal cylinders is inversely proportional to their bases, the base of DG will be to the base of BF as the height of BF to the height of DG; but the base of DG is four times that of FB (because it has double the diameter, and we were supposing a double proportion) therefore the height of FB will be four times the height of GD and double that of ED, which we wanted to demonstrate.

See therefore, my dear gentlemen, how the things so far discussed easily explain all the other effects we have observed. Now, just as some fluids accommodate themselves better to the surfaces of other bodies than the air, there seems good reason to suppose some bodies will adapt worse than the air, like mercury. And we see that mercury is reluctant to adhere to the surfaces of most other bodies except for a few metals mentioned above. Indeed, when removed from a jar in which it has remained for a long time, it does not leave the slightest vestige of itself. So if, as we said, there remain little empty spaces between the particles of air and the surfaces of solids, we must believe the spaces between the surfaces of most solids and the particles of mercury are much larger, allowing the air to penetrate and fill them or at least to occupy them in whatever fashion its shape allows, in which case the considerations above concerning water and other liquids against the air will all now go for the air and against mercury. Therefore, just as the water rises along the sides of the jars to fill the little spaces left there between the air and the sides, likewise the air next to these sides must go in to fill the spaces remaining between the mercury and the same sides. Just as water in the little straws rises above the external level, pushing the air up, likewise the air in the same straws will go down below the outside level of the mercury. And just as water rises higher in the little straws the narrower they are, according to the proportions we explained, likewise and in the same proportions the air below will push the mercury up according to the narrowness of the straws. In sum, the air and the mercury will always behave in a fashion contrary to the behavior observed between the air and the water, because the correspondences are contrary between the shapes of the particles of these liquids. I could bring you no clearer argument of the truth of these suppositions, my good gentlemen, than the correspondences between the experiments themselves. We have seen that mercury excellently adapts, because of the similitude of particles we mentioned, to the surfaces of narrow golden and tin straws and in fact spreads over, moistens them and

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penetrates them just as water moistens, penetrates and soaks wood, clay and other bodies. I say mercury will have the effect of rising in those little straws above the external level of the mercury, just as water rises in the little glass straws; and this is because it finds a surface there whose particles' shapes excellently adapt to its particles' shapes, so air, which does not so exactly spread along those surfaces, is excluded.

We also see that mercury more easily soaks a mixture of tin and lead than it does tin and lead separately, and that the welds of jars are the first to become moistened with it, because in this mixture of different metals partly alike the pores between the particles may remain more open, so that mercury more easily penetrates.

But since the said effects are not enough alone to explain why air adapts to the surfaces of glass and most other containers better than mercury, I would like to persuade you now that the particles of air also have some viscosity. You only need to reflect on the tenacity whereby some tiny bubbles of air stick to the bottom of a jar or to the surface of a body under water, such as at the ends of flowers freshly placed in a glass vase, where we see an infinite number of them generated that cannot be detached and made to rise except by a solid blow. The little particles of air remain attached to the object by some viscosity and cannot be detached unless by violence or unless they increase in mass to the point of having enough force to detach themselves. And observe that water behaves in an exactly similar fashion in the air, where viscosity fastens little drops to the surfaces of solids so tightly that they do not detach unless by a violent shock or unless they overcome the force of their own viscosity by increasing in weight and size. . . .

And finally, my good gentlemen, observe how nature ingeniously provided plants and herbs with those pores or tiny channels that can be observed under the microscope in such an orderly arrangement in any piece of wood, and that extend from the roots all the way to the tops of plants, allowing the humor to rise which nourishes the plants, just as in so many tiny straws. There is no doubt that the force whereby this humor rises so high originates from the same cause whose effects we have observed in these little straws, and in fact we have observed water rise through the pores of wood. There is no wonder that this humor should rise to such great height in trees. Unlike in our little straws, there is no communication of the external air in the superior parts of the pores of plants that might push down and counterbalance the force of the rising humor;[22] and just as pure water in places where it has no obstacle may rise nearly 17 of our *braccia*, as shown in the water version of the Torricelli experiment, some plants are able to grow very tall, such as fir trees, pines and other similar ones. Now, in the Torricelli experiment oil can rise to 22 braccia, and other liquids even more according as they are lighter in weight. The humor that nourishes the firs, the terebinth, and the like can

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easily be supposed to be very light, since we see that gum and turpentine, which are exactly the same humors but somewhat fixed, are much lighter than water and many other liquids, just as the humor nourishing shorter plants can be supposed to be heavier, although I know the structure of these plants is so various that there is no time to go into this matter here.

The whole subject is too vast, and I do not want to go on too long enumerating all the effects of nature that are manifest to us once we know this cause; indeed, you yourselves, my good gentlemen, have enough perspicuity of mind to discover most of the ones which might occur to me. . . .

8. Francesco Redi, *Experiments on the Generation of Insects*

Members of the Accademia del Cimento investigated the animal and plant kingdoms by the same Galileian methods they applied to the rest of the natural world, putting the most widely-held contemporary opinions to the test of observation and experiment. One of them, Arezzo-born Francesco Redi, made this application his special study; and in so doing he produced one of the most remarkable examples of biological description in the entire century.[1] Like many of his contemporaries, he came to the study of nature through medicine. After graduating from the University of Pisa in 1647, aged nineteen, he prepared to follow his father into the career that permitted the family a relatively opulent life style in Arezzo. However, his interests were far too diverse to be entirely satisfied. He tasted the flavor of research for the first time in Rome, after peregrinations that took him through the various intellectual centers of the peninsula, from Naples to Padua to Bologna. At the same time, he developed such a formidable knowledge of literature and skill in poetry that, when he finally settled down in Florence in the mid-1650s, he was elected president of the prestigious Accademia della Crusca, to whose activities of purifying and codifying the Tuscan language he eventually contributed by collaborating on the third edition of the academy's *Vocabulary*. In those meetings he perfected his mock-epic poem, *Bacchus in Tuscany*, a mythological romp replete with references to contemporary personages which he eventually published with suitable annotations. In 1666, just when he was appointed court physician to Grand Duke Ferdinando II, he became a professor of Tuscan Language at the Florentine Studio, a position from which he was able to instruct such later lights of Tuscan literature as Benedetto Menzini, Vincenzo da Filicaia, Anton Maria Salvini and Alessandro Marchetti. An offhand conversation with Ferdinando about some cocoons on a tree in the Boboli Gardens led to the opportunity to put his interest in literature together with his interest in naturalistic observation. And the result was the *Experiments on the Generation of Insects*, which demolished, at a single

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stroke, the notion, held by most contemporary naturalists and almost all preceding ones except William Harvey, that flies and other insects could be spontaneously generated from putrefying matter. Later works covered the physics of glass, optics, the anatomy of turtles and parasites; and there was a long series of medical consultations. Nomination to the first group of members of the Accademia degli Arcadi in 1690 allowed him a final opportunity to offer literature and science as the bases for a reform of the institutions of Italian culture; although the many other projects that began piling up on him in the last eight years of his life determined his participation in the new movement mainly as an inspiring presence.

... Although content to be corrected by any one wiser than myself, if I should make erroneous statements, I shall express my belief that the Earth, after having brought forth the first plants and animals at the beginning by order of the Supreme and Omnipotent Creator, has never since produced any kinds of plants or animals, either perfect or imperfect; and everything which we know in past or present times that she has produced, came solely from the true seeds of the plants and animals themselves, which thus, through means of their own, preserve their species. And, although it be a matter of daily observation that infinite numbers of worms are produced in dead bodies and decayed plants..., I feel, I say, inclined to believe that these worms are all generated by insemination and that the putrefied matter in which they are found has no other office than that of serving as a place, or suitable nest, where animals deposit their eggs at the breeding season, and in which they also find nourishment; otherwise, I assert that nothing is ever generated therein. And, in order, Signor Carlo, to demonstrate to you the truth of what I say, I will describe to you some of those insects, which, being most common, are best known to us.

It being thus, as I have said, the dictum of ancients and moderns, and the popular belief, that the putrescence of a dead body, or the filth of any sort of decayed matter engenders worms; and being desirous of tracing the truth in the case, I did the following:

At the beginning of June I ordered to be killed three snakes, the kind called eels of Esculapius. As soon as they were dead, I placed them in an open box to decay. Not long afterwards I saw that they were covered with worms of a conical shape and apparently without legs. These worms were intent on devouring the meat, increasing meanwhile in size, and from day to day I observed that they likewise increased in number; but, although of the same shape, they differed in size, having been born on different days. But all, little and big, after having consumed the meat, leaving only the bones intact, escaped from a small aperture in the closed box, and I was unable to discover their hiding place. Being curious, therefore, to know their fate, I again prepared three of the same snakes, which in three days

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were covered with small worms. These increased daily in number and size, remaining alike in form, though not in color. Of these, the largest were white outside, and the smallest ones, pink. When the meat was all consumed, the worms eagerly sought an exit, but I had closed every aperture. On the nineteenth day of the same month some of the worms ceased all movements, as if they were asleep, and appeared to shrink and gradually to assume a shape like an egg. On the twentieth day all the worms had assumed the egg shape, and had taken on a golden white color, turning to red, which in some darkened, becoming almost black. At this point the red, as well as the black ones, changed from soft to hard, resembling somewhat those chrysalides formed by caterpillars, silkworms, and similar insects. Looking more closely, I noticed that there was some difference in shape between the red and the black eggs,[2] though it was clear that all were formed alike of many rings joined together; nevertheless, these rings were more sharply outlined, and more apparent in the black than in the red, which last were almost smooth and without a slight depression at one end, like that in a lemon picked from its stalk, which further distinguished the black egg-like balls. I placed these balls separately in glass vessels, well covered with paper, and at the end of eight days, every shell of the red balls was broken, and from each came forth a fly of gray color, torpid and dull, misshapen as if half finished, with closed wings; but after a few minutes they commenced to unfold and to expand in exact proportion to the tiny body, which also in the meantime had acquired symmetry in all its parts. Then the whole creature, as if made anew, having lost its gray color, took on a most brilliant and vivid green; and the whole body had expanded and grown so that it seemed incredible that it could ever have been contained in the small shell. Though the red eggs brought forth green flies at the end of eight days, the black ones labored fourteen days to produce certain large black flies striped with white, having a hairy abdomen, of the kind that we see daily buzzing about butchers' stalls. These at birth were misshapen and inactive, with closed wings, like the green ones mentioned above. Not all the black eggs hatched after fourteen days; on the contrary, a large part of them delayed until the twenty-first day, at which time there came out some curious flies, quite distinct from the other two broods in size and form, and never before described, to my knowledge, by any historian, for they are much smaller than the ordinary house-flies. They have two silvery wings, not longer than the body, which is entirely black. The lower abdomen is shiny, with an occasional hair, as shown by the microscope, and resembles in shape that of the winged ants. The two long horns, or antennae (a term used by writers of natural history) protrude from the head; the first four legs do not differ from those of the ordinary fly, but the two posterior ones are much larger and longer than would appear to be suitable for such a small body; and they are scaly, like the legs of the locusta marina; they are of the same color, but brighter, so

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red, in fact, that they would put cinnabar to shame; being all covered with white spots, they resemble fine enamel work.

That different generations of flies issued from the same dead body was perplexing, and I sought further knowledge from experiment. To this end, having made ready six boxes without covers, I placed in the first, two of the snakes described above, in the second, a large pigeon, in the third two pounds of veal, in the fourth a large piece of horse-flesh, in the fifth, a capon, in the sixth, a sheep's heart; and all became wormy in little more than twenty-four hours. The worms, five or six days after birth, changed as usual to eggs. From those in the snakes there hatched, after two days, large flies, some blue and some purple. The eggs in the second box, some of which were red and others black, hatched out flies; green flies being produced from the red eggs after eight days, and after fourteen days the black eggs broke in the place where there was no depression, and there escaped from the shell the same number of black flies striped with white. Similar flies were seen issuing from all the other eggs in the boxes containing the veal, the capon, the horse-flesh, and the sheep's heart; but with this difference, that in the sheep's heart, blue and violet flies were produced, as well as the black flies striped with white.

In the meanwhile I had placed in a glass dish some skinned river frogs, and having left the dish open, I found the next day, on examination, that some small worms were occupied in devouring them, while some others swam about, at the bottom of the dish, in a watery matter that had run out of the frogs. The next day the worms had all increased in size and many others had appeared that also swam below and on top of the water, where they devoured the floating fragments of flesh; and after two days, having consumed all that was left of the frogs, they swam and sported about in the fetid liquid, now creeping up, all soft and slimy, on the side of the glass, now wriggling back to the water until at last on the following day, without my knowledge, they all disappeared, having reached the top of the dish.

At the same time I enclosed some of those fish from the Arno that are called *barbi*, in a box full of holes, with a lid perforated in the same way. When I opened it after four hours, I found a large number of very minute maggots on the fish, and I saw a great many tiny eggs adhering in bunches to the joints and around all the holes in the interior of the box: some of these were white and others, yellow. I crushed them between my nails and the cracked shell emitted a kind of whitish liquid, thinner and less viscous than the white of a fowl's egg.

Having rearranged the box as it was before, and having opened it, on the following day, I observed that all the eggs had hatched into the same number of maggots, and that the empty shells were still attached in the places where the hatching occurred; I also noted that the first maggots hatched had increased to double their size; but what surprised me most was that on the following day they had grown so large that every one of

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them weighed about seven grains, while only the day before there would have been twenty-four or thirty to a grain. All the later ones hatched were very small. The whole lot, almost in the twinkling of an eye, finished devouring the flesh of the fish, leaving all the bones so clean and white that they looked like skeletons polished by the hand of the most skillful anatomist.

All these maggots, having been placed where they could not escape in spite of all their endeavors, five or six days after birth turned as usual into as many eggs, some of red and some of black color, and not of the same size; subsequently, at the proper time, different kinds of flies came out, green flies, big blue flies, black flies striped with white, and others resembling the marine locust and winged ants, which I have described. Besides these four kinds I also saw eight or ten common flies, such as daily hover and buzz about our dinner tables.

Having on the twentieth day noticed that among the larger eggs, there were some still unhatched, I separated them from the others in a different vessel, and two days after there gradually came out of them some very small gnats, the number of which after two days had greatly exceeded the number of eggs. I opened the vessel, and having broken five or six of the eggs, I found them so packed with gnats that each shell held at least twenty-five or thirty, and at most forty.

I continued similar experiments with the raw and cooked flesh of the ox, the deer, the buffalo, the lion, the tiger, the dog, the lamb, the kid, the rabbit, and the rat; and sometimes with the flesh of the chicken, the turkey, the goose, the duck. . . , and finally I experimented with different kinds of fish, such as the tuna, the umbrine, the swordfish, the shark, the sole. . . . In every case, one or other of the above-mentioned kinds of flies were hatched, and sometimes all were found in a single animal. Besides these, there were to be seen many broods of small black flies, some of which were so minute as to be scarcely visible, and almost always I saw that the decaying flesh and the fissures in the boxes where it lay were covered not alone with worms, but with the eggs from which, as I have said, the worms were hatched. These eggs made me think of those deposits dropped by flies on meats, that eventually become worms, a fact noted by the compilers of the dictionary of our Academy, and also well known to hunters, butchers and housewives, who protect their meats in summer from filth by covering them with white cloths. Hence great Homer, in the nineteenth book of the *Iliad*, has good reason to say that Achilles feared lest the flies would breed worms in the wounds of dead Patrocles, whilst he was preparing to take vengeance on Hector. . . .

Having considered these things, I began to believe that all worms found in meat were derived directly from the seeds of flies, and not from the putrefaction of the meat, and I was still more confirmed in this belief by having observed that, before the meat grew wormy, flies had hovered

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over it, of the same kind as those that later bred in it. Belief would be vain without the confirmation of experiment, hence in the middle of July I put a snake, some fish, some eels of the Arno, and a slice of young veal in four large, wide-mouthed flasks; having well closed and sealed them, I then filled the same number of flasks in the same way, only leaving these open. It was not long before the meat and the fish, in these second vessels, became wormy and flies were seen entering and leaving at will; but in the closed flasks I have not seen a worm, though many months have passed since the dead flesh was put in them. Outside on the paper cover there was now and then a deposit, or a maggot that eagerly sought some crevice by which to enter and obtain nourishment. Meanwhile the different things placed in the flasks had become putrid and stinking; the fish, their bones excepted, had all been dissolved into a thick, turbid fluid, which on settling became clear, with a drop or so of liquid grease floating on the surface; but the snake has kept its form intact, with the same color, as if it had been put in but yesterday; the eels, on the contrary, produced little liquid, though they had become very much swollen, and losing all shape, looked like a viscous mass of glue; the veal, after many weeks, became hard and dry.

Not content with these experiments, I tried many others at different seasons, using different vessels. In order to leave nothing undone, I even had pieces of meat put under ground, but though remaining buried for weeks, they never bred worms, as was always the case when flies had been allowed to light on the meat. . . . One day a large number of worms, which had bred in some buffalo meat, were killed by my order; having placed part in a closed dish, and part in an open one, nothing appeared in the first dish, but in the second worms had hatched, which changing as usual into egg-shape balls, finally became flies of the common kind. In the same experiment tried with dead flies, I never saw anything breed in the closed vessel.

Hence I might conjecture that Father Kircher, though a man worthy of esteem, was led into erroneous statements in the twelfth book of *Mundus subterraneus* [*The Subterranean World*],[3] where he describes the experiment of breeding flies in the dead bodies of the same. The dead flies, says the good man, should be besprinkled and soaked with honey-water, and then placed on a copper-plate exposed to the tepid heat of ashes; afterward very minute worms, only visible through the microscope, will appear, which little by little grow wings on the back and assume the shape of very small flies, that slowly attain perfect size. I believe, however, that the aforesaid honey-water only serves to attract the living flies to breed in the corpses of their comrades and to drop their eggs therein; and I hold that it is of little use to make the experiment in a copper vessel heated by warm ashes, for without these accessories the worms would have bred in the dead bodies. . . . I also frankly confess my inability to understand how those small worms, described by Kircher, could change into small flies

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without at first, for the space of some days, being converted into egg-like balls, nor how those small flies could hatch out so small and then grow larger, as all flies, gnats, mosquitoes and butterflies, as I have observed many times, on escaping from the chrysalis are of the same size that they keep through life. But, oh, how this single, ill-considered experiment of Kircher must have delighted and elated those persons who fondly imagined that they could re-create man from man's dead body by means of fermentation, or other similar or still more extraordinary processes. . . .

Father Kircher, in the eleventh book of *Mundus subterraneus*, has nobly stood out against the folly of the charlatan, Paracelsus,[4] who, impiously, would have us believe that there is a way to create manikins in the retorts of alchemists. I am still more scandalized at the assertions of others, who make these lies a foundation for conjecture concerning the greatest mystery of the Christian faith, namely, the resurrection of the body at the end of the world. The Greek Georgius Pisida was one of those who exhorted people to believe in the Resurrection, giving the phoenix as an example of it; and the famous chemist, Sir Kenelm Digby, tried to prove the same by re-creating crabs out of their own salts, by chemical means.[5] The holy mysteries of our Faith cannot be comprehended by human intelligence; unlike natural things, these are of the special workmanship of God, who is believed to be omnipotent, and therefore it is possible to believe blindly in all His works, for so they are best understood. . . .

Leaving this long digression and returning to my argument, it is necessary to tell you that although I thought I had proved that the flesh of dead animals could not engender worms unless the semina of live ones were deposited therein, still, to remove all doubt, as the trial had been made with closed vessels into which the air could not penetrate or circulate, I wished to attempt a new experiment by putting meat and fish in a large vase closed only with a fine Naples veil, that allowed the air to enter. For further protection against flies, I placed the vessel in a frame covered with the same net. I never saw any worms in the meat, though many were to be seen moving about on the net-covered frame. These, attracted by the odor of the meat, succeeded at last in penetrating the fine meshes and would have entered the vase had I not speedily removed them . . . . It was interesting, in the meanwhile, to notice the number of flies buzzing about which, every now and then, would light on the outside net and deposit worms there. I noted that some left six or seven at a time there, and others dropped them in the air before reaching the net. Perhaps these were of the same breed mentioned by Scaliger,[6] in whose hand, by a lucky accident, a large fly deposited some small worms, whence he drew the conclusion that all flies bring forth live worms directly and not eggs. But what I have already said on the subject proves how much this learned man was in error. It is true that some kinds of flies bring forth live worms

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and some others eggs, as I have proved by experiment. Nor am I in the least degree convinced by the authoritative testimony of Father Honoré Fabri of the venerable Company of Jesus, who asserts, in his book *De generatione animalium* [*On the Generation of Animals*],[7] that flies always drop eggs and never worms. It is possible (I neither affirm nor deny it) that flies sometimes drop eggs and at other times live worms, but perhaps they would habitually drop eggs if it were not for the heat of the season that matures the egg and hatches it in the body of the fly, which as a consequence brings forth live and active worms.

Johann Sperling, who is usually accurate in his statements, is also mistaken in writing in his *Zoölogy* that worms are not engendered by flies, but arise from the dung of the same, and in explanation adds with false premises: *The explanation for this fact cannot be obscure to an unprejudiced mind; indeed, the flies suck everything, and besides food take in the matter of which worms are made, and after having taken it in, return it by their bowels.*[8] Sperling failed to observe what may be daily seen by everyone, namely, that flies have their ovaries divided into two separate cells which contain the eggs that are sent down through a single and common canal from which they are ejected, and, indeed, in such large quantities as would appear incredible, certain green flies being so fertile that each one would have in its ovary as many as two hundred eggs. Hence Sperling erred in his belief that the maggots of flies are generated from the dung of the same. . . . A friend of mine went equally wide in his conclusions, for having noticed that a fly, entangled in a web, dropped a worm whenever the spider bit it, he believed that the spider's bite had power to create worms in the bodies of flies. Hence as I have shown, no dead animal can breed worms.

How then can it be true that bees are born in the decayed flesh of bulls? Yet this statement has been made and believed. Varro relates that the Greeks called them *bougónas* on that account. This is a sample of one of those ancient falsehoods of fabulous origin, which are subsequently confirmed as truth by other writers and always with some addition; for all do not describe the wonderful generation of bees in the same way. Columella declared that, not wishing to waste time, he would adhere to the opinion of Celsus, who conceded immortality to the bees, hence it was superfluous to seek for them in the entrails of a decayed bull. But Mago, quoted by Columella,[9] teaches that the decayed viscera of the bull is their place of origin; to which Pliny adds, as necessary, a covering of dung. Antigonus of Carystus, in his *Rerum mirabilium collectio* [*Collection of Wonderful Tales*],[10] says that a whole bullock must be put under ground, allowing the horns to protrude; these, in due time being sawn off, out fly (says he) the bees. . . .

Numerous modern authors are convinced that bees originate in the
s. The learned Father Honoré Fabri, whose famous works will

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never be buried in the gloom of oblivion, reiterates this belief in his book on the *De generatione animalium*. I could name many more if I were not summoned to answer the reproof of some persons who sharply remind me of the account given in the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Judges, where Samson having killed a lion, down in the vineyards of Timnath, on going afterwards to view the carcass, found in it a beautiful swarm of bees, that had already built their honey-combs therein. From this source comes also the statement of Thomas Moufet,[11] in his work on insects, that some bees are born in the flesh of bulls, which are called *taurogeneis* and others in the flesh of lions, called on that account *leontogeneis*, and that these last are the better race, being stronger and more courageous, for they inherit ferocity from their parent and do not fear if irritated to attack men and to kill animals of all kinds; hence Aristotle and Pliny bear witness that even horses have been slain by them. For this reason in the Holy Scriptures the strongest and most terrible enemies are often compared to bees. In Isaiah we read: *The Lord shall hiss for the bee, that is in the land of Assyria*,[12] which was thus interpreted by the Chaldaeans: "The Lord will give voice to the armies, that are as strong as bees, and will lead them to the borders of the land of Assyria." Rabbi Solomon, explaining this passage, says: "He will call the bees, that is, an army of strong men, who will inflict wounds like bees."[13] This difficulty was considered by the erudite Samuel Bochart in his treatise on the animals of the Bible,[14] where he wisely says that the story of finding bees in the lion's carcass is true enough, but that it is no reason for the conclusion that they were born there; the Sacred Text does not state it, on the contrary, one would rather assume that when Samson returned to look at the dead lion, it was no longer a carcass, but rather a skeleton without flesh. . . . This same authority adds subsequently, that the lion might well indeed have become a mere dried skeleton, for when Samson returned it was *after some days*, as the Hebrew text reads, which means *after a year*. Bochart affirms that this manner of using days instead of a year is of frequent occurrence in the Holy Scriptures, and cites numerous passages which I omit for the sake of brevity.

If then Samson returned after a year's time to view the lion's body, it is most probable that nothing was left of it but a bare skeleton, inside of which bees may well have been at honey-making, for Herodotus mentions such a case. . . .[15] The same thing happened in the tomb of divine Hippocrates (if we may believe the account given in his life by Soranus[16]). For my part, I remember often having heard stated by the Cavalier [Francesco] Albergotti (a man of letters of much erudition), that he saw a large swarm, one day, hanging on the skull of a horse.

At this point the question might arise whether some bees might have sought to eat the flesh of Samson's dead lion, and in eating it might have dropped eggs upon it, that later hatched into young bees, which proceeded to build their combs in the bony structure. . . . To this question I would at

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once respond by saying that bees are very dainty animals, and of such nice and delicate taste, that they not only do not eat dead flesh, but they loathe it extremely. I have made the experiment, at different times and places, of putting pieces of meat near the apiaries, but the bees would never go near them. . . .

9. Leonardo Di Capua, *Opinion on the Origin and Progress of Medicine*

Studies on mathematics and natural science (or, as it was called at the time, natural philosophy) enjoyed a remarkable resurgence in Naples in the second half of the seventeenth century. Leonardo Di Capua, born in Bagnoli Irpino in 1617 (d. 1695) and a physician by training, was one of the main protagonists.[1] He received instruction in natural philosophy at the University of Naples from Marc'Aurelio Severino, teacher of other luminaries on the Neapolitan intellectual scene at the time, including physician-philosopher Tommaso Cornelio and lawyer Francesco D'Andrea. He was among the local intellectuals who formed an informal discussion group from 1649 in the home of Cornelio, who had just returned fresh with information from a Galileian tour including visits to Michelangelo Ricci in Rome, Evangelista Torricelli in Florence and Bonaventura Cavalieri in Bologna. And when Cornelio received, through D'Andrea's government connections, a position teaching medicine at the university, Di Capua helped out by offering informal instruction in what was rapidly becoming one of the hottest areas of late seventeenth-century naturalistic inquiry—namely, chemistry. His efforts in this excited some controversy. By this time, partly through the efforts of Galileians such as Giovanni Alfonso Borelli, chemistry had shed much of the scorn earlier attracted to it because of its association, on the one hand, with quasi-mystical pursuits like alchemy and, on the other, with nonscientific trades like pharmacy and even quackery. Di Capua, with contemporary reformers in England, believed it ought to be recognized by the universities.[2] And because his teaching ran counter to established views, he clashed with members of the physicians' guild, many of whom, and especially Carlo Pignataro, chief medical officer of the kingdom of Naples, believed any attacks on the traditional authorities on which medical licensing exams were based, namely, Galen, Aristotle and Hippocrates, injured their own professional prestige. And in 1663 he had to submit to the traditionalists' successful efforts to obtain a temporary official injunction against the private teaching of chemistry around the university. Other innovators began to suffer too, such as local physician Sebastiano Bartoli, whose book attacking the traditionalists was prohibited. Di Capua and his fellow

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innovators finally decided to retaliate when the traditionalists declared that the retting of flax and hemp in Lake Agnano caused the fever epidemic of October 1663 and therefore should be stopped, a dangerous and disruptive view, according to the innovators, and one based on the same faulty procedures and assumptions as the previous controversies. So that year, in the palace and under the patronage of Andrea Concublet, marquis of Arena, they founded the Accademia degli Investiganti (Academy of the Investigators). Adopting the Lucretian motto, "it shows the way through the darkness," they proposed to dedicate the new academy to experimental natural philosophy. Membership eventually comprised physicians and natural philosophers like Di Capua, Cornelio, Bartoli, Borelli, Giambattista Capucci, and Lucantonio Porzio, chemist Giuseppe Donzelli, lawyers Francesco D'Andrea and his brother Gennaro, philosopher-poet Carlo Buragna, antiquary Camillo Pellegrino, polymath Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz, bishop of Campania, and others, including several other noblemen besides Arena himself. They discussed many of the matters Di Capua later covered in his *Opinion on the Origin and Progress of Medicine*, and repeated many of the experiments of the Accademia del Cimento founded in Florence a few years before.[3] They immediately engaged in a battle of the books with Pignataro and the traditionalists, now joined together into a rival Accademia dei Discordanti. Even after the viceroy and the Collateral Council officially suppressed both academies in 1669-70 to stop the fight, members of the Investiganti continued to meet informally and debate in print. And the controversy of 1678 led to the most famous of all their productions. The occasion came about on the death of Ottavio Caracciolo di Forino, the viceroy's favorite. Traditionalists blamed physician Antonio Cappella for a chemical medicine based on antimony and secured an official inquiry of the Collateral Council "for putting a stop to the abuses and errors daily committed in the practice of medicine." On request from the viceroy, Di Capua immediately got to work. The innovators were not at fault, he tried to show, nor was chemical medicine per se; and the battle with tradition was nothing new, although the methods of natural philosophy had continuously progressed. The material began to swell by the addition of much of what he had learned about natural philosophy from the Investiganti, and he finally submitted his *Opinion* in 1681. As a result, the notion of suppressing chemical medicine was dropped, a garden of simples was set up in the university, and, at least for the time being, the innovators triumphed. His work exemplifies the learned style of argument typical of seventeenth-century science and the attitude of cautious speculation characteristic of Italian contributions.

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Sixth Oration

. . . Theophrastus Paracelsus[4] seems to have divided this great mass of the universe into two globes: one above, containing two elements, that is, fire and air, and another below, which appears to contain yet two others, namely, water and earth. These four elements he also calls voids because they are empty of all bodies; otherwise they could not easily be filled up. They are incorporeal, that is, without any corporeal dimension. But the Supreme Maker, having placed into this void the light and seminal forces of all things when he first created the universe from nothing, then added the appearances and external aspects of bodies, and when the former put on the latter, there were produced all the various and diverse things. Thus, according to the works of Paracelsus, the first principles of things are of two kinds: on the one hand, principles properly so-called, and, on the other, these common things that we are calling elements. These elements are really two—the dry, also called primitive earth, cinders and sand, and the moist, also called phlegm.[5] Primitive earth is passive and has no other power except that of absorbing and pasting things together; and phlegm likewise does nothing except wet and moisten; therefore they are called passive principles. Paracelsus believes that dryness and moisture do nothing in this mass of the world, and that the other two qualities called elements by the schools similarly serve for nothing else except to heat or cool; and he calls all four of them relollacean, that is, unemployed and idle, since they have no seminal virtue.[6] Here Paracelsus appears to have wished to imitate Aristotle, who wants all the seeds of things to be furnished with a sort of celestial heat, completely different from elemental heat; because according to Paracelsus, the four vulgar qualities do nothing except excite and reawaken the seminal virtues existing in the bodies themselves.[7]

But the principles properly so-called, which he calls active, are three according to him. They are salt, sulphur and mercury. Salt is a hard, savory substance that disintegrates and easily dissolves in water, dries and becomes hard in a moderate heat and melts in intense fire. Sulphur is a liquid body, oily, easily ignited. From salt come all the tastes in things and from sulphur the odors one smells. But mercury is a sort of very subtle and very clear liquid, whose very subtlety allows it to penetrate everything and easily disperse and disappear.

Now such principles, Paracelsus believes, must necessarily compose everything and generate all things in the world, because salt is the foundation of all the hardness of bodies and salt, unable to mix with anything without being dissolved into very tiny particles, must therefore make use of phlegm. But phlegm cannot mix with salt to compose bodies without the aid of sulphur, which likewise is unable to separate sufficiently

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because of its oiliness and therefore needs water; the water, containing the dissolved salt, melts the sulphur, breaking it up enough to run and mix properly to form the things of the world. Mercury then comes along and penetrates and spreads throughout everything, like a soul throughout the body, though it could never generate any firm and solid bodies itself if primitive earth did not first suck out and extract the excessive water that moistened and deformed them; whereby all the bodies are finally brought to the ultimate stage of perfection. By demonstrating these things and showing that any body destroyed resolves finally into just these five substances, and by contending that these substances certainly cannot ever dissolve or change into any other things in the world, Paracelsus both reaffirms his view and roundly refutes the opinions of Aristotle and Galen concerning the four first elements. And these substances alone, and none others, are the true principles of things, possessing everything that the notion of principles requires. . . .

But if he had been truly as excellent in science as he thought, he should have easily seen that his principles made no sense of the appearance of things, and taking this as a reason to suspect that the true principles were something else, he should have studied hard to find them. And after some concentrated effort, he would then undoubtedly have recognized that the various and diverse shapes of the very small component particles were the real causes of his principles, and he would easily have been able to understand how and why they operated, concluding that not they but body itself—divided, crumbled and partitioned into various and diverse pieces—was the true principle of the things of the world and the root and beginning of their every operation. . . .

He believes that every illness—except the ones whose cure requires the hand of the physician and the ones originating with the relollacean qualities, which call for no particular ability—come from the simple impurities in one or more of the three substances of salt, mercury and sulphur. But in spite of his insistence about the damage caused by these substances, if we do not know what their true nature is—and this he never explains—we can hardly discover what sorts of impurities they have in order to be able properly to cure the maladies they provoke.

Remedies must resemble the illnesses they treat, says Paracelsus; so even though we know illnesses are the opposite of health and must be cured by practices contrary to their nature, nonetheless medicines cannot restore health unless they derive from the same origins as the illnesses. . . .[8] But in good faith, what does similarity have to do with the cure of illness? Van Helmont was right to criticize Paracelsus strongly on this point: *the good man was ignorant that those are not agents sufficiently requisite to healing.*[9] Nor is it always true that things can more easily penetrate and mix with similar things, and as Paracelsus himself said: *similar things of any kind comprehend things of their own kind, not*

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different;[10] for we see the opposite happen every day in many things. And even though similar things may sometimes go together, they certainly do so for other reasons. So mistaken, indeed, is this opinion, that diversity rather than similarity could just as well be adduced as a cause of happy combinations; concave bodies after all, unite closely with round ones, whereas spiral or round bodies, though entirely similar, can in no way come together (though perhaps square ones can). For let Paracelsus say, if he wishes, *scorpions cure scorpions, realgar cures realgar, mercury cures mercury, balm cures balm*;[11] nonetheless such marvels will certainly not be caused by resemblance, but rather by something quite different from what he says. Leaving aside the other cases, the scorpion's pores, long accustomed to holding poison in them and therefore also able to receive it, will draw it out from the scorpion's bite in someone's flesh, though it cannot be received by the other healthy flesh close by; because when fermentation moves the particles of poison in the injury, as they dissolve they easily pass into the same receptacles in the scorpion from whence they came. The wise physician must acquire such knowledge in order to make progress in medicine, and not resemblances or other nonsense, which can easily deceive him and place his miserable patients on the road to death. And if we see every day that phlegm and primitive earth are used to cure the illnesses of acidic salt, and other illnesses are cured with other dissimilar remedies, why must we say that similarity alone can cure our patients and restore their health and vigor? But even agreeing with Paracelsus' rule about the types of medications, and also the doctrine of similarity to be followed in medicating, how could a wise doctor ever find out what sort of salt, mercury or sulphur to choose for curing his patient, if he does not first understand fully the generation of the ones that produced the illness? The wise physician therefore must know what particles form the sensation of acidity in the salt of the acidic and what forms the bitterness of the salt of the colocynth[12] if he wants to proceed reasonably in his art. . . .

The so-called natural balm of Paracelsus is a certain spiritual substance composed of the purest principles and participating in celestial nature so it is practically incorporeal and incorruptible; indeed, the universal medicine should be like this, and participate in all the principles so it can attack every illness. But Paracelsus never in fact actually possessed such a cure, and indeed, he was the only one who believed such existed or could exist, although many of his medicines were capable of curing many different types of very serious illnesses. In fact, he adopted many very strong medicines in his cures, mixing and working inconsistently, to the great dismay of his patients. He certainly would not have done so if he knew such a universal cure; and if he did, and yet did not want to bother to use it in lesser and simpler cases, he would at least have used it on himself when he was overtaken by the very serious illness that eventually killed him in

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his fiftieth year. And if he had been truly as advanced in philosophy as he claimed, he would not have had to boast so much about his own worth and about the power of his universal cure. Nor, surely, would he have said that man could perform marvels by the imagination alone, even at a distance, or that characters and images inscribed on certain medallions and carried around could help people avoid and become freed from illnesses. Nor would he have so foolishly dreamed that some animal illnesses come about when sulphur in the body is distilled, sublimated, reverberated,[13] calcined, and melted, causing various sorts of illnesses to erupt;[14] that salt and mercury are similarly distilled, sublimated and calcined in us, causing illnesses; and that mercury made too subtle by excessive circulation causes sudden death; or that we exactly resemble the universe and contain images of it in all our parts;[15] or that the three principles produce the same number of illnesses in us as is the number of created things; or many other bagatelles and clever sayings, which I would never finish enumerating. And all these errors he committed mainly because he philosophized superficially. On the other hand, perhaps he was not as foolish as his defective works make him seem, which his enemies malevolently and contemptuously mutilated and disguised by taking some phrases out and replacing them with other stupid, childish or impious ones, so that they now detract from the splendor of the man and no longer seem his own. . . .

Father Tommaso Campanella, in spite of his acute understanding and free philosophizing, nevertheless reasoned so often about natural things that he showed very well how much easier it is to avoid the errors of others than to find the truth. More than anything else, what harmed his philosophizing about medicine was his excessive faith in the opinions of his teacher, Telesio[16]—not to mention the damage caused by attention to astrology and other vain swindles, from a childish love of riddles, and from a foolish belief that such things, or fabulous entities only imagined by him, had something to do with the things of nature; so there is no wonder the system of medicine he built was extremely deficient and faulty. Never having exercised the art was also detrimental—as it was to Cornelius Celsus; and both of them might perhaps have drawn much profit had they been able to prove their ideas through experiments. But what dogged Campanella above all else was his ignorance of anatomy; he consequently fell into innumerable errors and had to go through many contortions, saying blood came from the liver and gall from the spleen and everything from the brain: *The heart*, he said, *is the organ of the spirit; the liver of the blood, the spleen of the gall, and others are the organs of other substances; and the cause of all of them is the brain; the arteria vocalis manifestly comes from the head, where it also has a very large trunk; therefore, etc.; they are therefore of the same substance and origin. . . .*[17] From the great father of the Church St. John Chrysostom, Campanella was able to figure out that a certain very subtle substance in animals, called

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spirit by Chrysostom, proceeds from the brain along with sense and is dispensed with movement to every other member, although he later forgets this and writes otherwise. . . .

In curing, he prefers to proceed by contraries, but occasionally he also chooses similitudes and sometimes even both together, theorizing that a thing may attract a similar thing to attach to itself, whereas it may be combatted and chased away by a contrary. But when he feeds us all these fables, does he consider us to be made of such dense material as to be fooled? He adduces soap as a proof: *just as we use soap,* he says, *made from oil, ash and lye, to remove spots of oil from fabrics, with the oil inviting the oil and attracting it to itself, and the ash and lye at the same time expelling it. Wherefore,* he later adds, *you could remove spots of wine by a soap made of lye and wine if you knew the trick.*[18] But even Campanella should have noticed that oil mixes with oil and wine with wine not because of similitude, which is irrelevant, but because of the shape and disposition of their particles. He also should have studied why ash and lye draw out and erase the oil from the garment and if he had paid the proper attention, he would have noticed that this purgation occurs only because of the shape of the particles of the salts in those two substances. If not for those particles, neither lye nor ash nor even soap, which works through them, would have any effectiveness at all. Besides, if similitude has anything to do with why the oil of the soap, by its affinity, attracts, pulls out and draws away the oil from the garments, then what likeness can there possibly be between soap and all the other spots on all the linen cloths that it so whitens? Or setting aside soap, what likeness can there possibly be between those spots and the wash water, or between sulphur smoke and the spots on veils? No more, certainly, than between a broom and a pile of dust or between a harrow or hoe and the clumps of dirt. . . .

Now it is time to say something about the very ingenious system of medicine of Jan Baptiste van Helmont, who, if I may freely express myself, was very much more successful in breaking down and uprooting the edifices of others than in founding and firmly establishing his own, although his industry enriched medicine by a great many useful and noble discoveries. The material principle of all sensible things in the universe, says van Helmont, is water; and neither air nor fire, particularly the last, which is neither a substance nor an accident but the death of things, contributes to the composition of mixed bodies. To prove this he points out that every body in the world can always be changed into salt, which in turn can be always changed into water of the same weight by using Paracelsus' circulatory.[19] Beside this, van Helmont says water is extremely simple, and even though it contains some salt, mercury and sulphur, which cannot be separated from it by nature or by art—and in fact, he only uses the names salt, sulphur and mercury because what is present there is similar to those substances and he can think of no better names—nevertheless, he

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does not believe water is composed of these three things. All this is very well, but van Helmont never comes out and says what water really is. . . .

But if van Helmont had very carefully studied Plato's dialogues and those few marvelous fragments that have remained of the divine works of Democritus, and if he had considered other philosophers, and if he had tried to penetrate as deeply and subtly into the causes of the reported effect as he should have done, or indeed, if he had put his mind to the nature of fluid bodies, I am very sure that he would not have reasoned this way about water, and he would have suggested something quite different as the principle of all natural things rather than one whose nature he freely confessed he did not know; because fluidity ought to have suggested to him what the nature of water was. And considering that fluid bodies divide and flow easily and are always penetrable even in their smallest parts, that they spread and flow freely everywhere, that they fill up and easily adapt themselves to the shape of the spaces they occupy, since they themselves have no other shape except what they get from the receptacles containing them so they cannot flow out, and considering that every single particle of them has the same properties and is also fluid, he should easily have understood that fluid bodies are composed of tiny insensible particles, dispersed and detached from each other by a continuous movement never allowing them to gather together and stick to each other. . . . Although water seems extremely tender and soft, he would nonetheless have noticed some slight harshness, since water does not easily detach itself from solid bodies leaving them entirely dry; and from this he too would have understood that the particles of water are not so clean and polished as perhaps Descartes imagines.[20] If van Helmont had looked at all of these things very carefully, he would certainly have concluded, with Pythagoras,[21] Timaeus,[22] Plato, and others in the earliest times, that these particles are icasohedric,[23] or like the above-mentioned Descartes in our own time, that they are cylindrical, malleable and slippery like eels, or like the incomparable philosopher Giovanni Alfonso Borelli: *whereas the tiniest quantity of water is covered by a sort of fine and delicate down, the internal individual particles of water must no doubt be conceived to be solid and hard, of octahedric shape*. . . .[24]

He was so deeply involved in vital anatomy[25] that he neglected the anatomy of dead specimens; he did not know any more about this than had already been written, and some of the modern discoveries he did not know at all, whereas others, about which he was not curious, he neglected, though they would have aided him considerably and occasionally rendered some of his opinions more credible and comprehensible. . . .

But if the manner of medicating is the best test for a system of medicine, certainly that of van Helmont left all the others far behind. For besides his knowledge of good and powerful cures, which he always had ready at hand, he was well enough versed in the studies of his art and of a

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sufficiently acute understanding to observe the serious damage caused by bloodletting and purges, and particularly the poisons lurking in them. He counselled so vehemently against these practices and adopted them so reluctantly that even Andreas Cellarius, a Galenist, confesses, *he opened the eyes of many practitioners of the art of medicine.*[26] Nor did he allow himself in this to be drawn by the wave of fashion or by the illustrious renown of Paracelsus; instead, he approved only of medicines aimed at removing the cause of the illness without any disturbance or annoyance at all to the patient. He achieved such reputation and honor by adopting this practice even in the most serious and dangerous illnesses, that he was praised to the heights and practically considered a miracle even by the Galenists—not to mention, by others. . . .

We must eternally regret that van Helmont never wished to show us any of his noble and precious medicines; and that he who was always so courteous, humane and compassionate towards the miseries of others should not have imitated the example of Paracelsus and other great chemists in this. Nor should he have been discouraged from such benefit to the entire world merely by the malice of some physicians who would no doubt have unjustly usurped his cures without acknowledgement, just as they had done with a considerable number of his discoveries. But if van Helmont had lived longer, finishing the great work he left piecemeal and imperfect in the hands of his son, perhaps he would have spoken a little more openly. . . .

We turn now to the system of Thomas Willis,[27] who seems to wander heedlessly on the brink of medicine. Having discarded the opinion of Aristotle concerning the principles of things as too gross and silly and those of Democritus and Epicurus as too subtle and contrary to sense experience, in the end he bases everything on the chemists' recent view, according to which all things are made up of spirit (as he calls mercury), salt, sulphur, water and earth, because every sensible body resolves into these. Using these five substances, he accounts for every movement and proportion of composite bodies and tries to explain all the appearances of nature—especially those pertaining to medicine. He openly confesses that these five substances themselves are not simple but composite and mixed, but he never once tries to find out what sort of principles make them up; indeed, he says there is no way or means to find this out, so there is no point in trying to furnish an explanation; and any attempt would be nothing but a pleasant theory and an unpromising gesture in the direction of adventurous and risky judgments of the things of the world rather than toward strict reasoning by good philosophy. . . . He either deliberately ignored or was unaware that after he claimed the spirit to be a very subtle and volatile substance, he should have explained how it yields, contracts and rises, how it mixes with other principles, how it repairs and moderates the disorderly excesses of the sulphur and the salt, and how it performs the

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other operations he attributes to it. Certainly he could never know what sorts of particles make the spirit volatile and able to operate in other bodies by contact and by movement, now in one way and now in another. However, as a good philosopher and founder of a system of rational medicine,[28] he should have tried to deduce the causes that produce the appearances in nature, and concluded that this spirit could not be fluid if it did not always yield to the hard bodies that pass through it, so it must be made up of very many particles, continuously moving while remaining separate from one another, and that the spirit could not be subtle and volatile and penetrate everywhere if its particles were not very small and provided with many shoulders and angles.

More is necessary for understanding the operations of sulphur than just knowing that its structure, as he says, is somewhat grosser and larger than the spirit's, and therefore imparts to other things its heat, color, odor, ugliness or beauty and generally different tastes. All this, which he blithely affirms without the slightest proof, may well be true. However, he could also have gone on to deduce from the appearances of sulphur that its particles, continuously in motion like those of the spirit, are less polished, slippery and somewhat branchy. Let us now see how Willis reasons about the composition of fire. Having said it is very similar to the prime matter of the Peripatetics[29]—in all the parts yet residing in none of them—he sagely goes on to explain himself thus: *Fire hath got no existence of its own nature, or certain means of duration.* Then he adds, *we may affirm that the form of fire wholly depends upon sulphureous particles, heaped up in any subject and breaking forth from it in heaps; and that fire is no other thing than the motion and eruption of these kinds of particles, impetuously stirred up.*[30] If he had ever carefully considered the particles of sulphur he would certainly never have philosophized this way; for they must necessarily be branchy, and therefore not as apt for moving quickly and penetrating into harder and thicker objects as fire, whose atoms Democritus therefore reasons must be round.

Gentlemen, I too once imagined fire was as Willis did, and in order to avoid inconsistency I imagined the branches of sulphur to bend, while generating fire, into so many little spheres so they could more easily move and penetrate; but then on further consideration, I saw my mistake and changed my mind. The particles of sulphur are therefore of two sorts—branchy and round. Instead of offering only words, which are not much help and simply demonstrate his disinterest in investigating the nature and properties of the components, Willis should have philosophized as I did about the particles of salt and explained the true reasons for their operations and for the states he calls *fusion, vaporization and diffusion.* And the more difficult the effort became, the more paths he should have tried in order to grasp the matter with his hand and mind; and he especially of all people might have succeeded if he took the advice of the

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incomparable Boyle and other very excellent philosophers, but his philosophy instead ended up misdirected and awkward because he allowed himself to be discouraged by the difficulty of the job. At least from observing how the readily available salts dissolve in water, dry out with a temperate fire, melt in a hot one and change from a volatile to a fixed state and again return to a volatile one, he might have been able to see the nature of their particles. These observations might have led him to investigate the particular characteristics of the particles of all the many other types of salts—the volatile ones that easily change their properties, going from sharp, bitter and acidic to sweet and mild, and again from sweet and mild to acidic, sharp and bitter, and those of all sorts that mysteriously change and abandon their usual taste and all other properties, resolving finally into saltiness. From all this he might have argued that salts were composed of particles capable of changing their shapes or else of particles of several different shapes combined. Proceeding ahead, he might have argued that the acidic salts that cause such acute pain were composed of very sharp particles, and other sorts were more or less furnished with such particles according as they more or less sting the palate.

He should have philosophized the same way about water and primitive earth if he really wished to join the ranks of the good philosophers. Admittedly, arguments about these matters rarely approach absolute truth and are usually only more or less probable and reasonable; nonetheless, studying and toiling by way of conjectures and reasonings to add to something we do not know yet is better than admitting our imbecility, abandoning the investigation and consigning the matter to shameful disregard....

Willis was doubtlessly very clever and intelligent in anatomy, and no anatomist ever observed the parts of the brain more minutely than he did; but for present purposes, we can do no better than to offer one more persuasive proof of the proposition demonstrated here with endless repetition—namely, that inventing a rational medicine is a vain and useless task, from which physicians will never gain very much; for all his long and painstaking studies of the purposes of the parts of the brain tell us nothing more than what we knew before: that we can say nothing with certainty.

Setting aside Willis and his system, let us proceed to that of Sylvius.[31] From his very first years, as Mattias Schacht says,[32] he buried himself in the study of Aristotle and Galen, and after having spent considerable time on this, he finally discovered chemistry, which had recently been exalted by the marvelous cures of the incomparable van Helmont, whom we have already mentioned. He thereupon began to study this with all his understanding, expending extraordinary effort. Seeing the numerous errors and mistakes in the common beliefs, he determined not to sell his doctrines on a small-time basis. Having built for himself a solid foundation by his

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studies of all the good arts, he became very great and famous; and filled with the best sorts of knowledge, he set out to explore the vast fields of medicine. However, just as a daring but inexpert pilot may have at his disposal all the shrouds, cables, sails and compasses a well-furnished ship ought to have, and die miserably shipwrecked because he knows little about how to use this equipment when navigating in new and still unknown seas, so Sylvius, equipped with good philosophy, as he claims, and with a considerable knowledge of medicine, nonetheless miserably failed because he did not know how to use them, and like the inexperienced pilot, barely having opened the high billows of his art, disastrously drowned. Someone might legitimately doubt whether Sylvius was actually so well-versed in philosophy as he himself makes out. . . .

He was most daring in his rational medicine, where he said there are three principal humors in the bodies of animals: the pancreatic juice, the choleric and the phlegm; and when they all mix together in the small intestine, the humor they form he calls the triumviral. . . . Having formed his whole system of medicine out of just these three humors, Sylvius suggests that corruption or imbalance in one or another of them is the cause of all fevers. When the pancreas is blocked for some reason, the excessive quantity of pancreatic juice remaining there becomes more acidic and mordant, so that it later causes a more violent boiling than is usual in the intestine, causing the fever we call intermittent. And if the part of the choleric, phlegm or pancreatic juice that goes to the heart is not well-conditioned, it causes another different boiling in the right ventricle, bringing about the fevers we call continuous. But it would take too long to recount here how the mixing of these three humors causes all the illnesses in human bodies according to Sylvius.

I cannot easily narrate how many fights, contests and disputes this system has roused among physicians, both while Sylvius lived and after his death. Setting that aside for the present and concentrating on my main object, I will only point out that there are many truly ingenious and praiseworthy things here, worthy of such an excellent man. But since his strange propositions come to us without the slightest proof, they may well be an elegant fable to keep the noisy and ignorant crowds at bay and persuade them to confer upon the author the title of excellent philosopher. But whoever looks deeper and fails to understand how these three humors could be as he describes or how they could cause the ebullitions and fevers and all the other illnesses he talks about, will remain unpersuaded. . . .

In spite of the strife of sects and factions, no wise prince or well-ordered government ever prohibited any physician from demonstrating his sincere views by words and actions. Neither Erasistratus, very dear to King Antiochus, nor Asclepiades, well-loved and highly esteemed by Pompey the Great, nor Antonius Musa, honored and cherished by Octavian,[33] nor

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Vettius,[34] valiant adulterer of the empress Messalina wife of Claudius, nor Thessalus, the great friend of Emperor Nero, ever managed to bring about princely commands to prevent physicians of contrary sects from practicing, and their enemies always remained free in spite of them.... Furthermore, the ministers and governments of our own Most Victorious Kings did and currently do permit the followers of Paracelsus, of van Helmont, of Sylvius and of Willis to medicate freely and without any restriction in Spain, in the Low Countries and in all the other provinces of their monarchy, ignoring and dismissing the vituperation and advice of the Galenists. Whenever any prince or magistrate ever tried to intervene in medicine and restrict even the smallest area of it by particular regulations, such statutes have always plainly produced doubtful effects. Adding to the examples already cited, let us recall when the Neapolitan council of physicians banned the use of forced manna by the decree of 1562, calling it poisonous, only to revoke this decree in 1573 by an explicit concession allowing the previously prohibited manna of the manna-ash and the ash....[35]

Seventh Oration

... The importance of chemistry can easily be seen from the fact that without it medicine cannot work properly or call itself an art. As we have argued at length above, medicine is buried in dark and obscure labyrinths wherein nothing is wholly certain, and there is no more powerful lamp or more secure guide than real chemical experiments for arriving at a true knowledge of things. Indeed, what would the physician profit by knowing and being able to identify all the many parts of the human body if he were nonetheless ignorant of their nature and function? Certainly none; just as he would profit nothing by knowing all the simples, animals, minerals, and vegetables without knowing their properties and their use. Without the guidance of chemistry, the ancient philosophers achieved meager results after many attempts to discover the properties and uses of the parts of the human body—partly because they thought they had understood them by certain signs and conjectures that were almost always entirely vain and fallacious, and partly because many of them tried to reduce everything to a few first qualities without looking at other still more influential qualities affecting the operations of the human body. Some of these latter qualities are too subtle and elusive for human understanding, and the particles that produce them are so intermingled and so closely enmeshed that the utter weakness of their movements or else their tininess and tenuousness or else some other similar cause hides them from our sense organs and prevents truth from penetrating completely....

In their vain struggle to understand the nature and properties of air, water, earth, plants, animals and minerals, the ancient philosophers fell

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unwittingly into numerous errors. But Hippocrates,[36] Theophrastus,[37] Dioscorides[38] and other famous philosophers, discouraged by their own incapacity and believing they could never achieve a full and perfect understanding of nature, preferred to keep wandering about on the surface without going further inside and wrote down only what they had proven by long experience. Which gave occasion to that great luminary of Roman philosophy and eloquence to exclaim, *we may wonder at the variety of herbs that have been observed by physicians, of roots that are good for bites of wild beasts, for eye affections, and for wounds, and though reason has never explained their force and nature, yet through their usefulness they have won approval for the medical art and for their discoverer. . . . I see the purgative effect of the scammony root, and I see an antidote for snakebite in the aristolochia plant. I see their power, and that is enough. Why they have it, I do not know.*[39] Although some famous philosophers and physicians used taste, odor and other similar qualities to argue for the hot or cold or dry nature of these simples and explain their virtues of rarifying, condensing, restoring, or what have you, nonetheless, the best philosophers regarded their results as useless and vain. Galen, for one, says that this is the most doubtful and fallacious route of all. Furthermore, hot, cold, humid, and dry are rarely the operative qualities; bitterness, sourness and other such so-called secondary qualities are much more effective. There are many simples with no odor, taste or other manifest quality that possess very powerful virtues, even bezoardic[40] and poisonous. Who indeed, using only the guide of the senses, would ever guess that stygian water, which differs in no perceptible manner from common water, should be so pestilential and mortal?[41] Only chemical tests can demonstrate the hidden poisons of this substance, by placing before our eyes the same extremely caustic salts that were powerful enough to eat cruelly at the entrails of the young and victorious Alexander the Great and that are capable of consuming everything else. . . .

Who would ever have suspected that underneath the sweetness of honey and sugar, so pleasureable and gentle to the taste, there lurk some pungent and biting spirits, not too different from aqua forte or aqua regia, whose same very bitter spirits are hidden in vitriol, niter, alum and common salt?[42] That within sulphur, entirely tasteless, there lies a very active and corrosive salt? That two salts combine in olive oil—one very acrid and powerfully corrosive, the other most pleasing and gentle? That pure clear water, which we continuously drink, contains a salt so acute and penetrating that very tiny particles of it are sufficient to break down and crush metals very hard and resistant to flames and fires? That violets, lettuce, roses, poppies and other similar herbs and flowers, mistaken by physicians as being more cold than hot, possess a fiery and burning spirit no different from spirits of wine?[43] Very vain and fallacious, therefore, are the paths that the ancient physicians took to find out the qualities of the

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simples. . . . Galen, curious as he was, well knew the necessity of this noble and glorious tool for improving the understanding; and after vainly seeking to discover the nature of vinegar by long and prodigious efforts, he expressed himself thus: I do not believe in attempting every proof in this matter; but I will look for any art or trick capable of separating the contrary parts of vinegar the same as is done with milk. In spite of all his efforts, he failed to do what any young apprentice of the art now does with perfect ease. How his pride would be hurt, and how much less esteemed he would be today, if he could see himself surpassed by a young chemist after all his prodigious study in the art of medicine! For the young chemist would know how to separate vinegar into not just the two different substances Galen sought, but into very many others, whose various and different properties the philosophers have described very probably and realistically, elucidating all of vinegar's many and marvelous operations, after careful and painstaking scrutiny. I imagine that if the very curious Galen had ever had the slightest knowledge of chemistry, however rough and imperfect, he would certainly never have wondered at the tremendous calorific power lurking in a very great astringent like vitriol. Chemical analysis would have shown him plainly why both of these substances produce the effects of heating along with astringency. And if he had ever wanted to understand how the same spirit of vitriol produces the two contrary effects of dissolving some very hard bodies and at the same time giving consistency to some very liquid, subtle and volatile ones that do not ordinarily allow themselves to be condensed even by the coldest ice, then Oh how lacking and imperfect he would have found his philosophizing to be! . . .

Surely the dissolution of the natural bodies must be the best and easiest way for attaining at least some knowledge of their formative principles, just as the disassembly of artificial bodies like watches or other similar ingenious inventions clearly shows the parts that compose them. The first fathers and masters of natural philosophy—Pythagoras, Parmenides, Anaximander, Democritus and other very wise thinkers[44]—well knew this in their careful and continuous efforts to use dissolution for finding the first principles of the things our senses perceive and that we call natural bodies. Hippocrates also used this approach, except with respect to the human body, as the basis for his opinion concerning the four primary elements. He was later followed in this by Aristotle, who said flesh, wood and the like contain fire and earth virtually because they obviously separate into these things, whereas fire does not contain either of them actually or potentially, because if so, they could certainly be separated out. The whole crowd of all their followers embraced this view, on the supposition that the four primary elements could be sufficiently established by burning a plant to show there was nothing left over except

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fire, ashes (which are earth), smoke (which is air), and tartar (which oozes out to indicate the presence of water).

Any young apprentice in chemistry knows the irrelevance and baselessness of such a proof, where the defects of the dissolution are all too evident; for the burning of the body in question causes many and various other fabulous things obviously to disperse into the air, far too minute to examine, and moreover, ashes, smoke, flame and moisture are all composite and not simple bodies, which, more minutely dissolved and separated into their first sensible components, seem to be composed of particles of different kinds and characteristics—the last, for example, containing a clear and pure water without other virtues except of sweating out a pure and inflammable oil and a subtle and penetrating spirit and a volatile salt with both the taste and the whole virtue of wood. The ashes likewise are composed of other dissimilar substances—a solid salt that melts in fire and dissolves in moisture and an earth with no taste or efficacy. Practically all natural bodies can be subjected to this dissolution by chemical means, unlike the crude technique used only on a few by the Ancients. And their tastes the chemist, as he penetrates deeper, can trace to the salt they contain, their smells to sulphur, and their pervasiveness to mercury. As he proceeds, he will find among other things that sulphur contains the seeds of a mobile and very subtle fire, shaped like very pointed little pyramids or else like tiny globules and that the sulphur itself is made up of little hooked and shouldered particles. As he thus advances to the shapes of the particles of salt and of the other chemical principles he will be able to offer probable conjectures concerning all their operations. . . .

Anatomy will never alone be sufficient for the physician to arrive at that ultimate stage of perfection necessary for his art, and after very much effort will provide him only with an entertaining and delightful story about the parts of the human body—very useful, indeed necessary. But for establishing or perfecting a powerful system of rational medicine, a knowledge of the internal causes and the probable reasons for things is also necessary, and not just their story and their simple narrative. Furthermore, no physician can be said to know fully the economy of the human body if he cannot explain the nature of generation and the movement of the heart, the blood, the chyle, the aqueous humors and the other parts, both liquid and solid, and the properties and operations of each. And these properties cannot be investigated without recourse to chemical dissolutions—as Avicenna[45] recognized when he carefully studied the moisture in the bones and hairs, and having distilled equal parts of bones and hairs in his own alembic, he said the bones produced a greater abundance of water and oil and less residue because they are more moist and juicier.

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To philosophize well, chemists must make use not only of the dissolution of bodies but also of all the other operations of the art, and in so doing they can explain persuasively how such a variety of foods, dissimilar in substance and in color, is constantly transformed into the very white and uniform liquid called chyle, how the whiteness of the chyle is later transformed into blood-like redness, and where the heart gets movement and heat—namely, by comparing the digestion of foods to the dissolution or disintegration of solid bodies in certain liquids, by comparing the whitening of the chyle and the reddening of the blood to the color transformation that goes on in virgin milk, as also in the essence of stinkhorn[46] and other similar things, and by comparing the continuous production of heat in the heart and the blood to the heat generated by fermentation in the liquids of vegetable bodies. And the importance of this knowledge is such, I say, that without it nothing in the world can ever be discovered concerning the effects and causes of illnesses, and nothing worthy of consideration can be said by anyone concerning other affairs pertaining to the human body unless the said things and very many others are not first diligently and very minutely investigated by virtue of chemistry, which would be too long to narrate here in the course of this work.

The art of chemistry is certainly no less useful, helpful and necessary to the physician, who may subject air, earth, water, plants, animals and mineral bodies to a rigorous and subtle examination in order to make clever discoveries and form guesses about the nature of each and the properties of the tiniest little particle and probable and persuasive conjectures about the virtues and behavior of all. And truly this very vast, light, loose, serene, and very subtle body of the air—which always surrounds, penetrates, generates, and maintains us and all the other bodies here below, and which Timaeus, one of the most intelligent and acute among the ancient Italians, saw as being composed of fragmented and very minute particles of no fewer than twenty sides—is in no way a simple body, as the vulgar stupidly think; rather, it is composed of various and diverse substances mixed together. These substances in the air come up from the very lowest earth and from the water that irrigates it. Perhaps some also rain down from the moon, the sun and the other celestial bodies. Exhalations of water and earth make the air more or less fit for respiration and the other needs of animals, as we can see at the summits of the very highest mountains, where they do not arrive so animals suffocate; whereas animals here below may suffer various illnesses. . . .

These particles are mixed together and combined in the air so as to be very difficult or impossible to trace unless they are first separated, each one dissolving into its prime components. . . .

Water, so necessary for drinking and other infinite purposes and eagerly sought because of its clarity, transparence and purity, whose taste,

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odor, lightness and every other appearance seem to indicate a very simple body, will be found to contain, besides the diverse substances mixed in with it, also an acrid and pungent salt, just as strong as the salts whereby aqua regia dissolves very hard metals, as we mentioned before, which combats very obstinately and remains hard against the fire's onslaught. Anyone who permits pharmacists to distill water in alembics of metal or especially of lead should beware lest the lead, somewhat corroded by the mordancy of that salt, mixes with it and both begin to corrupt and badly damage the substance of the distilled water. Thus we see water that has been distilled in a lead bell and then mixed with some other simple and undistilled water begin to take on a milky white hue, as the very wise members of the Academy of the Cimento noticed. The very wise physician and chemical philosopher Olaus Borrichius[47] also found sulphur, mercury, phlegm and primitive earth along with the salt. And we might also mention the seeds of so very many plants, minerals and animals that the very glorious industry of some other chemists has found in water, justifying to some degree the Egyptians' view of it as the first and universal material of all created things. . . .

The earth deserves no less attentive examination than the water and the air. It contains various different sorts of minerals, apart from the very many other substances that are in it, and it occasionally produces exhalations capable of corrupting and making the air, water, plants or fruits pestilential, causing new and diverse sorts of diseases. I believe the chief reason why very high fevers with serious risk of death occur mainly in seasons of the year commonly associated with a change of air is because at certain times such exhalations and suppurations of minerals come into the air, water and food, and after they enter our body and are enclosed and swallowed they become excessively abundant and vigorous, only to burst forth in very violent illnesses. For in certain seasons the heat of the sun brings out the arsenical, vitriolic, nitrous and sulphureous exhalations from the minerals hidden in the earth, making the air harmful and noxious to human health. Some substances, taken orally by themselves with no ill effects, when combined can form a deadly poison like corrosive sublimate,[48] whose tiniest particle mortally offends. This knowledge, and an understanding of chemical operations, can help explain how moving from place to place and breathing mercurial exhalations or their equivalent here and saline ones there might produce in our bodies a substance not very dissimilar to sublimate, bringing on those mortal infirmities called a change of air. Experience confirms that the sickness known as a change of air occurs mainly in places where there is a greater variety of minerals and the sun's heat is more intense, causing those poisonous and damaging mineral exhalations that ignite also those other fevers, no less malignant and pestilential than the first, which often bring their violence into the cities, suburbs and villages and rapidly deprive them of their populations.

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And we ourselves have witnessed very many deaths due to these causes, especially in the past months, when the pestilential fever left a very cruel trail in some places, leaving Borgo Sant'Antonio as well as other towns, not only in Campania but also in other provinces of our kingdom empty and depopulated. . . .

The physician must associate not only with literary people and attend the schools, but he must also associate with old women, Gypsies, riffraff, old men, and experienced peasants, from whose schools he can sometimes learn more than he might elsewhere. And the physician no less than the chemist, as the poet says, is expected to go, if he can, "Traveling from the earth's most icy peak/ deep into Ethiopia's sun-burnt tribes."[49] This he must do partly in order to know the nature and variety of the earths, the minerals, the waters and the animals, the air, the seasons, the customs, the foods, the beverages, the medicines, the illnesses and the manners of each country. And however much effort a physician may exert to learn such things, he must still not consider himself to have arrived at the highest grade of medicine. As van Helmont rightly says, in all of Europe there is hardly a single physician, because every physician will always find himself inadequate in the hour of greatest need, as proven by the example not only of Paracelsus but also of van Helmont, who could never cure his own pleurisy, although this was the very disease, and its remedies, about which he himself had written more reasonably than anyone else.

But leaving all that aside, the time has come now to see which teachers will be able to introduce the student to the many sciences we have said are necessary to medicine. And since the physician must have a knowledge of herbs as well as all the other things, our schools should be furnished with a complete and perfect herb garden along with an expert herbalist who can help the scholars advance in this science by explaining to them the nature, names, and effects of herbs so that they might use them wisely. . . .

A physician needs very many other things besides these—for example, the study of languages. Teachers of Greek should therefore be introduced into our universities, because without this a man can not very easily make use of the works of the ancients, which were written in Greek and later translated into Latin, but often erroneously by translators ignorant of the material or the language; and apart from many other examples, the Galenists have demonstrated Avicenna's mistakes due to excessive confidence in the translators from Greek into Arabic. And how indeed can we ever hope to have reliable and faithful translators, if even Pliny and Cicero themselves, so fluent in Greek, nonetheless botched the translation of many Greek words into Latin, of which many wise writers accused him? Furthermore, the empty school of philosophy should be restored and given back to the physicians, where it was before. Of anatomy I hardly know what to say, since after Marc'Aurelio Severino our schools certainly never had an anatomist, and even Marc'Aurelio himself taught little,

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either because there was so little demand or else because the statutes did not require it.[50] I believe it is worthy of considerable attention and ought to be carefully organized by bringing in a very expert practitioner to teach in the schools, giving him everything he needs and prescribing the performance of an anatomy of some part of an animal at least one day a week so the scholars may very easily discover the way to becoming perfect anatomists. I am not certain that the two chairs of anatomy and surgery should be united and the same professor encumbered with both burdens, for both of these schools deserve the greatest consideration, and I would prefer them to be confided to the special efforts of two worthy masters. I would say the same about mathematics, which is so necessary to the common good—not just for medicine and philosophy but also for the arts of war, for navigation and for business and all civil commerce. And besides all these schools that we have mentioned, there should also be established a school of chemistry, since this subject, for the reasons we have already sufficiently noted, is so useful and necessary to the human race, although it can never be sufficiently learned just from books without the guide of an able and excellent master. The very clever Monsignor Giovanni Ciampoli,[51] highly informed about such matters, is absolutely right to criticize and revile the ignorance of the schools for not having introduced chemistry; and a school of chemistry is particularly necessary in our university so the mineral waters at Pozzuoli and Ischia can be analyzed, to which our physicians so foolishly and ignorantly condemn a great number of patients, even though some have suffered very ill effects. . . .

Turning finally to other aspects of medicine, I would require professors to explain not only the commonplace opinions of Hippocrates and Galen but all the other ideas of the ancient and modern authors, so students will know about everything pertaining to medicine, just as Galen and other famous worthies did. The various sectarian controversies are of little or no significance since medicine is uncertain and fallacious in itself and none of the partisans possess all the doctrine necessary for providing anyone with a stable foundation or coming to any certain conclusions, as we have sufficiently demonstrated; nonetheless, young people should be able to decide on the proper course to adopt after studying the different sects and opinions and the various and often contrary manners of medicating that physicians have chosen from time to time.

This would not violate any statute of our kingdom. True, some people insist that the words, *the authentic books both of Hippocrates and Galen should be taught in the schools*, really signify and stipulate that nothing but the doctrine of Hippocrates and Galen should ever be taught. In fact, the best way to follow the sentiments of Galen is to depart sometimes from what he said; for no one can reasonably call himself a follower of Galen who does not choose the best ideas from all the books available, as Galen

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did himself and as he warmly recommended to his students. Some expositors say the statute did not interdict the teaching and following of other important authors at all, since laws wishing to reserve and prohibit things usually adopt the words *only*, *exclusively*, and *without exception*, which the jurists call peremptory, and since such words are not used here, any reasonable attempt to explain the law by the mind of the legislator should find no prohibition against explicating other equally famous authors as well—indeed, such a practice is openly tolerated and perhaps even imposed, because the legislator certainly intended such a law to comprehend if not to form a perfect and worthy physician and, as we have demonstrated, no one can be so without a perfect acquaintance with everything written about medicine. . . .

Eighth and Last Oration

That all the many aspects and different appearances of things we sense in this great theater of the universe come from only one substance is a view on which not only Democritus and Epicurus agreed, but also Aristotle himself, in spite of the frequent occasions when he seems to say the contrary. In the eighth book of the *Metaphysics*, he wrote that matter and form were ultimately the same thing, and likewise that matter and privation are not different in the subject (about which he had elsewhere wrongly criticized Plato) and can be distinguished one from the other only by the intellect.[52] And in the second book of the *Physics*,[53] he claims form can never separate from matter except in our minds, just as the flattening cannot be separated from the nose; and in the second book of *On the Soul*,[54] he says trying to find out whether the soul is something different from the body is pointless, just as trying to find out whether shape is intrinsic to the wax on which it is impressed. And finally, he seems to confirm the same thing when he so frequently affirms that form is the quiddity of the thing, which in his terminology means that form is the perfection of matter and is called matter when it is capable of perfection and called form when already perfect. And how could anyone believe differently, who recognized in God neither the freedom of action nor the omnipotence necessary for creating the forms out of nothing (seeing that only creation could bring them into being if they were truly different from matter, which the Peripatetics deny) and informing matter as he wished.

The first Greek philosophers learned from the Phoenicians that this substance we are talking about is nothing but body, crumbled and divided into very minute particles of different sizes, shapes, motions and types, and in different places; and Democritus reasoned about it more clearly than anyone else.

Such an idea very clearly demonstrates the necessity of an infinite omnipotence and wisdom capable of organizing and ordering matter in so

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many ways and communicating motion to it. The very wise Greek philosopher Thales of Miletus[55] was the first to recognize this . . . and the same view is also believed to have been first taught by Pythagoras, the founder of Italian philosophy, and by many other famous and wise philosophers. Nevertheless, all these philosophers erred egregiously in their obstinate denial that such a substance came from the omnipotent hands of the Eternal Maker and in their insistence that it has always existed. Their error was perhaps not far surpassed by that of Epicurus and Democritus, who attributed to chance what the others attributed to the action of a mind. Considering divine and eternal omnipotence to be a very weak artifice that only used various already present materials to form various mechanisms, they attributed so little to it as to rob it of most or indeed all of its power to create from nothing and explained the existence of only one world on the basis of the insane proposition that the sovereign Maker consumed all the existing material in making this one. But returning to Epicurus, there is no wonder he should have spoken so wrongly about the omnipotence of the great God, since his silliness and impiety led to imagine God as an animal with the appearance of a supremely handsome man, adding, however, that God was not body but body-like and instead of blood had something blood-like. Furthermore, he says the gods are beautiful, splendid and covered with ornaments, their limbs are human, they have no necessary purpose, and their abode is in the empty space between the very many worlds he imagined. Finally, he impiously annihilates divine justice and providence, insisting that God does not care about us at all. . . .

But setting aside further discussion of these and other similar well-known impieties of Epicurus, I do not see how his followers can ever defend what he says about atoms, which he sees as indivisible; for however unbelievably tiny they may be, they can nonetheless surely be divided by one or more pyramid-shaped and pointed atoms even smaller than them, and there is no use in saying that they have no void in them at all, so that other atoms cannot penetrate them, split them nor divide them in parts, because an atom that tries to split and divide another one surely can penetrate it after repeated blows.[56] True, the whole issue might well be regarded as pointless, so rare and perhaps nonexistent must be those cases where the splitting or dividing of one atom by another will occur. Atoms, after all, are not firmly joined and stuck to each other; so anyone who rightly observes this affair can see that rather than splitting under the blows, they will give way and separate from the atoms nearby. The truth of this conjecture seems apparent in the existence of some very hard bodies that cannot be changed into others by any force of art or nature, a fact only explainable by all their corpuscles being of similar shapes and unable ever to be broken or divided into smaller particles. I hardly need to bother refuting Epicurus' opinion concerning the vacuum, known as false by one

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and all, even if a few very excellent philosophers try nonetheless to make it seem true. Setting aside a flood of other hogwash, conceding the vacuum would mean that those bodies among which the vacuum was supposed to be interspersed should have to touch and not touch one another at the same time. Furthermore, if the number of atoms were infinite, as Epicurus says, all spaces would have to be full of bodies and there could be no empty space in the universe; and however immense he might want to make the universe, I do not see how he could ever imagine it to contain both an infinite number of bodies and an infinite amount of empty space.

Epicurus apparently erred not only in this but in many other things besides. Among the most ridiculous was his view that the sun must be either as large or a little larger or smaller than we see, due not only to his credulousness about sense experience, as Descartes suggests, but also to his feeble arguments. Laughable too are his views about the shape of the earth, about the rising and setting of the sun, the moon and the other wandering and fixed stars, about the *eidola* or *simulacra* that present themselves, as he thinks, when we see and imagine things.[57] All the mistakes of Epicurus would be too tedious to recount here, especially those wherein he erred together with the other Greek philosophers. For of all of them might reasonably be said what St. Justin said about Aristotle and Plato, namely, that if the purpose of philosophy is to discover the truth, as everyone agrees, then I do not know how they could ever be called true philosophers who had not even the slightest idea of the truth. And St. Clement of Alexandria also very reasonably agrees with those who think Greek philosophy occasionally managed to find the truth, by chance and by fortune, but seized what it found only partially, very fleetingly, and without thorough examination, and suggests that it actually comes from the Devil, as others also believed, and after other accusations concludes that those who received the name of philosopher from the Greeks were all scoundrels and very evil men.

Perhaps I have gone on too long about the ancient philosophers, and perhaps more than was appropriate for the present discussion. Let it not however be considered useless and excessive, because one of the most difficult and perhaps least-known impediments that has arrested the course of philosophy has been the widely diffused belief that the Greek philosophers discovered and understood everything that was to be discovered and comprehended by human thought in the very vast realm of nature; and this insane belief is the only reason why so much time is pointlessly spent searching for the true sentiments of these authors, which otherwise ought to be spent investigating the things of nature by experiments and arguments. . . .

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2
The Preservation of the Past

From Paolo Sarpi's *History of the Interdict* to chronicles like Florentine administrator Giovanni Baldinucci's *Memoirs*; from Alessandro Giraffi's *The Neapolitan Revolution* to Filippo Baldinucci's *Life of Bernini*, the preservation of the past took many forms and sought to account for many different kinds of human experience, in various degrees of distance from the material and at various levels of analytical sophistication.

Rather than from contemporary manuals like Agostino Mascardi's *Art of History*, historians drew inspiration for the most part from their Renaissance predecessors Machiavelli and Guicciardini and from the ancient models to which those writers had referred. True, the nature of their subjects sometimes required some innovation. Sallust's *Conspiracy of Catiline* was the usual model for revolts, but to write about a popular revolt like the one in Naples, led by a fishmonger, Giraffi had to ignore the Ancients' insistence upon writing only about the great and the noble. Leonardo Bruni's *History of His Own Times*, on the other hand, was the most suitable model for a commentary on a variety of historical occurrences; but Capriata had to combine this with Guicciardini's approach in the *History of Italy*, a national history of a war, in order to find a suitable vehicle for tracing the history of all the different states on the peninsula. Julius Caesar's *Gallic Wars* was the model for a commentary on a single set of events; but Sarpi had to follow his own lights to compose an account of a mainly diplomatic quarrel where events took place in conversations and letters rather than on the battlefield.

All these historians, perhaps influenced by skepticism about rhetorical historiography that was already growing by the time Virgilio Malvezzi voiced it (see the Section on Political and Civic Affairs), sought to prove their contentions through documentary evidence, joining the two fields of historiography and scholarship that in the Renaissance had been kept apart. Giraffi frequently interrupted the flow of his otherwise seamless narrative to provide copies of letters between the viceroy and the king of Spain and other personages. The trend even affected the historiography of art. Steering a path between the Suetonio-Plutarchian model of Vasari and the Varro-Plinian models of the scholars and antiquaries, with an eye also to the scientific writing of Vitruvius, Filippo Baldinucci larded his life of Bernini

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with elaborate engineering notes on the building practices of his hero, and Giovanni Pietro Bellori included excerpts from letters.

In the course of their narratives these historians gave important evidence about the political and social structures of their times. Sarpi showed, ten years before John Selden's *History of Tithes*, the variety of arguments available for defending state independence against ecclesiastical authority. He also showed an aristocracy with a patrimonial—i.e., pre-modern—bureaucracy, a form of administration which modern scholars, following Max Weber, have associated exclusively with the new monarchies of Northern Europe, suggesting another itinerary of the modern state besides the one often taught in courses on comparative political development. Capriata showed account of the increasing importance of the circulation of information not only by relying to some extent upon the now widely available news reports for his own narrative but also by assessing popular views of the events.

Not all of those who recorded the past were historians. Some were memorialists, in the time-honored tradition of the Florentine Renaissance artisans and merchants, keeping a record of what had happened to themselves and their families for the edification of subsequent generations. Following in this tradition, Giovanni Baldinucci wrote about the plague of 1630 and its aftermath. And like the best of his predecessors, he included a wealth of details concerning life in a seventeenth-century city, related in a haphazard and idiosyncratic manner. To see in context his principles of selection and organization, his account should be compared not only with the other selections in this Section, but also with Caterina Paluzzi's *Diary* in the Section on Spirituality.

10. Paolo Sarpi, *History of the Interdict*

The controversy between Venice and the Roman Church in which Paolo Sarpi became involved in 1605 determined his eventual career.[1] Both protagonists were at the height of their prestige. In spite of recent economic setbacks, Venice was still one of Europe's great banking, manufacturing and commercial centers, with territorial possessions and colonies stretching far into the Italian mainland and across the Dalmatian coast to the Greek archipelago. Its long-standing reputation for political leadership was enhanced by the arrival to power of a group of new families called the "young," confident in Venice's republican institutions, determined to regain whatever reputation the republic had lost in the War of Cyprus (1570-73), and headed by Leonardo Donà. The Roman Church had managed to regain through the Council of Trent (1545-63) much of the spiritual leadership it had lost in the earlier Renaissance. And the efforts of the post-Tridentine

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popes to turn a heterogeneous agglomeration of lands across the middle of the Italian peninsula into a territorial state and to make papal government effective enough to rule it had transformed the papacy, in the words of one recent historian (Paolo Prodi), into "one body with two souls"—ecclesiastical and temporal. Trouble with Venice had been brewing ever since the Senate insisted on having three of its members sit in on meetings of the local Inquisition, imposed severe restrictions on the enforcement of the Index of Forbidden Books, and, most recently, enacted laws limiting the accumulation of Church property. Thus, when new Pope Paul V (Camillo Borghese, 1605-21) sought an occasion to test the Church's new political clout, he did not have to go far to find one. As soon as the Venetian Council of Ten, in open violation of the immunity that the Church claimed outside the city itself, ordered the imprisonment of two clerics from the mainland for petty offenses, he ordered the immediate consignment of the prisoners to the ecclesiastical courts and the abolition of the new property laws on pain of interdict—in other words, interdiction of all religious functions in Venice. The Senate too took drastic measures. It declared the Interdict null and void, expelled the Jesuits as foreign agents and hired Sarpi as its official counsellor in theological matters in an elaborate anti-Roman propaganda campaign. All Europe looked on as the two powers lashed out at each other in a "War of Pamphlets" that turned the specific issues at stake into a battle between state absolutism and theocracy. The story of how Venice, with Leonardo Donà (1606-12) now doge, stood up for Venetian rights while Paul V asserted Church ones is narrated in detail in Sarpi's *History of the Interdict*, published posthumously in Geneva in 1624. The subsequent prohibition of Sarpi's work made it a *succès de scandale*.

August 1605—April 17, 1606

From his earliest childhood, Paul V was dedicated to and nourished in those studies that have no other goal than to acquire spiritual and temporal lordship over the entire world for the Roman pope and to advance the clerical estate by removing it from the power and jurisdiction of all princes, raising it even above kings and acquiring for it the acquiescence of secular persons to furnish it with all sorts of services and conveniences. From his adolescence, he learned to use the arms necessary to defend these doctrines as auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, an office exactly conforming to his inclination, since the title given to that magistracy is, *executor of judgments and sentences inside and outside the territory of Italy*. He worked harder than his predecessors in this office, hurling out more monitories and citations in his five years there than anyone could remember for the previous fifty. Thus he began to acquire an ardent desire for revenge against anyone who seemed inclined to place restrictions on ecclesiastical liberty or licence

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or on the arbitrary use of excommunications. But anger dies or at least diminishes when directed against those too exalted for vindication to be possible, so he conceived far less spite against single kings and princes than against republics; since those who govern the latter are powerless as private persons, he hoped he might be able to overwhelm them—even when joined in a body and reinforced by the public power and forces that entails. And above all, his hatred burned against the Republic of Venice, since it alone sustains the dignity and the true characteristics of an independent prince, since it alone entirely excludes ecclesiastics from participation in its government, and especially since it alone, among all the princes, does not host anyone from the Roman court, which being interpreted by ecclesiastics as a sign of scorn, ignites particular hatred and produces an internal malevolence among them.

For these reasons, the extension of ecclesiastical authority became the entire aim and supreme interest of his office once he assumed the pontificate; and he professed his desire to restore it to the condition from which his predecessors, in particular Clement VIII, had negligently allowed it to decline. His first thoughts therefore were directed to creating a congregation in Rome wholly dedicated to conceiving the means whereby ecclesiastical authority could be maintained and increased; or at least, to locating all the relevant documents, answering the contrary arguments and preparing material for successors to bring to perfection what he was unable to finish, thus mortifying the pretensions (as he said) of secular governments.

To succeed in this design, he believed similarly-inclined nuncios had to be sent into all realms and to all Catholic princes; and this he began to do by the changes he made. To Venice, for example, he sent Orazio Mattei, bishop of Gerace, a Roman so dedicated to this view that he dared to tell the prince in the College[2] that alms and other works of piety, the sacraments, and every other good and Christian act, without favoring ecclesiastical liberty, ***are good for nothing***. These were his words. And in many informal conversations with various persons, he said he heard about the much-vaunted piety of the city of Venice but had never seen it, since Christian perfection did not consist in alms and devotions alone without the final test provided by the exaltation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and he frequently claimed to have been sent by the pope into that nunciature to receive martyrdom for the Apostolic See. But this boasting of a soul in search of martyrdom was not unalloyed with a certain vaingloriousness; since if anyone adduced a reason against what he was trying to promote, his constant customary reply, as though by formula, was, "I am the pope here, and I want nothing but obedience."

The pontiff decided not to erect the congregation he planned, when he learned that his designs, made manifest, might incite all the princes to invent ways to counter him, thus causing effects exactly opposite to his intention,

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as Clement VIII experienced when the congregation he erected concerning English affairs excited the mind of that king to scrutinize the affairs of Catholics in his territory more closely, making their activities ever more difficult. The pope did not put any of his plans into effect in the first months also because, struck down at first by the vehemence of his rejoicing, he was immediately assailed by a grave melancholy from a fixed apprehension of death, which he expected at any time; and this fear was reinforced by a rumor throughout Rome that the image of the Blessed Virgin of Subiaco had exuded perspiration, as usually occurs (the common people believe) to advise popes of their impending doom, and also by the previous prediction by a Flemish astrologer that the death of Clement VIII would be followed first by a Leo and then by a Paul, who would live only a short time. . . .

He began to negotiate with the Most Christian king[3] for the admission of the decrees of the Council of Trent into his kingdom. In Spain, he managed to procure for the Jesuits an exemption from tithes. In Naples, he tried to obtain delivery to Rome of Giovan Francesco da Ponte, marquis of Morcone, called the Regent da Ponte, whom the Inquisition accused of having condemned a bookseller to the galleys in a question over which it claimed jurisdiction. From the Order of Malta,[4] he removed the collation of several benefices and conferred them on Cardinal Borghese.[5] He offered objections to the duke of Parma[6] concerning certain taxes imposed on his subjects there, concerning the absence of the bishop of Parma from that city,[7] concerning the question of Count Alberto Scoto, and concerning other things that the pope maintained were against the bull *In coena Domini*.[8] He disputed with the duke of Savoy[9] over lay proprietorship to certain benefices usually conferred by ministers of the prince, over the Inquisition's lay assistants and over an abbey that His Highness had conferred on Cardinal Pio [di Savoia Carpi]; all of which things he settled by negotiation, with the duke accepting a nephew of His Holiness for the abbey instead of his own nominee.

None of these affairs got very far before being mitigated by compromise. . .

Of the Republic of Venice he demanded that monetary aid be sent to the emperor for the war in Hungary against the Turks, suggesting that if the Senate wished to avoid inciting Turkish arms against itself, it should give the money secretly to him and he would in turn give it to the emperor. In this negotiation he used, and made his nuncio use, words more befitting a ruler in exacting an extraordinary contribution from his own subjects than a prince discussing common interests with another prince; so after a modest initial response, the Senate said it incurred so many expenses to preserve its own state and secure itself from the many present cares, that it could not apply its mind to new enterprises, and furthermore, the Christian princes could not unite in oppressing the common enemy until a perfect mutual understanding had first been achieved, laying all former suspicions to rest;

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and when some progress had been made towards such a union, the Republic would not be among the last to take up arms against the enemies of the Christian name. This response seemed strange to the pope, since he believed the modern canonists' doctrine that the pope could command every prince whatever he thought redounded to the common good of Christendom; nonetheless, instead of quarreling with this, he decided to quarrel with something else more apparently spiritual and more immediately touching the Apostolic See. At first he negotiated in general for ecclesiastical liberty and the restoration of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, telling the nuncio to push for them in Venice and emphasizing them himself to the Venetian ambassador. Descending to particulars, he introduced some matters touching navigation, the duties on oil and the exchange rates on the coasts of Romagna and the March of Ancona, and he issued orders on these things to the Republic, demanding the repeal of a decree by the Senate on December 11, 1604, which prohibited subjects from hiring vessels and making commercial agreements or companies for moving any sort of merchandise out of the domain and into alien lands without passing through Venice, alleging that because this impeded the provisioning of the state of the Church, it therefore violated ecclesiastical liberty. On being told in reply that all princes command their subjects according to the convenience of their own states without regard for others yet without offense to the other princes, and that whatever His Holiness should command his own subjects for the good of his government the Republic would never deplore or perceive as a slight upon its liberty, the pope saw he was unlikely to get what he wanted, especially as he had no specious pretext for making it seem joined to spiritual affairs. Thus, as soon as an event occurred in some way connected to the spiritual, he abandoned these other matters and turned entirely to this.

The event was as follows. A Vicentine canon in Vicenza named Vincenzo Saraceno (the same one who had also contemptuously removed the seals of the vacant office of chancellor, placed for safekeeping at the request of the last incumbent above the episcopal chancery) had molested a gentlewoman related to him; and when she rebuffed him, after pursuing her through the streets and churches, he had spitefully defaced the door and façade of her house; for which, by her personal request in Venice and the request of the gentlemen of the same family, the canon was called to judgment and appeared spontaneously. The canon's cousin, bishop of Città Nuova,[10] was a man of great value, guide to all the nuncios and papal ministers in the city of Venice and director of all of their actions by his counsel, to whom these nuncios were even ordered to communicate all their commissions. His incitement reinforced the nuncio's unfortunate natural inclination to let priests enjoy licentious exemptions, and the two of them sent news of the case to the pope and to the bishop of Vicenza,[11] then at the Roman court, who upon receipt discussed it together and animated each

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other to defend the canon and his ecclesiastical liberty by separate entreaties at the end of October to Agostino Nani, the Republic's ambassador. The bishop said the pope would not tolerate the imprisonment of the canon and had called him to his duty as a bishop in the matter, and he ought to be given satisfaction in what was after all not an atrocious case by transferring the prisoner to the ecclesiastical forum. But the pontiff said more absolutely that the judgment of ecclesiastics was against the disposition of the council, and he would not permit it in any case.

The ambassador reported everything back to Venice, and before a reply returned, the pope quarreled with him in another audience about a decree prohibiting the alienation of lay property to ecclesiastics passed after the death of Clement VIII, saying that the new decree was broader than the previous one upon which it was based and could not subsist because both were invalid and against the canons, the council and the imperial laws; that making ecclesiastics worse off than disgraced persons in this way was scandalous; and that the lawmakers were therefore under censure. The same things in the same manner he had his nuncio say in Venice. And since the ambassadors of the Republic had just arrived expressly to congratulate His Holiness, he made the same complaints to them in the beginning of November, enjoining them to report everything back to Venice on their return. . . .

In the middle of November, the ambassador received the response to what he had been made to write, though not yet to what the extraordinary ambassadors had transacted for the Senate, and accordingly showed His Holiness that the Republic's just title to and proprietorship of the right to judge ecclesiastics in secular crimes was based on the natural power of the supreme prince and an uninterrupted custom of over a thousand years, attested even by papal briefs found in the public archives, and also that the law against alienating lay property to ecclesiastics, far from being unique to the city of Venice, also belonged to the greater portion of the subject cities individually, which if they did not possess such a law had to follow the order of the dominant city. He then showed the equity of the law by many arguments and examples of many Christian kingdoms and some cities of the ecclesiastical state and how necessary it was for conserving its power in the domain, particularly in these times. The pope writhed impatiently as he listened, showing the disgust he felt inside by facial expressions and body gestures. He finally replied that the alleged arguments were worthless and that custom, which tended to be more iniquitous the further back it began, was no foundation. As for the papal briefs, he said the only archive for them was in Rome, that the ones adduced were nothing but scraps, and that he would bet his last ducat authentic ones on the subject did not exist. And as for the property law, he said that he had become well-versed and authoritative on this question first as a young student, then while in the office of the vice legate, next as auditor of the Apostolic Chamber and most

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recently as vicar of Rome, and he knew very well that the law could not stand any more than could the older one of 1536; that control over goods belongs to private persons, who must be able to dispose of them in freedom whereas restricting them is tyranny; that the Senate itself considered it shameful, having ordered no one to receive copies of it; that if similar laws existed anywhere else they were passed by papal authority; and that the Venetians ought not to govern the ecclesiastical state, since that was up to the popes, who could make whatever statutes they wished in their own state, and he demanded obedience on this.[12] Goaded on by his intense feelings, the pope did not notice that his defense of ecclesiastical liberty only favored the licence of secular persons to dispose of goods at will without any control by the laws, and that using the word tyranny to refer to a legitimate limitation was to accuse the popes mainly of the same excess.

But not content with the complaints already made, he added that he heard Count Brandolino Valdemarino, abbot of Nervesa, had been imprisoned and wanted him delivered to the nuncio along with the canon; that he had found another decree, made in 1603, against the construction of churches without licence from the Senate, which he very bitterly condemned, concluding in these words: "even Molinaeus[13] said such a thing *reeks of heresy*"; that he knew the Republic retained 500 thousand scudi of ecclesiastical legacies; and that he wanted all of these things to be adjusted. The ambassador responded that God had not granted any more authority to popes for governing their states than he had to other princes, who by natural law have all the power they need, and just as it is not the job of the Venetians to govern the ecclesiastical state, so it is not the job of ecclesiastics to govern the Venetian one; that the law was never kept secret, but published in all the cities and registered in all their chanceries, from which anyone could make a copy. He also showed clearly how false was the assertion that the Republic had retained any ecclesiastical legacies, adding furthermore that if His Holiness wished to scrutinize all the laws of the Republic and listen to all the calumnies that had been brought against it by its enemies, the controversies would increase to infinity. Whereupon the pope paused for a moment and then said that he was willing to be satisfied by the reply concerning the 500 thousand scudi; and not wishing to multiply the controversies, the pope limited them to three points: the decree against building churches, the law forbidding the alienation of lay property to ecclesiastics, and the trials begun in the cases of the canon and the abbot. He demanded obedience on these three points, adding that he wanted a swift and decisive solution without prolonged negotiations, otherwise he would use whatever remedy he thought best; that he was placed in that see to sustain the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, for which he would be willing to shed his own blood; and that, unconcerned about anything else including the members of his own family, who he intended should remain private persons, he would press ahead, whatever happened. Finally, he repeated

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what he had already said, that he wanted to send a hortatory brief to the Republic and would proceed further if this was not obeyed.

The said abbot of Nervesa was imputed to have exercised an exceedingly harsh tyranny over the lands close to his dwelling, demanding goods of everyone at whatever price he pleased, committing rapes and molesting women of every sort, for which purpose he also practiced sorcery and other magical operations; to have professed to be able to concoct very subtle poisons that he used to take the life of his own brother, of an Augustinian priest, and of a servant of his—the last two just for discovering his misdeeds and the first for competing with him at home; to have brought his own father very close to death with the same poison; to have had continuous sexual commerce with a natural sister of his and poisoned a servant to avoid being discovered in the act; to have had an adversary of his killed and then eliminated the hired killer by poisoning him in order to avoid the danger of detection; and to have committed other homicides and atrocities. . . .

The Senate carefully considered the matter, balancing the pope's anger and haste on the one hand, and, on the other, the public liberty and the exigencies of government; and on the first of December it replied to the nuncio and wrote also to the ambassador in Rome that it could not deliver the legitimately detained prisoners nor revoke the justly passed laws or else the natural God-given liberty of the Republic, preserved for so many centuries by the aid of His Divine Majesty and by the blood of its ancestors, would be imperiled, the whole government would be upset, which had so far prospered by such laws and customs, and confusion would ensue, ending in some troublesome sedition in the domain. The Senate voted unanimously on this resolution, a fact that was reported orally to the nuncio and in writing to Rome in order to demonstrate the Republic's harmony in defending its liberty and remove whatever hopes the pope might have conceived from the Jesuits' promises of division among the senators.

The pope, in spite of what his nuncio replied to him by letter and the ambassador by voice, did not change his mind . . . but ordered two briefs to be drawn up, one concerning the two laws, the other concerning the two prisoners. . . .

When the briefs had left Rome, the pope called a consistory on the 12th, in which he explained that the Venetian Republic had violated ecclesiastical liberty by passing two laws and detaining two persons, expanding somewhat on each of the three points. However, he did not ask for the cardinals' votes or allow them to speak. The cardinals grumbled somewhat about this, believing that the ancient statutes made them consultants as well as participants, and without even examining the merit of the decision unanimously regarded it as hasty and dangerous. But after considering the motives of the pope and the Republic, they began to disagree about the decision's merit and to respond in different ways to the Venetian

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ambassador when he later spoke about it with many of them. Some said the pope should pay more attention to the more urgent needs of the Church and set these things aside. Cardinal Bellarmino stated explicitly that the pope imperfectly understood jurisdictional matters and therefore did not speak of them with him, and in any case he ought to worry instead about the residency of prelates in their dioceses. Baronio[14] said these things were not discussed with him because his customary response was well known. Zapata[15] said there were laws in Spain exactly similar to the ones in question. Monopoli[16] said the laws could be tolerated with all the circumstances being the same except not naming ecclesiastics. Others approved the laws but not the judgments, still others the judgments but not the laws. Even before the briefs went out, Cardinals Baronio and [Jacques Davy Du] Perron, fearing some trouble, are known to have strongly urged the pope in a separate private audience to desist from his arduous and dangerous enterprise or at least to place it under negotiation and gain time to let it resolve itself rather than spoiling everything by haste. But nothing could divert His Holiness from his planned course of action.

The Senate in the meantime, to avoid the precipice toward which the pope seemed to be hurtling, to assuage by a manifest demonstration of reverence his apparent feeling of being disesteemed, to protract matters just enough to give him time to reconsider as well as to furnish him a just and evident pretext—if he only noticed—for proceeding with more restraint, decided to send a special ambassador for the affair. The Senate, hoping that the pope might then recognize the high esteem in which it held the Holy See by the quality of the person sent, elected Leonardo Donà, cavalier and procurator of Saint Mark, an aged senator, without exception the most eminent in the Republic, and later doge. It also decided to write to its ministers in all the courts so that they in turn could inform the princes about the public reasons, the intransigence of the pope and everything that happened.

But the nuncio, having received the briefs on the day after the ambassador's election, put off presenting them and sent news of the election immediately by express courier. The pope, when he received this, railed against the nuncio for presuming to decide what to do instead of obeying his command and sent an express courier back with orders to present the briefs immediately upon receipt; and to make sure the ambassador would not find out, he had the courier leave in a carriage without the riding boots, which he put on when he got on a horse at the second post. The nuncio received the command on Christmas eve, and to obey His Holiness immediately, presented the briefs on Christmas morning to the councillors assembled at the solemn Mass of the tierce[17] but with Doge Grimani[18] absent and so close to death that he died the following day. The government ordered the briefs to be set aside unopened until the creation of a new doge. And on learning from his nuncio about the presentation of the briefs and the death of

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the doge, the pope ordered him to warn the Republic against proceeding to an election that the government's excommunication would invalidate, hoping by this threat to cause some confusion or division in the Republic, as sometimes occurs in Rome when the see is vacant; however, on this occasion he showed his ignorance about the government of the Republic, which never varies at all during a change of head or in an interregnum and remains entirely firm and stable. The nuncio insistently demanded an audience to accomplish this purpose, but the Signoria[19] would not admit him, according to the custom of not granting audiences to the ministers of princes during the vacant dogeship except to receive condolences.

The nuncio told many people about his commission to protest the upcoming election and his orders to refrain from any conduct that might lend legitimacy to the proceedings; and he was warned that his behavior was extremely significant, that it implied something never heard before in the world—an utter confounding of spiritual with temporal things—and committed a heinous and unforgivable offense not only against the Republic but also against all potentates, and that far from producing a disturbance in the city, the insult would most likely excite everyone there to sustain the public dignity together and perhaps even interrupt all commerce with the Roman court. And when he informed the pope that he had not been admitted to the audience of the councillors, he added all these considerations. The electors wasted little time in completing their task, and on January 10th, by the usual secret ballot, they exalted to the dignity Leonardo Donà, esteemed as unquestionably the most eminent for the integrity of his life since childhood, for his experience in government, for his exquisite knowledge of letters, and for his perfect embodiment of all the heroic virtues—rare as they are in this century. All the ambassadors immediately observed the custom of congratulating the new prince. Only the nuncio abstained from appearing before him, on the expectation that the pope would soon respond, with the help of some wise prelates, to the considerations that had been offered. But even though the nuncio did not appear, the doge did not fail to write the pope, as usual, informing him about his election.

News about the pope's decision not to recognize the new doge soon circulated all over Rome. When the ambassador found out, he redoubled his efforts to alarm everyone with any access to the pope about the troubles that would certainly occur if he acted on this decision, knowing full well what he must do if the doge's letter was not received. But the pope, either because of these alarms or because of news from the nuncio, set aside his pretensions, received the letter and responded, congratulating the doge and revoking the command to the nuncio not to appear before the doge. . . .

The prevailing opinion at court was that the Republic would give in, preferring to lose its gold rather than disturb its peace, and that there were still many members of the Senate who were still uncertain, but who would be more influenced by fear in the heat of a discussion.

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But in Venice, the Senate immediately turned to the controversy with the pope after the election of the prince. And to have a diplomatic legation down there as soon as possible, it elected Cavalier Pietro Duodo as ambassador in place of Donà, now doge. Next it opened the papal briefs, one of which was expected to concern the laws and the other the prisoners; but it found them to be both the same. In them, the pope said, in substance, "he has come to know that the Republic decided and decreed many things against ecclesiastical liberty and against the canons, councils and papal constitutions in its councils over the course of many years; and among others, in 1603 the Senate, recalling certain laws of its predecessors forbidding churches and charitable foundations to be built without a licence, instead of cancelling them all, newly decreed and extended them to apply not just to Venice alone but to all parts of the domain on pain of punishment, as though churches and ecclesiastical persons were in some way subject to temporal jurisdiction and as though builders of churches deserved penalties for having committed a crime. And again last March, the Senate, instead of repealing, as it should have, a law passed in 1536 against the perpetual alienation of lay property in the city and dogedom of Venice to ecclesiastical places without its permission on pain of punishment, decreed again and extended the same one, along with the penalties, to all parts of the state, as though temporal persons could ever decree anything or exercise jurisdiction over anything or dispose of anything having to do with Church property—especially concerning what the faithful bequeath to churches, ecclesiastics and charitable foundations to redeem their sins and relieve their consciences—without the consent of ecclesiastics and, worse yet, without the pope. Which things, contrary to ecclesiastical liberty and causing the damnation of the soul and the scandal of many, are therefore null and void and entirely without obligation, and so he pronounces them; indeed, the persons who made and profited from these and other similar statutes incur ecclesiastical censure and the deprivation of whatever feuds they hold of the churches, and their states and domains are also exposed to other penalties. Unless they return everything to the way it was before, the above mentioned penalties will be aggravated; and unless they revoked the said laws and restored everything caused by the laws to its previous status, absolution will be impossible. Therefore, unable to turn a blind eye from his position on the supreme throne, he warns them to consider the present danger to all the souls in the Republic and to seek a remedy; otherwise, if his warnings go unheeded, he would command the repeal and cancellation of the said laws, ancient and modern, on pain of excommunication *latae sententiae*[20] and order this command to be published throughout the whole domain; he would then ask whether his commands had been executed, and if not, he would be forced, after having received word from his nuncio about the presentation of them, to carry out punishment without further citation and proceed to some other measures, not wishing to be called to account before

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God on Judgment Day for having shirked his duty. He insists that he has no other object than the quiet government of the Christian republic, but that he cannot stand by idly and watch the authority of the Apostolic See offended, ecclesiastical liberty trampled under foot, canons neglected and the rights of the churches and the privileges of ecclesiastical persons violated, which it is the epitome of his whole office to protect. He denies any motivation by mundane concerns and seeks no other glory than to exercise his apostolic government to the best of his ability; but just as he does not desire to attack secular authority, so he cannot permit offenses to ecclesiastical authority. If the Republic obeys his commands, he will be freed of the great anxiety he feels because of it and will allow it to keep the feuds that it holds of the churches; and in its struggle with the infidel, it can defend itself by no better means than by preserving the rights of ecclesiastics, who keep constant vigils, praying to God on its behalf."

The Senate, having considered the points raised by the pope, decided to discuss everything with its legal consultants,[21] Erasmo Graziani of Udine and Marcantonio Pellegrini of Padua, two gentlemen whose fame as jurists in our age is attested by the works they have published for the world to see; and after searching for a consultant well-versed in theology and canonical knowledge to accompany them, it settled on Servite Father Paolo [Sarpi] of Venice. It discussed the proper way to respond to the pope with them as well as with the principal professors of the University of Padua and with other persons known for good conscience and eminent wisdom from the city of Venice and the domain. It also resolved to discuss the same controversies with celebrated jurists from Italy and other parts of Europe and to make decisions according to the opinions offered concerning the questions that should come up; and in a short time it had opinions from excellent Italian jurists from areas not subject to the Venetian domain, such as Giacomo Menocchio, president of [the Senate of] Milan, a man whose qualities are evident in his exceedingly honorable endeavors to defend the authority of magistrates and in other accomplishments that will forever be remembered. Soon it received written opinions from celebrated jurists of France and Spain, all demonstrating clearly, if in different ways, that the concerns raised by the pope were temporal matters to which the papal authority did not extend, and that the Republic was therefore within its rights to decide in the interests of its government. Copies of laws of the same type were also submitted, passed and observed in almost all the Christian kingdoms and domains, and these in turn were mentioned or named in the various writings issued in favor of the public reasons.

The Senate for the time being, after hearing the views of its jurists, responded on January 28th in substance as follows: "that it had experienced great sorrow and astonishment upon discovering from the letters of His Holiness that the laws of the Republic, happily observed for so many centuries without ever being questioned by any of the predecessors of His

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Beatitude and irrevocable except by overturning the foundations of the government, were reproached as contrary to the authority of the Apostolic See, and those who had made them, men of excellent piety, responsible for performing many good deeds for that see and now in Paradise, were imputed to be violators of ecclesiastical liberty; that following the admonition of His Holiness, it had examined its laws both old and new and had had them examined by others but could not find anything in them that a supreme prince could not decree or that could offend papal authority, since the secular authority is responsible for deciding which associations to allow in the city and for making sure no buildings are constructed such as might some day endanger public safety, and since it never failed to give licences to build churches at the appropriate times and provide for them by public charity and munificence in spite of the abundance of churches and charitable foundations already making this domain the equal of any other in that regard; and that the law against permanently alienating laic property to the ecclesiastics only concerns temporal things unaffected by the canons. Since popes are able to prohibit ecclesiastics from alienating the property of the churches to secular persons without permission, the prince can do the same for lay property, forbidding its unauthorized alienation to ecclesiastics, whereby the ecclesiastics lose nothing of what is left or donated to them because they receive a price equivalent to the property. Moreover, any weakening of the forces of the domain through the deprivation of necessary services brought about by such alienations would damage not only temporal concerns but also ecclesiastics, because Venice is the rampart of Christendom against the infidel. Since divine law, which no human being can disparage, grants secular princes the power to make laws on temporal matters, the Senate therefore does not believe it has incurred any censure. The admonitions of His Holiness are invalid concerning temporal things outside papal authority; and the Senate does not believe His Holiness, with his piety and religion, would persist in his threats without any knowledge of the case. And it writes all this succinctly, referring to the extraordinary ambassador for a more elaborate explanation of these and other matters. . . ."

When the Senate's letters arrived in Rome, the pope received them from the ambassador and opened them in his presence. And at first he was very upset to hear about the presentation of two similar briefs rather than two different ones and blamed the error on the nuncio; and as he continued to read the letter he showed his anger more and more. At the end, without descending to greater particulars, he said his monitory letters brooked no response, the Senate's replies were frivolous, the matter was clear, and he had made up his mind to move ahead. He added that he had found yet another law, concerning ecclesiastical property in emphyteusis,[22] which he demanded to be revoked along with the others; and even though he proposed it only now, having only just found about about it, he considered

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it nonetheless to be more important than the rest, and he must be obeyed because his cause was God's and *the gates of hell shall not prevail against it*.[23] Let him be called upon if the monks of Padua or elsewhere should ever purchase more than was proper and, since secular authority cannot interfere in this, he himself would do whatever was necessary; otherwise, taking it upon themselves, the Venetians were tyrants and nothing like their ancestors. He spoke with such emotion that the ambassador decided further pursuit of the matter would be imprudent; and he withdrew after uttering a few words concerning this last law. But just as he was about to leave the audience chamber, the pope called him back, and rising to his feet, drew him into a room further inside, where he relaxed his previous severity, became more pleasant, and began to discuss his claims very quietly, listening to the ambassador's responses and showing himself inclined to compromise. He concluded that he would not speak of the newly-found law as long as he obtained some satisfaction concerning the other two included in the brief he had sent, and as for the prisoners, if the canon were delivered to the nuncio he would graciously surrender the abbot to the judge in the secular forum; but that all this must be done quickly because he is the enemy of time and will not let them procrastinate until he dies; and that if he obtains satisfaction within fifteen days they will receive no more trouble from his pontificate, but if he does not, he will proceed ahead. The ambassador asked to have this in writing and sent by an express courier, which was done. The nuncio then spoke about all these matters in the College in Venice, urged them at great length to satisfy the pope by repealing the two laws and surrendering the canon, and promised that as a result, they would enjoy greater favors from this pope than the Apostolic See had ever granted to any other previous prince. Next he mentioned the law on emphyteusis and explained that the pope considered it to be more contrary to his authority than the other two, but he cut himself short and left this part of his speech without conclusion. This last report caused much astonishment; and when the doge, not having heard the point discussed before, required more explanations, the nuncio approached him and said in a low voice that there was no point in pursuing the matter because nothing would be done about it, upon his word to His Serenity. The doge did not believe such a promise should remain secret, so in a loud voice he repeated the nuncio's remarks and his promise.

The diminished severity of the pope in Rome and his minister's in Venice seemed to suggest that everything might be settled upon the arrival of the extraordinary ambassador. This pleased the Senate, which had hoped to persuade the pope by its arguments. It therefore replied to the nuncio's urgent appeals for a solution by saying Duodo would go and respond to His Holiness as necessary. But the pope hardly allowed fifteen days to go by without returning to his previous severity, and when ambassador Nani informed him that Duodo had been sent, he complained about being put off,

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saying that he could suffer no delay and was under no obligation to wait. A few days later, after listening to the ambassador recount the victory over Cicala on the Persian border,[24] he stood up and without commenting on the story, said that Duodo "should not bother to come and present arguments because you have already said too much." Abiding by his original decision, the pope ordered his nuncio to present the other brief, also dated December 10th, directed to "Doge Marino Grimani and the Venetian Republic" and concerning the imprisoned canon and abbot; and the nuncio did so on February 25th, two days after Ambassador Duodo had left for Rome, his commission having been sent there on the 18th. The prince[25] expressed some understandable resentment that the brief was presented just two days after an ambassador had left for the same cause and even more that it was directed not to him but to his predecessor, for whom it had been previously prepared. . . .

When the Senate understood the substance of this brief, it had already consulted its jurists about the laws the pope named in his previous brief as well as about the objections to the judgment of ecclesiastics that the pope first brought up, as explained above; and the consultants had decided that the custom used in the domain from time immemorial was legitimate and well-founded. Nonetheless, in order to answer the objections as well as possible, it called again upon those living in Venice and elsewhere in the state for their opinion about the contents of the brief and the appropriate response. After receiving this opinion and examining everything relevant, it responded to the pope on March 11, "that it had read His Holiness' brief with reverence, but not without dismay, since the material in dispute seemed to be increasing daily and His Holiness apparently wished to destroy the institutions of the Republic, conserved undamaged to the present time; for indeed, delivering the canon and the abbot to the nuncio would signify nothing other than relinquishing the power to punish crime, exercised by the Republic since the beginning with the approval of the supreme pontiffs. God gave this power to the Republic's first founders; the present Senate inherited it and had exercised it continuously with moderation, with full attention to the proper limits and with complete approval of past popes, who if they ever tried to prejudice the power given by God to the Republic, never caused the Republic ever to stop exercising authority; and the Senate, in perfect purity of conscience, believes there is absolutely no justification for His Holiness' threats, and indeed, confesses its conviction regarding the seemliness of the Republic's past and present conduct for honoring God, preserving the public peace and punishing criminals. . . ."

Without communicating his thought to very many people, he [the pope] had a monitory against the Republic printed up, which he later reexamined, found wanting, changed, wrote up and printed again on the 17th of April, to be announced that day in consistory.

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That morning, however, his soul was still fluctuating and uncertain about what to do; and when the hour arrived and the cardinals came together, he began to reconsider and nearly decided to capitulate or defer to another time. But Cardinal [Pompeo] Arrigoni, having remained with the nephew in the chamber of the pope, according to the custom pertaining to cardinals in the pontifical government, to wake him and accompany him downstairs instead of going below with the others into the hall, encouraged him not to desist. So returning to his original view, he descended into the consistory and explained the case he had put together against the Republic, expanding particularly on the law he called emphyteusis, although he had neither written about it to Venice nor discussed it with the ambassador except to tell him he had found it. He added that he had studied it first himself and then consulted various famous canonists, who all agreed that the Republic's law subverted the authority of the Apostolic See and ecclesiastical immunity and liberty and contradicted the Council of Symmachus,[26] Gregory's Council of Lyons,[27] the decrees of the Councils and Congregations of Constance and Basel; that the same judgment had been made against Henry II,[28] the kings of Castile and Kings Charles II[29] and Charles IV;[30] that he knew there were canon lawyers who defend the law prohibiting the alienation of lay property to ecclesiastics but they were few, controversial, and sworn to fight ecclesiastical liberty. He also caused a constitution of Innocent III to be read concerning a certain edict of Emperor Henry of Constantinople;[31] and moving on to the subject of the criminal judgments against ecclesiastics, he said the Venetians extended their pretended privileges to places and cases not included in them, such as jurisdiction over bishops' persons. He again exaggerated his patience in having waited so long for their repentance. For this reason he could proceed to an interdict without deferring or giving another deadline, but, in his mercy, he had decided to give them another twenty-four days. He wanted the cardinals' votes so he could do everything canonically.

When the votes were being cast, [Cardinal Domenico] Pinelli praised the limit of twenty-four days, since the same had been given to Henry III king of France.[32] Ascoli[33] nodded his head in assent without saying anything audible, just as he had done under Clement,[34] when the monitory was published against Duke Cesare d'Este [of Modena]. The cardinal of Verona,[35] praising His Holiness' zeal for proceeding with *lenta festinatione* in this affair, added that a Senate as numerous as Venice's could not carry things out quickly, that haste was improper against such a meritorious Republic, which was more likely to be won over by holding off for a time and examining its claims more thoroughly, and he concluded with these words: *wait; for small delays have great convenience*. Then the pope spoke, saying he had done nothing on his own judgment but had listened to and proceeded according to the counsel of wise men. The cardinal replied, in that case, he could not contradict what pleased His Holiness. . . .

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All the others either gave brief assenting speeches, repeated and confirmed the pope's reasoning, or else added the canonists' reasons and allegations to the arguments adduced by the pope and the others. When this was done, the consistorial propositions were taken up, according to the custom. The number of cardinals in the consistory was forty, since that morning Como,[36] [Cardinal Pietro] Aldobrandini, Santi Quattro,[37] and [Cardinal Bartolomeo] Cesi [d'Acquasparta] stayed away.

Little more could have been expected from the cardinals than that they should have consented to the pope's decision. Some simply followed their own inclinations to the same opinion, demonstrating the zeal they shared for ecclesiastical liberty. Others saw themselves forced to demonstrate agreement to further their own interests and pretensions to the pontificate. Still others dared not contradict the pope in anything in order to avoid damaging their hope of emoluments for themselves or for their dependents, with the excuse that disagreement would have damaged themselves without benefiting the Republic. The general opinion of the court is that the cardinals are asked to vote in consistory only for appearances' sake, since they are never informed about the matter at hand; indeed, they had no information concerning the present one except the pope's brief statements in two consistories, as has been said, and they are occasionally asked to decide on matters they have never heard about at all. The popes are therefore confident of being able to get whatever they want in consistory, based on the custom of everyone agreeing to everything, which the court even admits openly by punning on the similarity between the words *assent* and *absent.*

At the end of the consistory, the monitory was put up in the usual places in Rome and immediately disseminated throughout the city, innumerable copies already having been printed both in Latin and in Italian, of which some were sent to all the cities of Italy and the rest were sent to the state of Venice via the Jesuits and other religious and their fellow supporters of the pope, accompanied by seditious letters, and they continued to be sent there for several weeks to every person whose name was known, in blank letter envelopes with only the addressee. . . .

The monitory was addressed "to the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, vicars and all the secular and regular clerics with ecclesiastical dignities in the domain of the Venetian Republic." In it, the pope explains. . . , since the doge and Senate, after his many paternal admonitions, have not yet revoked the laws [in question] nor delivered the prisoners, he, who must in no way suffer ecclesiastical liberty and immunity and the authority of the Apostolic See to be violated, according to the example of ten popes named here and others as well, and with the advice and consent of the cardinals (offered with thoughtful deliberation), declares the said decrees null and void, as they are anyway in themselves. And furthermore, he excommunicates and so declares and denounces (as though named individually) the now-sitting and future doge and Senate along with their advocates, consultants and

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supporters, if in the period of twenty-four days from the date of publication the doge and Senate shall not have revoked, cancelled, and annulled the said decrees—each assigned eight days—and all the things following from them, removed every exception and excuse, published notice everywhere of the cancellation, restored everything proceeding from them to pristine condition, promised not to do such things again, reported their compliance to the pope, and actually delivered the prisoners to the nuncio. From which excommunication they can only be absolved by the Roman pope except in case of death, and if any of them should receive a final absolution and later regain his health, he shall fall under the same excommunication if he does not obey these commands as much as possible, and if he should die he cannot be buried in holy ground until the commands are obeyed by others. And if the doge and Senate remain delinquent for another three days after the twenty-four days, he will place the whole domain under interdict, forbidding the celebration of mass and divine offices except in the ways, places and cases conceded by the common law. He will deprive the doge and Senate of all the property they possess of the Roman and other churches and of all the privileges and indults obtained therefrom, and especially of the privileges of proceeding against clerics in certain cases, reserving to himself and his successors the choice of aggravating and further aggravating the censures and penalties against them and against their advocates, supporters and consultants etc. and of proceeding to other penalties and other remedies if they shall remain delinquent, even though, etc.; and he commands all the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and all the other minor ecclesiastics, under pain of etc., as follows, to put these letters up in the churches or on the doors in the plain sight of the greatest number of people when received or when news of the contents is received, decreeing that they may also refer to printed summaries signed by a notary and sealed with the seal of the ecclesiastical dignity, and that publication in Rome obliges them as a personal injunction.

April 17—July 8, 1606

The publication of such a severe monitory, suddenly striking a Republic of such grandeur, disturbed the princes' resident ministers to the papacy. . . .

Some supposed that the pope, like any novice, would immediately begin to reconsider the inconveniences that reason showed to be inevitable after he first relieved his ardor by promulgating the monitory, and therefore he would be annoyed and desirous of an occasion to prorogue its deadline if the Republic so requested. Others said, too, that with the simple interposition of the princes and ambassadors, he would have revoked it as soon as he believed it had been accepted by the Republic because of the great advantage that should accrue to his purposes from simply making a breach for the delivery of more commands. But in any case, the pope

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remained firm in waiting to see the result of his monitory. In Venice, as soon as the publication was known, the Senate decided to resort to divine intervention; so it commanded all the churches, convents of both men and women, and other charitable foundations to continue praying according to the ancient custom and donated a considerable sum of money in alms to the charitable foundations. Then, turning to government matters, it debated about whether to recall the ambassadors from Rome or leave them there. Some suggested they should be recalled because after such an insult to leave them there would be undignified; others pointed out that removing them would cut off all communication. It found both arguments to be equally persuasive and devised a way to follow both. Only the extraordinary ambassador would be recalled, to show the proper indignation, and the ordinary one would be left, to show a perfect example of piety and reverence toward the Apostolic See, from which alienation would be avoided except under the duress of extreme violence. It also decided to communicate everything to the English ambassador, to whom no information had yet been given because controversies with the pope could not properly be discussed with him; and at the same time it wrote Giorgio Giustinian, the Republic's ambassador to that king, telling him to inform His Majesty. Henry Wotton, English ambassador in Venice, politely complained that the matter was communicated so much earlier to the other ambassadors than to him; but as far as the pretensions of the pontiff were concerned, he said he could not understand this Roman theology, so inimical to justice and honesty.

Now, to avert any difficulties that might ensue from the papal monitory, all the ecclesiastical prelates were ordered to refrain from and forbid the publication or exposition anywhere of any bull or brief or other writing that had been sent to them. Furthermore, a proclamation was issued saying whoever had a copy of a certain brief published in Rome against the Republic should present it to the Venetian magistrates and to the Venetian officials in the subject places on pain of disgrace from the prince. And obedience was so prompt and so many copies were presented as to cause astonishment at the printing of so many. None was put up, due to the diligence of the people themselves, who found in various places and seized the persons who had come for the purpose. All the princes' agents in Venice were informed about the present situation and the reasons for the disturbances, and the same was written to all the Republic's residents in other realms. Likewise, the Senate decided to write to all the Venetian officials in all the cities and subject places, explaining the insults that the Republic had received from the pope and its intrinsically valid reasons, and ordering the letters to be communicated to the councils and magistrates of the cities. When this was done, there were incredible demonstrations of obedience and compliance towards the prince everywhere, with great applause for the defense of public liberty and offers from everyone of men,

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money and arms for maintaining it, according to the capacities of each place, offers that were actually followed through at the appropriate time with the same alacrity and joy. . . .

Having been informed about the interdict, the nuncio did not go to the College until the 28th of the month. There, after first demonstrating great pain and displeasure at the things that had occurred, he added that the pope ought not to be dealt with so scornfully, that the pope is moved by zeal, that everything could be settled even now, if they would only incline a little towards him, and that if His Serenity should propose a compromise, he himself would act as intermediary and prepare and promote the negotiations. The nuncio leavened this discourse with many pious words in order to render it more affecting and persuasive, and finding frequent occasion to name His Divine Majesty, he often used the term "Our Lord"; but since he also used this term occasionally to refer to the pope, his argument remained somewhat ambiguous except to the most attentive and to those who observed, now as in his previous speeches, that if he wished to signify the pope by pronouncing the words "Our Lord," he removed the biretta from his head, and if he wished to signify God he kept his head covered.

To this discourse, made up of astuteness and simplicity and spoken like a sermon, the doge responded that no sane person could enjoy seeing a Catholic and pious Republic so troubled and no one could approve of the pope's actions. He complained that the pope, while refusing to listen to Duodo, had unscrupulously plastered his face with a monitory considered unjust by all; that he made the decision without paying any attention to how the world was governed; that his actions were good for nothing but provoking everyone to criticize the Apostolic See and put it in manifest danger; that if the Republic severed ties with the papacy, ecclesiastics would suffer irreparable damage, but the Republic would not depart from its piety and would defend itself; and that His Lordship did well to call for peace but ought to go and persuade the pope, who was disturbing it.

Having heard this, the nuncio awkwardly insisted upon getting some response from the Senate and left; and after eight days he received a response similar in manner to the prince's speech. When he received it, he began replying with the same graceless condolences he had used before, went on to show displeasure that no accommodation could be found, and concluded that the Senate should know it risked total ruin just to save a single law. To which the doge responded that the pope ought to be reminded about prudence, since he had acted without any; that he ought also to be informed about the imminent dangers and shown the need to avoid them by withdrawing the insults; and that these were the counsels of an old man long experienced in government.

The pope, having heard the proclamation made against his monitory and understood the subjects' readiness and determination to serve their prince and defend his position, and thus having lost all hope in the observance of

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his interdict, decided that his nuncio could no longer remain in Venice with dignity, and so he wrote to recall him. And on May 6th, he sent the bishop of Soana[38] to dismiss the ordinary ambassador, Nani, with an express order not to leave any of his retinue in Rome. . . .

The superiors of the monasteries and other churches of Venice were summoned by the Heads of the Council of Ten and informed that the prince wished them to continue divine offices and not to leave the state without permission. Those who remained were promised protection, those who left were ordered not to carry away the property of the churches or anything else of value. If they received a brief from Rome or instruction from their superiors by whatever means, they were ordered to present it to the magistrates without reading it. And the Venetian officials in all the cities and places of the domain were ordered to do the same in all the lands under their jurisdiction. . . . It was unanimously decided to write to all the prelates of the state, explaining what the prince thought about the published monitory and why he had not used any other remedy, according to the letters of May 6th, which had been printed for exposition in public places and said in substance, "that a certain brief published in Rome on April 17th has come to his attention, striking against this prince, Senate and domain, with the contents here mentioned. And to protect the public peace and the authority of the supreme prince, he protests before God and the whole world that no possible means have been neglected for explaining the Republic's very clear and very valid reasons to the pope; but finding his ears closed and the brief published, against all reason and equity, against the doctrine of the Scriptures, the Fathers and the canons, in violation of the secular authority given by God and the liberty of the state, and with great convulsion of the peace of the subjects and universal scandal, he has no doubt that the brief will be regarded not only as unjust and unwarranted but also as invalid, drawn up *de facto* and thus illegitimate. He does not see a need to use the remedies that the Republic and other supreme princes have used on previous occasions with popes who transgressed the power given them by God, confident as he is that the prelates will see things the same way and continue in the divine cult, since the Republic is determined to maintain the same holy faith and observance toward the Roman Church as has been customary since the founding of the city. . . ."

The Jesuits, upon receiving word of the monitory published in Rome, sent father Achille Gagliardi[39] of Padua to the pope to explain what they could do for His Holiness' benefit if they remained in the state. And when the decision of the Senate was communicated to them before they received a response from Rome, they appeared to speak like the others; nonetheless, either because they were unsure about the pope's position or else for some other cause, using their usual equivocation, they said they would continue the divine offices, preaching and confessions, as usual. But when the pope understood the proposals of the Jesuits, he decided his cause would be

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more damaged by public disobedience of the interdict than favored by their private offices, so he decided they should obey and sent his order by the same courier that carried the one for the nuncio to leave. On receiving this order from the pope, the Jesuits decided to leave, but to put it off as long as they could; nonetheless they allowed word to circulate that they had decided to remain and only to abstain from saying Mass in public, while continuing to perform divine offices as usual. . . .

On May 9th, as the twenty-four-day deadline established in the monitory approached, the Jesuits were summoned to give their decision; and they then explained their stratagem, that they would not say mass, so as not to contradict their earlier promise, the mass being far too special to be customarily comprised with the others under the name of divine offices. The stratagem was certainly ingenious—to say the divine offices, while excluding the mass because it is special and all the others because they did not usually celebrate them, and by this means promising everything and giving nothing to the Republic, to avoiding flight from the state and at the same time observing the interdict according to the order of the pope. The matter was put into consultation on the same day, and the Senate decided that the property of the church should be consigned to the patriarchal vicar and the Jesuits should be commanded to leave immediately. And the Venetian officials in the cities were told to make the Jesuits in the places under their jurisdiction leave in the same manner. . . .

The departed Jesuits withdrew to nearby Ferrara, Bologna and Mantua, from which they could consult and communicate with their confederates and work more easily to provoke sedition by messengers and a barrage of letters. The other departed religious also went to Milan, Mantua, Ferrara and Bologna; and there they were very much maligned by others of the same orders for depriving them of their comforts. The heads of the monasteries complained about double the mouths to feed without anything forthcoming from the pope except indulgences, claiming openly that if no more subsidies came from Rome they could not keep paying the clothing and expenses for so many people. Indeed, the Capuchins, of whom eight hundred left the state, could not all find comfortable places to go and many died of hardship.

But the Senate communicated to all the ambassadors and residents of the princes in Venice and wrote to all the ministers of the Republic in all the courts, explaining all the things that had happened, including the departure of the nuncio and the dismissal of Ambassador Nani, pointing out that the Republic considered the pope's actions to be invalid and was determined to live Catholically and defend itself.

In Rome, the monitory was regarded as certain to have three main effects: first, that the religious would leave the domain, so the interdict would be observed by default; secondly, that the subject cities and peoples, seeing themselves deprived of divine offices and religious exercises, would rebel and force the prince to satisfy the pope; and third, that the nobility,

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submerged in confusion, melancholy and fear for these reasons, would break up into factions. So not only the twenty-four-day deadline and the three extra days assigned in the monitory were allowed to pass, but many other days besides, in which the Jesuits (though absent) used all their arts. But soon it became apparent in Rome that neither the censures nor even the Jesuits' efforts would have the supposed effect of causing the people to rebel. No other religious orders having left except the expelled Jesuits and the dismissed Capuchins and Theatines, divine offices were being celebrated as usual, and in fact more frequently and ardently, with people coming to church in greater numbers and some attending the offices who had been remiss in other times. The Senate was very united in its deliberations, and the cities and peoples remained very quiet in their obedience—indeed, the cities that had not yet sent ambassadors to congratulate the new doge now did so, with no respect or regard for the monitory recently issued, and even declaring openly that in temporal matters they recognized obedience to no one else. Such tranquillity proceeded not only from the voluntary obsequiousness and obedience of the peoples but also from the Senate's providence and the magistrates' diligence in handling every mishap. And there was universal astonishment that this great matter was managed with such prudence and dexterity and conducted without mortalities, that such a great government stayed on its feet without shedding blood, and indeed, that the commands were made to the ecclesiastics on pain of death at the request of those among them who were already disposed to carry them out and wanted that threat only as an excuse.

The Roman court criticized the action of the pope; and those who were less vociferous in their disapproval said that he was correct in assessing the merits of the case but had to be faulted for excessive haste and too much freedom in the means adopted, and indeed, they praised the prudence of the Venetians, who had shown how to confront such a challenge while maintaining their affairs in quiet and tranquillity. On top of this, father Antonio Barisone hurried to Rome from Ferrara to bring oral testimony of what was being said in favor of the Republic's reasons there and in other places on the frontier with the Venetian state and to urge him to save the papal dignity. So the pope complained bitterly in consistory that the interdict was not being observed by the ecclesiastics, concluding that it was necessary to find some alternative; and he told each of the cardinals to think urgently of some remedy and bring it to His Holiness in private. The cardinals were not yet convinced that both the ecclesiastics and the people for the most part agreed the censure was invalid; rather, they thought the latent disposition to observance just needed to be encouraged by some occasion, so they decided to furnish one by inciting the religious to do the unusual—either to abstain from the divine offices or leave the state. The cardinal protectors of the regular orders and the superiors at court and in other parts of Italy therefore urged their own dependents to observe the

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interdict or leave, using threats of censure, penalties and other corporal and spiritual afflictions and promises of favors, honors, and dignities—not only to the heads but also to everyone in particular.

But the commands they gave to monks and other wealthy regular clergy were different from those they gave to the poor mendicants. They said that the latter, unable to stay and observe the interdict, should immediately abandon their places and leave, and if they could not, that Our Lord (so they called the pope) intended them to suffer martyrdom. To the wealthy, they said the pope wanted the interdict to be observed but did not want the monasteries to be abandoned. Then to some of the regular orders they sent commissioners belonging to the lowest levels of the same orders, who had offered to take risks to acquire merit; but no one dared to enter the domain, and threats or promises persuaded only a few of the most temerarious or ambitious to proceed in the hope of great rewards. They also importuned some hermits or eremites to commit mischief in the interest of bringing about rebellion; but identified at the frontier with writings and instructions on them, they were sent away in accordance with the Senate's order of May 24th, putting all Venetian officials on the alert lest friars or priests try to enter with writings that could cause sedition. . . .

June 14—August 10, 1606

. . . On July 13th, [Don Iñigo de Cardenas, Spanish ambassador in Venice] went before the College and said that the king, in the interest of preserving peace, wished for the disagreements between the pope and the Republic to reach some settlement before they became still more serious and commanded all his ministers to make every effort in this direction; and that he ordered him in particular to appeal to the Republic about this with the assurance that its attempts to end the affair would be very gratifying to His Majesty. The doge, after praising the king's idea and thanking him, replied that the Republic could not do any more than it had already done and that an appeal must be made to him who had caused the difficulties. And here he briefly recapitulated the things that had occurred, concluding, "It is not up to us to open a road closed by others. The pope, by sending away the ambassador and removing the nuncio, has interrupted every effort at negotiation, and no progress can be made until the censures are removed whereby the Republic is offended and insulted." The ambassador replied, asking permission to point out that remembering past injuries was no use in the negotiation of a settlement, since no good effect could possibly result; and that however much the Republic may feel offended, the pope is likewise upset. But he would not discuss whether the pope did the right thing or not (since this belonged to the past); and even supposing His Serenity should just stay on the defensive, he had already performed so well that the pope complained of harm from the very nature of this defense. In any case, the

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past should be left behind, and looking ahead toward the future, a way should be found to restore the previous friendship. His Serenity is too prudent to need reminding about the best way. Everyone knows the pope embodies two persons—the vicar of Christ and the temporal prince; and keeping this in mind, the things on which he ought to be given some satisfaction should easily appear, because as a temporal prince, he cannot oblige anyone any more than any other temporal prince can, but as a spiritual prince, he can oblige everyone. The king does not want laws to be sent to the pope for correction or emendation; nor does he wish anything to be done against the liberty or the dignity of the Republic; indeed, should the Senate seem inclined to do anything of the kind and to make a mistake that would prejudice all the other princes as well as His Majesty, he has ordered him, his ambassador, to offer whatever encouragement and comfort might prevent the Republic from damaging itself or committing indecencies. However, some apparent demonstration of spiritual deference, actually signifying nothing, ought to be made to the pope. The prince responded that the Republic showed nothing but deference and filial reverence before His Holiness published the censures, and there was no point in doing any more; but with the publication of the monitory, the removal of the nuncio and the interruption of all communication, it cannot even repeat the same acts of reverence until the pope first makes an overture by lifting the censures. The ambassador replied, interrogating the prince: "And to make this overture, will Your Serenity be pleased to let me ask the pope in the king's name to remove the excommunication?" The doge said, he has always said this and will always repeat it: the obstacle must first be removed, and the substance of the negotiation remained unaffected by how this was done—by the spontaneous decision of the pope or by the prayers of others, or what have you; and His Majesty can do whatever he wishes. The ambassador added: "Your Serenity will also have to allow the pope to be asked in your name." The prince said he had no objection to doing this in order to protect the peace of Italy and prevent the many evils of war, as long as the king could be sure the pope would lift the censures if petitioned to in this fashion, although the Senate would have to be consulted. But Cardenas did not let the subject drop. He added immediately, "Therefore I receive this word from Your Serenity, also in whose name I shall ask the pope to lift the censures; however, these being words of courtesy, it will be necessary to add that Your Serenity apologizes for having displeased him—words of pure courtesy, of no account but necessary in this case." The doge replied that neither he nor the Senate had given any sort of displeasure to the pope; and if the pope had experienced some, there was nothing to be done about it, for voluntary displeasures can only be remedied by voluntary recognition.

The French ambassador [Philippe de Canaye de Fresnes] had an audience the same day, in which he recounted the pope's report to

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Alincourt[40] about having received the unanimous votes of all the cardinals and their opinion that he could not suspend the censures until the Republic had made some demonstration of submission on its part. And the ambassador went on to say that the pope could perhaps be won over by argument and induced to agree on acting first; but in order for him to be induced at all, he would have to be told what the Republic would do in return. Therefore, the Republic should declare what it would do, trust in the king, its friend and ally dedicated to its interests, open its heart to him and believe he has no other concern but its well-being. . . . He also made much of the king of Spain's letter to the pope, enlarging upon the promises therein and the pope's gratitude for them, concluding that this was no time to displease the king of France, who would certainly be displeased if he was not spoken to openly. . . .

The Senate, considering the proposals of these two ambassadors, responded to the Spaniard saying, it is necessary to apply remedies to the offending part. These travails originated in no way with the Republic but with the desire of the pope. He is the one who, not content with trying to violate the liberty of the Republic and remove its power, has advanced to calumnies and insults. Therefore, if the king desires to accommodate these now intolerable differences, he must turn to the pope who can start things off with the revocation of the calumnies and the insults. When the king is certain that the pope is about to lift the censures, the Republic will be pleased to gratify His Majesty by allowing him for convenience's sake to beg the pope in its name to lift them—adding also that the Senate was upset to hear His Holiness had wished to feel displeasure from the actions performed, by a Republic devoted to him, for the glory of God, the conservation of the public tranquillity and the liberty and power given to it by His Divine Majesty.

This same response was also communicated to the Frenchman, adding that if His Most Christian Majesty should think well to do so, he could show it to the pope.

These were the first words spoken at the opening of negotiations. But no good effect seemed to follow from them. In fact, the pope appeared not only to continue his war preparations but also to press the Catholic King to carry out his promises and communicated frequently with Spain, while the count of Fuentes[41] continued his designs to arm himself very powerfully. Therefore the Senate decided that the pope was either not interested in concord in spite of his protests to the contrary or else wished to be well-provided enough to gain the advantage in any settlement; and for this reason it determined to discover the intentions of its allies in case of an armed action. . . .

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October, 1606—January, 1607

These discussions went on until the end of October, when the pope decided to act, on the grounds that the longer the Republic disobeyed, so much the more did his reputation deteriorate, because written works were opening the eyes of many, and freedom of speech exposed great defects in the Roman court that had previously been known to few. Joined to this was the consideration that the aid negotiations with the Spanish did not produce acts corresponding to the words, imposed excessively difficult conditions and anyway suggested that the king could not in good conscience be the cause of war in Italy and so would offer nothing unless the pope were attacked. For this reason the pope persuaded himself to put an end to the negotiation and called for Alincourt; and to him he spoke at length, showing that he knew about the disorders, discussing the damage and harm he had suffered and the dangers that threatened, attesting and affirming unequivocally that he wanted a settlement, guaranteeing his good will, and adding that his dignity forbade him to take the first step but he was very ready to accept all appropriate conditions, whose extent Alincourt could easily judge from previous discussions. He condescended also to allow the inclusion of various details, as long as he did not seem to be the one proposing them.

Alincourt having discussed these things with the French cardinals, they all proposed an agreement to the Republic, by means of de Fresnes, on the following terms: that the pope should lift the censures, as long as he was asked to do so in the name of the king and the Republic and the interdict had been observed for four to six days previously; that the prisoners should be given to the pope to gratify the king; that the ducal letters should be withdrawn along with the writings written in favor of the Republic's cause, and the religious who had left only because of the interdict should be allowed to return; that an ambassador should be sent to thank the pope for making the overture to amicable negotiations but not to talk about revoking or suspending the laws, because once the censures were lifted, the rest would be negotiated between the pope and the Republic, as between one prince and another; and that a fixed day should be assigned for the Republic to carry out all these things at exactly the same time as the pope was lifting the censures, so that no one could say that either had been the first. De Fresnes proposed these things knowing that the Republic was urged to come to an agreement by no fear of arms, since he well knew its power and the aid it would receive, but only by the very prudent Senate's desire to prevent its own allies from coming down, who were all the likelier to be willing to do so the less inclined they were to recognize the Roman Church.

To this proposal the Senate responded, after considering everything carefully, that it should be glad if the king's ambassador asked the pope in the name of the Republic to lift the censures and give the prisoners to the

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king without any prejudice to the Republic's reasons; that as for the protest made by the ducal letters against the pope's monitory, there would be no problem with removing it as long as the censures of the monitory were removed; as far as the other writings were concerned, the Republic would do exactly what the pope did with the contrary writings written in his favor; but that observing the interdict even for an hour, not to say for several days, would suggest that it was valid, a falsehood that would offend God and condemn the Republic's legitimately performed actions. As far as the religious were concerned, this was a point that could only be negotiated with His Holiness himself. Of the mission of the ambassador it said that once the censures were removed, an ambassador would be sent immediately to reside as usual. And all this depended on the French ministers' open certification that they had the pope's guarantee, because the Senate would not condescend to anything if it could not be sure the pope would accept the conditions.

To this offer de Fresnes replied that he would not have made his proposal unless the pope had given his word; but he had indeed given it. Four times he said, "he has given it"; adding, "Popes do occasionally retract it; but I believe he will maintain it because he has given it, so I accept the conditions and understand the instruction to ask the pope in the names of the king and of the Republic to remove the censures; and likewise I understand that an ambassador will be sent, whom His Holiness promises to receive with the usual honors, as he said to Alincourt." And he then added: "I receive the prisoners in the name of the king, in gratification and without prejudice to the reasons of the Republic. Of course, the pope will not want to make any declaration on this condition; but it will remain clear to the king, and as far as the Republic is concerned, he is the only other party in it, so the pope does not have to be consulted." Concerning the religious he said: "I would be a bad lawyer for them, because I cannot deny that they have committed a great crime by disobeying the prince against God's commandments, to which it is their very occupation to preach obedience; and besides, they have abandoned the country that has coddled them and treated them well; and their ingratitude is so intolerable that I myself would have them all killed as an example to others. The Republic's benevolence is truly great in allowing its ambassador to negotiate about them with His Holiness." And he concluded his argument by offering thanks in the name of the king for the things promised in order to gratify him, adding that he recognized the magnificent good will of the Republic concerning the general peace, which it did everything it possibly could to preserve. . . .

January–March, 1607

While these things were going on in Venice, [Venetian] ambassador [Pietro] Priuli in France asked the king, according to his commission from the

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Senate, whether he might condescend to declare himself one way or the other. And the king responded that it was not opportune, as it might encourage the pope to persist in his stubbornness; that he had letters from all the princes of Italy and other great men begging him to do what he could to compose the disagreement, in which effort success would redound to his great glory just as much as backing out would bring upon him the blame for whatever mischief might occur; and that he therefore sent an order to Cardinal [François de] Joyeuse to go to Italy and mediate the settlement in earnest. To this Priuli replied by praising the king's willingness to bring about peace but pointing out that the pope, made haughty by the promises of the Spanish, seemed to show little inclination that way, although if the Spanish supported the pope, he had no doubt the king would support the Republic, since de Fresnes had promised this in his name and since the Republic would help the Grey Leagues[42] at His Majesty's request. To which the king replied that in helping the Grey Leagues the Republic would simply be helping itself by keeping those people friendly and the pass open; that he had not given any commission to de Fresnes to discuss details; that he did not know or intend to be obliged by what the latter might have said or promised, and he saw very well he would lose his influence with the pope if he declared himself; but he would have Villeroy[43] respond to this more particularly. And accordingly, Villeroy said on behalf of the king that His Majesty had high hopes for being able to settle the affair; that as long as he saw any chance to do so, he did not want to risk interrupting and disturbing the negotiations by declaring himself; that he had therefore written to Joyeuse to go immediately to Venice and then to Rome; and that meanwhile he would write to his ambassador to keep operating effectively. Villeroy then ordered de Fresnes to tell Venice the king was certain there would be no difficulty at all on the pope's side about awaiting the agreement, and all differences would be settled when the following conditions were met: that the prisoners should be delivered in the hands of an ecclesiastical commissioner; that an ambassador should be designated and sent to the pope, and when he had arrived at a certain place, the pope would remove the censure; and that the protest should be removed in Venice on the same day and the ambassador should continue his journey, to be received in Rome according to the usual custom, accompanied however at the first audience by Alincourt. Since the pope wants the word of the king that the Republic will not use its laws, the king is ready and willing to give it whenever the Republic shows some sign of honoring it so he could be sure of its effect; and concerning the Jesuits, he believes there are no difficulties, even though the king found great reluctance in his conversation with Priuli and more signs of resolution than His Majesty thought probable, when Priuli explained how other times the Republic had not lost its composure or risked danger to itself in spite of opposition by all the princes of Europe.

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Nonetheless, he thinks His Serenity will show less reluctance, and will concede even on these two points to gratify His Royal Majesty.

The prince responded immediately (considering the disadvantages of both of these concessions) that such a course would make the world believe that the Republic had committed some error; that if the Romans managed to get what they pretended from the Republic, they would become insolent and presume more from the rest of the princes; that the prisoners are given to the king to do what he pleases, and the Republic wants nothing more to do with them; and that it will never consent to send an ambassador before the pope removes the insults as well as the censure. Moreover, the Jesuits' offenses are too heinous, for they instigated the pope and calumniated the Republic in all the states of Christendom; and forcing one's neighbors to keep enemies in his house is never a good idea, whatever other princes may have done for their own reasons, different from the Republic's. Everyone knows what to do in his own house, and what can be done in one place cannot always be done everywhere. As for Cardinal Joyeuse, if he comes he will be welcomed gratefully; but much more so if he goes to Rome, where his efforts are needed to bring the pope to convenient terms, because the Republic having condescended to everything possible, nothing remains to do except to negotiate in Rome.

And these negotiations showed that the pope was little inclined to an agreement except if he could gain every advantage for himself, especially since the Spanish continued to provide arms. But above all, he demonstrated that his mind was disinclined to concord and turned entirely toward confusion when on January 8th he held a consistory and said he wanted to make war on the Republic of Venice, for which he would have twenty-six thousand infantry from the king of Spain and four thousand horse, and made his nephew Cardinal Borghese legate with a thousand scudi monthly provision.

This declaration of the pope, along with the levies of the Spanish, were not very pleasing to the princes of Italy, and especially not to the duke of Savoy, the grand duke of Tuscany and the duke of Mantua,[44] who knew very well what might happen if the Spanish had considerable forces in Italy and the pope threw his lot entirely in with them. . . .

But in Venice, the controversy with Rome was viewed as almost certain not to be settled immediately, and the present year was not expected to end like the last one, in mere negotiations and disputes, with weapons at rest, especially as the Spanish were now willingly adding their own reinforcements to the levies of men in the state of Milan. And although some believed these gestures were intended—as future events indeed bore out—mainly to force the Republic to surrender to the demands of the pope by rumors and fear or else to make the pope so much the more satisfied and obliged, in any case they had opposite effects on the minds of the Venetian Senate, which began to dedicate more and more attention to war

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preparations and to bring in a good number of Transalpine soldiers besides all the Italian and Albanian ones already recruited. . . .

This was the situation at the beginning of October when the consignment of the prisoners in gratification to the king of France seemed to be producing no obvious benefit to the Republic, so the ambassador to France was ordered again to send his secretary to Lorraine to inform the duke[45] about the status of the negotiations and the obstinacy of the pope and to point out that if things went on like this the Republic would unfortunately have to bring in more people from across the mountains. . . .

March—May, 1607

. . . The arrival of Cardinal Joyeuse in Rome put the whole court into a state of agitation, and everyone spoke according to his particular feelings—some called for a settlement, others abhorred it; some saw it as already concluded, others believed it to be hopelessly interrupted. In the first days, the pope was drawn in all directions, and he and his ministers vacillated, sometimes believing many things had to be resolved before an agreement could be reached and other times that everything was ready. Such contrasting pressure was exerted on His Holiness that he confessed his lack of resolution and perplexity to anyone he could trust, including ambassador Alincourt, who on the third day after the cardinal's arrival, went to complain about the rumor circulating throughout Rome that the negotiations could no longer be settled or at least not concluded under the conditions obtained by the king (with manifest injustice to His Majesty's labor and effort); and the pope replied that even though he was drawn in all directions and had been on a cross for three days, and even though he could get nothing more out of Cardinal Joyeuse and [Imperial] Ambassador [Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of] Castiglione than a few general statements brought from Venice, he was nonetheless determined to come to an agreement as long as some attempt was made to have the Jesuits readmitted. And indeed, many cardinals who were not pleased with the pope's impetuosity in proceeding to the censure were now displeased with his apparent retreat before attaining his goal of making the Republic give in; some of them who mutinied, hoping to contradict him in consistory, were encouraged by certain persons to block the settlement entirely and by still other persons to prevent it at least from coming at the hand of Joyeuse. . . .

The pope worried about the honor he would lose if he abandoned the Jesuits, who had been chased out, so he thought, for having obeyed his interdict, and to whom he had promised not to make any agreement without stipulating their restoration; and he also worried about his reputation on another point: that if he had made such a commotion for the imprisonment of two priests, he could hardly suffer the expulsion of an entire order. But Cardinal Perron persuaded him that if no other obstacle remained except this

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one, the case would turn into a concern of the Jesuits and not of the Apostolic See, adding that the authority of His Holiness had first to be restored in Venice, and once this was done he could easily use it to bring them back; so that not naming them at present was not to exclude them but to defer their restitution. . . .

On April 10th, the cardinal [Joyeuse] went into the College and made his speech, with no mention of any brief from the pope. Even though he was known to have no written documents with him except an instruction subscribed in the pope's hand, his stature as an important cardinal of the Roman court and minister of the Most Christian king were enough proof of the authority he claimed. He first assured the Republic of the good will and right intentions of the pope, directed toward the public benefit of Christendom, excusing his sternness in the negotiations on the grounds of his zeal to sustain the pontifical dignity; but in spite of the pope's good intentions, the affair was difficult to conclude and had been endangered by the evil influence of various people. He observed that the Republic's objections in the end were two—first of all, to designating an ambassador before the censures were removed, and secondly, to the restitution of the Jesuits; that the first had easily been answered, with the pope agreeing to remove the censures first, but the second was still pending and he could not yet speak about it with His Serenity. He went on to explain the conditions and the means for removal of the censures, which were that the prisoners should be delivered without protest, that the religious who had left because of the interdict should be readmitted and their property returned, that the protest should be revoked and all the things proceeding from it should be annulled, including a letter in circulation addressed to the subject cities. He made a great effort to have the Jesuits readmitted, pointing out, by very powerful and emotional expressions, that he could remove the censures without this condition but it would complete the settlement; that it was desired particularly by the pope for his reputation, by the Most Christian King for the pope's satisfaction, and by himself for the same reason, to whom it would be more welcome than acquiring a kingdom; and that the Republic was well-advised to do it in order to establish a solid and long-lasting peace.

The prince and the College immediately responded that the decision to deliver the prisoners in gratification to the king, without damaging the authority of the Republic, had been accepted by His Majesty and therefore was not now open to question; moreover, the Senate could never agree to revoke its protest; finally, the Jesuits could not be restored because their crimes at all times were too serious and the ban on them too strict. The cardinal went on to discuss how the censures might be lifted, and here he encountered some difficulty. Since the Republic persisted firmly in recognizing its own innocence and affirming unequivocally that it had not incurred censure of any kind and was therefore resolved to refuse any sort

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of absolution it did not need, he thought of performing some action that might give the impression that the prince had received such an absolution anyway. So he proposed to go into St. Mark's church with the prince and the Signoria and celebrate there or assist at a solemn or private mass with a blessing at the end, which would suggest that the censures had been lifted with the blessing.

This suggestion was refused, as giving a certain appearance of absolution that might imply a confession of guilt. . . .

After that day's negotiation with the cardinal, in the next four days two senators from the College were sent to him to discuss the proposed points and other more difficult matters. Of the means for lifting the censures, the senators said that the cardinal's own word was enough for the Republic. As for the restitution of the departed religious, they consented, with this proviso: that it should be reciprocal, and the pope himself should receive into his good graces those who had remained at the service of the Republic. As for the writings, the Republic would do with those published in its favor whatever the pope would do with his. As for the ambassador, one would be elected and sent to reside as usual as soon as the censures had been lifted. As for the manifesto, it would be removed after the removal of the monitory that had occasioned it. As for the letters that had been written to the Venetian officials and communes, they were secret; many letters had in fact been written as the occasion required, and no one could tell the prince what he could write to his ministers and subjects. The one that had been publicized was a fake and should therefore be ignored, since it was not in the dignity of a prince to consider false writings. Finally, concerning the Jesuits, they should not be discussed in order not to jeopardize the whole settlement, because the Senate was unequivocal that they should be excluded. . . .

The other difficulties having been discussed again in the Senate on the 14th and later with the cardinal on the three following days, the whole affair was resolved as follows: the cardinal, without any other action, should announce in the College that the censures were lifted or should lift them on the spot (impossible anyway since they were invalid), and at the same time the prince would hand him the revocation of the protest. The means of delivering the prisoners was also concluded, according to the resolution of de Fresnes. No instrument containing the articles of the settlement would be drawn up, but the word of the Republic would be sufficient on one side and that of the cardinal on the other side. The restitution of the religious who had left was established, except for the the Jesuits and fourteen other religious who had fled to escape their crimes rather than to obey the pope (on the theory that seditious persons should stay away). Finally, no mention would be made of the letter written to the Venetian officials, but a manifesto would be written and printed up revoking the protest. After the censures were lifted, an ambassador would be elected. And there would be no

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mention made of other details that were left to be negotiated amicably with the pope.

Only the wording of the manifesto remained to be discussed, for which secretary Marco Ottobon, the cardinal, and monsignor de Fresnes met together and agreed upon everything except the statement, *the censures having been lifted, the protest was also lifted.* The cardinal insisted that *protest lifted* should be changed to *revoked*; and when the secretary, unable to resolve the matter, brought it before the College, no one could understand the subtlety beneath the word *revoke* preferred by the cardinal to *lift*, but they liked the latter because it applied equally to the censures and the protest. But the College saw no difference whatsoever and did not wish to appear contrary only because of the cardinal's objections; so when he insisted that he could not exceed the pope's commission in this, it agreed on the word *revoke*; and to show that both were done at the same time, it came up with the phrase, *the protest was likewise revoked.* With the details agreed on and established and the manifesto drawn up, April 21st was set for completing the settlement. Which was done in the following manner.

The cardinal occupied a palace that had once belonged to the dukes of Ferrara. That morning, monsignor de Fresnes went there ahead of time. At a certain point secretary Marco Ottobon came with two notaries ordinary of the ducal chancery and the ministers conducting the prisoners Marc'Antonio Brandolino Valdemarino, abbot of Nervesa and Scipione Saraceno, canon of Vicenza, and with this whole company he entered the chamber where the ambassador was with many family members of his own as well as of the cardinal's household; and after bowing to the ambassador, he said these were the prisoners the Most Serene Prince had agreed to consign to His Excellency to gratify the Most Christian King, protesting that this was not and should not seem to be prejudicing in any way the Republic's authority to judge ecclesiastics. The ambassador replied that he received them thus. Then the secretary had ducal notaries Girolamo Polverin and Giovanni Rizzardo draw up a public instrument in the presence of the members of the cardinal's and ambassador's courts and the public ministers. Which having been done, the prisoners were recommended to the ambassador, who courteously promised them his protection. The ambassador left the room along with the company, and bringing the prisoners along behind him, he entered a loggia where the cardinal was walking and said to him, "These are the prisoners who must be consigned to the pope." And the cardinal said: "Give them to him," pointing to Claudio Montano, commissary sent by the pope for this purpose, who touched them to indicate dominion and possession and asked the ministers of justice conducting them to please keep them in custody.

After this act, the cardinal and the ambassador went to the prince, who had gone after mass into the College with the Signoria and the Savii. There, with everyone seated as usual, the cardinal spoke these formal words: "I

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rejoice in the arrival of this most happy day, for I have long desired to be able to inform Your Serenity that all the censures have been lifted, and now they are; and I am gladdened by the benefit this brings to all Christendom and particularly to Italy." The doge handed him the decree revoking the protest; and after other exchanges of compliments, the cardinal asked that an ambassador might be sent to Rome as soon as possible. And so he left.

The revocation was directed to the prelates to whom the protest had been addressed and said, in substance, that a way had been found for the pope to verify the Republic's purity of soul and the sincerity of its actions, so the causes of the present disagreements are removed; and the Republic, forever intent upon maintaining good relations with the Holy See, is happy to satisfy the just desire of which it hereby gives notice, and both sides having done what was necessary and the censures having been lifted, the protest is likewise revoked.

The cardinal had already decided to go to the cathedral church of St. Peter's and celebrate there after the audience with the prince, and Ambassador Castro[46] wished to attend. After news of this circulated all over the city, a great number of people arrived that morning well ahead of time, so beginning early in the day, masses were celebrated continuously until noon. Likewise on all preceding days, both in this church and in the others, there had been an extraordinary crowd at the masses and the divine offices, all praying God to receive what was done to settle such a controversy for his greater glory.

The cardinal left the College and went toward the cathedral of San Pietro,[47] and at the same time the count of Castro had an audience to congratulate the prince. When the cardinal arrived at the cathedral church, mass was celebrated on three altars to accommodate the multitudes, and he waited there in the church for a time until the count of Castro arrived with Don Iñigo [de Cardenas], and still more masses were said; and when the ambassadors finally arrived he celebrated in the presence of innumerable people.

After lunch, there was a rumor that the cardinal gave absolution that morning in the College, to the great dismay of those most zealous after the public honor, who immediately tried to discover the source and stop it, so intent was everyone to preserve the Republic's appearance of innocence. But these efforts were cut short when an investigation soon revealed the rumor to have been spread by the French, who claimed that when all the senators in the College were at their places, waiting, as usual, for the doge to sit down before sitting down themselves, the cardinal made a sign of the cross under his mozzetta. And once this explanation came out, the whole matter was simply shrugged off because everyone knows ecclesiastics can absolve even the unwilling from their censures, and no one can impede them; they can even—so they claim—absolve in absentia and any way they please. So it made no difference if the cardinal made a cross under his

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mozzetta or else in the convenience of his own lodgings. The main thing was that not a single point of the interdict had been observed and the Senate had refused not only absolution but also any ceremony that might show an appearance of that.

The Senate met on the evening of the same day and passed a resolution to elect an ambassador to reside at the court of His Holiness in Rome; and the choice fell on cavalier Francesco Contarini, whom the Republic had previously sent with three others expressly to congratulate His Holiness on his assumption of the pontificate. And thus ended these disturbing events, which seemed impossible to settle by agreement. And truly, a good part of the success must be attributed to the ability of the cardinal, who set aside the points of honor and only mentioned in Venice those of the things commissioned to him by the Roman court that he thought he could obtain.

Many thought special ambassadors ought to be sent to France and Spain bearing information to the kings who had intervened in the settlement, especially considering the quality of the ministers they sent expressly for the purpose, among whom one was noteworthy as being the oldest cardinal, and the other as the nephew of the duke of Lerma.[48] This idea was widely approved as calling forth the proper show of gratitude, so it was placed before the Senate, where all the reasons recommending it were aired, as well as others recommending against it on the grounds that it would glorify the affair and persuade the world that the Republic believed itself to have averted a deserved danger; and this last reason was so persuasive in the end that the ordinary ambassadors were entrusted with the task. Similarly, some were in great expectation of signs of happiness in Venice, if nothing else, by tolling of bells. Nonetheless, no sign at all was given, and no bells tolled either in Venice or in any city of the state when the news came out—not because the Senate and all the subject cities felt no great joy at being relieved from the dangers of war, but so that this should not be interpreted as joy from absolution, suggesting that the Republic had been guilty, a false premise it always abhorred.

11. Giovanni Baldinucci, *Memoirs of the Plague in Florence*

Giovanni Baldinucci,[1] born in 1577 and the father of the famous art historian Filippo, never held the same high offices as his ancestors in Florence since the fourteenth century and never married into the Roman nobility or became a wealthy upper-echelon bureaucrat like his second cousin Marquis Giovanni Maria. Instead, he married Caterina da Valle and worked all his life as a manager of the large landed estates of Florentine

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patricians. At least according to his son, he accumulated a rich spiritual capital that began from a boyhood encounter with Filippo Neri, the later-canonized "apostle of Rome" and founder of the Oratorians, and continued in Florence with his attachment to Ippolito Galantini, founder of the Congregation of Christian Doctrine, familiarly known as the *vanchetoni*, or Quiet Ones, whose order was approved by Clement VIII. When the plague of 1630 hit Florence, he correctly recognized it as one of the worst disasters of modern times. Some cities, it is true, were harder hit. Verona and Parma lost half or more of their populations; Milan and Brescia lost between forty and forty-nine percent; Venice lost some thirty-three percent. Florence itself lost only some twelve percent of its pre-1630 population of circa 76,000. However, the very spread of information from elsewhere—often erroneous and always annoyingly incomplete—held the Florentines in suspense for two years about what might happen to them; and indeed, in the Florentine countryside, which seemed to be the only refuge from the sickness raging in the city, death rates sometimes rose to four times those in Florence. The last episode of a long series of economic woes beginning in the 1590s, it elicited from governments a massive, if occasionally ineffectual and even sometimes damaging response. From the ravaged populations, it elicited the makeshift survival techniques described here. Baldinucci devoted most of his *Memoirs* to preserving its lessons for future generations. Having survived all of the vicissitudes of the first half of the century, he died in 1656, aged 82.

This is the book that Giovanni, son of Giovan Maria Baldinucci, made to record a few things that have happened since the year 1584, which was the seventh year of my childhood, to be continued for as long as God pleases to give me life, including everything for his glory and for the recreation of the relatives who will come after me, since it is proper for man to know the things of the past. . . .

In 1613 the duke of Savoy[2] started a war in the marquisate of Montferrat with the duke of Mantua[3] and took many castles, all of which he was forced to give back by all the Christian potentates, who armed themselves against him in case he refused.

This year 1613, six galleys of the grand duke[4] went to Karaman and took the port and fortress of Acliman,[5] port of the ancient city of Seleucia,[6] and in the said port they captured two chief galleys belonging to the Island of Cyprus. A victory of great honor, made bloody by the death of so many nobles and persons in command, such as Signor Girolamo Lanzoni, commissar, and other gentlemen. That expedition occurred on Ascension Day, May 16.

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In 1614, on May 19, Prince Francesco, the second son of the late Ferdinando de' Medici,[7] passed on to a better life. The said Prince Don Francesco returned from the Holy House of Loreto in a stagecoach and went to Pisa to visit Grand Duke Cosimo his brother, and there he fell ill and died and his body was brought into [the church of] San Lorenzo beside that of his father. He died at around age twenty.

In this same year 1614, on September 1, the Most Serene Grand Duke Cosimo fell ill of what they called an intestinal colic,[8] so the whole city turned to prayer, with many Forty Hours [devotions] in various churches;[9] and according to the physicians, he revived by means of a miracle. And it was an occasion of great devotion and amazement to see that in the cathedral, which was one of several churches where the prayer of the Forty Hours was located, the archbishop[10] begged all the parishes to go out, and they thereupon went out in incredible numbers—in particular, the people of Santa Felìcita, whence the grand duke originates, including all the princesses; and the youngest, who is the one married to the duke of Urbino,[11] carried a crucifix in her hand and walked between two other princesses. The others followed her, including the mother and the wife of the grand duke,[12] who went almost the whole procession on foot in spite of her pregnancy, everyone holding a lighted candle; and then came the other peoples,[13] keeping the same order as before: first passed the parish crucifix, followed by a young girl or widow with a cross or crucifix in her hand in between two others; and then, gradually the other young girls came, and then the younger ones. Many peoples had [the girls] dressed all in white with their hair pulled down, which was a spectacle of great devotion and admiration. In the cathedral, a sermon was preached every hour by Father Gori, a Dominican, and by a Capuchin.

In 1618, Reverend Father Augusto Zuccantini, a Sienese, preaching the sermon on the Sacrament on the afternoon of Sunday the second of September in the church of the Jesuits in San Giovannino,[14] recounted the following example, which occurred a few years ago or earlier:

In the Collegio Romano in Rome[15] a certain scholar committed a sin of the flesh and went to take communion with the other scholars without going to confession; and as soon as he received the Most Holy Sacrament, his shame made it stick in his throat so he could not send it down with the ablution,[16] nor with lunch, nor with dinner, and then he went to bed. Shortly after he fell asleep he awoke with a great fright (these scholars keep a light on in their cells all night) and he saw the Devil in the form of a monkey on his shoulders ready to choke him and already beginning to take him by the throat; whereupon wearing his nightshirt he fled from his cell in pain and went to the cell of one of the Jesuit fathers there to confess the sin

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he had omitted out of shame. And as soon as he confessed, the devil disappeared and the Most Holy Sacrament entered into his soul. . . .

This year 1620 [1621[17]] on the 20th of February the Most Serene Grand Duke Cosimo II, after suffering a continuous illness for nearly seven years, with a ready heart and a resigned contentment in the Divine Will, passed from this to a better life, at around thirty years of age. His death was lamented not only by his whole state but by the whole world, since he left behind a great reputation for sanctity and used to say that whoever went to sleep at night in mortal sin was not a gentleman of honor. He left eight children—five boys and three girls.

This month the Supreme Pontiff Paul V died, and the Holy See was vacant for around fifteen days before the archbishop of Bologna succeeded him.[18] In this city to March 30 of this year 1621, a lot of people died, and their illness was identified as nothing but malignant fevers and petechiae.[19]

A tremendous incident occurred this year 1620 [1621] in Florence:

A certain craftsman received an insult from one of his shop partners as they were ending their partnership, and to get even, he went to Bologna and brought a pistol back to Florence and put it in the shop of his said partner. Then he went to report that while looking for some papers he had seen that this person had a pistol in the closet of his shop. As a consequence, the innocent man was arrested; and since there was clearly no way the accused could have brought the pistol into Florence, the informer was arrested, and by a just judgment of God, confessed to having done the deed to get the other into trouble since the punishment for carrying such arms into Florence is life. And thus he paid the wages for his sin because he was hung, having been seen to go to the gallows.

This year 1620 [1621] the faithless count Palatine[20] rebelled against Emperor Ferdinand of Austria, brother of our Most Serene archduchess;[21] and having made himself the king of Bohemia, with a great army of heretics occupied the whole empire in order to make himself emperor and deprive the rightful Ferdinand of the throne. Then, while outside the city of Prague, the capital of Bohemia, with a large army of heretics, he was miraculously confronted and defeated by the Catholic army, and the good and holy Emperor Ferdinand was left in peaceful possession, and later took as a wife the sister of the duke of Mantua, who was niece of the queen of France and of our Grand Duke Cosimo of holy memory.[22]

This year 1621, because of lack of work and a great famine, a large number of paupers slept on the streets and in the rain and cold and many died of hunger, so the expedient was adopted of shutting up all the poor beggars. At first they were put in San Marco Vecchio outside the Porta San Gallo, where merchandise coming from [plague-] suspect locations is quarantined; and there they put more than a thousand. Besides this, another

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expedient was adopted of bringing them to the Camaldoli in Florence,[23] where the war-carts were kept, [in the area] called San Giovannino, where the nuns of San Giovannino used to be, who are now in via San Gallo.[24] For the building and for the necessary linens and woollens, room and board, alms [were solicited] from individuals and from consulates of various places, as for example from the consulate of the Florentine Nation of Venice, which submitted around 8,000 scudi[25] that it had on hand, and the other consulates of Rome and Naples did the same. Subsequently it was ordered that two persons from each trade should be elected to go around on Saturday collecting for that purpose, and it was established that two merchants from the banks would go around to the banks with a collection box; and among the silkmakers the representatives of that guild were appointed, namely Signor Lorenzo Salviati and another companion of his; among the woolmakers other representatives, namely Signor Fabio da Spighio and another companion of his; and likewise among the pharmacists, haberdashers, goldsmiths, gold-beaters, tailors, shoemakers, two from each trade.

This 28th of March, 1625, Princess Claudia[26] left Florence to go to the husband she married, and on the 25th of this month she was given the ring from the Grand Duke Ferdinando Bonaventura[27] for Archduke Leopold,[28] brother of the Emperor Ferdinand and of our Most Serene Archduchess Maria Maddalena, mother of the said grand duke. The bride was accompanied to the German lands belonging to her husband's house by Cardinal Carlo de' Medici her brother,[29] that is, by him as far as Mantua and from Mantua onward by Prince Lorenzo her brother, with a retinue of four hundred persons. Princess Claudia is the daughter of Grand Duke Ferdinando [I], who was a cardinal before he became a grand duke, and on the death of Grand Duke Francesco his brother without a male heir,[30] gave up the cardinal's cap and married the Duchess Christine of Lorraine, with whom he had many sons and daughters, among whom this bride was the last. Duke Ferdinando her father promised her at an early age to the son of the duke of Urbino of the house of Della Rovere,[31] and when both came of age they were married by the grand duke her brother, and [she] stayed with her husband around thirty months. But when the husband died suddenly, the said Princess Claudia returned home with a twenty-month-old daughter, who was promised in marriage to Grand Duke Ferdinando Bonaventura, with the marriage to take place when both came of age. By the sudden death of the said duke of Urbino[32] without male heir, and after the death of the father of the deceased, the state of Urbino reverted to the Church. This child [of Princess Claudia and Federigo Della Rovere] is called Princess Vittoria Della Rovere, and she stays in the convent of the Crocetta at the bidding of Their Highnesses until she is older, in the care of the Signora Violante de' Medici, married in the house of Berti and mother of Signor Alessandro

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Berti, who died in odor of sanctity and is buried in San Giovannino in a gold-lined vault.

After the death of the Bolognese Pope Gregory XV, who was made pope after the death of Pope Paul V in the year 1621, a Florentine [Maffeo] Barberini was made pope with the name of Urban VIII in the year 1623. God grant him a long life. [*Later note:* He died on the 28th of July 1644, after reigning 21 years.]

In this year 1625, there was fear that the French might take over Italy. All Italy rose in arms; and to supply the expense, the price of salt went up to 4 quattrini the pound and government bonds backed by that salt were sold at 9 percent.[33]

In this year 1627 on the 30th of July at around sixteen hours,[34] there were such great earthquakes in Puglia that in the time it takes to play two beats of music, two cities were ruined and flattened, Sansevero and Lesina, with twelve villages and large towns, and in some places they did not leave one stone on top of another, and killed 17,000 people. In the city of Sansevero the bishop was Reverend Monsignor Francesco Venturi,[35] a Florentine. The earthquake occurred while he was resting, and he saw the ceiling of the bedroom collapse and also the wall behind his bed and he wrote here that he did not know how he managed to survive. Lake Lesina, about twenty miles in circumference, remained dry for more than two hours, after the tremor and the rising of the earth threw out all the water. A great mountain divided into three parts by three crevasses, and in a certain place near Sansevero there was an abyss 27 miles long—that is, an opening in the earth. The wells sent out all their water by their mouths, as well as a great quantity of earth from below. The tabernacles of the Most Holy Sacrament were found under the ruins with no damage whatsoever. A dead woman was found with her son at the breast sucking at the nipple of his dead mother. Under the ruins a woman was found who had managed to save herself and her son inside a barrel. A little boy was found alive, on whom a shack had fallen, which instead of killing him saved him from the ruins.

The prince of Sansevero,[36] they say, had been interdicted by the bishop because of the taxes he imposed on the churches in his state; and in a trice he lost it all, amounting to an income of 40,000 scudi a year.

This year 1628 the sisters of the Order of the Carmine [at the church of Santa Maria] degli Angeli[37] in borgo San Frediano returned to Cestello in [borgo] Pinti, the location of the monks of Cestello, i.e., the Cistercians of Saint Bernard,[38] and this was changed from a convent of monks to a monastery of nuns. Cardinal Barberini,[39] nephew of Urban VIII, of the house of Barberini, the present pope, paid the expenses and did everything by means of two of his sisters who were nuns in the same monastery. The

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said cardinal thought that the monastery where they were was too small and was located in an area with unhealthy air; and the said monks were sent back to the original place.

This month of November, 1628, the daughter of Grand Duke Cosimo II, i.e., the sister of the present Grand Duke Ferdinando Bonaventura, went to Parma as a bride.[40]

This year 1629, after three years of bad harvests, an extraordinary abundance of wheat and small crops was expected; but fogs took away almost all the small crops and half the harvest of wheat, and a hailstorm with pieces weighing 17 ounces destroyed vines, oil, small crops and the Mugello Valdarno, Valdemarina,[41] Chianti, and the plain of Pisa and Leghorn, i.e., the whole countryside. In Leghorn, even pigs and boars died from the blows of the hail, besides the game birds and ducks, which was a frightening thing.

This year 1629 on Michaelmas, the Fathers of the Company of Jesus of S. Giovanni Minor [i.e., San Giovannino], celebrated the first Mass in the little church given to them by Signor Benedetto Biffoli in Pinti, attached to the house of Signor Biffoli, which he promised to that church after his death.

This 21st day of October, 1629, a general Communion was held in Santa Maria del Fiore,[42] where more than 30,000 persons participated. This was done by order of Monsignor the archbishop of Florence and Their Highnesses to pray our Lord God to grant us serene weather, considering the daily rains that flood the countryside and prevent separating the seeds from the stalks, and also for the urgent needs of war, for the troubles of Italy, the famine and mortality. For eight days [before], Padre Albrizzio, a Jesuit, publicized the said Communion in the said church by means of a sermon; and later other fathers of the same Company of Jesus did the same thing every day in different churches of the city so that everyone would come and participate and hear the hortatory sermon to the said Communion, which, as soon as it was preached, the weather became milder and thanks to God, has remained fine.

The 17th of July, 1630. Due to the death of the dukes of Mantua of the House of Gonzaga,[43] sons of one of the daughters of the Grand Duke Francesco[44] and the sister of Queen Mary of France, wife of Henry IV, king of France, there came in possession of Mantua a French duke, nonetheless belonging to the house of Gonzaga, descendant of the dukes of Mantua.[45] Not wishing to concede this possession, Emperor Ferdinand besieged Mantua[46] with the help of Spain, and the king of France came in favor of the duke, so that poor Lombardy now embraces war as well as plague and famine. To date, the plague is in the principal cities of Milan, Verona, Bologna and Parma, not counting the other minor cities, lands and

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castles; and in Parma they write that of 20,000 souls that made up the city, more than 16,000 are dead. They write that the living are reduced to such misery as to envy the dead, because in the said city they no longer have the benefit of the Sacraments, since the religious are all dead, nor even of physicians, these too being dead, nor pharmacists, nor people to administer justice, since the whole system is in a shambles.

We here in Florence are in great fear of this plague, seeing that it is close by and continues to spread. By God's grace to date the city is very healthy, though weighed down by poverty and by everyone's destitution due to long lack of employment, while the cost of living is very high because for many years the harvests have continuously been half the usual. Now, with the passes closed, commerce is at a standstill, businesses are completely destroyed. With the harvest as it is, good grain sells at more than 8 lire per staio,[47] and good wine at more than a lira per flask. In the churches there are more beggars than participants in the divine offices, and they are truly pitiful cases, raising the fear that people will be seen dying of hunger in November, December and January—God grant that this should not happen here. The main victims are many poor children, who, being hungry, eat the cores of the cabbages that they find on the streets as though these were fruit.

On this day there is expected in Leghorn the king of Spain's sister, who will marry the emperor's son, the king of Hungary.[48] Since she cannot proceed on this voyage via Genoa because of the war and plague, she will therefore pass the summer in Naples and go from there to Germany. The said queen arrived at Leghorn on the 21st of July and left on the 22nd.

Mantua in this period having been taken by the imperial armies, and the duke departed, the wife,[49] who is a daughter of the previous duke of Mantua and grand-niece of the queen of France and niece of the empress, remains there with a son as prisoners.

It is the 12th of August, 1630, and there is much fear that the contagious disease around us might arrive in the city. Already, great precautions are being taken at Trespiano, since five persons died in a house there.

On the 14th of August, 1630, our archbishop [Alessandro Marzimedici] of Florence passed on to a better life after a fever that lasted about 12 days, seventy-two years of age. He was archbishop of Florence for twenty-five years, from after the death of Pope Leo XI, who had been the archbishop of Florence by the name of Alessandro de' Medici.[50] The said Marzi[medici] had been for ten years bishop of Fiesole.[51] Thus in these calamitous times we are not only without an archbishop but also without a nuncio, who died two months ago; and since the contagious disease is expected to enter the city, the archbishop[52] ordered the following devotions. Every day for a whole year the prayer of the Forty Hours to be held, first in one church or convent and then in another. A sermon every Sunday to exhort people to do penance and give alms to the poor. After the Ave Maria for the dead, the churches to toll as they do for a fire, and at that moment all the people to

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kneel down and make acts of contrition so our Lord God will direct the fire of his anger away from us.

A solemn vow was made this 15th of August at the [church of the] Annunziata, where the Archbishop de' Medici of Pisa[53] and the grand duke with all the magistrates came for the dead archbishop [of Florence]; and the vow was that in every house where there were four persons able to fast, each one would fast once a month for a year—that is, that of the four persons one would fast every week. There was a general Communion in the parishes and churches and a procession.

They turned the Hospice of San Bonifacio into a lazaretto for suspected victims and put a cemetery in the garden or vineyard, but since to this day, the 24th of August, up to 115 persons per day were buried, causing a stench, they therefore made two cemeteries outside the San Gallo and Pinti gates, and another outside the gate of San Frediano for whoever dies with suspicion of plague. In those places, as everyone knows, no one pays attention to nobles or plebeians, and Signor Averone di Salvatico, who died with suspicion of plague because of certain swellings, although noble and wealthy, was brought into the said cemetery at San Gallo. And again, they have made a lazaretto of the church and convent of San Miniato, having removed the munitions and soldiers from the fortress there except for about twelve to guard the gate,[54] but outside the fortress, who remain there with their captain to make sure no one leaves or enters the lazaretto without a licence, because those who are in there ought to remain until they have finished the quarantine. The church serves as a hospital for the men and the refectory or armory serves as one for the women, and so do the dormitories, where the monks [now at] Monte Oliveto once stayed. And in this place four Franciscan friars stay for the care of souls, and they have converted San Francesco al Monte just below[55] into a quarantine for the convalescents—for the men, the church and the lower rooms, and for the women, the convent. The four friars also care for the convent and help the convalescents. And behind the fortress there are graves for the dead.

This 15th of September 1630 in the cathedral, Monsignor Niccolini, vicar of Florence, took possession for the new archbishop-elect, who is Monsignor Cosimo [de'] Bardi, bishop of Carpentras and previously vice-legate in Avignon.

From the plague caused in Milan by wicked men with poisons,[56] they say around a hundred thousand persons have died to date, over roughly two months. Two hundred fifty people are in jail who were involved in the sorcery of the poisons; and four have been punished to date, by pinching and breaking their bones, for poisoning the holy water in the stoups of the churches and poisoning the doorknobs so whoever touched the poison soon died and poisoned others. These wicked men possessed an antidote so the poison did not harm them, and one of them confessed as much after many torments, when a burning brand was placed on his head, burning off his

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hair. He must have had diabolical power, because in spite of all the other torments he never divulged the contents of the remedy.

It is now the 8th of October, 1630, and here in Florence, [the cities of] Venice and Ferrara have been banned due to plague.[57] Our city of Florence, too, has been banned almost everywhere because of the contagion, which has extinguished many houses by mortality. Even though only about twenty-five people are dying each day in the lazaretto and in the hospitals and in all those places in the whole city put together since the beginning of these events, whereas in other autumns, twice that number died, nevertheless this did not cause the same fear [then] as now. The reason is that these people are seen to die with swellings and poxes, and when the contagion enters a house it kills the rest. To keep the sick away and get the belongings out of the houses of the sick and the dead they have taken the badia of Fiesole and the palace of Lucano degli Usimbardi in Ricorboli.

It is the 20th of October, 1630, and the contagion gets steadily worse. In via de' Ginori, where my house is, they have boarded up four houses so the infected persons will not infect others; and my house is close to these houses. Let God do to me what is best.

It is the 28th of October, 1630, and the contagion continues to such an extent that the Health Officials have prohibited and prevented meetings of the Congregations of St. Ignatius, of San Giovannino and of the Blessed Ippolito[58] so no persons infected with the plague will mingle in such crowds. I have letters this week from His Highness' ambassador in Venice, in other words, from Signor Ippolito Buondelmonti, advising me that around 250 people die per day there in this beginning of the plague, and fear is all over the city of Venice.

It is the 30th of October, 1630; and I have letters from Venice from the said Signor Ippolito Buondelmonti, resident there for the grand duke. He writes that around 600 people die per day in that city after an illness of twenty-four hours. The people have made a vow to build a church to be called the Madonna della Salute. Here among us in Florence, the contagion or plague knocks down more than forty people per day, including those in the lazaretto.

It is the 23rd of November, 1630, and I have letters from the Most Illustrious Signor Buondelmonti resident in Venice for His Most Serene Highness, that the plague has made amazing massacres there, with more than a thousand people dying per day for the past several days. To save your life there you have to stay inside and not speak to a living person except from the windows, and you must keep a man outside who can provide the necessary things for himself and his people by having them pulled up into the house from a terrace by a chain. And here in Florence, since August, when the contagion or plague began, to date around five thousand people have died; and at present, between the city and the lazaretti, around seventy people per day are dying. The people at the Health Office

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have had to take over new places outside the lazaretti—for example, [the convent of] Monte Oliveto and the Badia of Fiesole, and they have taken [the convent of] San Domenico di Fiesole for the convalescents and many other villas in various places. They have prohibited crowds of people in the schools, sermons in large groups and assemblies of gamblers. And [they have called for] killing the dogs in the city and for ten miles around, paying a giulio[59] apiece to those who kill them, and in three days 500 of the dogs in the city were killed.

It is the 5th of December, 1630, and the body of the Most Glorious St. Antonino [Pierozzi], archbishop of Florence,[60] was carried in a procession from San Marco to the cathedral, where Archbishop [de'] Bardi said high Mass to implore this saint to liberate us from this evil. Two days after the said procession, four hundred patients at the lazaretto were found to have been liberated from the fevers, which is regarded as a grace received from the said saint.

It is the 20th of January, 1630 [1631], and to this day, since the contagion or plague began, around nine thousand people have died over a period of five months. After imploring divine aid and that of the Most Holy Madonna and the saints, a general quarantine has been called, so that everyone must stay inside and no one can go out on pain of heavy penalties, except with a permit, which allows one to leave one's house and go into the city during the morning and afternoon until the bell sounds 3 1/2 hours but not to enter other houses. This permit is allowed to two persons [per family] at a time, including men fourteen years old and over, except those from houses whose members live on gratuitous provisions brought to them because, since they do not work, they do not have any means to maintain themselves.[61] In fact, the grand duke supplied expenses for around thirty thousand people during this quarantine, dividing the city into six wards under the care of six gentlemen, with twenty gentlemen under each of these six, charged with going around the city and providing food to all persons in need. The goods were brought in carriages pulled by horses and driven by coachmen belonging both to the grand duke and to others who possess carriages, and there were coals, wood, bread, wine, oil, vinegar, meat and whatever else was necessary to maintain the said poor persons. Those able to go out can attend Mass in the churches. The women and children and those who cannot leave their houses because of the charitable contributions see the Masses said in the streets, where altars have been placed, especially on the street corners, so that many people can see the Mass both from their windows and from their doorways, although not many are able to hear it because of the distance. After the priest finishes the mass, he kneels and says the Litany of the Most Holy Madonna, and the people respond to this Litany from the windows and doorways to implore liberation from the sickness. Already on this first day [of the new regulations] seeing the streets and churches deserted of people brings great melancholy—to me in

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particular; and during the daytime the Rosary of the Madonna is said in the same way as the Litany.

It is the 2nd of February, 1630 [1631], and the quarantine continues, with Masses said in all the streets of the city. In some streets, I have heard, there are three altars; and here in via de' Ginori, where I am, there are two: one near the Canto alle Macine and one near the door of the Giraldi family. The Litany follows the mass, and during the daytime the Rosary of the Madonna follows, so anyone going around the city finds Masses and during the day hears the Rosary everywhere, with great devotion. All the carriage horses are employed in pulling the carts carrying provisions for people needing charitable assistance, who are not allowed to leave the house, and besides the temporal punishment, Monsignor the archbishop has now prescribed a penalty of excommunication for anyone who receives the charitable subsidy from the grand duke and dares to leave the house. Those who do not receive this charitable assistance can go around the city, one person per house, until 3 1/2 hours of the night; and since our Grand Duke Ferdinand Bonaventura seeks to help his people, he goes around the city with ten or twelve persons to hear the poor themselves tell what they need, and some gentlemen do the same, going on foot with the cart to give out food and also wherewithal to make fires, grains, and meat three times a week and good bread, wine, oil, salt, sausages, rice, vinegar and green vegetables.

For whomever is closed up in the houses (especially for women, who are not allowed to go out even if they are titled ladies), and for anyone who wants to confess or take Communion, the confessor comes to the doorway on the street for confession; and after mass the priest goes down the street to give Communion in turn at the doors along the road.

During the night there was a great flood, which entered Florence and rose to the level of nearly two braccia[62] in the lower places.

The contagious disease continues, so that around the city every day around six persons die and a dozen go to the lazaretti. If not for the charitable assistance, an infinite number of persons would have died of hunger because of the lack of work and the high cost of everything, and Our Lord God seems to have unsheathed his sword against Italy, bringing hunger, war, plague and a flood of rivers. Let it please his Majesty not to punish us according to our deserts but according to his sacred mercy.

They have found a good expedient for carrying the sick to the lazaretti. At first they sent them in a litter, in other words, a bier for the dead. Now they have made certain little stretchers, like little chairs, carried by two people and called stretchers, similar to chairs with straps, and they are covered over with a cloth hood so the patient remains unseen and reclines comfortably in these said little litter-type stretchers.

It is the 24th of February, 1630 [1631], and thirty-five days of quarantine have passed, and it seems that we cannot praise our lord the

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grand duke enough for his great charity in aiding his vassals. He has not spared any expense to assist and help his people in these present common calamities and miseries, and he goes around the city personally on foot through the streets of the poorest people to listen to their needs, to assist them and to see that the bread given to them is good, and other things. Truly it is a great consolation to the poor and edifying to the whole world. Blessed God has consoled this Prince and twice, since the contagion or plague began, recompensed him for what he has done for his people by allowing him to find money in the palace in Piazza[63] in rooms unknown to anyone—the first time amounting to 400,000 scudi of Duke Alessandro's coins,[64] and this second time [blank in original] of money belonging to duke [blank again].

It is the 5th of March, 1630 [1631], the first day of Lent, and the quarantine has been lifted, after forty days. However, they have extended it for the women to the fifteenth of the present month, except for those who can travel in carriages, while prohibiting everyone, until the fifteenth, from going house to house. And until the fifteenth, masses will be said in the streets. Still no one preaches and no one knows whether there will be any preaching this Lent; and they have given the ashes, following the usual custom on the first day of Lent, in the streets, [with people] going to receive them at the doors of the houses. There were no costumes nor carnival parties of any kind, and because of this change, on the Thursday before Shrove Tuesday, an image of the Madonna usually kept in Santa Maria Novella was carried in a procession, down via della Scala from Santa Maria Novella and then down the Prato and through borgo Ognissanti and, crossing the Arno, from the Canto della Cuculia to Pitti, and from there into borgo San Niccolò, and then into Pinti at the Crocetta[65] and to the Annunziata, to San Marco, and finally back to Santa Maria Novella. On Shrove Tuesday, a similar procession was conducted with the crucifix of the Whites,[66] and time was spent in that devotion. On the Sunday of Carnival,[67] which was the first Sunday of the month, an infinite number of people took Communion in the doorways of the houses, with the parish priests going around to administer Communion. Over the last eight months since the illness began, in Florence and for eight miles around ten thousand people have died.

It is the 23rd of March, 1630 [1631], and the third Sunday of Lent, and by the grace of God it seems that we can say the plague or contagion is almost ended. From July, when this illness began, until today, about 10,000 people have died, in this city and about eight miles around. In this Lent there is no preaching in any church in order to avoid putting too many people together; nor are the usual processions of the confraternities and regular orders allowed. No one works because the passes are closed; and good grain sells at 10 lire per staio, and oil at 84 lire per soma,[68] and everything else is expensive.

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It is the fourth of May, 1631, and by the grace of God the contagion or plague in Florence is almost over. Many parts of the countryside remain infected and the cost of living is as high as ever: oil is worth more than 72 lire per soma and ordinary wheat more than 9 lire the staio.

It is the 14th of June, 1631, and thank God the contagion in the city is almost ended. Holy water has been put back in the stoups of the churches and the Congregations have been allowed to hold their usual meetings. But the countryside is still sick with the contagion in many places.

It is the 19th of June, 1631, day of the feast of Corpus Domini, when the procession of the Most Holy Sacrament was held, and only the clergy of Santa Maria del Fiore participated, and three confraternities—that of San Felìcita, of the Whites and of the Annunziata, as being the oldest—and the magistrates and His Serene Highness. This was because of the contagion they wanted to avoid large meetings of people. They also forbade children of fourteen years or younger and women to leave their houses until the hour of 12, when the procession was over.

It is the 18th of August, 1631, and there was a procession from the cathedral to the Annunziata, including all the magistrates and the grand duke and Monsignor Tommaso Cimenes, bishop of Fiesole,[69] in place of the archbishop, who was not able to participate; and there a mass of the Holy Spirit was said and another vow to fast one day a week was made to the Madonna. In other words, in those houses where there are four persons able to fast, one of those four who is able to fast every week, that is, one day a week, must fast to thank our Lord for the mercy shown to our city by freeing it from the contagion; since for every one hundred who died of the plague in our city a thousand died in many parts of Lombardy, and many places remain desolate and devoid of people, such as Venice and other cities. Similarly, this fast serves to pray our Lord God to liberate the countryside, which is very distraught, and many towns are worn out, including Figline, Pescia, Monteverchi, Terranuova, and other towns and villages. No one would ever believe without having seen with his own eyes the tribulations that the plague brings, such as that of seeing entire families of twelve to twenty persons, including mother, father and children, disappear in a few days, with Blessed God permitting only one to remain alive in some families, closed up in quarantine alone in that house or farm. Or seeing the husband, for fear of death from the plague, abandon the wife, or the wife abandon the husband and the son, or the daughter abandon the father and mother, or the mother and father abandon sometimes even the children. Or that poor people living alone should die like beasts without being seen, and countless people without the sacraments and without human remedies or care. My family and I, by the mercy of God, have so far been free from this cross and this tribulation. It is a fearful thing that in some peasants' houses, everyone including the sick go to bed with the dead,

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unable to help themselves, until the dead are removed by the grave diggers on orders from the Health Officers, so that the smell of the dead kills the living. There was terror also that the poor fathers would drag their dead out themselves and bury them in a cemetery.[70] There was such terror in the countryside that any poor person suspected of illness or coming from suspected places was chased away with stones so he had to flee into the woods. This happened in Dicomano in the Mugello when I was there, to a poor old woman from the Casentino, a plague-ridden place. She was made to flee Dicomano, and the woods provided her with a good bed but no food. And in Castellina in Chianti, when I was there recently, I saw a poor cart-driver who got sick and was therefore chased out. He accidentally fell into a ditch (he did not have the plague), and there he stayed for three days and three nights without eating or drinking until finally someone moved by pity brought him some broth and he began to revive. But since he looked like a stiff, everyone still fled from him for fear of the plague. In the city, among those men and women inflicted with the plague who could cure themselves at their own expense, there was also great terror that this was useless because they were sent to the lazaretti anyway by the Health Officials to prevent their infecting others. There they saw themselves put into a bed in a place full of sick people, with two at the head and two at the foot of each bed; and when a corpse was taken away immediately another sick patient was put in. This happened in October and November, which was the greatest rage of these evils, and in those two months, more than eighty patients per day went to the lazaretti. In the city, thirty-five or forty died of the plague, and in the lazaretti up to fifty persons per day.

It is the 4th of November, 1631, and by the mercy of God the city has been completely liberated, one can say, from the contagion, although there remains some residue in the countryside. The Officials have allowed the resumption of preaching in the churches, which because of the evils was canceled, and almost a year has passed without preaching.

The harvest of small crops, wine and fruit has been very abundant, and one hopes for the same great abundance in the harvest of oil, and we begin to breathe again after so many past miseries.

On St. Francis' day, the 4th of October, the Most Serene archduchess left for Germany to visit the emperor her brother.

It is the 14th of December, 1631, and tonight at the seventh hour of the night the body or corpse of the Most Serene Archduchess Maria Maddalena of Austria, mother of our Most Serene Grand Duke Ferdinand Bonaventura, came to Florence. She had left Florence on the last of September [sic!] to go to Germany to visit the Emperor Ferdinand her own brother, and about three days away from Vienna she became deathly ill and died, and this was All Saints' Day; and her body was ordered to be brought to Florence where it was placed in San Lorenzo.

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It is the 1st of January, 1631 [1632], and the city is completely liberated from the plague, by the mercy of God, and so are the countryside and state of Florence, even though as yet the city cannot have commerce with the state of the pope without a long quarantine, since Lucca, Volterra, San Miniato al Tedesco and other places nearby are not yet accepted in Florence because they are not yet entirely cured.

Rome remains still clean of plague, and so also Siena and Naples, but the poor city of Naples has received a scourge more frightening than the plague, since on the 15th of last December there was an earthquake that continued for three days, which opened the great Monte Somma or Vesuvius[71] in several places, and fire came out in great quantities and burning ashes rained down on the city, sent out by the earthquake from the said mountain. If there had not been a great rain of water, this event could have burned the city, just like Terra di Altaviano and Torre del Greco and other places, which were burned with great mortality of persons and such terror that they write from Naples saying they thought it was the day of the Last Judgment. From the said mountain a river of fire was seen to spring forth toward the shore and the ocean, and for many braccia towards the mountain, everything is dry because of the earthquake and the fish are burnt and a river that fed many water mills has been lost and remains dry.The fathers of the Society of Jesus write that in their church in three days they have buried eighty persons, who had come from those places near the mountain to be healed from burns received in the fire. In their church they buried eighty of them in three days. The other churches we have not heard from yet, but the number of dead is great.

10 October, 1632. Though six or eight months have passed since the sickness of the contagion was felt in this city, the illness has been in Leghorn since May and has spread back to us, so that in Monticelli, outside the San Frediano gate, many persons died. They have taken villas Cecchi and del Susino to make a lazaretto, and it is said that the contagion has leaked into this city by borgo San Frediano.

This year great wars continue in Germany because the king of Sweden seeks the empire and the command of the House of Austria.

It is the first of March, 1632 [1633]. The king of Sweden today was bitten with blunderbusses and mortal wounds; and the combined losses were around 15,000 persons.[72] Whoever remained among the heretic enemies of the emperor and of the Holy Church are still making war on the said emperor; and now that the snows have passed one could hear of new events, because in the wintering after the death of the said king the armies retreated, unable to continue the campaign.

Although some time has passed since we in Florence have been clean of the plague, nonetheless there is no commerce with Rome nor with its state nor with Genoa, and this damages business. Yet we hope commerce will

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quickly return, God willing. Meanwhile, wheat, which was worth 7 and 8 lire per staio has gone down by around 3 lire and more, because the winter and planting went so well.

It is the 20th of April, 1633. Just when commerce was expected to be restored with other cities and the city appeared to be completely cured of the plague, the disease came back. The lazaretti had to be reconstructed, and presently about sixteen persons per day die of that disease in the whole city, which provokes a great fear lest the number should increase. Let God have mercy on us. A decree has ordered that children fifteen years of age and women should not go out of their houses for ten days, except ladies in their coaches or carriages, and in order not to infect the countryside, peasants cannot lodge in Florence for the said length of time, nor can the peasant girls come here.

It is the 15th of May, and the contagion still persists, and besides having children twelve and under and women not being able to go outside the house for the last twenty days, most recently they have decreed that another ten days should follow, with those who go about in carriages excepted, which greatly afflicts the poor women, who in hot weather suffer house confinement and deplore this partiality, whereby whoever cannot afford to swagger about in a carriage has to stay at home. But the disease continues anyway, and let it please Blessed God in his mercy to end it. The above-mentioned partiality exists because hitherto it has been seen that a thousand poor people die for every rich person who dies of the plague, so they think the sickness comes from the poor and from frequenting the infected. And the Health Officials have been punishing severely those who do not reveal their sick by making them ride the ass or sending them to jail. Women who went around or were found outside got the rope—i.e., the pulley[73]—but those who had the money paid the same fine as those who had not revealed their sick.

It is the 21st of May, 1633, and to implore pardon for our sins from His Divine Majesty, from whom comes this scourge of plague that has already lasted three years, Their Serene Highnesses and Monsignor the archbishop Piero Niccolini[74] have had the most holy image of the Madonna of Impruneta brought into Florence. For in older times, whenever the city was afflicted by torments, they had the said image brought into Florence and received whatever they wished. In the year 1492, for instance, in the time of Fra Girolamo Savonarola, and again in 1547. Yesterday, which was the twentieth, they brought this image to the Monastery of San Gaggio outside the gates at San Pietro Gattolino[75] and, having left Impruneta at twenty hours, they arrived at the said monastery at three hours of the night, accompanied by all the priests of Impruneta and the confraternities of the said place, who included more than 280 persons, all with new candles in their hands. The tabernacle was carried by twenty peasants of the

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confraternity of Impruneta because it is a large object weighing around [left blank] pounds. And it was not accompanied by more people, to avoid as much contact between people as possible and the spread of this contagion. The image was received by Monsignor the archbishop at the gate of San Pietro Gattolino with all the clergy, the canons and priests and clerics and bishops of the cathedral and of San Lorenzo and the friars of Sant' Agostino and San Francesco and Cestello, to the number of [left blank in original], and by the Most Serene grand duke and all his brothers and the duke of Guise[76] and his son and by the Signor Cardinal,[77] all on foot with candles in their hands, and by the eight Magistrates of the Palace[78] with the Signori Counsellors and two confraternities with candles in their hands, by the German guards, all armed, and also the guards of the light cavalry. They brought the image from the church of the Carmine through the Camaldoli and put it in Santa Maria Novella, where it will be until tomorrow morning, from whence it will be brought to the cathedral by way of the Biliemme,[79] and then on Monday through the quarter of Santa Croce and on to San Felìcita by way of the costa San Giorgio and back to Impruneta during the day at twenty-two hours.

This morning, when the procession began, it was raining hard and continued to rain the whole time until the image was brought into Santa Maria Novella, so that all those who were in the procession got very wet, including the Most Illustrious archbishop, as well as Their Most Serene Highnesses, and no one saw the procession except those who were in the houses along the streets where the procession passed. In order to avoid crowds of people because of the plague, the Health Officials put out an order that from the beginning to the end of the procession no one should dare to go out of his house, not even in a carriage or on horseback, and that the peasants could not even enter Florence to sell. The women and children already cannot leave their homes except those who go about in carriages; and for this time of the procession even the latter were prohibited from going out.

It is the 23rd of May, 1633, a Monday. After the holy image of the Madonna of Impruneta was conducted into Santa Maria Novella Saturday morning, where during the day it was visited by various confraternities and regular orders, on Sunday it was taken to the Annunziata and to the cathedral accompanied by two confraternities of Florence and that of Impruneta, which all told must have been around seven hundred persons with candles in their hands, and three regular orders including one of monks, the clergy of San Lorenzo and Santa Maria del Fiore with Monsignor the Most Illustrious archbishop, and, behind, the grand duke and the cardinal and all the princes, with very great devotion. There, it was visited throughout the day by religious in procession, by confraternities, and by all the magistrates, and since I was still in the magistracy of the Merchant Bankers' Guild, I had the privilege of visiting it. Every magistrate

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presented candles, more or less according to the dignity of the magistracy or trade. This morning, they brought it from Santa Maria del Fiore to Santa Croce with the above-mentioned homages of accompaniment, each time picking up new confraternities and confraternities and monks to spread out the work, and it was visited by orders and confraternities and women in carriages. Today at 21 hours, they brought it to San Felìcita, whence it went up the costa San Giorgio with the same accompaniment. And what truly provided a superb demonstration of the great devotion and piety of our Most Serene grand duke, the cardinal and the princes, was that even though our Most Serene grand duke is twenty-two years of age, nonetheless behind that holy image he was seen to weep devotedly. And his charity was also apparent. If he had followed most of the wealthier persons, who retired to their villas to flee the illness that is now in the city, this could have been very damaging, because his presence and example consoles the afflicted ones and encourages those who are exhausted by this contagion.

The said holy image left Florence at around 24 hours and let it please this Queen [i.e., the Madonna of Impruneta] to receive the entreaties and prayers brought to her by the whole city, so that the great God her Son will pardon us for our sins and liberate us from this contagion, because it seems indeed to come from our sins since in a few days there were extraordinary cases of persons engaging in wicked practices who in one place or another died of the plague in a few hours.

This most holy image of Impruneta is covered with many cloths and is never exposed; and they say it is a bas-relief[80] and that God desires it to remain hidden, because anciently some prelates wished to expose it and lost their eyesight in various accidents and as soon as they put the cloths back on they were made whole again. This is what I have heard tell and I do not know if it is true, since it comes from tradition. I have not heard that there is any writing about it; and others say it is not exposed because it is an ancient thing and very decayed. . . .

It was a marvellous thing that when this most holy image entered Florence, it entered with water and great wind until it was placed in Santa Maria Novella, and then there was a great cold spell, so that today everyone was at the fire as in the great cold spells of January; and the mountains covered with snow, and one hopes that Our Lord God, by means of this North wind and cold that has lasted three days while the holy image was in Florence, has cured or is going to cure the city.

The 11th of June, 1633. Because of our sins, the illness of the contagion continues. According to reports, around twelve sick people go the lazaretti every day, and to date they are all poor people. For every person of comfortable means who gets sick with the disease, a thousand poor people die, including serving boys and serving girls. People from houses where the dead have been found are sent into quarantine in a villa, the men to Villa lo Strozzino and the women to Villa Borgherini.[81] Those who become

cured in the lazaretto they send to Villa Cecchi for the quarantine and then to stay eight days in a house all made of wooden boards close to the said villa near the Arno rushes, constructed for that purpose. Today about a hundred cured people are returning from there. And in the period of two months and a half since the sickness began again, about 1,100 persons died, and all kinds of sick people have gone to the lazaretto [to benefit from] the very good order and charity of six Capuchin friars, who have the task of administering the sacraments to these sick people and who have risked their lives for love of God. And to date, in the said place, in two months, two of the said friars have died. One of the Mainardi Ammatucci, who, with the sickness upon him, always exercised charity to help the sick, was cured by divine help. From the year 1630 when the sickness began in Tuscany, it has bitten around 100 Capuchin friars aiding the sick, not counting the others of various religious orders.

The city is very afflicted because three years have passed in which there could be no commerce with other cities, and no one works. Great burning of beds and linens have been carried out in houses where there were persons sick or dead of the plague. The severe decrees cause great terror because as soon as anyone feels sick, the Health Department must be informed about it, with the threat of execution upon the head of the household if he transgresses. The gentlewomen and children are especially afraid of being seen by their physicians if they have any carbuncles or swellings on their bodies, which are signs of contagion, and therefore of having to be carried in a stretcher-chair and taken to the lazaretti. To leave children, husband and relatives and clean beds behind is hard indeed, but because this is a scourge of God, there is nothing to say. Indeed, no nuns or friars have so far died from the contagion except for those who looked after the afflicted and a few others.

After having kept the women in their houses with no exceptions even for carriages, for forty days, they ordered that one woman per family can go out, bringing with her a licence they are giving to each one, while the female citizens[82] have the privilege of being able to take a servant with them. They have again put out a decree that at one hour of the night both men and women must be in their houses and cannot go out until the Ave Maria of the day sounds in the morning. This order pleased everyone because now no one goes gallivanting around the city or in the taverns at night, and not being able to go out at night is a chance to avoid many evils.

The 14th of January. This morning Vincenzo Baroncini of San Casciano came for lunch. Discussing the plague, which he had experienced personally in both his mother and siblings, since it bit his mother, two sisters and a brother as well as the servants and many nieces and nephews, he told me that in the year 1631 he was in San Casciano and took communion in the church of the Dominicans called [Santa Maria] del Prato. About sixty-four persons took communion with him, all healthy; the next

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day, between the night and the day, twenty-seven of those who took communion died of the plague. And in that town two thirds of the people died, and the well-to-do and rich people, when they got sick, found themselves without any provisions, not being able to find anyone willing to come near them, for which truly a tremendous Divine Judgment can be seen.

The decrees are severe and great suffering comes from the obligation of the head of a household, on pain of death, to notify the Health Department by a note giving account of any sick person he might have in the house. The Health Officials went to the Madonna of Impruneta on Sunday the 12th, and there, by order of His Most Serene Highness, they made a vow to the Madonna to deposit 10,000 lire in the Monte di Pietà, of which the interest would go to the marriages of ten girls a year in the parish by giving them fifty lire apiece.[83]

It is the feast of St. John the Baptist, protector of the city, and yesterday was the vigil (not in so far as the fast was concerned, because the fast took place the day before the vigil, as prescribed for the second year running, by a privilege of His Holiness Urban VIII, that the fasting should be the day before) and the procession was conducted by the clergy of the cathedral and of the chapter of San Lorenzo and six regular orders, without any confraternities, and in the evening the carriage race [Palio dei Cocchi[84]] was not run. This morning there will be neither chariots nor standards;[85] and today again the usual race will not be run, all to avoid large assemblies of people. After it was forbidden to leave the houses or stay outside after the Bargello bell, which begins to ring after the first hour of the night, great improvement was noticed, so that by the grace of God in the city there are four sick people per day. From a quarter-hour of the night to one hour it is a very great devotion to go around the city, because in three-fourths of the streets they say the Most Holy Rosary and the Litany, making altars in the street, with great lights. When they begin the persons in the houses respond from the windows, which are all full of lights, so that with all the great lights the night seems like daytime and the Rosary and the Litany are recited with very great quiet and devotion.

24 August 1633. By the grace of Blessed God we can say that the plague is finished, since for the last fifteen days there have not been four persons sick of the contagion, and let it please His Divine Majesty that we remain entirely free, so that the passes can be opened up and we can send and receive merchandise. The harvests of wheat and small crops were so abundant that good wheat at present sells at 3 3/4 lire the staio, and beans at 2 lire 10 soldi,[86] and consequently all the other crops much less, so the workers and poor people can keep going after so many past tribulations.

The first of November, 1633. We are by divine help entirely cured of the contagion, since it is now two months since there was heard anything about persons sick of that disease; and the illness has reversed itself, so that

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the passes in the whole state have been opened. All we have to do now is to obtain the entry permit from the Papal State and from the other nearby princes.

As the harvest is still on, the best wheat is worth little more than 3 lire, and it has been sold at 2 lire 10 soldi the staio. Wine is very very expensive because the harvest of grapes was scarce.

The 19th of January, 1633 [1634] With divine help, the passes have been opened almost everywhere, so it is possible to go out of the state and send merchandise. Hopefully, this will be a great help to commerce. Living is very good, and all good grain sells at 3 lire or 3 1/2 at most per staio, and mediocre grain sells at 7 lire the sack or 8 lire.[87]

The 30th of April, 1634. The city is very happy that the passes are open so that new people are continuously seen going back and forth, whereas for the last four years it can be said that no one was seen; and the best wheat is sold at 3 lire the staio, and mediocre at 2 lire 6 soldi and 8 denari[88] the staio, or at 2 lire, and small crops and beans at 1 1/4 the staio in Florence.

The 27th of September, 1634. The harvest of wheat and small crops was much less than last year; but even though the price was expected to rise, it fell instead to 2 lire 10 soldi per staio for all good wheat, and this windfall damages those who have to live off the income of the farms, because besides the great difficulty of making enough money to form a capital, they have no money to spend, so business is bad. This year the Maremma is not expected to be sown, which will cause trouble.

1634. The emperor in a single day almost defeated the whole army of the Swedes and the Lutherans, and it was the sixth of September this year;[89] and when the said heretics thought they were in good shape after taking possession of high ground the better to destroy the Imperials and Catholics with artillery, they got the same thing back, with the death of a great number of people, and imprisonment, in particular, of the heads of the army and a loss of 54 pieces of artillery.

The duke of Guise is staying here in Florence with his son, and the rest of his family is expected, who because of their disagreement with the king of France have retired here, as also the duke of Lorraine, who was earlier a cardinal, along with his wife or spouse.[90] Both parties arrived incognito, so to speak, having fled their states for fear that the king might have them killed besides taking away their states. They say that this duke brought all the trouble on himself by not obeying the king—the same as his brother, who is now in the imperial army. We thus perceive how little one may trust in worldly greatness and vanity, because whoever is immersed in it feels all the more pain when deprived.

1634. In August a brother of our Most Serene grand duke died of the plague in Germany,[91] where he was fighting.

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The 25th of November, 1634. This month I was with Filippo my son in Pisa, and on the 12th I found myself with him again in Leghorn to see the galleon that was the flagship of four square-rigged vessels of Algiers captured by four galleys of the grand duke under the command of Admiral Verrazzani, a very honorable prize.

The sowing goes so well that in Florence, for 3 giulii you get a staio of wheat and in the Casentino and Romagna they are worth around 1 1/2 lire the staio.

12 December, 1636. Good grain has returned to the price of 7 lire the staio, and the wine harvest was very scarce, just as last year, so that at present all wine sells at 16 florins[92] and 8 soldi.

The 19th of the same. I remember that on this day the Most Serene Madame Christine of the House of Lottorenghi [i.e., Lorraine!], who was the wife of Grand Duke Ferdinando and mother of Grand Duke Cosimo, the father of the present Grand Duke Ferdinando Bonaventura, died at age 68 [sic! for 71] in the villa at Castello in odor of sanctity because of the good works she always did, who could be called the Mother of the Poor. . . .

The 13th of October, 1638. This year, it pleased our Lord God to give fruitfulness in every kind of product—wheat, wine and oil; and the wheat that was sold in June at 6 lire per staio at the end of that month when the harvest began was sold for two and a half and there it remains. Wine is in such abundance that I do not remember the like, and doesn't fetch any money. In Valdelsa it sells for a lira per cask . . . and the vines, which for three years were unfruitful, have made up for lost time, so to speak. The winter was cold and the snow was high in every place for eighteen days. . . .

The king of France after many years of marriage has had a son, which it was thought he was not going to have, and in Florence there were great fireworks. . . .[93]

The 30th of May, 1643. On this day a young soldier was hanged on the Ponte Vecchio. The previous evening or night he was found to have broken into a goldsmith's shop in the middle of the bridge along with a companion, while two of their companions remained on the abutment of the bridge with a guitar keeping lookout. When the guards came, the two lookouts ducked into Santa Croce, and the other two were caught red-handed by the guards. Since all four were under the same captain, he chased the other two out of church and handed them over to the police, yesterday morning the 29th of May, 1643. This morning they hanged the leader, a youth about 22 years old, and since there was no hangman, the companion who was also supposed to be hanged played hangman to save his own life. The first one was accompanied, with the noose around his neck, by the other two who

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were lookouts, and the hangman, when he carried out justice, was disguised with a fake moustache and beard so the sufferer would not see himself being killed by his companion and comrade who was also guilty. His soul was probably saved, because those who stood around to comfort him say he showed great feeling of contrition. This justice, so swiftly executed, was the terror of so many soldiers now in Florence because of the enmities and claims of states against the Church caused by His Holiness' having occupied the state of Castro against the duke of Parma to repay the debts of the said duke and for other reasons.[94]

The 1st of May, 1644. I remember on this day that in the holy church of Santa Maria del Fiore the Mass of the Most Holy Trinity was said to thank that Most Holy Trinity for the peace concluded between the Barberini nephews of Pope Urban VIII and the League made up of the Venetians, our grand duke of Florence [sic!], and the duke of Modena [Francesco I d'Este], after a war that went on for more than a year between the League and the Barberini, wherein the Barberini occupied the state of Castro against the duke of Parma due to the latter's debts to the trusts in Rome. In the said church, the Most Serene Grand Duke was with the signor cardinal his uncle[95] under a white canopy, and across from them under another white canopy were the grand duchess and Princess Anna, and there was music in eight choruses and the whole church was filled with lights. Outside around the church there were carriages and soldiers on horseback in uniform, with their armor and pistols, and after firing an artillery salvo all these soldiers discharged their pistols, with great magnificence. With the singing of the Mass and the Te Deum Laudamus inside and the show of soldiers and mortars outside, the whole thing was of great consolation for all of Italy, because of the confusion that had prevailed before and the passes that had been closed so no one could go from place to place, in other words, from one state to another. From iron and hardships, over 100,000 persons died in these clashes, and buildings and fields were destroyed especially around Perugia, and business was abandoned. Please God things will now return to normal. . . .

The 26th of May, 1645. Day of the Feast of St. Philip Neri, on which the first stone was laid in the construction of the church to be named after him, which was called San Firenze before, and Monsignor Niccolini, archbishop of Florence, was there to lay it, and he made the usual solemn benediction with his miter, blessing the place where the foundations are to be built. The Most Serene Grand Duke Ferdinando Bonaventura was there too at the function, and so was his uncle the cardinal. And on the square behind the church of San Firenze they put a canopy for his convenience and there was very good music. . . .

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It is the 21st of December, 1648, and a tearful memoir is made of the miseries of the poor city of Florence, where no one has worked for the last two years because of the famines, and this last year has brought the city and countryside to extreme misery. . . . The poor come in from the countryside by the thousands and shops of the wool guild are being closed by the hundreds, as well as shops of the silk guild. All business is gone to pot, and the Monte di Pietà, which provided for the nuns, charitable trusts, widows and wards, is so far gone that the shares are down to 3% from the previous 5% just in one year. A share used to be worth 100 scudi, but now the said Monte no longer gives back the invested capital; so whoever needs the capital has to sell the shares, and would at present get no more than 25 scudi on a hundred. Many charitable trusts, widows, and wards who lived off those incomes now have to live miserably, so if Blessed God in his mercy does not relieve us, people will die of hunger and hardship, as they already are seen to do. At night one sees so many poor persons tuck themselves into the corners of the byways to sleep there, and Camaldoli and Biliemme are all destroyed, and whoever has a mattress to sleep on is considered lucky. One sees many stores closed, many houses unrented, because infinite numbers of people are gone—partly dead, partly left for elsewhere. Forty years ago Via Pellicceria was completely full of the shops of the wool guild, with tables outside to preen the cloth, and no one could pass through on horseback. Now everything is empty, and the same goes for the area including San Martino; and Por Santa Maria and extending as far as the Casa di San Zanobi was full of shops of the silk merchants; now it is filled with tailors, shoemakers and other vile businesses.

Famine is universal in Italy again this year, and the territories of Bologna and Perugia pay more for wheat than we do but are by no means as badly off, because they have plenty of business and money.

If the Food Officials had not brought in a great quantity of wheat by ship, 2/3 of the people would have died of hunger; and even oats for horses were worth more than 4 1/2 lire per staio, and wheat is at more than 10 1/2 per staio.

This year the English cut off the head of the king of the house of Stuart;[96] and he died in his heretical sect, leaving four children[97] of the queen,[98] who is a daughter of the deceased king of France, that is, of Henry IV and Queen Maria de' Medici a Florentine and a daughter, in turn, of Grand Duke Francesco[99] and Grand Duchess Donna Joanna of Austria. . . .

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12. Pier Giovanni Capriata, *The War of Mantua and Montferrat*

Not since the Italian wars of the early sixteenth century did Italy become so disastrously embroiled in European political affairs as in December 1627, with the death of Vincenzo II, last direct heir of the Gonzaga family, rulers of Mantua and Montferrat for the past century and of Mantua for three times that long. In Transalpine Europe the battle lines for the great conflict of the Thirty Years' War[1] that began in 1618 were already drawn in 1608-09 with the formation of confessional opposition groups, animated by long-standing religious gravamens, within the German provinces of the Holy Roman Empire: the Protestant Union under Elector Palatine Frederick IV and the Catholic League under Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. The situation became more acute when the childless Emperor Matthias (1612-19) designated his cousin Archduke Ferdinand of Inner Austria, regarded as an intransigent enemy of the Protestants, as his heir. Already in this period, Philip III (dynastically linked to the Empire through the Habsburg connection) and his advisors offered to ensure recognition of the controversial candidate in return for Imperial concessions in Italy and grants of territory elsewhere. The Dutch Republic was already at war with Spain—not on the continent since the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609, but in the American colonies. Meanwhile, James I of England joined the Union, fearing a Franco-Spanish conspiracy after the assassination of Henry IV. France, on the other hand, still torn by confessional strife within, could side with either group, but long-standing rivalry with Spain due to the memory of the Spanish invasions of the last reign and opposing interests in Italy put it on the anti-Spanish side. Venice opposed the Habsburg allies because of the emperor's permissiveness, with the full consent of Spain, in regard to piracy in the Adriatic by Balkan refugees from Turkish lands (Uskoks). In 1615, the Venetians went to war against Archduke Ferdinand, in whose territories the pirate havens lay, and English and Dutch reinforcements came in to help. The attack on Gradisca was well-timed and the Spaniards were already occupied in the first War of Mantua, so Emperor Matthias, the archduke's overlord, stepped in and agreed on harsh measures against the Uskoks.

Mantua and Montferrat were important for Spain's war efforts because their ruler could threaten Spanish Lombardy, the starting point of the Spanish Road through the Valtelline passes into central Europe.[2] Mantua could only be inherited through the male line, so when Duke Francesco IV died in 1612 with no male heir, his brother Ferdinando, then a cardinal, took over. Montferrat had no such provision, so Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy, ruler of a state comprising French-speaking Savoy as well as the Italian area of Piedmont, claimed it through his granddaughter Maria, the daughter of the dead duke. Maria called for help from Charles Emmanuel,

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and soon the Venetians and the French joined in, while Ferdinando called upon the Habsburgs. Before too much damage could be done, peace was secured in 1617 with mediation from Pope Paul V. Both duchies passed to Ferdinando (d. 1626); and then to Vincenzo II (d. 1627).

Meanwhile, trouble was brewing in the Valtelline. Now, the Valtelline passes were controlled by the Protestant Grey Leagues, which were not yet within the neutral Swiss confederation. Spanish representatives in Milan did their best to foment an independence movement among the Valtelline Catholics and their Grey League rulers, the better to secure freedom to move men and material through the passes when necessary. When the Grey Leagues were finally forced to renounce the Valtelline altogether and open the passes, Charles Emmanuel saw his chance. In 1623 he joined with Louis XIII of France and with Venice to drive the Habsburgs from the Grey Leagues in return for promises of help in securing his claims on Genoa and Montferrat. Olivares, the new Spanish first minister, capitulated. Next, Charles Emmanuel joined his troops with Louis XIII's to attack Genoa while sending another contingent to occupy Montferrat. This put him in a position to invade Spanish Lombardy in 1625 while Louis XIII's troops occupied the Valtelline. The operation was held when Pope Urban VIII mediated the Peace of Monzón between France and Spain, placing an autonomous Catholic government in the Valtelline and forbidding Spain, Austria and Venice to use the passes for military purposes. But contention soon began again.

Pier Giovanni Capriata,[3] a Genoese lawyer, narrated the beginning of the collapse of order all over Italy in a *History of Military Events* published in 1625. Soon, like his model Francesco Guicciardini, he became involved in the events he was to narrate in his next works. Implicated in a Savoy-supported conspiracy against the Genoese government in 1628, he took refuge in Spain and became a legal counsellor of Olivares. In 1638 he published the first part of a new work called simply *History from 1613 to 1634*. Its continuation, published in 1648 and comprising the years 1634-44, attracted the attention of French minister Cardinal Mazarin, who put Capriata on the French payroll. The third part, bringing the narration to 1650 and published posthumously in 1663, may have been commissioned by Spain.[4] Hated by the anti-Spanish parties in Italy, the history was regarded as a reliable source by eighteenth-century historian and reformer Ludovico Antonio Muratori for information about the period.

The Succession Crisis

After the death of Duke Vincenzo,[5] which occurred during the Christmas holidays of 1627, the states of Mantua and Montferrat devolved upon Carlo Gonzaga, duke of Nevers,[6] who was the son of Ludovico, younger brother

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of Guglielmo, who was in turn the grandfather of the last three late dukes. And since no one in the legitimate male line of the Gonzaga family had precedence over Carlo (the legitimate line of Guglielmo having been extinguished with the death of Vincenzo), Vincenzo therefore, on the day before his death, commanded the Mantuan people to swear loyalty to the duke of Rethel,[7] eldest son to Carlo, who was absent, in the name of his father Carlo. Duke Ferdinando summoned Rethel to Mantua [in 1625] and kept him there, ordering him to remain there in consideration of the future succession. Duke Vincenzo, a little before his death, for the better security of the succession, had the duke of Rethel marry Princess Maria, daughter of Duke Francesco and granddaughter, on the mother's side, of the duke of Savoy.[8] To this effect a dispensation had previously been very secretly sought from the pope.[9] The duke of Savoy, because of his family ties, and both he and the king of Spain[10] (by way of the Spanish ministers), because they had not been consulted, were particularly disturbed by this marriage and complained vociferously. Claiming themselves to be very offended, they almost made an open challenge. But the reasons for dissatisfaction expressed by both parties were far different from those they hid in their breasts. The duke of Savoy had hoped the girl would become the wife of the prince-cardinal.[11] This would add a new title to his house and thus reinforce the old claims on Montferrat, which he desired to acquire in this conjuncture more earnestly than ever before. The Spanish ministers, it was believed, hoped to use the princess wherever possible as an instrument for excluding Nevers entirely from succession to those states. Signs of the opposition of both of these parties to the succession of this prince were soon revealed. He was quickly recognized and obeyed as the prince by everyone as he came down through Switzerland and the Grey Leagues into the Valtelline, and from there through the lands of the Venetians into Mantua. Nonetheless, the Spanish ministers refused to recognize him and much less to call him the duke of Mantua. The duke of Savoy, claiming to be entirely subservient to the king of Spain's desires and authority, waited for decisions and instructions from Germany[12] and Spain, where information had anxiously been sent. And he hoped and expected the orders from these courts would be to oppose the accession of the new duke because this resolution was thought to have existed already long before the death of Duke Vincenzo. The emperor[13] in fact proposed and intended to take possession of those states himself, as sovereign lord and supreme judge between the pretenders, in order subsequently to confer it more freely upon the rightful heir, since the succession had to pass into a cadet line and many candidates competed.[14] This was necessary for maintaining peace in Italy, he said. Such was the imperial chamber's way of handling such matters, just as in the succession of Montferrat, which had been claimed by many competitors at the death of [Gian] Giorgio Paleologo. . . .[15] Nevers alleged the clear and undoubted disposition of the laws whereby the closest

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heir to the last lord is to be admitted into possession of the fief. To the agnates who aspired to the succession as well as the sovereign and direct lord who claimed the decadence and devolution of the fief,[16] he pointed out that the claims of the duke of Savoy were prevented by the decision of Emperor Charles V in regard to the ancestors of Savoy and Lorraine. Not having acquired any new rights in the meantime, and with the fief still in the hands of Gonzaga heirs, as Charles V's terms dictated, this duke could not pursue the ancient claims. The duchess of Lorraine[17] was to be excluded in favor of more remote male agnates, just as in the past, or to be excluded in favor of her niece, who was at a closer degree to the succession. Furthermore, he asked, how and by what reason or argument could Don Ferrante,[18] clearly descended from the second-born of the common ancestor, be called, while the line of the eldest son had not yet expired, by those very investitures that prefer the firstborn and their descendants to all others, according to primogeniture? . . . But the vigorous efforts against Nevers by the Spanish ministers had a more powerful effect on the emperor than these solid and evident reasons. Seeing that the duke was born and reared in France, was of French blood, and was joined to the king of France[19] by family and by his position as feudatory in the great states he possessed in that kingdom, they believed he was perpetually obliged to that crown by commitments and interests too powerful for him not to be wholly dependent on that king. To allow him to be situated in the navel of Italy as lord of two states and master of two very powerful fortified sites on the flanks of the state of Milan[20] they thought was too dangerous. They suspected he might later, with the acquiescence and support of France, arm himself and excite new parties and factions in Italy wherewith their king might be removed from a greatness and preeminence in Italy that was easier and more securely preserved if the French had no foothold there. The condition of the present times made this danger all the more probable and greater. First of all, the French, as many of the past occurrences demonstrated, sought to acquire authority in Italy superior to Spain's. Moreover, they received encouragement from some of the Italian princes who wished to see France prevail for their own interests or else for providing a counterweight to Spain.

Preparations for War

The emperor, to keep the house of Austria in preeminence among all Christian princes, was concerned in the same ends and designs as the Spanish ministers. The ministers therefore worked very hard to ensure that he might lend his hand and join with them in excluding the new duke. Indeed, in these times the authority of the Spaniards had a particularly great influence on the emperor. Besides the common interests, there was new cause for agreement from the very powerful help in money and men

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contributed by the crown of Spain during the recent troubles in Germany.[21] Without these, the emperor would hardly have been able to hold his own against the tide of rebellious contrary factions among the Germans. This need still existed, since those flames were not entirely extinguished. It behooved him to second the Spaniards' interests and give them the impression of having prevailed in this common cause. Therefore, he had tried, while Duke Vincenzo was still alive but expected to die, and the issue of succession was still a long way off, to gratify them by ordering them to try to take possession of those states when the duke died. But when the event occurred they had desisted because the right occasion did not present itself. After the duke's death, the emperor maintained his previous resolution but he nonetheless seemed less enthusiastic about the manner of proceeding and wished to await the conclusion of the legal proceedings for greater justification of the enterprise. So, having publicly decreed the devolution of those states upon himself, he then sent Count John of Nassau [-Siegen] into Italy with the title of imperial commissioner to take possession of them on his behalf by civil means if the new duke agreed to consign them, and otherwise, to proceed against him with citations and manifestoes, the imperial ban, and finally with arms. The ministers of Spain, on the other hand, who had already acted on their first order and whose interests were most closely affected by the danger, showed themselves more enthusiastic and more fervent in the enterprise. They admitted no delays. They believed that chasing the new prince immediately from his state would be easier than expelling him once he had become consolidated and furnished with provisions and fortifications to defend himself; and they thought that the king of France (the only opposition they feared), was committed with all his efforts and all his forces in the siege of La Rochelle and therefore unable to dedicate himself entirely to affairs in Italy or send aid to the new duke. They therefore hoped to seize this opportune conjuncture. To this they added the encouragement of the duke of Savoy, who, although professing a desire to join with France, promised to do many things to favor this enterprise. But what affected the king and court of Spain more than anything else were the instigation and advice of Don Gonzalo de Córdoba,[22] provisional governor of Milan. Desiring to have full and absolute control, as soon as he heard of the death of Duke Vincenzo, he immediately began to make agreements in Casale for the consignment to him of one of the gates of the city. Once the agreement was concluded he wrote to the court many things about the intelligence he had in that city and the ease and certainty of seizing it, promising that the conquest of the rest would inevitably follow with the same ease. So he and all the other ministers made every effort to exclude the new duke by very compelling arguments of obvious utility and indeed necessity. The Spanish court had tried before the death of Duke Vincenzo to avoid damage to its position by preventing an increase of French authority in Italy due to the succession of

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Nevers. Nonetheless, restrained by the injustice of the gesture or else perturbed by the failures of the past wars in Italy, it had subsequently decided to avoid becoming scandalously embroiled in new wars. It therefore embraced from the outset the most proper benign proposition of not only conferring the new succession on Nevers but securing his friendship by swift action after receiving him into the protection of the crown. In fact, the royal chancery had sent dispatches conveying this holy and wise decision. Before these letters had arrived in Italy, however, there arrived in Spain the letters of the duke of Savoy and the advice of Don Gonzalo and the other ministers, explaining the efforts already undertaken in Casale. Immediately the minds of the court were changed and the first deliberations were turned upside down. And with the justice of the cause having been vanquished by the apparent utility of the new acquisition and the security it would certainly give to the affairs of Italy, the court determined to mount a powerful resistance against the new duke and exclude him from the succession to those states with open warfare. The charge of this new enterprise, together with the absolute government of the state of Milan, which was the thing he aspired to, was given to Don Gonzalo, the chief author and promoter of this unhappy and unfortunate advice. Accordingly, he began to declare war in the emperor's name even before the emperor had consented and to prepare arms and men for this purpose. In support of his efforts he alleged the decree of advocation made by the emperor, from the hands of whom the new duke should take possession of those states. He pointed out that in fact the duke of Nevers had deliberately and illegally intruded against that decree. He also explained the new enterprise as an effort to preserve the public peace of Italy and the security of the affairs of the crown. And finally, but more as a complaint than as a legitimate cause for a new war, he added that the marriage of Princess Maria had been concluded with little regard for the royal lineage and authority. These were the apparent motives and reasons for the present war. Most people tacitly deplored them as insufficient justification for Spanish arms and contrary to the emperor's reputation for piety and religion. Most sympathized with, and universally approved of, the cause of the new duke, who appeared to be oppressed only because of pure and simple reason of state and threatened by nothing but the greed and arrogance of the more powerful adversary.

Since the emperor was somewhat exempt from criticism, first of all by the general opinion that he merely harkened to the urgent and insistent pressure of the Spanish ministers rather than to his own mind or will, and secondly by his temperate and circumspect behavior, the whole tide of hatred and guilt therefore fell upon Spanish arms. . . . Just as the uprisings in the Valtelline fomented and sustained by the Spaniards had filled Italy with suspicions and jealousies and rendered their name odious, likewise, seeing them now, with absolutely no cause or shadow of a pretext, obviously trying to usurp a principate, persuaded the Italian potentates to

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provide urgently for the private and common welfare, which, if the Spaniards got their way, they foresaw would be gravely endangered.

The reconciliation between the duke of Savoy and the crown of Spain accelerated the campaign against the new duke. For, first of all, the royal ministers sought to situate things in such a manner as to make possible the acquisition of Casale, for which they dearly hoped. They could be certain that the duke of Savoy would not remain idle on this occasion nor give up his ancient claims. The duke of Savoy realized he could not profit better from the conjuncture of the times than by the favor and aid of Spain. For these and other reasons, neither side could imagine a better choice than to hurry to the conclusion of agreements much earlier discussed in connection with the division of Montferrat. The duke of Savoy would receive Trino, Alba, San Damiano, and many other places in the territory of Montferrat, whose connection with Piedmont would make them much easier to join to that state. The Spanish would get the rest, including Casale, Pontestura, Moncalvo, Nizza [Monferrato], Acqui, Ponzone, with the adjacent territories, whose proximity to the marquisate of Finale and to the coastline of Genoa made them particularly convenient from their point of view. The occupation was to be disguised, with each side commencing and pursuing the campaign in the name of the emperor. The duke of Savoy was not allowed to fortify any of the occupied places; and one side was not allowed to impede the other in the occupation of the territories assigned to them in the division. Thus, the duke of Savoy, to gain part of what he knew he could not obtain entirely, allowed Princess Maria, his granddaughter and descendant, to be entirely dispossessed, and Spanish arms, hitherto opposed to his claims and now blinded by the pursuit of their own interests, to serve as his protectors. Much earlier, the French had tried to disturb this reconciliation. In the peace negotiations they mediated between the Republic of Genoa and the duke, they were thought to have made his pretensions appear as haughty as possible—not so much to gratify him at the expense of the Genoese or to mitigate the injury done to him by the peace of Monzón,[23] but to sabotage the talks by making satisfaction difficult and reconciliation impossible. Not content with this, the French had tried to draw the duke of Savoy more toward themselves, even while Duke Vincenzo was living, by discussions about a marriage between the prince-cardinal of Savoy and Princess Maria and between the widow Infanta her mother[24] and the duke of Nevers, with some adjustment to the claims on Montferrat. To this effect, the king sent Monsieur de Saint Chamond to Duke Vincenzo as extraordinary ambassador after the death of Duke Ferdinando for the usual tasks of condolence and congratulation, ordering him to pass first through Turin and then on to Mantua where he entered into negotiations with both of those potentates in the king's name. But when Duke Vincenzo died not long afterwards and the sudden marriage[25] was concluded with great satisfaction and happiness for the French and for Saint Chamond himself (who, because

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he happened to be in Mantua at the time, was believed to be aware of and involved in everything), the insincerity of the negotiation became obvious.[26] The duke of Savoy considered himself greatly insulted by this and complained very bitterly to Saint Chamond, who had just returned from Turin, and with Monsieur [Jean Rechigne-Voisin] de Guron, a gentleman sent by the king of France to draw him away from the new reconciliation [with Spain] by means of new offers not only of some satisfaction in regard to his new claims but also of very certain and powerful aid against the Genoese for the acquisition of the lands along the Riviera assigned to him in the treaty of Susa.[27] So the king of France, with his forces entirely occupied in the affair of La Rochelle, tried everything possible to effect an amicable agreement between the two dukes concerning the matters of Montferrat. This was regarded as the peak, so to speak, of the greatness of the duke of Savoy, when he was supplicated in his own court and idolized almost as an earthly god by the ministers of two very powerful kings, with offers containing the most advantageous conditions, to persuade him to side with one of them, as though the course of things depended entirely on him and as though the foundation and security of present affairs lay in him alone. Then the duke of Savoy seemed to experience what so often occurs in human affairs, that having arrived at the top, they later decline precipitously. Unable to rise any higher nor to remain at that peak very long because of the intrinsic mutability of things, he soon had to suffer an abasement from such exaltation, involving the loss of a great part of his state and little less than the ruin of his own affairs.

The duke of Savoy, in the midst of so many interests, feeling himself insulted by the old offenses of the French as well as by the recent duplicity of this marriage negotiation, and conscious of his own recent offenses against that king and that crown, gave no credit to the new and great offers made by the ministers of France. He believed he could place greater trust in the favor of Spain because of their common concerns and because of the advantageous agreements made in the partition of Montferrat. So he preferred an alliance with Spain to one with France. . . . But all this was most ill-advised, because this alliance was to result in great damage on both sides in spite of all intentions.

The exclusions and conclusions of these procedures left the duke of Nevers' affairs reduced in hope and in opinion. The king of France, his principal protector, could support him neither by authority nor by arms. He was thus left at the mercy of the emperor, the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy. They connived together and made efforts to chase him out of his state—the last two presently by arms, the first by juridical authority and edicts and subsequently by force and arms like the other two. And without the strong arm of the king of France, none of the allied princes who supported his cause could offer help without danger. The Italian princes were very circumspect even in declaring their support, much less in offering

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or providing arms, although the destruction of that principate would be very damaging to them, both for the example and for the consequences. Indeed, there was a danger that they might, if required, declare their opposition and give aid to the enemy campaign.

The authority of the emperor was very great and formidable at this time, after his victories against the count Palatine and his allies. Therefore, all the princes and all the free cities of Germany gave him strict obedience. This was not because of their terror of the very powerful army of more than a hundred thousand combatants that he had distributed and ready at hand in various parts of Germany, so much as because of the uninterrupted course of victories whereby the hand of God seemed marvelously evident. In all matters more formidable than any of his predecessors, there was no doubt that he would be promptly obeyed if he turned his forces upon Italy. So the pope and the Venetians, Nevers' last hopes, had to proceed very cautiously in the present affairs, which did not directly pertain to them. For the Venetians thought well to avoid reawakening by new injuries the old animosities and enmities contracted with this same emperor when they assaulted Gradisca because of the Uskoks and tried to divest him of his patrimonial states of Friuli. The pope considered breaking peace with the emperor over the new duke's succession to be bad for Christendom. The authority of the emperor grew all the greater through his recent peace with the Turks and with Transylvania and through the very favorable conditions offered him by his rebels and by the king of Denmark, their head,[28] who finally sued for peace after losing many battles and the greater part of his kingdom. So when those tumults were calmed, which were the only disturbances in Germany, the emperor, to maintain his authority in Italy and in the Empire, seemed certain to send very powerful forces following up his threats if Nevers did not obey as soon as the judicial process was finished and the imperial ban was published. Added to these considerations, which served to restrain the allied princes from making a declaration in favor of the cause of the new duke, was the question of legality itself. The emperor being the supreme lord of those states and of the new duke, and there being no other authority or jurisdiction to offer recourse, no one could or should legitimately correct or reprove any of his deliberations or judgments concerning his vassal. Nevers nonetheless believed that giving up and spontaneously abandoning the possession of the states was the worst of all evils, so he resolved to defend this to the last. He therefore set about furnishing the fortresses of Mantua and Casale as best he could, the first very strong by art and the second by nature, and remained to weather the storm, ready and prepared. And since the king of France, unable to help him, encouraged him to seek a settlement, he offered various schemes of accommodation both to the duke of Savoy and to the king of Spain, asking for the latter to receive him, like all the previous dukes, into the usual protection of his crown, professing his desire for total dependence on

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Spanish authority in all things. Furthermore, in order not to appear contumacious to the imperial decree of devolution and in order to reduce the Spaniards' fear of the citadel of Casale, he proposed to receive German garrisons, dependent on His Imperial Majesty, in all the towns and strongholds of his states and raise the imperial ensigns in all of them. Exceptions would be the city of Mantua, because it was not (as he said) a stronghold, and Casale, where instead of admitting a garrison he offered to break down the walls and bulwarks dividing the citadel from the city, thus making the combined citadel and city easier to seize. These proposals were refused, failed to slow the course of the enterprise, and were insufficient to hold up the judicial process or delay the summons for the imperial ban that had been intimated and threatened by the imperial commissioners just returned from Italy. . . . The governor of Milan and the other Spanish ministers had not yet taken any care since the death of Duke Vincenzo to prevent subject peoples or foreigners from contributing to the defense of Mantua. Therefore, many soldiers filed in from the Valtelline and from the lands of the Venetians and the Genoese. Many of the French dismissed after the duke of Savoy's reconciliation with Spain had retreated into Casale. So before the beginning of the war, the duke of Mantua found five or six thousand infantry and one thousand horse in Mantua, mostly local and partly foreign, the latter mainly French, and an estimated four thousand infantry and four hundred horse in Casale, all Montferratese except for five hundred Frenchmen who had been dismissed by the duke of Savoy and re-enrolled under Monsieur de Guron. Others entered later, after the enemy army had made camp, including the marquis of Beuvron disguised, who had come from France to serve in the war in order to be freed from exile and punishments he had incurred because of a duel a short time before. He was a gentleman of great valor and very experienced in arms. These two strongholds being fortified and strongly garrisoned, the campaign to take each one of them was expected to be long and difficult and the besiegers, few, tired, and consumed by time, by fighting and by sufferings and difficulties, or else forced by French aid or by some strange and unprecedented accident, were not expected to conclude the campaign honorably. Moreover, besides the stronghold of Casale, two others had to be seized, Nizza and Moncalvo, and two towns, Ponzone and Pontestura, the siege of which was sure to require a long time and a greater number of men because they were reasonably well provided. Many things stood in the way of the governor of Milan, who concentrated principally on Casale, and the duke of Savoy. First of all, they lacked men, since they could not find more than twenty-two hundred horse and twelve thousand infantry in the state of Milan. And two thousand of these had to be kept in Como for the necessary defense of the passes towards the Swiss Cantons and the Grey Leagues, and four thousand others, along with at least eight hundred horse, had to be kept in the Cremonese lands on the frontier of the territory of

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Mantua against that duke, who threatened to do much damage by his reinforcements, as has been said. Therefore, no more than six thousand infantry and fifteen hundred horse remained to press into the campaign. The Republic of Genoa, having declared a six-month truce with the duke of Savoy, provided him with five thousand infantry, which, in view of the truce, it seemed to have available after sufficiently furnishing the towns along the Riviera. Other levies were expected from Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, but of no great consideration. To the lack of men there was added the lack of provisions due to the great penury of the harvest that year and the lack of money due to the disordered situation produced by the king's suspension of payments, as has been said, along with the lack of credit from the bankers of Genoa and of the court itself.[29] In the absence of the main sinews of war, new levies of men could not be made and few provisions could be collected for the campaign. With so many disadvantages and such doubtful funds, the allies could not even station themselves before Casale. For this was a powerful stronghold by itself, and it was made stronger still by the very large and capacious citadel, flanked by six bulwarks with wide and deep ditches all around, entirely planned and constructed according to all the rules and terms of modern fortifications, and rightly called a royal fort. By common opinion it was the strongest of all in Italy except for Palma in Friuli. The most opportune counsel would therefore have been to defer the siege to another more convenient time. . . . But the governor, in conformity with the promises made to the court of Spain, sought to complete the campaign in the shortest time possible. . . . He trusted partly in the small quantity of munitions he was told was in the city and the intelligence he had there. But most of all he trusted in the inexperience and lack of tenacity he supposed in the mainly Montferratese defenders: raw conscripts, likely to be worried and terrified by the damage to their houses and their fields and unwilling to persevere very long in the defense if they saw their things ruined by the fury of the enemy. But the calculation proved erroneous and the plan fallacious. . . .

The Attack

The city of Casale lies on the banks of the Po in a plain on the right side where the river departs somewhat from the hills. Its shape is irregular but practically circular. Surrounding it are walls and ditches, except in the north, where the Po arrives almost at the walls and so serves as a ditch. It is defended by the citadel from the south, where the plain extends, and by the ancient castle from the west, where the hills approach within one-half mile. Everyone believed the hills ought to be taken, not only because they command the city, but because provisioning the city could thus be made difficult. With no hope of aid from anywhere but the surrounding Montferrat territory, which lies behind the hills, the hills' occupation would

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remove from the defenders the hope as well as the possibility of receiving provisions. But the governor of Milan, having almost the same number of infantry as the defenders, perhaps did not want to go too far from the plain, where his cavalry would be superior. Perhaps he was afraid that an encampment in the hills would be too far from the river that provided him with provisions and munitions, which might be intercepted if the city were placed between them. Perhaps he believed he only had to approach the city with his men in order to take it. In any case, he renounced the hill plan and kept to the plain and proceeded with his forces from Frassineto in orderly fashion toward Casale, halting just beyond the cannon-fire. There he stopped and set up camp in front of the part of the new wall called the New Wing, which juts out toward the Po from the citadel to join the old wall of the city. On the day he made camp, the soldiers inside, according to the military custom, came out in a large group on foot and on horseback and started a great skirmish until evening, showing great courage and vigor, and retreated again after being thrown back, only to come out again on the next day with the double aim of impeding as much as possible or at least retarding the enemy's fortifications and approaches, and gaining time to strengthen the fortifications at the place where they saw themselves assaulted. These efforts had some result. Defended by the artillery of the citadel firing from that quarter, they ran about comfortably as far as they could under cover, and coming to an encounter, combatted vigorously while their forces supplied aid; and hotly pursued, they retreated under protection of their cannon-fire. Continuing this way for many days, they gave their men an opportunity to fortify the New Wing, against which they saw the whole enemy advance concentrated, and they erected outside of this two demi-lunes[30] covering the new gate and two terrepleins[31] shaped like scissors to defend the city as well as the mills on the Po that provided flour further up by the old wall. But the assailants came close enough to place their batteries and set up four of them, one made up of Italians near the Capuchin church, and the others made up of Spaniards, closer to the Po. Though these began to fire furiously and ruinously, their advance was nonetheless slow, since the cannon balls only hit the highest houses and occasionally even killed some of their own men digging the trenches. Persevering for several days in this manner of operation with the effects in no way corresponding to the accepted view that the assault would be easy and the defenders would not be able to resist, they began to doubt the possibility of success and to recognize by experience that the present situation could only cause a considerable loss of effort, time and reputation. They recognized as well that more men and more provisions came from the hills every day, brought in by the Montferratese, inspired by hatred of the Spanish empire and a desire to remain under their natural prince. They came to see that trying to take the city without gaining mastery of the hills was too risky a plan.

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Now that the necessity of occupying the hills was known, the present effort had to cease and a new more convenient and profitable type of siege had to begin. Indeed, the success of the new plan was made all the more likely by the arrival of the full contingent from the Genoese state, as well as twelve hundred Neapolitans and twelve hundred Spaniards from Naples, besides seven hundred others sent from Sicily and more than four hundred from Sardinia. So that the field, more than ever before abounding in men, was now more adequate for the hill campaign. But captains characteristically abhor the appearance of having erred, and rather than correct the decisions they have already made, prefer to suffer the inconveniences that might result. The hopes the governor had given to the court about the rapidity and ease of the campaign already undertaken forbade him from starting all over again just when his promises obliged him to report a success. Forced to deceive both himself and the court, he persevered according to his first suppositions, indeed reinforced them.

Without leaving that encampment, the governor therefore decided on two new plans: one to deprive the enemy of the mills, the other to occupy Rosignano, a castle in the hills five miles from Casale, not because occupying it was particularly helpful for the hill campaign, but because it was the headquarters of the Montferratese who escorted the convoys of provisions to the city and who frequently made sorties against the Spanish cavalry billeted in various places around that area. But neither of these plans succeeded. Don Federico Enriquez, having gone with six companies of infantry and three of cavalry to snatch the castle by surprise, and having brought some petards[32] for this purpose, did not arrive until after sunrise, because of the malice of the Montferratese guide who lengthened the trip. His arrival having thus been publicized, he found the drawbridge raised and the walls supplied with defenders, so he was forced to retreat after a weak attempt, with the loss of eight men and fifteen injured including himself, who was grazed by a stone. The general, Luigi Trotto, responsible for carrying out the plan regarding the mills, was unable to advance straight ahead because of the two forts covering them. He proceeded with three thousand infantry and, under Gherardo Gambacorti, two hundred horse, into the island in the Po in front of them. After raising a battery there, they did nothing of great moment, impeded partly by a great barricade erected by the enemy over a sand bank between the battery and the mill, and partly by the flow of the water, which increased to twice its usual height and flooded most of the island, imperilling him as well as his men and drowning some. To avoid the latter danger he was forced to retreat to the other shore, and having raised another battery, he made no progress because of the distance and because the people of Casale pulled the mills somewhat further up to where they were hidden and protected from the new battery. Forced again to cut the operation short, he retreated to his first encampment.

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The duke of Savoy, meanwhile, had left Turin with four thousand infantry and twelve hundred horse and had with more luck begun to get what was his by the agreed-upon division of land. As his first enterprise, he chose the city of Alba, and arriving there without mishap, he occupied it over. No one else was there to oppose him except two companies of soldiers and a weak garrison wholly inadequate for the wide circuit of the walls. True, some of his men were killed in a light skirmish, including the count of Santa Trinità.[33] Having occupied Alba with its surrounding territory, he went on to Trino with four thousand infantry and one thousand horse. He surrounded it from the part facing Casale, the only place where it could receive reinforcements. Digging a long curved trench around it with twenty pieces of artillery divided into five separate batteries, he battered the wall, after which he dug a trench to approach the ditch[34] and capture the defense-works. The defenders did not exceed three hundred mercenaries, two hundred militiamen[35] and two companies of cavalry; and artillery and munitions amounted to nothing but three small pieces and some barrels of powder. So the duke pushed his approach trenches to the ditch, occupied a small demi-lune and then, having placed himself before a larger one opposite the gate, began to mine the latter on both sides. Finally, he threatened to set off the mine if the defenders did not surrender. Although the breach made by the battery was not great and he had other defenses of terrepleins and ditches, nonetheless, the captain of the garrison was frightened by the danger of the mines and his dwindling munitions, so he asked permission for himself and the garrison to come out with their arms and baggage and go to Casale. After these agreements, drawn up by the duke with many ambiguities, were accepted, the captain and five officers were allowed to enter Moncalvo and the soldiers were freed. But when the governor of Milan heard about the agreements, he sent several companies of horse on the road from Casale to Trino, for fear of which the retreating soldiers were unable to enter Casale.

After the occupation of these two cities, the duke of Savoy came into possession of what belonged to him according to the division agreement, because the other towns, generally weak and requiring no siege, immediately recognized him and swore him allegiance. The better to establish his acquisition, he immediately began fortifications around Trino and quickly brought them to such a peak of perfection as to make this city almost as impregnable as Casale. This was a considerable danger to the state of Milan and would have been still more if Casale was not taken. Indeed, even the acquisition of Casale would have only slightly diminished the anxiety caused by a citadel whose liberation would be so difficult. And as the fortifications violated the division agreements, the duke sought to mollify the governor by new entreaties, occupied Pontestura by agreement, and handed it over to him in the name of his king. Then he turned the whole

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power of his men and equipment to occupying Moncalvo, a town also not belonging to him by the agreement.

Such rapid successes greatly disturbed the minds of the governor and the other captains of the king of Spain, as they continued with their siege of a single city proving every day more impenetrable and elusive, unable to retreat with honor nor proceed with any advantage to the conquest of Montferrat. Already envious of the duke of Savoy's progress, their indignation increased the more they were forced to remain there useless and idle with the king's arms rendered almost accessories to the duke's, receiving from him aid and support. And because occupying the hills around Casale, which they finally saw to be practically inevitable, was a long-term proposition and would obviously demonstrate the extent of their errors so far, they decided to seek the same result by a different route—shorter, easier and more likely to enhance their reputations.

Nizza della Paglia[36] still held out for Mantua at this time and served as the chief city and bulwark of lower Montferrat; and since it was on the road from the sea, many supplies came from it through the hills into Casale. Now that Trino and Moncalvo had been occupied and the rest of upper Montferrat removed from allegiance to Mantua, cutting off aid from these to the besieged, if Nizza could be captured by Spanish arms, all of lower Montferrat would follow. And when Casale could no longer receive supplies from the hills or anywhere else, what else could it do but give up? The news of the arrival of the French increased the desirability of this choice over the hill campaign. Having nowhere else to go but Nizza on arrival in Italy, there was a danger they might fortify it and turn it into an armed camp, causing great danger also to the principal siege. For these reasons this campaign seemed more honorable in these times, more necessary and more opportune, so it was preferred to that of the hills. Four thousand infantry, mostly mercenaries under Count Giovanni Serbelloni, were immediately sent, with ten pieces of artillery, along with five hundred horse. Nizza had only Montferratese soldiers, with two sakers,[37] a pedrero[38] and limited munitions. A few days earlier, the French count of Agamonte, with some others of that nation, equally experienced in arms and in command, had arrived there from Mantua by passing through the lands of the Genoese in disguise. When they saw the enemy approaching the city, they made vigorous sorties and skirmished to prevent them from taking positions, forming batteries and fortifying themselves. They created a diversion for several days and their efforts hindered the enemy's progress, but they were insufficient to stop the enemy entirely. . . . They gave up the city after having defended it stoutly for fifteen days. Five hundred of the besiegers died; Count Serbelloni was injured by an arquebus shot[39] in the arm and thigh and Count Trotto by another, though slight, in the face. All the towns of lower Montferrat subsequently surrendered except Ponzone, which, trusting in the strength of its position, held out still for Nevers.

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At the same time, the duke of Savoy, having gone to Moncalvo, as has been said, easily occupied the town; and after assaulting the castle with mines and batteries he was able to take it after a few days. Attracted by the strength and convenience of the position, which lay between Asti and Trino, he kept it, contrary to his agreements with Spain and against the protest of the governor of Milan, who wanted it as well as Pontestura. And after installing a garrison of Piedmontese there, the duke said he would straighten things out directly with the king by giving away a few equivalent towns in exchange. The governor and the other ministers of Spain dissimulated their displeasure about the retention of Moncalvo and also the fortification of Trino. The same reason of not wishing to have the duke of Savoy against them, which had motivated them to capitulate to him when he had nothing in Montferrat, motivated them to turn a blind eye to his schemes even more now that they had made him powerful by allowing him to gain so much of that state. The fortification of Alba, Trino and Moncalvo made him even more able to defend himself and attack others. However, the news of a great number of men and arms being prepared at the French border suggested they ought not to displease him and cause him to go over to France, with whom he might form new designs endangering much more than just the Casale campaign. So they determined to retain him by offers of great sums of money and men in response to his urgent demand for aid to oppose and resist the French, who appeared to threaten him more than anyone else with bringing all the travails of war inside his state. They regarded his demands and their concessions as particularly just now. For the duke of Nevers, seeing himself almost destitute of men and money from France, which was wholly occupied before La Rochelle, had drawn funds by mortgaging his own states in France and assembled around twelve thousand infantry and fifteen hundred horse there. The king of France thereupon ordered Marshal Créqui,[40] governor of Dauphiné, to join with all the available forces of his province, which could amount to another five thousand infantry and five hundred horse. The marquis of Montenegro [Geronimo Carafa], lacking men mainly because they fled for lack of pay, asked for more to defend that frontier against the new duke. The new duke, in fact, including reinforcements, now had under his flags around eight thousand infantry and a little more than five hundred horse. With these forces, joined to those he heard the French had in Italy, he threatened to cross the state of Milan and join them in defending and liberating Casale from the siege and recovering his lost state.

These occurrences no doubt sorely troubled the minds of the governor and the ministers of Spain. Lacking men, money and credit, and committed before Casale, a city whose seizure promised to be long, hard and uncertain, they did not know where to turn to satisfy the just and necessary demands of the duke of Savoy and to confront so many imminent travails and dangers threatening Italy, and more importantly, threatening their own

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affairs. But more than any other consideration, they were troubled by suspicions about the faith and constancy of the duke of Savoy. He, having now obtained a great part of Montferrat and desiring to keep it or to advance to greater things, or desiring merely to avoid a new war in his state, might well turn his thoughts elsewhere, to the prejudice of the union recently declared with the king of Spain—especially because it was not in the interests of his own state for Casale to fall into the hands of the Spanish. They knew what private intelligence the duke of Savoy had with France, they knew how he was threatened from the one side by Nevers and what great offers were made to him on the other side by that court against the Genoese—powerful stimuli to affect any very constant bosom, not to mention that of the duke of Savoy, known by all to be desirous of new things, ardent in his vendetta against the Genoese, and naturally inclined to whatever might push his own advantage. . . .

The French Descend into Italy

The loss of La Rochelle was a great blow to the French heretics, practically crushing them and establishing the French crown on such a solid footing that there was no need to put off the Italian campaign. Accordingly, two armies were sent to help Montferrat. One was to advance via Dauphiné and Lyonnais and the other via Provence; and the king determined to march personally with the first while the second advanced toward Casale through the county of Nice and along the Genoese coastline. Neither the Spaniards nor the duke of Savoy could imagine that a king, with his kingdom still disturbed and drained of money, and with the army in tatters and fatigued by La Rochelle, might decide to cross the still snow-covered Alps in mid-winter with powerful forces and carrying provisions, artillery and munitions necessary for such a maneuver—especially, knowing that the duke of Savoy, having joined forces and intelligence with the Spaniards, would be his adversary and would offer stout resistance at those well-fortified and well-defended passes. Spain and the duke of Savoy therefore, thinking the news of great preparations would turn out to be vain rumors rather than real reports, continued the siege as usual. The lack of provisions increased their confidence. If this lack was so great an impediment to the efforts of those who were masters and peaceful possessors of the states of Milan and Piedmont, it would certainly prove a much greater hindrance to the French, if they should come into Italy and have occasion to stay there. Because of the great difficulty of transporting all the necessary provisions for feeding such an army, the more of them who crossed the Alps, the easier and more quickly they would be beaten and repulsed by hunger. This single consideration of such a necessary and inevitable result seemed likely not only to delay but to stop, at least for this year, the ardor and impetus of the

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French arms. Therefore, it was thought, the Casale campaign could succeed happily without disturbance by any foreign intervention.

The court of Spain, relying on these supposed difficulties and unwilling and unable to undertake the expense anyway, not only failed to make its own preparations for the defense but also neglected to send the help necessary for the duke of Savoy to defend Piedmont and oppose and arm himself against France. It neglected to procure a diversion through the Pyrenees or through Burgundy to keep the king of France from interfering in foreign affairs by keeping him under duress or to occupy him with domestic ones through secret aid to the French rebels. And this omission not only aided the French but also encouraged them in the present campaign. For the king, firm in his resolution, denied all the difficulties and contrary considerations and relied entirely on his steel to overcome them when necessary to open the way.

As news began to spread that the French preparations were indeed greater than those of any of the preceding kings, the Spanish and the duke of Savoy began at last to doubt not only the success of their enterprise but also of all the other things that might result from such great movements close by. The minds of the duke of Savoy and the governor of Milan were anguished also by the lack of advice from Spain, from which they had not heard in some time. And since the territory of the king of France through which the couriers usually passed was unfriendly and the seas were closed that winter, travel from Spain into Italy was very difficult. Added to this, three couriers sent from Spain were unfortunately cast upon the shores of Provence by the violence of the sea and the power of the winds, and they were held there and their letters intercepted. With their decisions depending in large part on the resolutions of the Spanish court, the duke and the governor remained uncertain about what to do in the midst of such tumultuous events. And it was not only the lack of money, food and information that prevented the proper preparations. There was also no time to make new levies of men for the necessary defense of the state of Milan, nor for the provisions for the army before Casale, and for the forces toward the territory of Cremona, which were already much diminished. The last expedient was therefore to beat the drum in the state of Milan and recruit mercenaries to be sent into the field at Casale, so the best soldiers there could be removed and transferred to the campaign against the enemy. This expedient was not entirely vain and unfruitful. Many people in those parts hoped to overcome their hunger by enrolling in the army and stuffing themselves with the bread of military rations, which although very bad, seemed desirable because of the present famine. But it was nonetheless very modest for resisting such a great tempest. Great dangers threatened that state and Piedmont. Moreover, the Venetians were heard to be massing their forces at the border of Bergamo and Brescia; and Nevers was thought to be on the point of coming out with six to eight thousand infantry and twelve

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hundred horse, at the first news about the movement of the French. The danger was that an assault on that side of the State of Milan by such forces, either united or separate, would divert the forces of the governor from opposing the French. Furthermore, there was some suspicion that the duke of Nevers might proceed into Montferrat to join the king of France, in conformity with his threats of the previous year.

These considerations forced the governor to remain in Lodi where he had gone, and make this a stronghold against the Venetians. He ordered Don Francisco Padilla, who had succeeded to the count [i.e., marquis] of Montenegro, to abandon the fort of Piadena, built the previous year in the Mantuan territory, and all the rest of the Cremonese territory, and limit himself, along with the rest of his men, to defending the city of Cremona. He also sought and obtained a contingent of a thousand infantry from the duke of Parma.[41] However, he could not use the two thousand infantry from Naples that had just arrived in Genoa in twelve galleys. He had to keep these at sea to oppose them to the French army. The latter, ready in Provence, as they said, would board those ships, which were expected at Marseille from La Rochelle, and from Marseille, passing by Nice, it would go to the coast of Genoa. There, the French soldiers would land either at Menton, a place near Monaco. They could then proceed on foot into Piedmont or by the seas nearby to Savona, opening up in those areas the shortest and easiest route to go relieve Casale. Against such formidable preparations of a powerful enemy, affairs in the state of Milan were reduced to a weak position indeed. Although coming to the aid of Piedmont in such anxious times was very difficult, the governor forced himself to take four thousand of the best infantry before Casale and send them to those parts under the command of Don Geronimo Agostini. But, worried that the Venetians, who were joined in arms with the French, might attack the state of Milan, he had to resort to the mediation of the grand duke of Tuscany[42] to entreat the Republic not to disturb the king of Spain's dominions in these difficulties.

The duke of Savoy, on his part, seeing the weakness of the defenses and reinforcements and feeling more intensely the tide that would flood his own states first and then the king of Spain's, had sent the count of Verrua and then his own son, the prince,[43] to prevent the king of France from proceeding with the army and arrange some agreement. With further planning thus suspended in the wait for the results of this expedition, he ordered Agostini and the auxiliaries of the governor to remain in the territory of Asti. The king of France, however, determined to go ahead, referred the prince of Piedmont to Cardinal Richelieu.[44] Although they discussed many forms of composition, unable to settle on anything else, they agreed to a five-day cease-fire to give the prince enough time to inform the duke. The latter, upon hearing the king's resolution, set about reinforcing the

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fortifications of Susa toward which he thought the king would march with his army.

The French well knew the difficulty of using arms and force to break the Genoese union with Spain. Thinking to take advantage of the present disagreements between the Republic and the Spanish crown, reputedly exacerbated by design, they applied their minds to providing new arguments for dissolving the union. By overtures, demonstrations of good will, and offers of favors to the Republic, they began to test the possibility of success. The king had to send a message to the princes of Italy advising them about his arrival and his purposes and intentions. He therefore sent Monsieur du Landé and commanded him, on entering Genoa, to relieve those gentlemen from fear and suspicion about his arrival, but also to promise them some help in his name against anyone oppressing their public liberty. After carrying out this command, Landé immediately continued on to Mantua and from there to Venice to inform the Venetians and the duke of Nevers about the king's arrival, promised for the 25th of March at the latest.

That day, the duke of Nevers went out on campaign and assaulted Casalmaggiore, the last Milanese stronghold between the territories of Milan and Mantua. Having occupied it, with some resistance from the locals, he put it to sack; and staying there awhile, he forced the nearby towns to make contributions. From there he went on to Sabbioneta, a very strong castle and imperial fief, but was unable to occupy it because of the strong garrison of Parmese soldiers sent by the duke of Parma there a few days before at the request of the emperor.

Meanwhile, the king of France sent precise instructions to the duke of Guise [Henry of Lorraine], deputy general of the army of Provence, and to the marquis of Coeuvres[45] his marshal and lieutenant, to march along the seashore to Italy. Then he himself went through the Alps toward Piedmont with a vanguard of ten thousand to twelve thousand infantry and two thousand horse, mostly French noblemen. After going through the Pass of Mont Genèvre, he descended into the Susa Valley on March 6th. There the duke of Savoy had erected a great barricade on the road where the king had to travel, half a mile beyond Susa, defended by General Bellone with his contingent, and, behind Bellone, the duke himself with most of his army ready, including the governor of Milan's men under Geronimo Agostini, recently summoned from the territory around Asti. The king occupied the summits of the snow-covered mountains all around and ordered some companies of infantry of the ones known as "lost children" in French, because of their profession of going to certain death, to assault the duke's barricade. They found little resistance and easily won on the first attempt because Bellone's men were new and inexperienced recruits. . . . Susa thus fell into the power of the king and was immediately occupied. His very specific command saved it from sacking and from any other sort of violence. . . .

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The duke of Savoy, unhappy with the unfortunate outcome at Susa, and contemplating the formidable tempest threatening his state and that of Milan because of the lack of provisions, decided to prevent further ruin by coming to terms rather than losing everything by a weak and hasty defense. So to placate the mind of the king of France and soften his anger, he sent his daughter-in-law the princess, who, being also the king's sister,[46] might be able to influence him by her blood relationship and by the grace and favor which she enjoyed from him. When the prince[47] was sent to join her they introduced terms for an agreement, which, after many objections by Cardinal Richelieu in the name of the king and by the prince in the name of the duke of Savoy, were stipulated in the following form. The duke of Savoy would give free passage to the French king's men whenever a need arose to come to the aid of Casale and Montferrat, supplying provisions and munitions to maintain the royal army and the garrison in Casale. Furthermore, the duke of Savoy would promise that the governor of Milan would raise the siege within four days and withdraw from Montferratese territory, liberating city and state from the garrisons of the king of Spain and giving free possession of them to the duke of Mantua. The governor would promise in the name of the king to leave the states of Mantua and Montferrat alone in the future.[48] The king of Spain was to ratify the agreement within six weeks. And the duke of Savoy would put fifteen thousand sacks of provisions in the city of Casale and return all the lands he had occupied in Montferrat, except for Trino and enough other towns to amount to fifteen thousand *scudi* of income per year, according to the terms offered to him by Nevers before the present war. In return for this, the duke of Savoy would declare himself satisfied with this and drop all other claims to Montferrat, handing the citadel of Susa and the castle of San Francesco over to the king as security on the fulfilment of the agreement. The king of France would keep garrisons of Swiss in these fortresses, promising to withdraw them and return the fortresses upon the duke of Savoy's compliance. Meanwhile, the duke of Savoy would be allowed to keep all the areas he presently occupied in Montferrat until those fortresses were returned along with the towns around Susa. The king of France would observe his promise not to attack the state of the Catholic King nor those of his allies and would receive the duke of Savoy into his protection in case of assault by any other power because of these agreements or for any other reason. In case the king of Spain refused to ratify or, after ratifying, refused to observe the provisions, the duke would join with the king of France to compel him to obedience. Besides this, yet another capitulation was stipulated, containing a league and confederation between the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, the pope, the Venetians and the duke of Nevers for the defense and quiet possession of the states of each.

When the preliminary agreement was reached, it was immediately sent to the duke of Savoy, who conferred with Geronimo Agostini and Count

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Giovanni Serbelloni, ministers of the king of Spain and of the governor, about whether to accept it. And the urgency of the present situation prevailing over the benefit and dignity of the common arms, they agreed to accept it. Not satisfied, the duke of Savoy also wanted Commendatore Giovanni Tommaso Pasero, his first secretary of state, to send it directly to the governor to find out his opinion more precisely. And the governor, likewise succumbing to the urgent necessities of the moment, although unwillingly, added his consent to the first capitulations. When these were accepted and signed by the duke, the siege was dissolved and the arms of the king of Spain were withdrawn from Montferrat. . . .

When [the duke of Savoy] went to pay his respects in person to the king of France, the king, pretending to have gone out to hunt, met him in the countryside a half-mile from Susa. And when both returned, the duke's cortège was full of the most profound expressions of reverence and submission and that of the king of honorable hospitality. The duke used all the artifices and enticements with which nature had singularly endowed him not only to placate the mind of the king but to seduce his intellect and dominate his will and inclinations. Thus many thought that the duke's dexterity and cunning had stopped the greatest force in many years to descend into Italy. The French had found Italy unprovided with any defense and might easily have overrun it, to the universal ruin of all and especially of the state of Milan, submitting it to the same very great troubles and revolutions experienced in the time of Charles VIII.[49] But the duke of Savoy found the king more benign and favorable after the struggle than obstinate and rigorous; instead of dangerous vendettas and challenges, he obtained from him honors, prizes, satisfactions and compensations. And by these accords he provided very well for himself and allowed the interests of the crown of Spain to deteriorate.

This furnished material for complaints and murmuring against the duke of Savoy not only among the princes of Italy, to whom his reconciliation with the crown of Spain was most troublesome because of the apparent conflict with the interests of the common cause, but also in the Spanish court. There, those who envied the count-duke's[50] enduring favor with the king tried to make it appear that this reconciliation, which had been favored, assisted, and finally carried out by the count-duke, was against the interest of the king and pernicious to the crown. They said that it was the duke of Savoy, who, as many conjectures attested, had prepared the way for the French descent into Italy by his secret intelligence with the court of France. . . .

The court of Spain, upon hearing the news of these events, and considering carefully the whole situation, approved of the actions of the duke of Savoy, rejected the vain rumors, and agreed to give him three sums of twenty-five thousand *scudi* each through the Genoese merchants in advance for the expenses of this present occasion. But since men are

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naturally more inclined to sinister interpretations, not even this was enough to remove the contrary impression. So most people believed that the Spanish court had dissembled according to necessity of the present occurrences rather than manifesting its true and intimate sentiment. Indeed, totally alienating the mind of the duke of Savoy by sudden demonstrations of diffidence and resentment seemed contrary to the royal interests, and those interests seemed more likely to be furthered by keeping his friendship through a show of confidence and satisfaction and through new benefits increasing his dependence upon the crown. In the midst of such a variety of opinions and uncertainty of speculations, it seems that one thing can be stated for sure: that the duke, thinking about new agreements, which he thought would soon follow through the mediation of his son the prince, demanded four thousand infantry and a certain number of horse from the governor, and in his absence, from Don Filippo Spínola, which had been agreed upon at the beginning of this war in case Piedmont were assaulted by the French army. This demand was made when the army before Casale was in greater want of men than it had ever been. He hoped that his request would not be granted, so that he might use this denial to forego friendship with Spain and abandon the cause that until then he held in common with that crown. And when, against his every expectation, Spínola promptly responded by sending the men, he was so annoyed that he not only kept them at his borders but by harsh treatment tried to make them go back. But when the negotiation to reach an agreement with the king of France fell through, the duke, seeing his counsels rendered useless by the celerity of the king, quickly recalled these troops to his defense against the French army he saw descending upon him, and by their help he made whatever defense the brevity of the time and the imminent necessity allowed. Collusion had no part in the battle of Susa. Nonetheless, the duke of Savoy's unreasonable requests to the Spanish ministers, the little gratitude he showed in seeing them granted, the preceding negotiations and the conclusions of the subsequent accords all demonstrated that he was more inclined to embrace friendship with France upon new terms than to continue the union with the Spanish crown upon the old ones. The duke can be said to have been forced to make this decision due to the dangers threatening him from all sides. And since princes customarily change their policies as they think fit, not only to face danger to their states but also to improve or enlarge the conditions of their own principalities, no one accused his counsels or actions of being ill-advised.

However, the name of the French king was celebrated and exalted to the stars generally throughout Italy by various writings and compositions. . . . When he arrived in Italy, ambassadors were sent to him from almost all the princes there. Some rejoiced with him in his successes and thanked him for having liberated them from the servitude they feared would result from the occupation of Casale. Others sought to win his benevolence so he would

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not harm them in case he raised his thoughts higher than the liberation of Casale, as many feared. Still others, particularly the Venetians, incited him, rumors said, to continue the campaign, offering to join their forces and intelligence with his against the Spanish empire, which previously vexed them by the Valtelline affair and vexed them now by this new affair of Montferrat. But very quickly the king not only liberated them all from such thoughts and suspicions but interrupted that prosperous course of fortune by immediate and unexpected deliberations. And on the last of April, he returned to France without even waiting for the affair of Montferrat to be concluded by the ratification of Spain, leaving suspended and imperfect the affairs for which he had come into Italy with so much fervor and panoply. . . .

The reasons for the king's sudden and unexpected departure were variously interpreted. . . . The French spread word that the duke of Rohan,[51] the main head of the heretics and rebels in France, seeing his affairs ruined by the loss of La Rochelle and despairing of a positive reply to his requests for aid from the penurious court of Spain, had indicated his desire to give himself up and submit to the king. And this truce, because it would put an end to the turbulence in the kingdom, was so important for the king's affairs as to merit the postponement of every other campaign and force him to hasten back to secure it. Although later events demonstrated the plausibility of this explanation, it was not believed at the time and proved insufficient to sustain the reputation of French arms. And as soon as the king left, this reputation began to decline from the formidable height reached due to his recent victory. It declined still more with the subsequent news that new tumults among the heretics fortified in the mountains of Auvergne, and not the surrender of Rohan, had caused the king to hasten back to suppress and disarm them. His sudden departure gave great occasion to believe (and this was afterwards judged to be the truest cause) that the king had come into Italy with forces much inferior than fame gave out and inadequate for new campaigns. That, it was said, was why he had decided to be satisfied with the glory he had already acquired rather than risk it in new efforts. Whichever of these was the true reason for the king's departure, it greatly diminished, as has been said, the reputation of the French arms. The Spanish on the contrary, who appeared entirely abased, began to rise again for the same reasons and because of other events in their favor. The duke of Savoy, although he openly professed to stand by the agreements of Susa, regretted the loss of the stronghold of Casale and the restitution of a considerable part of the territory he had acquired. He therefore neglected to furnish the citadel with the rest of the provisions agreed upon. Indignant at the loss of reputation due to the forcing of the Alpine pass, he sought to restore the credit he thought he deserved as the holder of the keys to Italy, able alone at will to exclude or admit the French; and to this end he used every artifice. He fomented the rebellion of the

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French heretics and, showing himself hesitant and wavering in his friendship with France, he seemed more inclined to the friendship with Spain, from which he had gained the greater part of Montferrat.

Meanwhile, the fleet arrived in Spain with more than 10 million [ducats], most of them in cash, and the king, constrained by urgent needs, kept 1 1/2 million of what belonged to individual merchants as well as what belonged directly to him.[52] This was a most certain and undoubted proof that he was totally opposed to accepting the accords of Susa and anxious to respond to the blow he had received to his reputation and to the security of his states with a new armament. The ministers in Italy seemed no less anxious than the king. The duke of Alba,[53] as soon as he heard the news about what had happened in Piedmont and about the loss and capitulation of Susa, ordered Tommaso Caracciolo to go by galley from Naples to Genoa in order to go from there to Milan, offering the governor 20,000 infantry and 2,000 horse as well as 700,000 ducats ready for his use in Naples.

The Imperial Army and the Sack of Mantua

But more than anything else, what caused amazement and marvel was the immediate resolution of the emperor. He had hitherto proceeded against the duke of Nevers more by exhortations, citations and juridical declarations than by arms and military expeditions, showing himself to be in disagreement with, if not entirely contrary to, the governor's armed action. Now, as soon as he heard about the king of France going into Italy, about the capitulations of Susa and about the contumacy of Nevers, who had belligerently entered the state of Milan with little regard for His Imperial Majesty, the lord and ruler of those states, and who had committed much violence and many acts of hostility at Casalmaggiore and in the surrounding areas, the emperor was so offended in his dignity and concerned about the violation of the rights of the Holy Roman Empire that he immediately ordered the count of Merode to go into Italy with thirty-six thousand infantry and eight thousand horse, of those who were quartered in Alsace and Tyrol under Collalto,[54] captain of the imperial forces in those parts. Merode promptly obeyed and occupied Stans and came unexpectedly to Chur and Maienfeld, the most important strongholds of the Grey Leagues, which, being wholly unprepared for such a sudden assault, were immediately forced to receive him. Then, having descended into the Val di Chiavenna and the Valtelline with the vanguard of ten thousand infantry, he approached the state of Milan, ready to proceed further on orders from the governor. The governor, however, worried about the French army and not wishing to make any changes in the agreements nor permit any new developments, forced three thousand infantry from Naples to remain in the port of Genoa and ordered the Germans to remain in Chiavenna and in the

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Valtelline until the arrival of new orders from Spain. Meanwhile, he furnished them with whatever provisions and supplies they required.

The court of Spain, much discouraged by the affairs of Susa but encouraged and reanimated by so many other fortunate events, resolved not to tolerate such an affront. Wishing neither to refuse nor to approve of the capitulations of Susa, it chose a middle way. The king declared that as soon as Susa had been returned and the French arms had restored Montferrat to its previous situation and left Italy, he would stop threatening Montferrat with his arms. The terms were hard, and besides the difficulty of execution, they deprived the king of France almost entirely of the fruits of victory. Knowing they would probably be refused, the Spanish king resolved to send to Milan a person capable of remedying the situation in Italy. He therefore replaced Gonzalo de Córdoba, with whom the court was very dissatisfied, by Marquis Spínola,[55] who was still in Madrid on private business after having arrived there from Flanders a few months before. And having given him two million, part in cash and part in very negotiable letters of credit, and conferred upon him supreme authority and the power to make war and peace, the king and court sent him as governor of Milan in order to conclude the present affairs with very honorable conditions or else to repair, by iron and arms, the past disorders and restore the affairs of the crown to their previous security and dignity. . . .

The court of Spain, entirely absorbed in the Casale affair, decided to create a diversion by assaulting the French border with Catalonia while the emperor brought an army against the French on the Lorraine side. And to this effect the court sent the duke of Feria[56] and one thousand horse and three or four thousand infantry to Barcelona with orders to enlist and assemble a larger number of infantry and proceed to Languedoc and Provence. Meanwhile, the emperor ordered the duke of Friedland,[57] his captain general, to go through Germany and prepare to enter France from that side. There was no doubt that these assaults, just as the affair of La Rochelle before, would have held the king of France back from sending reinforcements to the duke of Nevers in Italy, giving perfect freedom to the armies of the Spanish, the Germans and the duke of Savoy to complete the campaign of Montferrat and Mantua successfully.

Nonetheless, Spínola, having arrived in the state of Milan at the end of August with all this authority and considering the uncertain events of the present war, began to think about the safer course of securing peace. He saw the state of Milan, the principal basis and support for the war, exhausted, consumed, and too weak to stand under the weight of the troubles of a new war. Mantua and Casale were very strong because of the powerful fortifications afforded to the former by water and the nature of the site and to the latter by human artistry, necessitating a long, difficult and uncertain siege. Furthermore, the enterprise was hateful to all, suspected by the princes of Italy, and generally detested by the whole world. The French

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were most resolute in protecting those states and ready to come back across the Alps. Even weak forces and small battles could easily impede the achievement of what there was little hope of getting anyway, in spite of great expense and equipment. Spínola was confounded by the changing inclinations of the duke of Savoy, and considering the experience of the previous year, he could easily see that continuing to maintain ties with the duke would bring nothing else except a continuous outflow of money, indispensable for keeping the duke's friendship while the danger was still far off. This friendship, on the other hand, would be more dangerous and damaging than safe and advantageous once the danger became imminent. But more than any other consideration, what worried him was just what seemed to offer the most reason for satisfaction and consolation—namely, the German army. Although its help would be of great assistance to him in this enterprise, in the height of the fervor of a campaign, the pride, arrogance and rapacity of that naturally insatiable nation, impatient with military discipline and inclined to mutiny, could cause the gravest accidents. Worse yet, the expense of supporting it was great and the money proceeding from the royal treasury, was scarcely sufficient after such long wars. And worst of all, the Germans fought in Italy not as auxiliaries or mercenaries of Spain but as principal parties and in the name of the emperor. So, considering the emperor's authority in Italy and the superior quality, quantity and preparation of the forces, Spanish authority seemed likely to be forced to defer to imperial authority and the ambitious imperial captains seemed likely to force the Spanish to fight their way. . . .

These considerations made Spínola more inclined to peace than to war. And when Monsignor Scappi,[58] bishop of Piacenza, came in the name of the pope and Count Giacomo Mandello in the name of Nevers, Spínola offered some suggestions for a settlement, promising the investiture of Nevers in those states upon condition that he would receive and quarter part of the imperial army in Mantuan territory and part of the Spanish one in Montferratese territory as a sign of respect towards the two sovereigns. Nevers' past contumacy having been expiated by this public act of submission, the emperor and the king of Spain could receive and satisfy him, the emperor by the investiture and the king of Spain by the requested protection. The duke of Nevers refused the offer. Perhaps he feared the plan would not work. Perhaps he had enough confidence in the arms of France and the other princes allied to his cause, on whose judgments he claimed entirely to depend. He replied that he could make no decision without first candidly informing and receiving a reply from the French and the Venetian Senate. The Venetians, who hated the idea of having the German army close to their borders, counselled him to refuse.

While the answer from France was delayed, the Germans could not find any provisions in the sterile Rhaetian Alps. So Spínola had no choice but to go against his most profound conviction and allow them to come down into

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Italy. Accordingly, down came 22,000 infantry, along with 3,500 horse, under the command of Rambaldo of the counts Collalto of Friuli, general of the Imperial army in Italy, a great authority widely esteemed because of his long experience in the wars of Germany and Hungary. They came down through the Val di Chiavenna, and from there they arrived at Lecco by way of Lake Como. Then they went into the Cremonese territory, causing damage in Piedmont and Lombardy by cruelty, rapine, sacking and contributions, as well as causing tearful and deadly havoc throughout Italy by the pestilence they brought with them. This deadly contagion spread like wildfire throughout the whole of Lombardy and Piedmont, then through the lands of Venice and Romagna, passing on to the city of Venice and down to Tuscany, bringing such destruction in its wake to men and arms that certainly not half of the inhabitants of those provinces went untouched. Collalto came into Italy and was very honorably received by Spínola in Milan. After a long discussion they decided to divide the armies and campaigns in this fashion: Collalto and the Germans would take Mantua, while the Spaniards and their king would be responsible for Casale and the territory of Montferrat. Thus they divided their planning, their responsibilities and the administration of the war, each proceeding to the part that pertained to him. Meanwhile, the king of France, having agreed to collaborate with the Venetians in protecting the duke of Nevers, left them with the defense of the state of Mantua and took up the defense of Montferrat himself.

Spínola's army, after the dismissal of many captains and officers, amounted to sixteen thousand infantry and four thousand horse, including Spaniards, Germans, Neapolitans and Lombards, all under their own generals, including the duke of Lerma, grandson of Philip III's favorite,[59] who had come to practice the principles of warfare under Spínola. And to begin his campaign against Montferrat, Spínola ordered his son Filippospinola, general of the cavalry of the Milanese state, to go to Valenza on the Po river with part of his army, which was distributed in several towns on the border with Montferrat. He revealed that he would go to besiege Casale. When the French heard this, they abandoned the towns of Montferrat and ran to defend the main stronghold. Filippo took advantage of this opportunity to send his lieutenant general Don Ferrante di Guevara beyond the Tanaro river with four thousand infantry; and they brought Nizza, Acqui, Ponzone and all the towns nearby back into Spanish hands. . . . Nonetheless, Spínola, in spite of all his preparations, did not go straight on to besiege Casale, partly because of the rapidly approaching cold season and partly because of the consideration that if the French applied all their arms to defending the city, the struggle would damage the peace negotiations he so greatly desired. Furthermore, the duke of Savoy disliked the idea of that stronghold going to Spain; or else, he was angered by Spínola's haughty behavior and wanted to requite him by opposing his plan

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and thwarting his campaign; or else he hoped to gain more room to maneuver by selling to a higher bidder his services in occupying that stronghold. Therefore, he began to protest that the recent pacts of Susa forced him to allow free passage and provisions to the French on their way to relieve the city. Spínola was satisfied with the towns already occupied, with having managed to reenter the Montferratese territory in spite of the pacts of Susa, and with having taken back, in spite of France, the towns that his predecessor had been forced to abandon at the first appearance of the French king in Italy. So he distributed his men to occupy the towns and had them winter idly in them for the whole season.

The imperial army made more progress in Mantuan territory, where the duke of Nevers, thinking less about the defense of his city than about the towns of his state, had upon bad advice distributed throughout them most of the men who would have made up a sufficient garrison for Mantua. So the imperial army under Matthias Galas and Aldringen[60] (in place of Collalto, who was indisposed at Lodi and could not continue the trip) crossed the Oglio river and occupied Volongo, the first town of Mantuan territory. Then it turned suddenly toward Canneto, a larger town, defended by Angelo Cornaro, a Venetian gentleman, with two thousand infantry including a company of Venetians and some other gentlemen. The town's large garrison, the duke of Nevers hoped, would hold back the enemy. But contrary to expectation, it surrendered without a struggle as soon as the first waves of troops arrived. And as usually happens, its example was followed by the surrounding towns of Gazzuolo, Cicognara and Governolo, which lie at the mouth of the Mincio where it falls into the Po. After seizing most of this territory and sacking it thanks to the indolence of the Mantuan soldiers, the Germans quickly approached Mantua itself. . . .

The imperial army remained idly guarding the circumference of the city for almost the whole winter, preventing provisions and munitions from getting inside. But the arrival of spring gave occasion for new advances and new opportunities to afflict the besieged, reducing them to the direst straits. . . . The defenders of Mantua were beaten down by these misfortunes and by the pestilence that had cost many of the duke's best men. They suffered the effects of the siege, which though only a loose blockade, was conducted diligently and was reducing the city daily to greater difficulties. They thus began to fear for their safety. The same thoughts began to penetrate the minds of those to whom the loss of the city would have been equally annoying and damaging. The Venetians, who ought to have been more directly involved in defending it than anyone else, had at first pledged their help with great demonstrations and offers to employ all their forces to defend it. But what they sent up to that point had been scarce and insufficient. Various opinions were formed concerning their intentions. Some blamed the scarcity of their aid on the difficulty of transportation, others on their natural parsimony, and still others on their

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unwillingness to declare themselves openly against the emperor, whose good fortune and success worried them considerably and troubled their resolutions—with good reason; and still others blamed a more occult and insidious purpose of forcing the duke, if he could not hold on to Mantua, to choose between giving it to them and handing it over to the enemy. The duke of Nevers complained about all this, and so did the French resident in Venice, saying if the Republic continued to behave so coolly, the king would do likewise, since the affairs of Italy mattered far less to him than they did to Venice, so that he might well leave Casale and Montferrat to the power and greed of Spain. The Republic finally responded either to these protests or else to the possible consequences to its own interests of Nevers' loss of Mantua, and decided to contribute more to the defense. . . .

But unexpected disorders made Mantua's fortunes even more grim. Hunger, pestilence and infighting among the military reduced the defenders to such a small number that they could not guard the full circuit of the walls. The duke of Nevers was on bad terms with the Venetian representative. The duke made many demands, but the representative misrepresented his needs as being smaller than they were, whereupon the Venetians supplied such meager aid that Nevers was forced to reduce the defense. This change did not go unnoticed among the Germans, who, waiting for the right opportunity, devoted themselves to finding ways to take the badly guarded and insufficiently provisioned city by surprise. They succeeded. They had six boats brought by cart from Casalmaggiore in the state of Milan to San Giorgio, and launched them onto the lake. Just before sunrise they loaded them with around eighty soldiers and sent them to the gate of the castle at the San Giorgio bridge, where the defenders had put only a very small guard because of the apparent safety afforded by the water. While another very violent assault was being made on the opposite side of the city, the soldiers in the boats were able to affix a petard to the badly guarded and undefended gate and so blow it down. While these soldiers occupied and fortified this position, the others put boards across the San Giorgio bridge that had been cut in half, as has been said; and the German cavalry passed along this through the gate just opened and occupied the city without any further encounter, struggle or resistance of any kind, all the defenders having run to defend against the assault at the opposite Pradella gate. The ducal palace, close to that gate, was immediately occupied. Once it had been as rich with jewels and precious furnishings as any of the other Italian princes', but it had already lost its most precious objects through years of continuous warfare. Its remaining contents, along with the rest of the city, were sacked. The princes tried to withdraw into the Porto fortress, where the princess Maria was forced to retire with her child. The assault on Pradella lasted until the fourteenth hour,[61] when the defenders got wind of the entry of the Germans on the opposite side and gave up. They were pursued by the assailants as far as the church of Sant'Agnese, and those of

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them who could retreated into the Porto fortress. There the defenders erected some fortifications on the side from which they anticipated an attack—namely, that facing the city they saw about to be lost. Lacking better advice and low on provisions, tired, broken and their souls crushed by misery and unhappiness, they listened willingly to the articles of agreement proposed by the Germans, who were anxious to complete the enterprise. After these articles were agreed upon, the fort was handed over to the imperial forces. The duke, his son and a few companions including the marquis of Coeuvres, who had continuously remained in Mantua as minister of the king of France, emerged with some companies of horse and retreated to Ferrara in fulfillment of the surrender agreements.

In the miserable sacking that followed, harshness, cruelty, greed, and military licentiousness had wide field for expression. I will omit a detailed account of the monstrosities committed and the execrable examples offered by the soldiers and the miserable afflictions suffered by the Mantuans, as providing material more fit for tragic poetry than for historical narrative. The spectacle of such a city falling to the besieger in under a year, in spite of the reputation for impregnability that the experience of so many centuries had tested beyond doubt (since there is no memory if its ever having been forcibly entered before), will forever be regarded as miserable and worthy of much compassion and consideration. The princes of Italy, who nonetheless contributed little or nothing to defend it, now sorely felt its loss because of the multitude of foreign nations that had set foot in Italy. The Spaniards were no less affected by Mantua's fall because of the competition for authority and superiority that now began for it. Even though they had contributed much effort and expense to bringing it about, the outcome now became hateful to them. . . .

The Peace

In the midst of these preparations there arrived the news of the Peace of Regensburg between the emperor and the ministers of the king of France, in which many things were agreed, and what pertained to the affairs of Italy was in substance the following. The duke of Nevers, after due obeisance to the emperor, would receive the investiture and possession of the two duchies and be received again into the emperor's protection. Furthermore, all hostilities in Italy would have to cease as soon as news of the peace arrived. The duke of Savoy would get Trino along with enough towns of the territory of Montferrat to make up a total of eighteen thousand scudi a year in revenue. With this the emperor sought to improve upon the Treaty of Susa, either to show his displeasure with its having been concluded without his consent, or else to pay the duke back for the effort made and the damage suffered while remaining faithful to the Empire in the present war. The duke of Guastalla [Ferrante Gonzaga] would receive enough towns in the

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territory of Mantua to make up six thousand scudi. The duchess of Lorraine would receive whatever the judges should decide within a certain time. The Germans, keeping a garrison in Mantua and the fortresses and the town of Canneto, would leave Italy. The Spaniards would abandon the siege of Casale and withdraw from Piedmont into the state of Milan. And the French would return back over the Alps, leaving the cities of Piedmont and Montferrat, except for Pinerolo, Bricherasio, Susa and Avigliana. The duke of Savoy would withdraw with his men into Piedmont, keeping Trino. Casale would be returned, with all its fortresses and the cities of Montferrat except for those assigned to the duke of Savoy. The duke of Nevers would be allowed to furnish his strongholds with garrisons in his employ, as his ancestors had done. These things having been accomplished, the emperor would then give the city and fortress of Mantua along with the city of Canneto to the new duke, and at the same time the king of France would return to the duke of Savoy the four strongholds he had kept in Piedmont—demolishing, however, the new fortifications that had been constructed after their occupation. All this having been done, the emperor would abandon all the cities and positions he occupied in the Grey Leagues, including the Valtelline, demolishing the fortifications there with the understanding that they should not be occupied by anyone. The pope would receive hostages from the emperor and the king of France to secure the execution and observance of the agreements.

Such were in substance the conditions of the Peace of Regensburg as far as the affairs of Italy were concerned. . . .

13. Alessandro Giraffi, *The Neapolitan Revolution*

The various elements of Neapolitan society coexisted in a delicate equilibrium created by contests and compromises across two centuries.[1] A closed urban patriciate deriving its wealth chiefly from vast estates in the surrounding countryside constituted the five ward assemblies or Seggi (Nido, Capuana, Montagna, Porto and Portanova) that each sent a representative to the city council or Eletti, which held most political power in the city in spite of efforts by the viceroys to keep control. Represented by the sixth eletto, who from 1548 was supposed to be the viceroy's appointee, was the Seggio of the rest of the people. The people included a growing cohort of professional lawyers and administrators staffing the government offices and tribunals, as well as all the merchants, artisans and members of the guilds. Not represented at all were the immigrants who poured in from the vast surrounding countryside, fleeing high rent and low wages to seek exemption from hearth taxes, charitable handouts and a guaranteed supply of cheap food. In the 1630s and 40s, viceroys Manuel de Acevedo y Zúñiga, count of Monterrey (1631-7), Ramiro Pérez de

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Guzmán, duke of Medina de Las Torres (1637-44), and Rodrigo Ponce de León, duke of Arcos (1646-8) changed government finances in the following way, upsetting the equilibrium hitherto maintained by successful provisioning policies as well as by the broad base of public interest coming from widespread popular buying into the public funds and the wide distribution of minor government offices. Pressed by royal requirements for the last costly stages of the Thirty Years' War, they asked and received approval from the Eletti for a new subsidy from the city far beyond any previously agreed upon. And to collect this sum, they created over twenty-six new indirect taxes on items ranging from the consumption of flour and the sale of salt in Naples to oil and silk exports, and then they leased these new gabelles at low rents to a cadre of wealthy tax farmers. These new indirect taxes caused exports to decline. Furthermore, in the face of the rapid increase in the public debt and tax burden, combined with several government defaults on interest payments to state investors, the value of the currency collapsed. Small investors were wiped out. Charitable institutions like the Hospital of the Santissima Annunziata, which depended on the state funds, were unable to care for the needs of the considerable populations of the destitute. To prevent the collapse of credit, the government was forced to divert cash to the largest bondholders and away from the grain provisioning system. So when famine finally hit again in 1647 only the slightest incitement was needed to set in motion the standard type of social, economic and political expression in the early modern period: a revolt. Some inspiration no doubt came from the recent revolt of Palermo, not to mention the other places in the Spanish area of influence—Catalonia, Portugal, the Netherlands. Into the boiling cauldron of sometimes contrasting motives and ambitions there were also various previous experiences of rebellion against Spanish rule in Naples as recent as 1620. And what began as a contention against gabelles very quickly developed into a contention about power (although not always of the sort one might expect[2]). Of the more than twenty accounts that survive, that of an obscure scholar named Alessandro Giraffi is perhaps the most eloquent, both as an eyewitness testimony and as a miniature masterpiece of humanist historical writing on the model of Sallust's *Conspiracy of Catiline*, but following the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century trend of including documentary evidence to buttress arguments. After the first ten days recorded by Giraffi, the revolt evolved into a noble *fronde* supported by France, and, in the countryside, an anti-noble Jacquerie spreading from Bari to Catanzaro, from Trani to Basilicata to Chieti to L'Aquila, Cosenza, Pescara, and Terra d'Otranto.[3] After the Spanish troops finally restored order and Viceroy Iñigo Vélez de Guevara y Tassís, count of Oñate, had a few ringleaders executed, the government agreed to suppress the gabelles; but the question of equal votes in the Eletti for nobles and people was sent to a committee.

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Preface

. . . Last year, 1646, Naples, because of its constant affection towards its king[4] and desire to present him with a new subsidy, regardless of the enfeebled state into which it had been depressed by its own faithfulness and forced service and lacking other means to carry out its plan, put a new gabel on all sorts of fruit, dry as well as green, even lupins and white and red mulberries, thereby depriving itself of its ordinary nutriment. After seven continuous months of this diet, the city finally fell down flat upon the ground because of sheer weakness. Sensing its own deplorable state and that of the whole kingdom, it finally made a new resolution to get rid not only of this, but of all other unbearable exactions hitherto imposed. And this resolution was not unfounded. For nature has clearly instilled in all men a detestation of slavery; so they are unwilling to put their necks into the yoke of a master—especially when the exorbitant exactions imposed reduce them to the utmost gesture of despair. . . .

Hence it came to pass that in the royal city of Naples and its dependent suburbs a multitude of the common people, much burdened by the gabels and especially unable to tolerate any longer that upon fruit, made the situation known on several occasions to the Most Excellent Lord, the duke of Arcos, viceroy of that kingdom. He heard the public cries and lamentations of all the women, children and men of Lavinaio and other popular areas as he passed through Piazza del Mercato to go to the church of the Carmelites . . . for his devotions to the most holy Virgin of the Carmine. Even the archbishop, Most Eminent Cardinal [Ascanio] Filomarino and others petitioned him to remove the said gabel. At last, on a Saturday, as his excellency went to the said church, he heard people whispering words that were almost threatening and that presaged the riots later to come; and he promised to remove the gabel. He returned to the palace in such fear that, from then on, not only did he avoid the church of the Carmine, but he prohibited the usual celebration of the solemn feast of St. John the Baptist, in order to prevent such a multitude of people as there are in Naples from assembling in one place.

In the meantime, the people got more and more impatient and kept grumbling about the delay in the concession of the promised favor until one night they set fire to the toll house in Piazza del Mercato, where the said gabel was collected (this has been said to have actually occurred twice). And from time to time very vicious invectives, full of popular grievances and of fiery protests against the public officers, were posted in the most public places of the city.

Boldness and also envy increased with the news of the success of the revolution of Palermo and most of Sicily except for Messina.[5] There, the people had obtained tax relief by force of arms from the viceroy of that

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kingdom, the Most Excellent Lord the marquis of Los Vélez,[6] who afterwards granted a general pardon for all excesses, including the liberation of the prisons, the murders, the thefts, the armed bands in the countryside, and all other offences including the latest: the flight of said prisoners at the time of the revolution. And these two decrees circulated everywhere. . . .[7]

The people of Naples, allured and encouraged by the example of the neighboring kingdom, grew very anxious to attain the same goal, saying, "What? Are we less than Palermo? Are not our people, if they unite, more formidable and combative than them? Have we not more reason to act, being more burdened and oppressed? On, on to arms! Resolution is the key. Time is precious. The enterprise must not be delayed. He who is supposed to help us hears our complaints and pays no attention to them, has made us a promise and is not keeping it." These and similar complaints, made in secret meetings, were by now public. The viceroy, prudently seeking to prevent mischief, assembled the six districts or Seggi of the city, that is, the five noble ones and the sixth of the people, to devise some way of removing the tax on fruit. Although everyone had an interest in finding a way to satisfy the people, many of them were also likely to suffer some harm from such a measure; so taking care of this affair was no easy thing. Indeed, to dissuade the viceroy from keeping his promise to the people in order to gratify him or else, as is more likely, for their own private interest, they persuaded him that the grumbling only came from a few vagabonds whom he ought to ignore while going ahead just as before. They convinced him to have the burned-down toll house rebuilt, which he did, but with the intention of finding a compromise that would satisfy the tumultuous people as well as the Neapolitan nobles, gentry, and merchants, who had already advanced more than six hundred thousand ducats toward the one million ducat cost of the gabel, which yielded 85,000 ducats in annual revenue.

There were rumors around that this compromise would entail introducing a new gabel to add to the already unbearable ones on flour and wine. The enraged people protested that they would never give way, reiterating their demands to have the gabel upon fruit completely removed and not replaced by another. With matters standing thus, an unexpected occasion suddenly presented itself on July 7th of this year, 1647, allowing complete satisfaction of these demands. I shall clearly describe from day to day what happened at the time of this revolution, with as much fidelity and truth as any pen can possibly promise on this subject.

The First Day: Sunday July 7th, 1647

A young man about twenty-four years of age happened to be in the neighborhood of Piazza del Mercato in Naples. He was married and was lively and droll in appearance, of medium height, with dark eyes, on the lean side, with long blond hair and a moustache. He wore a shirt and canvas

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trousers, a sailor's cap and no shoes. Yet he had a handsome face and was bold and enterprising, as the following events proved. His profession was to fish with a rod and a hook, as well as to buy fish, and to carry and resell them to certain people who lived in his neighborhood. In Naples, such men are called fish mongers. His name was Tomaso Aniello of Amalfi, but in the Neapolitan dialect he was commonly called by the contraction Masaniello, which is the name we will use. He lived in a house in Piazza del Mercato; and under the window of his house, towards the left of a fountain nearby, were the arms and name of Charles V, very ancient, which might be called a mysterious presage that he would, as he later frequently observed in jest, renew and restore the privileges which that victorious and naturally kind monarch had granted to the city and people of Naples. And by another remarkable coincidence, about a hundred years before, in the month of May, 1547, during the government of Don Pedro de Toledo[8]. . . . on account of [Charles V's] plan to introduce the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition,[9] another Masaniello, a Sorrentine bandit leader, headed that tumult. But since the nobility joined the people that time, it was brief and not very damaging. Indeed, if such union had existed in the present uprising, ruin and slaughter would not have befallen both the king and his subjects or at least would not have lasted so long. For what greater malady can there be in a city than disunion between its inhabitants? . . . Disunion among the citizens does to cities and kingdoms what a continuous fever does to the body. A city is like a ship, and factions are like breaches and holes through which water leaks in and sinks it with all its cargo while the mariners are busy fighting each other. The wise helmsman who governs ought to stop the leaks and patch up the breaches caused by factions and man the tiller himself without ever trusting it to anybody else, and especially not to factious and self-interested individuals, thus remaining lord and master of the vessel.

This shrewd Masaniello, having taken good account of the situation, seized the following occasion. Four days before the holy festival of *Corpus Domini*, while he was walking towards his house with an angry expression on his face, he passed a church where a famous bandit captain named [Domenico] Perrone had fled for refuge with a companion. When they asked him, as he passed, what the matter was, he answered in great wrath, "Damn me if I do not attempt to set this city right!" They laughed at his words, saying, "A proper person you are to set the city of Naples right!" Masaniello replied, "Do not laugh; I swear to God, if I had two or three who felt the way I do, you would see." "What would you do?" they asked. He answered, "Will you join me?" "Why not," they said. "Pledge me your word," replied Masaniello, "and we shall see what we have to do." They did and he left.

Masaniello was in this angry mood because he had not paid the gabel and his fish had been confiscated by the court.[10] He immediately thought of

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taking advantage of the people's discontentment about the the gabel on fruit. After leaving Perrone, he went running up and down the fruit-shops in all those neighborhoods, telling them to show up all together the following day at the market [Piazza del Mercato], in the usual place where the gabel was collected, and there declare they would not buy any fruit until the gabel was removed.

In the meantime, while the news spread throughout the shops, Eletto Andrea Naclerio,[11] who had been chosen that very day, went to Piazza del Mercato, where the fruit was about to be distributed to the shop-keepers as usual. They all cried out to him that they would not pay the gabel. He insisted that they should pay it, but seeing that they were of one mind, he found a way out by paying it himself and promised that it would soon be removed. This promise temporarily stilled the tumult; and Masaniello, seeing he could do nothing, went around shouting, "Away with the gabel," words which caused some to laugh at him and others to reflect.

About this time Masaniello addressed a great number of youths gathered in Piazza del Mercato and told them, "Say as I do: two *tornesi*, that is a *baiocco*, for a measure of oil, thirty-six ounces the *palata* of bread, twenty-two *grana* for a *rotolo* of cheese, six *grana* for beef, seven *grana* for young cow, nine *grana* for veal, four *grana* for Greek [wine], two *grana* for a pint of wine."[12] He made them repeat these words various times; after learning and memorizing them, they went around Naples repeating them, even in the face of the viceroy (and indeed, the going prices for these things are as Masaniello taught). He gave them also another lesson, instructing them to say as he did: "Glory to God! Long live the Virgin of the Carmine! Long live the Holy Father! Long live the king of Spain! Grant the promised favor! Death to bad government!" When Masaniello taught these and similar teachings, many laughed and jeered at the teacher, thinking he was foolish or crazy. But he told them: "You laugh at me now, but you shall soon see what Masaniello can do. Leave it to me and if I do not free you from such oppression, let me be held in eternal infamy." This increased their immoderate laughter, but he still kept pursuing his end. He enrolled over five hundred youths between the ages of seventeen and eighteen, and the number rapidly rose to some two thousand. He was thus able to muster not just a company but a whole regiment devoted, he said, to the Virgin of the Carmine, whose feast day was imminent, and he made himself commander of his troops and gave each youth a little cane as a weapon.

On Sunday, the 7th of July, the feast of Santa Maria della Grazia was to be celebrated. Ordinarily, all the youths and common people around Piazza del Mercato would join with the plebeian masses in the neighboring quarters in building a wooden tower; then they would divide into two groups, one to batter it with sticks and fruit, and the other to defend it. Because of this feast, many of these lowly plebeians were around just at the time of day when the fruit was usually brought to the place where the gabel was exacted

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in order that these youths might scramble to pick up the extra pieces that fall to the ground. But there was no fruit to be seen, for the shopkeepers in Piazza del Mercato had mutinied and had all agreed not to buy any of the fruit that had come in, as always, from many different places, in order to avoid paying the gabel that they had paid up to that time. The shopkeepers told the fruit wholesalers to pay the gabel themselves if they wanted to sell any fruit. The wholesalers refused to do this, as being very strange and detrimental to their interests, and soon the two groups of fruit vendors and wholesalers passed from words to deeds. As a consequence, there was no fresh fruit to be had except for a few pieces left over from the day before, and people were in turmoil. These facts were immediately reported to Zufia, the Food Provisioner[13] of the city, who ordered the people's representative Naclerio to rush to Piazza del Mercato to see if he could stop the tumult. Naclerio went accordingly, but his attempts to settle the argument were unsuccessful because both the fruit wholesalers and the vendors were very stubborn in their determination not to give in. In order not to displease the plebeians and the vendors and therefore the whole populace, he pronounced against the fruit wholesalers, who were from out of town, mostly from the city of Pozzuoli, and he reviled them and threatened to have them thrashed and condemned to the galleys. Among these men from Pozzuoli there was Masaniello's brother-in-law, who, according to the lessons taught to him, began to make an uproar to incite the plebeians. Seeing in fact that the shopkeepers wanted to buy his fruit at such a low price that nothing would be left after paying the gabel, not even to cover transportation costs, he flew into a rage, overturned two great baskets of fruit and said: "God gives us plenty and the bad government gives us a famine; and since I do not have anything to gain one way or the other, let people help themselves." With that the boys ran to gather the fruit and Masaniello, who was just waiting for this, started shouting: "No gabel, no gabel." Naclerio continued his threats of floggings and galleys until the fruit merchants as well as the plebeians present grew so angry that they started pelting him with figs, apples and other fruit with great fury. Masaniello, considering this treatment to be too lenient, hit him in the chest with a stone and encouraged his militia of youths to humiliate him and put him to flight by pelting him with a large number of other stones. If Naclerio had not gotten into a carriage and escaped towards the church of the Virgin of the Carmine, where in the marina he boarded a felucca and escaped to safety towards the palace, he would have been killed and torn to pieces by the wrathful people.

After this success the people flocked in greater numbers to Piazza del Mercato and nearby places and began to complain loudly against the intolerable gabels, crying out: "Long live the king of Spain, and death to bad government." Masaniello, followed by a multitude of youths armed with canes as well as sticks, pikes, measuring rods, poles and other pieces of wood taken from the tower of the church of the Virgin of the Carmine,

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jumped on the highest table of the fruit wholesalers and cried with a loud voice: "Rejoice, dear companions and brothers. Give thanks to God and the glorious Virgin of the Carmine because the hour of our redemption has arrived. This poor barefooted fellow, like Moses, who freed the Israelites from the Pharaoh's rod, will free you from all gabels that were at first imposed for a limited period of time and then made permanent by sheer greed. Peter, a fisherman, by his words, brought Rome, and thus the world, from Satan's slavery to Christ's freedom; now another fisherman, Masaniello, will free Naples and thus the whole kingdom, from the tyranny of the gabels. Henceforth you will shake from your necks the intolerable yoke of the many taxes that have hitherto burdened you. And I do not care if I am later torn to pieces and dragged around all over Naples. Let all the blood in my body come out of my veins; let this head be cut off from my shoulders by a sharp sword and be perched on a pole in the middle of this square for starting this rebellion. I will die happy and proud of gaining this distinction and honor because there is no more glorious pursuit for which to sacrifice one's blood and life than the honor of one's country." By repeating several times these and similar words, he inflamed the already excited minds of the people and filled them with eagerness to cooperate with him on this enterprise. The tax house, which was situated in Piazza del Mercato, was set on fire and burned to the ground, and along with it, the accounts, the registers, the furniture and all the things that the tax collectors had there.

After doing this, Masaniello continued on as the crowd of common people behind him became larger and larger, and people closed their shops and shut their houses, observing this sudden event in astonishment, as though it were a dream rather than a reality. Since many thousands of people had gathered, they were sent to other neighborhoods of the city, where there were other depositories for the gabels on fruit, flour, meat, fish, salt, wine, oil, cheese, silk and all other edible or wearable commodities, and not one of them was spared. All the records and the double-entry books pertaining to the said gabels, as well as all the things belonging to the tax farmers[14] and to anyone else with objects left in pawn, including tapestries, chairs, weapons, silver, other pieces of furniture and great quantities of money, were thrown into a great fire lit with straw, seats and benches from the tax houses and burnt to ashes in the streets and nearby squares. One remarkable thing that was observed in the unfolding of these events was that during the plundering of all the mentioned objects and money, no one dared to pocket anything, but everything was thrown into the fire, which they said was the quintessence of their blood; and they wanted none of these things preserved but all destroyed by the flames. And the people got bolder and bolder and more and more daring because they found no resistance and because their ranks kept swelling. When they numbered over ten thousand, they set out towards the palace of the viceroy, many of them holding staves and pikes on top of which were speared loaves

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of bread, which were being sold at the reduced weight of scarcely twenty-two ounces,[15] and they all cried out: "Long live the king of Spain and abundance and death to bad government." Masaniello's prime militia consisting of two thousand youths, each raising his cane with a piece of black rag tied to the top, went around saying, with voices so plaintive and loud that they moved many to compassion and tears, "Pity these souls in Purgatory seeking relief from the burden of so many impositions they can no longer endure. Dear brothers and sisters, cooperate with us in this necessary enterprise because its successful outcome will benefit everybody." Passing from one street to another with such doleful sounds, they finally reached the prison of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli and broke in, freeing all the prisoners and taking them along.

Once they arrived before the palace and under the window of the viceroy, all these people began to cry out that they wanted to be freed not only of the fruit gabel, but also of all the others, especially the one on flour. The viceroy, hearing the tumult, came out on the balcony and said he would be happy to take off the gabel on fruit and part of the one on flour. But the dissatisfied people continued to bawl that they would not be relieved in part and that they wanted the whole taken off, crying out: "Long live the king of Spain and death to bad government." When many of them showed their intention of going upstairs to his rooms to let him know their demands in greater detail, His Excellency commanded the German and Spanish guards to let them pass freely without offering any resistance. But some soldiers who did not hear his orders did not obey him and tried to stop a few hundred people who wanted to get into the palace. Armed only with canes, staves and clubs (incredible but true!), these people demanded with deafening cries to meet with the viceroy, who was nowhere to be seen, and drove the German and Spanish guards away from the gate and into full flight towards the military quarters by their curses. With no further obstacles in their way, the people then entered the palace, and when they reached the door to the hall and found it closed, they easily opened it and entered without any difficulty. When they tried then to enter the first chamber they met with some resistance by German guards protecting the door with halberds and also by some Spanish guards strongly endeavoring to keep them at bay, but all in vain; the guards were overwhelmed and forced to give way by the people's incessant charges, especially after the Germans had been relieved of their halberds and the Spaniards of their weapons.

The people proceeded at their leisure and had no trouble entering all the rooms in the palace by bashing in the closed doors, until they came to the last chamber where the viceroy was hiding in a closet. They found the door of the closet double-bolted and tried to open it by force of halberds and other instruments. Furiously piercing a section in the middle of the door with the point of a halberd, they made a breach; and they would have killed

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the viceroy just behind if the duke of Castel di Sangro, Don Ferrante Caracciolo, had not pushed him aside and thus saved him from the mortal blow. The viceroy and some gentlemen who were with him in the closet realized it was no longer safe for him to stay in there and thought it would be better for him to retire to the castle,[16] where the vicereine had withdrawn shortly before with her ladies, the children, and other relatives. When he found out that the ladies had had the drawbridge taken up, he decided to escape to the nearby church of San Luigi of the fathers of St. Francis of Paola,[17] but first he appeared at one of the windows of the palace overlooking the open area where most of the people were gathered, and to let them know he was willing to satisfy them he threw down some notes signed by him bearing the royal seal and removing the gabel on fruit and part of that on flour. But the people were not satisfied at all, and they indicated with their hands and cried aloud that he must come down and speak with them face to face. This the viceroy decided to do, so there would be no doubt in their minds that they would obtain satisfaction. In the meantime, the people who had remained in the palace ran up and down with great fury. They sacked all the rooms and out of the windows they threw chairs, benches, tables, shutters, glass panes, doors, coffers, door curtains and everything they found, yet they would not enter or touch (an incredible act of respect in the midst of such a tumult) the apartment of the Most Eminent Cardinal Trivulzio,[18] who dwelt in the same palace.

The viceroy came down, jumped into a coach with two horses intending to go to the above-mentioned church of San Luigi, but no sooner did he get into the coach than the people, realizing what was happening, stopped the coach, opened the door brandishing two naked swords to scare him into taking off the gabels that had become intolerable to everyone. And they spoke so effectively and with such insolence that the viceroy, fearing for his life, promised to do what they wanted as long as they calmed down. But some more hot-headed individuals came along and made him come out of the coach in order for all the people to see and hear him. As soon as he came out he was surrounded. Although some showed him a certain respect by kissing either his hand or his knee, they were unanimous in their loud requests: "Most excellent sir, for the love of God free us of these gabels. No more burdens. Let us live." He confirmed that their request had been granted while contemplating ways to get away from them because he felt unsafe among such a rowdy and impetuous crowd in spite of the honors he had received. Therefore, to divert them while he fled, he thought of throwing among them a few hundred *zecchini*,[19] which he had carried with him for that purpose. The move was successful. Though many cried out that they did not need to be appeased with a few coins but to be freed from the gabels, most began greedily to pick up the money, giving His Excellency a chance to escape safe and sound to the church of San Luigi,

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escorted by many gentlemen and Spanish soldiers. Once he got there he had all the church and monastery doors shut.

When the people realized he had managed to escape, they were greatly enraged and went immediately to the monastery. There they battered down the first big gate and tried to do the same thing to the rest, still crying out that they wanted to be freed from the gabels and demanding a written document from His Excellency, bearing his signature and the royal seal, promising to do so and to maintain his promises. Fearing that the mob would attack the monastery, as the numbers and the anger of the people screaming against all gabels were still increasing, he appeared at a window and told them to be quiet, as he was ready and willing to satisfy them. The arrogant and incredulous multitude, however, still persuaded that they would be deceived and disappointed, wanted to continue to batter down the inner gate, through which they could immediately enter the monastery. While they were working on this, the most eminent Cardinal Filomarino, archbishop of the city, arrived at the scene. His pastoral zeal, which he showed whenever he had to serve God and his church, made him very eager to appease the people, in order to avoid the irreparable losses that he, in his high wisdom and perspicaciousness, saw would result from such an uprising. In fact, the events that followed confirmed his fears. He communicated to them by words and gestures that they should calm down, but they replied that they wanted the note from the viceroy freeing them from all the gabels, and in particular the ones on fruit and flour. He answered that he would do his best to obtain this from the viceroy. Then he got out of his coach and went in person to the inner gate of the monastery to prevent the angry people from pulling it down. He succeeded. Because of their great reverence for him, they refrained from causing further damage, although they still insisted upon the promised note from the viceroy. The archbishop immediately sent a message inside, asking the viceroy to send the note as soon as possible and telling him he could not meet him in person for fear that the people, if left alone, would commit even greater excesses. Shortly afterwards the viceroy sent the note through the marquis of Torrecuso [Girolamo Maria Caracciolo] and asked the archbishop to deliver it personally to the people. Taking the note, the archbishop gave them a glimpse of it after getting into his coach, so they followed him all along via Toledo, anxious to find out what it said. But as soon as it was read aloud by the archbishop, they realized that it removed the gabel on fruit and four *soldi* from the seven *carlini* gabel per *tomolo* of flour,[20] and this caused an even greater tumult because they felt cheated and betrayed, especially after the archbishop delivered the note to the chiefs of the people, who discussed it and found it lacked the most important requisites. At this point half of the people left the archbishop, and while he retired to his palace for the time being, they ran to Piazza del Mercato to report to the rest assembled there in still greater numbers concerning the outcome of the enterprise and how little

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hope there was to obtain what they so much desired. The decision was therefore made to enroll, without delay, as many armed men as possible for the common defense and for the elimination of the gabels. Thousands of men and boys returned to the viceroy's palace and wanted to try again to enter the church and the monastery of San Luigi, where many ladies and gentlewomen were. They would have burst down the doors immediately if the Spanish soldiers had not opposed them. One brave captain in particular, fighting like Mars himself, held back the rabble with a dagger and a sword, while the other soldiers fired their muskets, killing many. This gave the ladies time to withdraw into the cells of the friars and allowed the viceroy, aided by the procurator of the convent, time to scale those walls and the infirmary's, finally reaching Pizzofalcone,[21] where he took refuge inside the Theatine monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli. From there, he was carried in an old sedan chair by Spaniards, since he did not trust the ordinary bearers, and with many soliders and some nobles made his way to Sant'Elmo Castle.

As soon as the viceroy's escape from the monastery was ascertained, the people returned to the palace, determined to disarm all the Spaniards there, but the Spaniards surrendered drums and half pikes and everything else except their swords and muskets, with which in fact they killed and wounded many. The people took up a defensive position and managed to drive the Spaniards away by throwing stones, killing some soldiers and wounding many others. Armed with muskets and pikes that the Spaniards had abandoned at the door of the palace, the people went to all the other guard stations scattered through the city, disarming everybody they met. They next proceeded to Chiaia[22] to the palace of Don Tiberio Carafa, prince of Bisignano and field-master and colonel general of the battalion of Naples. They asked this gentleman, who was loved and revered by all of Naples because of his natural benignity, to be their defender and intercessor between them and the viceroy for the total abolition of the gabels, according to the favorable privileges granted them especially by Charles V. And while they were waiting for him in the courtyard, many of them walked towards the place in Chiaia where the fruit gabel was collected and set the tax house on fire, burning everything in it, as they had done with the one in Piazza del Mercato and elsewhere. Thousands of people having joined the original group from this very populous area, they divided into two squadrons, or rather, into two armies. The younger boys surrounded the prince, who stayed on horseback and encouraged them, trying to keep them in order by saying, "Let's go, boys, let's go and get the gabelles removed." As he went by the palace and the castle and from there through all the popular squares to Piazza del Mercato, the prince, seeing that the number of people in the crowd had increased to over fifty thousand, tried to calm them down. To do this more easily he went into the church of the Virgin of the Carmine, which is situated in the same square, climbed to the pulpit with a crucifix in his

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hands and prayed, begged and implored the people to calm down, for the love of God and the most blessed Virgin their patroness. He swore to them that he would obtain what they wanted from the viceroy, but seeing that all this did no good, he waited for some time in Piazza del Mercato to have a better opportunity to negotiate with the popular leaders and persuade them to make a good agreement, while assuring them that His Excellency would completely satisfy them.

In the meantime many other new recruits came from other parts of the city and they proceeded to break open almost all the city's prisons. . . . They spared only three prisons, that is, the one at the archbishop's palace, the one at the papal nuncio's palace and the one of the High Court of the Vicaria,[23] the last of which they said they respected because it was a royal prison and had once been a royal palace. The multitude of people following the prince of Bisignano as their protector behaved with the same respect. When they reached the above prisons it was feared they would sack them, but the wardens, who had been informed, had time to fortify and strengthen the gates, and anyway, those who had come to batter them down were persuaded by the prince's insistence that freeing the prisoners, mostly foreigners, murderers and thieves, would cause irreparable damage to the people themselves. They next proceeded towards the flour customs house, with faggots on their backs and fire and pitch in their hands. They wrenched the doors open and entered with such fury that fire spread on all sides as they took things and burned them in spite of the prince's vehement protests. And they were not satisfied until they saw everything not only burnt but reduced to ashes. . . .

[In the meantime] the prince. . . dismissed the people by sending them into different quarters of the city to fortify their homes against invasion and robbery and to procure the necessary arms to fight and take the tower of San Lorenzo. . . . And after almost all of them had gone, he was able to retire, leisurely and in secret, to the nearby palace of a kinsman. There he recovered from his discomforts and later on that day was taken in a closed sedan chair to Castel Nuovo. . . .

When the people heard that the prince had retired and left them without a head, they acclaimed Masaniello as their leader and supreme commander. He accepted the title and began more than ever to rouse them with trumpet calls all through the city and suburbs. Since infinite damage seemed likely as the events unfolded, especially because darkness and night were approaching, some religious men saw fit to go out in a procession through the city, not only to appease the unbridled people, but also to implore divine assistance. The first to do so were the most reverend Theatine fathers, from two of those six churches that they have in the city: San Paolo and Santi Apostoli, each of which housed at least one hundred. The first group went down via Toledo past the viceroy's palace to the church of San Luigi, where the milk of the most holy Virgin is kept; the second group walked through

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other popular areas until they reached Piazza del Mercato, where they went into the church of the Carmine to pray. Both groups were followed by an infinite multitude of people, to the great edification of the whole city, and particularly of the viceroy, who praised their offices among the crowd and even sent an enthusiastic report thereof to the Most Excellent count of Oñate [Iñigo Vélez y Tassis de Guevara], then the Spanish ambassador in the court of Rome.

In the meantime, the viceroy and the whole nobility feared that the people, everywhere greatly increasing in numbers, would go to San Lorenzo and seize the rooms belonging to the city[24] as well as the sixteen pieces of ordnance and other arms kept in the tower of that church and sound the great bell, calling to arms, as had been done on similar occasions to assemble the people. So they sent some companies of well-armed Spaniards and others to guard the church and its cloisters.

At two o'clock at night,[25] the viceroy, accompanied by many soldiers, moved from Sant'Elmo Castle to Castel Nuovo, which is situated next to the royal palace and is connected to it by a bridge. With him was the Most Eminent Cardinal Trivulzio, with many officers and gentlemen. The time seemed to have come for them to think about punishing the rebels. However, the viceroy, like a prudent prince and a good politician, saw the cause of the tumult. So he thought of satiating the hungry people with bread instead. He issued that night very strict orders, to be published and carried out by daybreak on Monday, that loaves of bread should weigh thirty ounces and cost four *grana*, while before they scarcely weighed twenty-four, and that the gabelle on fruit should be absolutely removed. At the same time he also ordered that a considerable number of guards should surround the castle in order to protect and defend it. In the meantime the people did not lose their resolve nor give themselves over to idleness or even sleep. Between three and four o'clock at night they rang the bell of the church of the Carmine furiously as a call to arms. On hearing the bell many people rushed there and later went off to different parts of the city. Some went, accompanied by drum rolls, to set fire to all the tax houses outside Naples. Others remained behind to prepare arms for the following day and went around breaking into and plundering stores for muskets, swords, powder, bullets, munitions and match. Others overwhelmed the makers and sellers of pikes, and these gave them all sorts of arms without offering any resistance, in fact even without being asked. When the owner of one shop foolishly decided to behave boldly and resist by screams and threats and, worse yet, by firing a mortar out of a window which killed one of them, the people were enflamed with such anger and fury that they set his house on fire. The presence of some barrels of powder inside caused the house to blow up; and eighty-seven people died a horrible death and forty-four were wounded. To prevent such a thing from happening again, His Excellency ordered all the powder in other places throughout the city to be wetted. The

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unbridled people, running around with no obstacles in their way, were able to procure everything necessary to arm even the most numerous army, indeed even the army of a very powerful Xerxes, had he been alive.

The Second Day: Monday, July 8 1647

. . . A great number of peasants and farmers arrived at the crack of dawn from the neighboring villages and hills with plowshares, hoes and shovels arrayed in a nobler fashion, ready to plough glebes of flesh and water them with blood for the common defence. Women were also seen in great numbers, armed with fire-shovels, spits, or with pieces of wood and sticks, while the children armed with little sticks and canes incited the adults to battle. . . . The parts of the city that were in the most implacable and warlike commotion, from the density of the multitude who lived there, were the areas around Piazza del Mercato, via del Lavinaio, Porta Nolana, Piazzetta Conceria, strada della Sellaria[26] and Piazza dell'Olmo.[27] People were given orders to organize in squadrons, armed with firearms or, lacking these, with an unsheathed sword, or at least a pike or iron-tipped pole. Orders were given to the inhabitants of the borough of Chiaia, to those of the Molo Piccolo[28] and all the other boroughs, as well as to all the thirty-six suburban villages of Naples, to arm in a similar manner, under pain of the inevitable burning down of their houses, which in fact happened. . . .

While the people made all these preparations, the viceroy did not fail to perform his duty with his usual prudence, although he had retired into Castel Nuovo. He dispersed up to four hundred Spanish guards all over the guard stations situated in the castle square[29] and along via San Francesco Saverio.[30] He kept a thousand German guards to guard the royal palace from within, and at the doors he placed eight hundred Spaniards and a thousand Italians. He secured Pizzofalcone, which lies above the palace, as well as the neighboring streets, with good fortifications, making ramparts with good logs in the palace square and bastions of barrels filled with earth around the gates of the old[31] and new palace and at both ends of the street facing towards the said palaces. He likewise ordered a large piece of ordinance to be put at the end of every street, as well as on the opposite side, between the Dominicans' [convent] of Santo Spirito and the Minims' San Luigi, another on the hill to the Croce di Palazzo[32] and on the hill of Santa Lucia, and two more in front of the main door of the new palace.

In the meantime the people heard that another regiment of five hundred Germans was coming from Pozzuoli by order of the viceroy, so they went to meet them, killing those who resisted, making prisoners of the rest who willingly surrendered, and taking them bound into the city. They did the same to two companies of Italians, although after the settlement that followed, the next Thursday night, by order of Masaniello, they were all released unarmed, without their swords. The Germans were sent back to the

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palace to His Excellency laden with bread, salami, ham, cheese and wine, and it was a pretty sight to see them going around the streets eating, drinking, dancing and laughing with great merriment.

On Monday morning the Spanish guard, for some insults they had received, imprisoned two of the most influential plebeians. The people feared the two would be condemned to the gallows, and therefore rebelled. They wounded and killed many of the guard by shooting their arquebuses and muskets at them and threatened, with unimaginable howls and cries, to cut to pieces all the Spaniards in Naples if those prisoners were not delivered to them. To avoid the massacre, which would certainly have happened, the prisoners were released safe and sound.

That morning bread of excellent shape and unusual weight was sold. A loaf of bread, which before had been little more than twenty-two ounces, was now increased by eleven ounces to thirty-three, which is a *rotolo*. Anyone can imagine how exultant the people were; all of them—men, women, children, citizens and foreigners—cried, "Long live the king of Spain! Long live the most faithful people of Naples! Long live plenty, and death to bad government!"

On Monday morning the viceroy, who, as we have said, was staying at the Castel Nuovo, thought it convenient to have some lords of the Collateral Council and of the Council of State[33] dispatch a note to Masaniello, the head of the people, granting everything that was demanded the day before, that is, removing all the gabelles. But the people were not satisfied with this and sent notice that they demanded further satisfaction, calling for the viceroy, the Collateral, the Council of State and all the nobility, publicly to pledge observance of the privileges granted by King Ferdinand, King Frederick and the Emperor Charles V.[34]

Moreover, they wanted the votes of the noble Eletti to equal those of the people. While the nobility was entitled to five representatives, the people had one and wanted instead as many as the nobility. They also demanded that the food provisioner should always be appointed by the people. This was promised, and they chose Cornelio Spinola as temporary food provisioner. They demanded that no new gabelles should ever be imposed without the consent of the head of the people, who should be a lord by title (as it was in former times. . .), to be appointed by the people, and the eletto, likewise, should be elected by the captains [of the popular districts] from among the people themselves, with no interference from the temporary viceroy.[35] They also did not fail to demand that the castle of Sant'Elmo should be put in their hands, although this was later dropped.

His Excellency began to realize that negotiations would drag on and that the relentless people would lend no ear to any agreement, perhaps because they enjoyed this freedom from authority; so he saw fit to pardon the duke of Maddaloni [Diomede Carafa] and his brother Don Giuseppe Carafa, liberating the first from the castle of Sant'Elmo and getting the second back

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from Benevento. According to the viceroy's plan, they could join other lords and gentlemen and go up and down the city exhorting the people to restore peace and quiet. This, accordingly, was done. Many lords rode around different parts of the city, in particular the prince of Bisignano [Tiberio] Carafa once again, the prince of Montesarchio [Domenico Andrea] d'Avalos, the prince of Satriano [Ettore] Ravaschieri, the duke of Castel di Sangro [Ferrante Caracciolo], the prince of Roccella [Girolamo Carafa], Diomede Carafa, the count of Conversano [Gian Girolamo Acquaviva], and others. Some of them went to the Piazza del Mercato, where there was a multitude of people, and announced that His Excellency was ready to give them satisfaction on all points. But the heads of the people answered that they desired nothing more than the observance of the privilege granted to the city by King Ferdinand and confirmed by Charles V at his investiture with the city and the kingdom by Pope Clement VII,[36] when he swore on behalf of himself and all his successors to impose no new gabelles on the city and the kingdom without prior consent of the Holy See. Even when imposed, gabelles should be fairly regulated, otherwise the city might rise up in arms and fight for the preservation of the said privilege without this constituting an act of rebellion or irreverence towards the prince. Now, since most of the gabelles that have been imposed ever since, except a few minor ones, were imposed without the pope's consent, the people demanded that they should all be taken off and, furthermore, that the original of the said privilege, which was kept in the city archives in San Lorenzo, should be delivered to them. After hearing these requests, these lords and gentlemen went back to Castel Nuovo to inform the viceroy, who immediately convoked the Collateral Council, the Council of State as well as the Sacred Council of Santa Chiara[37] to decide what answer to give the people.

In the meantime, the Most Eminent archbishop, preoccupied, in his paternal zeal, with the spiritual well-being and the temporal peace of his flock, and conscientiously devoted, like a faithful vassal, to the Catholic King, always at the service of his royal person and state, ordered that the Most Holy Sacrament should be exposed in many churches of the city to invite everyone to implore divine help at such an emergency. The miraculous blood and sacred head of San Gennaro, the glorious protector of Naples, were also exposed in the chapel of the cathedral treasury. Many different orders went in solemn procession up and down the city, including the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, the Augustinians, the Jesuits, the Capuchins, the Theatines and others, to the edification of all.

That day the people tried to appoint leaders who might be able to wield enough authority to obtain what was desired from the viceroy. Among those who rode up and down the city were the signori of Roccella [Girolamo and Gregorio Carafa],[38] and since they had been in Piazza del Mercato that morning, the people addressed them in particular and asked them to help achieve their goal, insisting especially that maximum care should be devoted

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to the search for the original privilege of Charles V. The signori of Roccella agreed, and the duke [of Maddaloni], acting on the promise, set out towards Castel Nuovo, followed by a multitude of people. When he got there, he went in alone to negotiate with His Excellency, while the people remained outside waiting anxiously for the viceroy's answer.

At the same time, and for the same purpose, the prior [Gregorio Carafa] set out towards San Lorenzo with a great train of people. . . . Some testimonies affirm that the prior actually brought the people a parchment document in order to quiet them and pretended it was the original; whereupon the people showed it to their leaders and were told it was a counterfeit, and they became so enraged that if he had not fled, they would have killed him. . . .

In the meantime the duke [of Maddaloni], followed by a crowd, returned with a copy of the document from the castle to Piazza del Mercato, where the greater part of the people were. Because he had heard of the dangerous consequences of the prior's action, he did not dare to try to fool them by telling them it was the original. Instead, he told them frankly that it was a true and real copy, since the original could not be found for the time being. The people received it with great applause at first, but after reading it a couple of times, they realized it was incomplete. Then, feeling they had been mocked and betrayed by the duke and the prior, they grew more rebellious and conceived a mortal hatred for all the nobility, raging against them and threatening them with ruin and massacre. Since they had the said duke in their hands, they arrested him. . . .

The people also appointed, as one of their principal heads under Masaniello, a priest named Don Giulio Genoino, who was now an elderly man. He had been their eletto when the duke of Osuna was viceroy,[39] and using his knowledge of the affairs of the city, he had tried to improve the situation of the people but had failed because the said duke had been called back to Spain. The prison of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, in which Genoino was kept when the tumults started, was opened mostly for his sake, in order to reward one of their worthiest chiefs with freedom. To him they added as a counsellor the previously mentioned bandit Perrone. These two joined Masaniello and the three of them together came up with a list of more than sixty houses of ministers and others who had been involved with tax farms and gabelles, or had profited by buying, selling, letting out, advising, or in any other way cooperating with the royal court in the imposition of duties, gabelles, contributions, subsidies and taxes to the city and the kingdom and had enriched themselves, as was believed, with the blood of the people. These individuals deserved to be made examples for the future by having their houses burnt to the ground without any compassion. This was done (as we will explain) with such order, integrity and precision that anybody who was seen touching even the smallest object with the intention of taking it risked his life. In fact, one who had taken a

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single tablecloth was killed and another received fifty lashes for taking a wheel of cheese. . . . Those who displayed any commiseration for the killings, the destruction and the burning of goods and houses, were considered unworthy of pity and accomplices of the alleged public thieves and consequently treated like enemies of the common good. One man, for having said inadvertently and instinctively the words "what a pity" at the sight of the fire burning all the precious possessions of the duke of Caivano [Giovan Angelo Barile], had to escape through a little alley with the people crying after him, "Where is that wretched rogue? Where is he? Let him be found and torn to pieces!" But let us proceed in a more orderly account of the burned palaces. The first was that of Geronimo Ferizia, one of the tax farmers of the corn gabelle, whose palace was situated in the quarter of Porta Nuova, near the houses of the Mormile. The people flocked there with faggots and wood, got into the palace and threw out of the windows all kinds of things . . . and the people did not leave while it was being consumed by a great fire, but waited until it was totally destroyed and burnt to ashes, all the while crying out furiously, "These things are our blood; as they burn, so should the souls of the dogs who owned them fry in hell."

After this first act was completed, they went next to the house of Felice Basile. This fellow had started out as a poor baker carrying bread on his shoulders up and down the streets of Naples, but in a short time he had become extremely rich by profiting from the gabelles and by making deals with the court. When the people arrived at his palace near the church of Santo Spirito, they plundered it from top to bottom and threw all his things out of the windows. Somebody counted twenty-three trunks, besides a large number of desks, chairs, hangings and precious objects. When the trunks fell apart at the impact with the ground, they revealed very delicate linen, precious clothes, rich tapestries, curtains, fabrics, canopies made of damask, of cloth embroidered with gold and silver, and of brocade. They threw all these new, magnificent and very valuable things, together with a bag full of pearls found in one of the trunks, into two fires and added pieces of wood, straw, powder and similar things to make sure that everything would be devoured by the fire and nothing would be left.

These two burnings lasted five hours, from eighteen until twenty-three hours. Then the people passed by the house of councillor Antonio de Angelis, who had been eletto of the people in the time of the count of Monterrey,[40] and had concurred with that viceroy in imposing many new gabelles on the city. . . . The person narrating all this is writing with tears in his eyes for having seen innumerable things burnt and blown up by the fury of the fire, which turned not only all the furniture of the house into ashes, but also many writings and documents that were in the house—the cruellest and saddest misfortune because of the irreparable damage done to so many poor merchants— besides a wonderful library worth a great deal of money and two coaches. They even got to four beautiful horses and two mules that

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he kept in the stable and disemboweled them before setting them on fire, which they fed and spread all the more by throwing in some straw and hay found in the house, a large quantity of oil, all the edible things from a very large pantry and an abundant supply of sweets. . . . Then the people ran to the house of councillor Antonio Miroballo, a Neapolitan noble who lived in the borough of Vergini; and they did exactly the same thing. Nothing was spared from the fire, which burned for three hours.

At six hours, they passed by the palace of the eletto Andrea Naclerio, who had been stoned by the youths at the beginning of these events, but they did not find much stuff because he had foreseen the violence and removed most of it on Sunday. This fact infuriated them and out of spite they set fire to walls, attics, doors, windows and rooms. The terrifying flames continued to burn the house for four hours, until Monday night was over and the sun rose again on Tuesday morning.

But while the people burned the goods and the houses of those alleged public thieves, there burnt in the breast of the viceroy an ardent desire to close the peace negotiations. In order to achieve this, he assembled the Collateral Council, the Council of State and the Council of War. After long discussions on the situation of the city, it was resolved that His Excellency should bring together as many companies of infantry as possible, to reinforce the squadron that was already in the square in front of the palace, which was done. At the same time the viceroy ordered the printing of a document declaring the removal of all the gabelles and granting a general pardon. After it was printed, it was immediately sent to Piazza del Mercato to appease the people, but it did not have the desired effect. In fact, the pardon was found imperfect: it contained not only what the people were demanding but also many exceptions that interrupted the peace negotiations. At this point the viceroy, realizing that the nobility were hateful to the people and more likely to add to than to put out the fire of the popular rage, thought of employing two of the people's best advocates whom he kept in high esteem: Andrea Mastellone and Onofrio de Palma. He summoned them, stressed the great importance of their mission and entrusted them with the task of appeasing the people, promising to reward them with large amounts of money. They did what was required of them with much alacrity but achieved nothing; they returned to the viceroy and told him clearly that the people would not be appeased until they had in their hands the original document containing the privilege granted them by Charles V. The viceroy, who from the beginning had no other desire than to see the people satisfied, especially on this point of such importance to them, understood this and made sure that the greatest diligence was applied in finding the said privilege. . . .

In the meantime, Masaniello declared to all the merchants and tradesmen of the city, in the name of the people, that they should be ready with arms in hand for the people's sake. Many of his followers, some on horseback and

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some on foot, proceeded to the houses of gentlemen, as well as of people of any state or condition, looking for arms, which were delivered to them, although unwillingly, even by nobles and officers. They obtained possession of many thousands of arquebuses, carbines, pistols, muskets and similar arms. From a merchant they obtained nine pieces of artillery he had in his house, given him in pawn by the court, of which he was creditor for some thousands of ducats. They commandeered an unarmed new galley that had been tied up at the dock, armed it and used it to assault another vessel which they threatened to set on fire unless two cannons on board were immediately delivered to them. The captain was in the end forced to deliver seven pieces of artillery, which, together with the above-mentioned nine, were distributed and placed at the heads of the most strategic streets of the city. When they heard that a certain Genoese merchant named Mazzola stored in his house a lot of the arms in which he dealt with the city of Genoa, they went there and took four thousand muskets, which was all he had, and distributed them to the populace who lived in the area of Santa Maria in Parete.[41]

That same Monday at twenty-one hours, the archbishop, realizing that the tumult was getting worse and worse by the hour, thought of personally going in procession, accompanied by the Theatines and the Hieronymites of the congregation of the Oratorio. But since he was afraid that the people might take this amiss, he decided to find out first if it would be acceptable to them, displaying that mature wisdom which is typical of his very prudent judgement. His hesitation was due to the fact that when the above mentioned groups had gone in procession the night before and again the same morning, the people had objected. Indeed, the people well knew that these processions were made with the good purpose of stopping the tumult. Nevertheless, they knew the tumult was caused by nothing else than the desire to bring back the old food provisioning system, and they publicly grumbled and seemed to wonder why processions were made so eagerly now that they were trying to get the excessive gabelles taken off, but not when those gabelles had been imposed against their outraged will. . . . However, they asked His Eminence to expose in the churches the Most Holy Sacrament and order a public Forty Hours' devotion.. . . . His eminence, thinking that it would not be wise to put his former thoughts in execution against the will of a tumultuous people, directed the superiors, and all the heads and superiors of churches, both secular and regular, to expose the Most Holy Sacrament and to hold public and private prayers recommending the city and the kingdom to His Divine Majesty in their hour of need, which was punctually performed every day until the death of Masaniello. It was dark by now and His Eminence, after giving those opportune orders, repaired to Castel Nuovo to consult with the viceroy. His goal was to try to reach a settlement to free the city from the danger that hung over it and he performed this task with all the effectiveness that is to

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be expected from a patriotic gentleman and zealous shepherd. To the same purpose, the Most Illustrious Monsignor [Emilio Bonaventura] Altieri, Apostolic nuncio of the kingdom, joined forces with him. Towards evening, also several ministers, magistrates, noble officers, lords and gentlemen retired to the castle, both to discuss the situation with the viceroy and to be safer than they would be in their own houses. And this is essentially what happened on Monday, the second day. . . .

The Fifth Day: Thursday, July 11th 1647

. . . On the fourth and fifth day, having attained his object through wise orders, quick responses to circumstance, opportune expedients, and above all through his courage, effectiveness and ability to deal with such important matters, [Masaniello] was considered to have enough knowledge and wisdom to arouse the greatest admiration in everyone, even the Most Eminent archbishop, who had the most opportunity to deal with him. At the same time, from the first to the last day, he aroused the greatest horror and fear in everyone in this immense city because of his rigorous justice and indeed, at least toward the end of his usurped dominion, his precipitous barbarity. . . .

The first order decreed and published by Masaniello on that Thursday morning was that all men should go around without cloaks, capes, robes or similar things, and it was immediately obeyed, not only by the common people, but also by the nobility, churchmen and religious orders. The spectacle was both wonderful and ridiculous, seeing Dominicans, Carmelites, regular canons, Jesuits, Theatines, priests and all sorts of regular clergy, even cathedral canons and dignitaries, chaplains of the royal palace, the courts of the most eminent Archbishop Filomarino, of Cardinal Trivulzio, of the Most Excellent viceroy, of the Most Illustrious Apostolic nuncio, and of all the bishops then residing in Naples and, if we give credit to the account of many, even Their Eminences themselves, go around without cloaks in obedience to such a base little man as long as he was alive.

Many were caught red-handed who hid weapons under dresses, cloaks, long robes and even under farthingales in order to distribute them to bandits and shady characters to the detriment of the people, and the night before many messages were intercepted that confirmed suspicions of betrayal. Accordingly, Masaniello prudently ordered also that all women, on pain of death, should go without farthingales, which was also obeyed. In the proclamations of these two orders it was also decreed that men's long garments and women's petticoats and gowns should be tucked up somewhat high, so any weapons underneath could be plainly seen.

Also that morning, all the streets were blockaded and the cannons in San Lorenzo and in other known locations were brought down, put on carts and

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situated in strategic places around the city, especially at the various gates and at the ends of major streets, and reinforced by other artillery, pedreros, and muskets with forked rests. And companies well provided with all sorts of arms could be seen everywhere both on foot and on horseback.

Towards thirteen hours of the same day Masaniello also ordered that all gentlemen and nobles should deliver their arms in the hands of the people on pain of death and should place as many of their servants as possible at the people's disposal. All this was accordingly done, although not willingly, for those concerned clearly understood the detrimental effect of this ban, which was to deprive them of arms and people and consequently to expose them to the irrational discretion of the furious and hostile populace.

That same day, Masaniello also fixed a ceiling price on all edible commodities, establishing their cost, that is, just as much less than the previous cost as could be accounted for by the removal of the gabelles, and he ordered incarceration in the dungeons of the city for any individual who privately imported wheat. In various important places and at the corners of the most elegant palaces, full-length portraits of the Emperor Charles V and of the present Catholic king, Philip IV, were displayed by order of Masaniello. They were placed under canopies with the arms of the city of Naples drawn underneath, and everybody who passed by cried out: "Long live the king of Spain! Death to bad government!"

While the above mentioned orders of Masaniello were published and carried out on Thursday morning, the archbishop, who had been inside the monastery of the Carmine since Tuesday night in order to negotiate more conveniently with Masaniello and other heads of the people, did not fail to make known his ardent desire, as well as the viceroy's, to put into execution the last accord in the hope that it would appease the popular fury, which every day, or rather every moment, caused greater damage and ruin. Therefore, having already that morning sent his Capuchin brother (Father Francesco Filomarino) into the castle for this purpose, he also sent his own chamberlain (Cesare Gherardini) to induce the viceroy to appease the people and agree to their demands and assure him that the people were inclined towards peace and the outcome now depended on His Excellency. Otherwise, if their wild armed blustering continued, he could only foresee irreparable ruin to the whole city and kingdom. The viceroy received this message with unspeakable pleasure, and to show that he shared His Eminence's thoughts and was ready to comply with his wishes, he wrote him an affectionate letter. In it he declared that he also ardently desired public tranquillity, and he entrusted himself completely to His Eminence, by ratifying in advance whatever His Eminence decided to do so that delays in carrying proposals and answers back and forth would no longer be prejudicial to the public good of the city. . . .[42]

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The archbishop, having received a free hand from the viceroy to do whatever he thought fit, summoned Masaniello and his counsellors, Genoino and [Francesco Antonio] Arpaia, to the church of the Carmine, read them the letter sent by the viceroy and with great ability and effectiveness tried to represent to them the viceroy's tenderness and great affection towards the people and ardent desire to give them all possible satisfaction. Therefore, they, to reciprocate the viceroy's affection and for the universal peace of the people, were bound to give their consent and finalize the much desired and very important agreement. Persuaded by the archbishop's words, the above-mentioned leaders gave in and gave their word to His Eminence, along with a great number of the more civil sort of the multitude who were also inside the church of the Carmine, that, out of love for him and to reciprocate the viceroy's benevolence, they were most ready to make the agreement and, therefore, care should be taken to draw up his capitulations. . . . The viceroy was most pleased by the news and sent back a message urging the archbishop to act promptly without any delay and referring to the substance of the letter that he had previously sent through his chamberlain. . . .[43]

After this business was dispatched with greater celerity than was foreseen (wherein could be seen the help of His Divine Majesty, by the intercession of the most glorious Virgin of the Carmine), the archbishop had the articles sent immediately to the viceroy through Father Filomarino so His Excellency might sign them by his own hand, which he did. Having been notified by the above-mentioned father that the people had expressed their desire to have the capitulations authenticated by a public act and signed not only by the viceroy, but also by the whole royal Collateral Council and Council of State, the archbishop sent His Excellency another message, in more earnest terms than any of the former. In it, by effective arguments, he entreated him to act to satisfy that solemn desire of the people and represented to him the great dangers that would ensue if he delayed because of the damage that the city and the kingdom might suffer, the disservice to God, to the king, to the church, to the citizens, to the honor of women and the lives of many innocent children, and also because of the boldness and temerity that could easily take possession of the enemies of the crown and induce them (as in former times) to undermine and create unrest in this beautiful kingdom, in spite of the reliability of its constant loyalty, known even to its enemies for its devotion to the always sacred and Catholic house of Austria. The viceroy replied that he was willing to confirm not only all the privileges in the name of His Majesty, but also the pardon already granted, while ratifying the promise to punish all the bandits and disturbers of the public peace, since he esteemed all the people to be faithful children of His Majesty and beloved vassals of His Lordship. I thought it appropriate to explain this in Italian for those who cannot understand Spanish well, since the letter was written in that language. . . .[44]

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As soon as the letter and the signed capitulations were delivered to Father Filomarino and brought back by him to the archbishop, they were delivered to the people. After the capitulations had been read this day in the church of the Carmine in the presence of the people, the decision was made that Masaniello should go with the archbishop to the castle to speak with the viceroy.

Around twenty hours of the same day, after the news spread around the city that the agreement had been reached and Masaniello would proceed to the castle to meet His Excellency, an incredible multitude of people coming from all over the city gathered in Piazza del Mercato, besides those who crowded into the church of the Carmine. There, with the archbishop seated on a stately chair under a great canopy by the main altar, a notary read the capitulations from a pulpit, while standing next to him were Masaniello, draped in a silver cloth, and his counsellors, Genoino and Arpaia, the new eletto of the people. He had belonged to the old group connected with Osuna; before the tumult he was in Teverola, a dependent suburb of Aversa where Masaniello sent for him.[45] After the capitulations had been read and understood by everybody and had received great applause, Genoino went up into the pulpit and with a loud voice said these words: "My people, these are the things which we have desired for so long and tried to procure ever since the government of the duke of Osuna, but could not obtain them then. By God's special grace and by the intercession of Our Lady, the Blessed Virgin of the Carmine, we have obtained them now. Let us rejoice in such a remarkable indulgence, let us celebrate such a glorious victory and let us give Heaven due thanks for such a precious triumph by joyfully singing the *Te Deum.*" Beginning the hymn himself, he came down from the pulpit, and the singing was continued by two choirs, accompanied by the deep sound of the organs and the sweet sound of other musical instruments, which filled the hearts of everybody with such happiness and exultation that many of the spectators wept out of tenderness and overflowing joy. After they finished singing the *Te Deum*, the archbishop prepared to accompany Masaniello and his companions towards the royal palace. A little while before, to make the procession more splendid and dignified, Masaniello had commanded all the owners of inhabited houses and palaces throughout the city, on pain of having their property burned, to decorate the windows and balconies overlooking the streets with the richest and most splendid silk tapestries on hand and to have the streets and squares in front of their palaces swept and cleaned. The amazing thing was that as soon as this order was given it was executed not only by common people but also nobles, titled gentry and the highest officials in the city. . . . Masaniello, before leaving, sent one of his captains to the castle to find out how the viceroy felt about his intention to confer with him. The viceroy made signs that he appreciated the message and the visit and told Masaniello he could come at any time and would be received gladly. After this answer, Masaniello took

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off his mariner's outfit, which consisted of a shirt, a waistcoat and a pair of canvas pants, clad himself with silver cloth, put on a white hat with a fluttering white plume and started towards the castle on horseback, with a drawn sword in his hand. He went before the archbishop's coach, whose horse some say he rode, followed as he left the Piazza del Mercato by more than fifty thousand of the choicest people, some foot companies and some troops on horseback. His brother Matteo d'Amalfi, clad in gold cloth and holding a sword and a knife, was riding on the right side of the archbishop's coach, while the new eletto, Francesco Antonio Arpaia, was on the left side, and immediately behind the coach came the sedan chair of the first counsellor of the people Don Giulio Genoino.

As the procession advanced, the popular retinue, consisting of people of both sexes and every condition, rank and age, picked up new followers in all the streets and squares through which it passed, getting larger and larger. As the number of people increased, so did the acclamation and the applause, for the joy filled everybody's heart in seeing the change from the old condition of penury and subjection to the new state of happiness and plenty. The cry was in every corner: "Long live the king of Spain! Long live Cardinal Filomarino! Long live the most faithful people of Naples!" In this manner they proceeded happy and exultant until they arrived at the square before Castel Nuovo, where the captain of the viceroy's guard, on horseback but without arms, went up in front of the Medina Fountain[46] to meet Masaniello in the viceroy's name. He saluted him in the name of his master and welcomed him into the palace, saying His Excellency was expecting him with great pleasure. Masaniello, it was observed, returned the salute courteously but with much gravity and few words; this being done, he stopped and made signs to the people, who had already reached the number of twenty thousand, not to go any further and to be quiet, and in a moment the multitude was still and incredibly silent. Then Masaniello stood on the saddle of his horse and began to speak in a loud, yet loving tone, as follows:

"My dear and beloved people, let us thank God, with eternal sounds of exultation, for having recovered our former liberty. Who could have thought we would come so far? They seem dreams and fables, yet you see they are truths and histories. Let infinite thanks be given to heaven and to the Most Blessed Virgin of the Carmine and to the paternal benignity of the Most Reverend archbishop, our shepherd. Well, my people, who are our masters? Answer with me: God." The people answered: "God." Masaniello added: "the Madonna of the Carmine," and the people followed him. "King Philip, Archbishop Filomarino, and the duke of Arcos," he continued, and the people immediately repeated the words of their general Masaniello like an echo. This being done, he took from his breast the privileges of King Ferdinand and Charles V and the new privileges signed by the viceroy, the Collateral Council and Council of State. With a louder voice than before,

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repeating his words, he said: "Now we are free from all impositions, we have been relieved of many burdens, all the gabelles have been removed and we got back our beloved freedom, which was granted to us by King Ferdinand and confirmed by the Emperor Charles V. I do not want anything for myself and I do not expect anything but the public good. The Most Reverend archbishop knows well my righteous intentions, which I have told him often and confirmed under oath. He can testify that at the beginning of our justified uproar, wishing to see the people quieted, he very generously offered me, out of his own purse, two hundred *scudi* a month for the rest of my life, if I agreed to proceed no further in our claims and undertook the task of reconciling you as soon and as well as possible; but I always, although with many thanks, refused his offer. Moreover, an hour ago had I not been forced by the bond of his command and terrified by the thunder of threatened excommunication to put on these clothes, I would have appeared in front of you wearing my usual fisherman's rags, for I was born a fisherman, lived as a fisherman and I want to die one. After fishing for public freedom in the tempestuous sea of this afflicted city, I will go back to fishing and selling fish as before, without keeping as much as a nail for my own dwelling. I want nothing and I ask you only one thing: when I die, I would like every one of you to say a Hail Mary for me. Can you all promise me you will?" "Yes, yes," everybody answered, "we will do it gladly, but from now and for the next hundred years." "I thank you," added Masaniello, "and for the love I feel for you, I want to give you a piece of advice: do not put down your arms until you hear that Spain has confirmed all the granted privileges and until our lord the king has sent back the capitulations signed by him. Do not trust the nobility at all, for they are traitors and our enemies." He dwelt on this particular subject, using such spiteful words that I omit them out of modesty. He then continued: "I go to negotiate with His Excellency, and I shall be back in an hour, or at the latest, tomorrow morning; but if tomorrow morning I am not with you, set the whole city on fire. Can you give me your word that you will do it?" "We will certainly do it," they all answered resolutely, "You can be sure of that." "Good, good," whispered Masaniello, "His Excellency is greatly pleased with what has been done so far. In fact, though the gabelles have been removed, His Majesty has lost nothing. The only ones to lose have been the nobles, our enemies. They have become poorer and gone back to their former beggary. If those farmers of gabelles, who buy and sell our blood like greedy and ravenous wolves, end up losing, this redounds to the glory of God, the service of our king and the common good of the city and the kingdom of Naples. O Philip, now more than ever you shall be the king of this illustrious kingdom! Now, the temples of the Spanish monarch shall be adorned with the most precious crown that was ever put on his head, for everything that we shall give him . . . will be his, unlike before, when the treasures that we gave him vanished into thin air. And the viceroy is well

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pleased with what we did and are doing, as though he saw all his enemies destroyed."

Having spoken these words and many more, Masaniello turned towards the archbishop and said to him: "Most Eminent Lord, bless these people"; whereupon the archbishop leaned out of the window of his coach and imparted his pastoral benediction by making two signs of the cross in both directions.

Since the number of people crowding the whole square in front of the castle was enormous and hindered the advancement of the procession, and since it seemed improper to have such bustle in front of His Excellency while the peace was under agreement, Masaniello silenced the people and ordered, under pain of life and imputation of rebellion, that nobody should take a step further; and amazingly, his order was carried out to the letter. He then started out on horseback in the direction of the palace, followed by the archbishop in his coach, by Arpaia, by Genoino and by his brother. When they arrived at the palace, they found a reinforced blockade guarded by companies on horse and on foot, while all the balconies and windows of the palace were lined with armed men. Masaniello passed furiously through the blockade, and His Eminence was behind him with the horses and coaches of the retinue. They entered into the courtyard, and dismounting on the stairs, they found His Excellency come to meet the archbishop there. The latter introduced Masaniello so that he could pay his respects to the viceroy, which he did, by throwing himself at his feet and kissing them in the name of the whole people, thanking His Excellency for granting them the capitulations. He also told him that he had come to receive whatever sentence his excellency should think fit to inflict on him, offering himself to be hanged or broken on the wheel. But the viceroy made him rise and told him that he never thought him guilty and that he had never thought the king had been offended by him in any way, and he would always favor him, and therefore not to worry. They say that while the viceroy pronounced these words he embraced Masaniello a few times, whereupon the latter is said to have replied that he never wanted anything but to serve His Majesty and His Excellency, and he called God as his witness. While saying this, they climbed the stairs and retired into the innermost rooms of the palace where the three of them—Masaniello, the archbishop and the viceroy—talked for a while about the current affairs of the city and its situation.

In the meantime, murmuring could be heard in the palace courtyard from the large crowd of people who had come from other parts and corners of the city, so, in spite of the fact that the first group of people had remained in the courtyard of the castle, the second group to come along had so filled the courtyard of the palace that not a single man more could have stood in that place. This murmuring arose from the thought that Masaniello might have been arrested or hurt; therefore the viceroy thought expedient to bring him together with the archbishop to a balcony to be seen, which was done.

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Masaniello appeared at the window and said to the people, "Look, I am here alive and free. Peace, Peace!" At which words the people replied joyfully, "Peace," and immediately all the bells rang a joyous peal in the adjacent churches of San Luigi, Santo Spirito, della Croce, and Santa Maria degli Angeli. Disliking the sound, Masaniello commanded they should stop, which was obeyed. Then, to show off his authority over the people and their total obedience to him, he said to the viceroy: "And now I want his excellency to see how obedient the Neapolitan people are," and he cried out: "Glory to God! Long live the Madonna of the Carmine! Long live the king of Spain! Long live Cardinal Filomarino! Long live the duke of Arcos! Long live the most faithful people of Naples!" And every time, the people repeated his words, as well as "Death to bad government," which he said last. After he succeeded with this first experiment, he tried a second one—telling them to be silent by putting his finger upon his mouth. The silence was so profound that one could have heard a feather. Then, to give a last proof of his authority and the obedience of the people, he commanded with a loud voice from the balcony that everyone should leave the courtyard under pain of life and imputation of rebellion. They obeyed him so well that in a moment they all vanished and not even one remained behind, which impressed the viceroy greatly. After talking for a while, the viceroy, the archbishop and Masaniello decided that the capitulations should be printed and subscribed by His Excellency, the Collateral Council, and the Councils of State and War, and that on Saturday the viceroy should go to the cathedral in person, accompanied by all the above-mentioned councils. There the capitulations should be read publicly and the viceroy and the councils should solemnly swear to observe them forever as well as to procure the confirmation of all of them in Spain by the Catholic King. After this, the archbishop took his leave of the viceroy and went down with Masaniello to his coach. The viceroy then repeated to Masaniello that he bore him no grudge; on the contrary, he had ardent hopes for him to free the city of bandits and hoodlums. Hereupon he apparently commanded his military commissioner general to be ready to receive Masaniello's orders. In fact, we do not know whether all this is exactly true or not, but the consequences were most certain and evident.

After this meeting Masaniello ruled over the city like an absolute monarch, both in matters of justice and in matters of war, with uncontested authority and complete independence, until his head was chopped off. On his parting from the palace, His Excellency gave him a rich gold chain worth three thousand *scudi* and put it around his neck with his own hands. Masaniello refused it a few times but eventually accepted it by order of the archbishop. According to the reports, he was at the same time made duke of San Giorgio by the viceroy, since the marquis of Torrecuso had recently renounced that title. As a last compliment before leaving, Masaniello prostrated himself at the feet of His Excellency and kissed his knee, after

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which the viceroy embraced him and said: "Son, go in peace and God bless you." Having taken his leave, Masaniello went down to where the others were waiting along with His Eminence, who brought them all into his coach and proceeded down via Toledo through the [noble] Seggio di Nido towards the archbishop's palace. The view during the ride was most beautiful. According to Masaniello's orders on Monday night, people had been placing lighted wax candles in every window overlooking the street in order to prevent tumults and treacherous nighttime attacks. This was indeed a most delightful sight, not to mention the retinue of the pages and of the numerous servants of His Eminence who, now past one hour of the night, escorted the archbishop's coach to his palace, carrying torches in their hands, while the bells rang in every church that was on the way of this procession.

When they arrived at the palace, Masaniello went up to His Eminence's rooms and, while they were talking, a rumor spread around the city that a great number of bandits was coming to attack the people. At the same time the marquis of S. Eramo of the Caracciolo family[47] was coming back from his lands with some horsemen. The people thought these were the bandits on the point of tearing them all to pieces, but they calmed down when the marquis revealed his identity and some of those present recognized him, so they went to the archbishop's palace, where Masaniello still was, to tell him what had happened. They were preceded by the marchioness of S. Eramo, aunt of the marquis, who had gone there for the same reason, but not so much to speak with Masaniello as to acquaint His Eminence with the truth and beg him to intercede for her nephew's freedom. As soon as Masaniello heard her request, he took her hand and said: "Madam, I assure you he will not suffer," and ordered some of the people who had come to make the case known to him to let the marquis go, which they did.

After this, Masaniello decided to go back to his house in Piazza del Mercato, and His Eminence ordered him to use his coach; he accepted, got into it with his brother and with Genoino and Arpaia and left. . . .

Ninth Day: Monday, 15 July 1647

. . . Many reasons have been suggested as to why [Masaniello] retained the command. Some say he wanted to relinquish it but, instigated by his wife and other relatives, who liked to rule, refrained from generously giving it up. Others claim, for having heard him say so himself, that he did not give up his power because, if he had, he could have expected nothing but immediate death, being hated by many owners of burnt houses and palaces and by the relatives of lawless ruffians whom he had put to death. Some come to the conclusion that he behaved the way he did because the senses, allured by the pleasant sweetness of rule and power, overcame reason. But his maintaining the command was not what sent him to his death. In fact, if

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he had continued to behave with the humility and wisdom that he had displayed in the beginning, perhaps his absolute rule would still continue today. What destroyed him was having succumbed to a thousand ravings and follies, which were the powerful causes of his tyrannical behavior, and consequently of the universal hatred of the people, who for many days had depended on him as upon an oracle and obeyed him as a sworn king and their natural lord.

And if anyone wonders what the cause of his folly might have been, I could say that it was a drink given him by the viceroy to this effect. This drink was calculated to corrupt his mind and make him behave in a way so odious to the people that they would conspire to kill him. This, at least, is the opinion of many; whether it is true or not, I cannot say. Personally, I think it is more likely that his folly was caused by keeping watch around the clock without proper sustenance (in fact he hardly slept or ate), by the vastness of his cares and the complexity of the situation, all of which proved to be too overwhelming for his little mind, used to buying and selling fish. The joy at going from a base plebeian almost to become the king of a city as important as Naples, would have been enough to make even a great gentleman go off his head; we can imagine the consequences on a poor fisherman who grew up among the lowest plebeians. So, he would go to bed and lay down for a few hours, hardly closing his eyes, and then he would rise and tell his wife: "What are we doing? We are the lords of Naples and we sleep? Up, up, let us exercise our authority!" Then he would go to the window and call his guards and order them to do one thing or another, so that his usurped dominion would not be idle. Should we be surprised then, that in the long run his strange behavior turned into manifest insanity? Ambition rewards its followers by depriving them of reason. . . .

On Monday morning Masaniello appeared in Piazza del Mercato on horseback with a naked sword in his hand; while he was riding through the popular streets on his way to the royal palace, he wounded some people and hit others without any reason whatsoever. As he was entering the square in front of the palace, an old and experienced captain called Cesare Spano, of the third regiment of Don Prospero Tuttavilla, asked to have the soldiers of his own regiment assigned to him, as had already been done with the Germans and Walloons. Masaniello answered that he could go and fetch them himself and when the captain replied that without a written order by him they would not consign them to him, Masaniello struck him twice on the face in front of everybody in the middle of the drill-ground, saying: "I told you to go and get them yourself." He then turned around and went in the direction of the center of the city. There he met a man who complained that some months earlier someone had informed the authorities that he had smuggled salt worth twenty-five *zecchini*. On hearing this story, Masaniello immediately ordered the informer's head chopped off, which was done. Another complained that the night before his wife had been taken away;

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Masaniello asked him where she was and the man said his friend's house. Masaniello found the house and ordered the friend tortured on the wheel and the woman hanged, even though she was a prostitute, and his orders were immediately executed.

Masaniello later met the prince of Cellamare [Niccolò Giudice], a wise and elderly gentleman and the chief courier of the kingdom, near the church of San Giuseppe[48] beyond the castle square, and he gave him a very warm welcome. He also told him he had nerve enough to order the beheading of anyone he wanted, and he had not done this to the most powerful person in the world yet only because he was not sure whether that person was protecting Maddaloni, but if so, the whole state would be put to sack. . . . At the same time he dispatched many armed men to [San Diego dell'] Ospedaletto, a church of the Observants, to seize all the things belonging to Don Juan Ponce de León, visitor general of the kingdom,[49] and deliver them to him. Once he had them, he took them to Piazza del Mercato and said the visitor general should be thrown out of the kingdom for kissing his nephew[50] the day before at the palace, adding that his presence was no longer necessary anyway because he himself had already punished with fire the abuses by the public thieves of king and country, although he returned the confiscated possessions later that day.

For these, and other similar things that he did, which would be too tedious to describe in detail, the whole city trembled. The viceroy thought that everything had been settled by the message that Masaniello had sent him through the archbishop's theologian the day before stating that he would fully resign all authority to him, as well as by the agreement that had been reached and the unanimous approval of the capitulations on Saturday in the cathedral. But when he heard of such extravagant innovations he became scared and retired again into the palace, taking the necessary steps to have it fortified and the number of guards increased. At this point everybody realized that it was necessary to take some strong measures, since the lunatic, more raving mad than ever, continued to rule and to be in charge of all the affairs of the city, both in the courts of justice and in those of war, food administration and all the other tribunals, as if he were an absolute prince or some imperious tyrant.

After dinner Masaniello sent a peremptory order to Don Ferrante Caracciolo [duke of Castel di Sangro] to go to Piazza del Mercato and publicly kiss his feet under pain of death and the burning of his palace, since that morning he had not come out of his coach to give him his respects. He also sent a similar message to Don Carlo Caracciolo [marquis of S. Eramo], master of the king's horse. Both these gentlemen answered calmly and prudently that they would do what he desired, meanwhile, considering the demand to be derogatory to their honor, putting the few household goods left in their palaces in a safe place and running to the castle. There they complained to the viceroy, deploring the present state of

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the unhappy Neapolitan nobility, and told him about Masaniello's arrogant demands. They concluded by saying they would rather be cut to pieces than live shamefully in such baseness and contempt, and that they should throw off their masks, reawaken the Neapolitan chivalry and their moribund and humiliated but still generous spirits to rid the city of this vile monster, for continuing to suffer and tolerate him was an indelible blemish to their reputations.

The viceroy was extremely vexed to hear such just grievances, but he did not dare do anything to the crazy man, who was backed by the furious people all in arms. While they were considering the most appropriate means and expedients to achieve the goal that they all desired, Genoino and Arpaia arrived at the castle and declared that they were also against Masaniello. Genoino was upset because he could not prevail over him in anything, and on top of that he found himself in constant danger of losing his life; Masaniello kept threatening to chop off his head, reminding him all the time that he was not dealing with the duke of Osuna any more. They say Masaniello even caned him a couple of times, while he had to conceal his anger and be quiet to avoid worse. Arpaia's life was also at risk, and he was publicly humiliated when Masaniello slapped him in the face in front of everybody.

They were all terrified of him, yet they did not know how to take their revenge because he had more than 150,000 well-armed men at his command, even though the majority and especially the professional groups came to hate him, particularly after Sunday night, when they began to fear his tyrannical justice. Following the advice of Genoino, the decision was made that Genoino himself, along with Arpaia, the capitani [of the *ottine*] and the citizens would go to the viceroy to tell him they hated Masaniello's behavior and no longer wanted to obey him but wanted to depend in all things on the commands of His Excellency, as long as the infallible observance of the privileges and exemptions already granted and promised was assured. To this His Excellency readily agreed and confirmed by a published decree. Once the privileges were confirmed, these men decided to convene the people's assembly as customary in the monastery of Sant'Agostino. But not everyone participated, for fear that Masaniello, who was not even there, since they had sent him to Posillipo on the vicereine's gondola to get rid of him. They resolved, counting also the absentees who voted by proxy, that he should be chained and kept in a castle for the rest of his life, for they were not inclined to put him to death in view of the good things that he had done for them. . . . Eventually the captains of the people were forced to apprehend him and put him in chains in his own house with some soldiers guarding him, while in the middle of the night, with the people's consent, the more affluent citizens took arms on behalf of the viceroy. . . .

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Tenth Day: Tuesday, 16 July, 1647

. . . That day was the feast of the glorious Virgin of the Carmine, a day of great devotion among the Neapolitans, especially among the common people, since the church is situated in Piazza del Mercato, the favorite place of the most numerous gatherings. Having a little before managed to escape from his chains and his keepers, Masaniello went into the church to wait for the archbishop, who was supposed to come to celebrate High Mass as he did every year. As soon as His Eminence came near the door, Masaniello approached him and said: "Most eminent lord, I see that the people have abandoned and betrayed me. I desire, for my consolation, and of all this people, that a solemn procession be made for this Most Holy Lady, with the viceroy, the Collateral and all the tribunals of the city, so that if I have to die, at least I shall die happy. Therefore I beseech Your Eminence to send this letter to the viceroy." The archbishop embraced him, commending his devotion, and immediately sent a gentleman to the palace with the letter for the viceroy; he then went to the high altar of the Virgin of the Carmine, and bent over, intending to celebrate Mass. The church was tightly packed with as many people as it could hold. At that point Masaniello climbed to the pulpit with a crucifix in his hands and heartily recommended himself to the people. He told them they should not abandon him and reminded them of everything he had done for them, pointing out the courage he had demonstrated by embracing the enterprise, the dangers he had encountered, the hatred he had incurred for burning the property of so many scoundrels and the happy conclusion of all their negotiations. A little while later he started to rave, publicly blaming himself with furious words for the wickedness of his past life and exhorting everyone to make a similar confession at the feet of the confessor if they wanted to appease God's anger. Because he uttered many ridiculous expressions, many savouring of heresy, he was abandoned by his guard. When the archbishop, who was celebrating, could no longer endure listening to him, he managed to get him off the pulpit with the help of some priests. At this point Masaniello, seeing his sorry plight, threw himself at His Eminence's feet and begged him to send his theologian to the palace to tell the viceroy that he was willing to renounce his command. The archbishop gave him his word that he would do that and, considering him worthy of compassion, had him escorted to the friars' cells so that he could change his clothes, for he was in a sweat, and rest for a while. The archbishop then retired to his palace.

In the meantime, Masaniello, after changing his clothes, went out into a great hall and was leaning out of a window overlooking the sea to get some fresh air. Some bold and daring gentlemen rushed in accompanied by many people. They had first entered the church of the Carmine crying aloud, "Long live the king of Spain, and let no one, on pain of death, obey the

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commands of Masaniello." Then they entered the cloister of the convent under the pretext of wanting to talk and negotiate with him and found him there practically alone. When he heard somebody call his name, the unfortunate wretch turned toward the conspirators and said, "Are you perhaps looking for me? Here I am, my people." The two brothers Carlo and Salvatore Catania, and Michelangelo Ardizzone and Andrea Rama shot at him, one shot each. He fell down after the first shot, and crying, "Ingrates! Traitors!" he breathed his last. A butcher then came and cut off his head with a big knife, and putting it on a lance, went with the assassins into the church of the Carmine, where there must have been at least eight thousand people. Then they went to Piazza del Mercato, continuously crying, "Long live the king of Spain, and let it be treason to mention Masaniello from now on! Masaniello is dead!" They fired salvos just to create panic and the very same base plebeians were frightened and disheartened who shortly before had scared the sky and terrified the earth. Without a leader, they scattered here and there, lacking the courage to say even a word to the assassins of their former leader Masaniello, whom they had feared, obeyed and respected so much. Therefore his assassins were allowed to go around the city without any obstacle, with his head on a pole, while the boys dragged his body through the public squares and streets. Both groups were cheered, receiving not only kisses, embraces and blessings as they went along, but also great amounts of *doppie*, *zecchini* and *scudi*[51] from the people whose houses Masaniello had burnt or had offended in other ways, and especially from the gentry. The latter, who had shut themselves up in their houses out of fear and had been afraid to show themselves outside, on hearing the good news came out immediately, got on their horses and merrily rode towards the royal palace, all armed and triumphant, to rejoice with His Excellency over what had happened. The viceroy, who was beside himself with joy, received everyone with great demonstrations of affection. The archbishop, after leaving the Carmine, had gone back to his palace. He had hardly arrived home when, on hearing the news of the death of Masaniello, he immediately went to the royal palace to do his duty and congratulate the viceroy. The latter issued strict orders that all the capitani [of the *ottine*] should be on the alert along with the armed people and that, on pain of life, they should not dare to obey anybody but him. He also gave orders to apprehend Masaniello's accomplices, which was done: his wife, his sisters and his relatives were arrested and taken to the castle. Since his brother Matteo had gone to Benevento with others in order to capture, the reports said, the duke of Maddaloni, numerous bands, some on horseback and some on foot, were dispatched to apprehend him and take him back to Naples. He was taken and committed to the castle, although afterwards, to please the people, he and the others were set free. . . . Soldiers were also sent to the market, to restrain the people and guard the goods belonging to different owners that were there deposited.

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After giving these good orders, the viceroy was exhorted by the archbishop, the whole nobility and the royal ministers, to show himself publicly around the city. Whereupon he got on a horse, accompanied by His Eminence and attended by the train of all the nobility and ministers of the royal tribunals. Well guarded by horse and foot, they went to the cathedral to give thanks to God and to the most glorious and important protector of Naples, San Gennaro, whose holy head and blood was exposed on the high altar. Extraordinary thanks were given for the peace that had been regained by the death of so base a fellow, who, by the mysterious ways of God, had become formidable enough to terrify a city like Naples. He had been a clear instrument (it cannot be said otherwise) of the just indignation of God who, offended by the sins of the Neapolitans, had chosen the vilest man from the lowest plebeians to punish them and humiliate them, like he had punished the Egyptians with little flies.

From the cathedral the procession proceeded to Piazza del Mercato, where the viceroy confirmed again, by sound of trumpets, the privileges granted by Charles V and the capitulations that had been sworn. He was received with extreme demonstrations of joy by the cheering people, who cried out all over the square and the adjacent streets: "Long live the king! Long live the duke of Arcos!" while others added: "Long live Cardinal Filomarino, liberator of our country!" They also gave thanks to the Most Holy Mother of Carmine in her church, from which they returned to the palace very joyful, being cheered and applauded along the way.

The shops were immediately reopened. The Spanish soldiers took up their arms again, the dispersed guards returned to their usual posts around the city and the number of guards in the palace was reinforced with Walloons. Everybody showed respect to and obeyed the viceroy, to whose prudence and acumen, joined with the vigilance, indefatigable assistance and courage of the Most Eminent archbishop, the salvation of the city must be attributed. In fact, if His Eminence had not interceded to find an agreement, undoubtedly the whole city would have been sacked, burnt and a multitude of its people killed. . . .

By virtue of this peace, many gentlemen and nobles were seen around the city that day going to the palace in their coaches and showing themselves to the people so the latter would not become too presumptuous and think that they were staying inside out of fear of them. The ladies also started going around in their coaches again, wearing their farthingales, which formerly they had not dared to wear because of Masaniello's order. Yet they all moderated their retinues, especially those who could no longer profit from the gabelles. . . .

That Tuesday evening, Masaniello's brother, who had gone out of Naples, was brought back to the city and imprisoned in the castle with his mother. As she passed, on her way to prison, everyone cried out, "Make way, make way for the duchess of sardines!" With the brother of

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Masaniello were brought the heads of four of his companions who had refused to surrender and had offered resistance by firing their muskets at the royal soldiers. Nine were taken alive; the rest of his followers were either wounded or put to flight.

In this manner ended the life and rule of Masaniello, which he had foreseen himself on Tuesday, the ninth of July, third day of the revolution. . . .

14. Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Life of Caravaggio*

The Carracci sought to bring back the Renaissance canons of verisimilitude and artistic invention, as they saw them, introducing a new appreciation for the relationship between *disegno*, in other words, the artist's concept as well as his draughtsmanship, and *colore*, in words, the artist's coloring and surface technique. Michelangelo Merisi, called Caravaggio (1571-1610), on the other hand, created a personal style utilizing an *alla prima* technique (painting without preliminary sketches) and striking chiaroscuro. The value of his achievement was first put into words, as far as is known, by one of his early patrons, Vincenzo Giustiniani, who explained it in a now-famous letter. His enormous influence and large number of followers made him a force to be reckoned with even by the greatest admirers of the Carracci. However, some seventeenth-century writers criticized him for literal-minded naturalism.[1] More because of his influence than because of his value as an artist, Giovanni Pietro Bellori included him among the fifteen most important figures in his account of developments since the time of Giorgio Vasari's pioneering *Lives of the Painters*.

Born in Rome in 1613 to the family of a small farmer, Bellori gained his opportunity for a literary career when his father died and he became a protegé of Francesco Angeloni of Terni, papal bureaucrat, secretary to Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, enthusiastic antiquary, and collector of Annibale Carracci drawings. The fortune he inherited from his stepfather allowed him to devote full time to antiquarian endeavors, and he eventually gained sufficient expertise to serve as commissioner for Roman antiquities under Clement XI. Meanwhile, he honed his art historical technique on a description (1657) of Agostino and Annibale Carracci's Galleria Farnese frescoes, a significant example of seventeenth-century ecphrasis. Finally, in 1672, he published his eagerly awaited *Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*.

Bellori was not, to be sure, the first historian to try to go beyond Vasari. Giovanni Baglione and Carlo Ridolfi had offered alternatives to Vasari's Tuscan-centered view by privileging, respectively, Roman and Venetian

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artists. Nor was he the first to notice the importance of the tumultuous developments in art between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Theorists at least since Agucchi had noticed the stylistic choices available when the Mannerist movement began to lose steam (see the introduction to the selection by Agucchi in the Section on Aesthetics) and had pointed out the role of the Carracci in bringing into credit and consolidating one of these trends. Like Agucchi, Bellori believed that painters should not merely follow nature, as he supposed Caravaggio did, but an idea of the beautiful, and that this idea should not be the abstract one of the Mannerists but the one the Carracci appeared to follow—empirically grounded in a selective observation of the most beautiful among the models provided by nature.

Furthermore, Bellori's organizational scheme of a series of biographies served him the same way a similar scheme had served Vasari—namely, to give proper expression to mysterious historical engines like genius and divine influence, inadmissible in standard works of history.[2] However, Bellori was the first to apply to art historiography the new technique tried by Giraffi, Capriata and others of joining the philological methods of the antiquaries with the rhetorical practice of the historians. By a careful choice of documents from archival sources and from his own voluminous collection of artists' autographs, he managed to prove at least some of his allegations beyond a shadow of a doubt, without too frequently interrupting the smooth flow of the narrative. And by using reproductive prints, which were fast becoming for art historians what slides and photographs are today, he was able to study a far greater number of paintings than he could ever see in person, and consequently to situate Italian developments into a wider European context than any of his predecessors.[3]

They say that the ancient sculptor Demetrius was so fond of resemblance [*rassomiglianza*] that he took more pleasure in imitating things than he did in the beauty of the things themselves. We have seen the same in Michelangelo Merisi, who did not recognize any master but the model, and without choosing the best forms in nature—which is surprising to say—he seemed artlessly to compete with art.

By his art he doubled the fame of the noble castle town of Caravaggio in Lombardy, which was also the birthplace of the famous painter Polidoro.[4] Both of them were masons as young men and carried the mortarboard. Michele [i.e. Michelangelo Merisi] worked in Milan with his father, who was a mason, and happened to prepare plaster for some painters who painted frescoes. Carried away by his desire to use the colors, he joined these men and devoted himself entirely to painting. For four to five years he painted portraits; but later, because of his disturbed personality and his contentiousness, he had to run away from Milan, and he went to Venice. There he admired Giorgione's coloring technique so much that he took him

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as a model to imitate. That is the reason why his first works were soft, genuine and without those shadows which he started using later. As Giorgione was the purest of all Venetian painters who excelled in coloring and was the simplest in representing the natural forms by using few colors, so was Michele when he first focused on the observation of nature. He then moved to Rome,[5] where he lived without fixed abode and without any means. He could not afford a model, without which he could not paint; and he did not even make enough money to break even. Finally he was forced by necessity to work for Cavalier Giuseppe D'Arpino,[6] for whom he painted flowers and fruit so well imitated [*contrafatti*] and he acquired the tremendous knack that is so popular today. He painted a vase with flowers with the transparencies of the water and of the glass, with the reflections of the window of the room and the flowers covered with fresh drops of dew.[7] Besides this, he made other paintings using the same kind of imitation [*imitazione*]. But these subjects did not really appeal to him and he missed painting figures until he met Prospero,[8] who painted grotesques; and he left Giuseppe's house and began to emulate him. He started painting according to his own inclination without studying; and he scorned the excellent marbles of the ancient artists and the famous paintings of Raphael and he chose nature as his only subject in art. When he was shown the most famous statues by Phidias and Glycon so that he could learn from them, his only reply was to point toward a group of men saying that nature had provided him with enough masters. And to substantiate his claim he called a gypsy who happened to be passing by, took her to his inn and painted her in the act of foretelling the future the way those Egyptian women usually do. He painted a young man with a gloved hand poised on his sword while the gypsy is holding the other without the glove and reading it.[9] In these two half-figures, Michele translated the truth so purely that it confirmed his words. Something similar can be read of the ancient painter Eupompus,[10] although this is not the right time to discuss how commendable this teaching is. Since colors were his only concern and he sought to make the complexion, the skin, the blood and the surface as natural as possible, he only strove and worked for this, neglecting all the other aspects of art. And in seeking out and arranging his figures, when he happened to see some that he liked around the city, he stopped at that invention of nature without further exercising his imagination.

He painted a girl sitting on a chair with her hands in her lap in the act of drying her hair. He painted her inside a room and by adding a rose, ointments, jewels and gems, he made her into the Magdalene.[11] Her face is turned slightly to one side and her cheek, her neck and her bosom are colored in a pure, simple and true color, accompanied by the simplicity of the whole figure, with the arms covered by the shirt. The yellow overskirt is pulled up from the knee, away from a white dress of flowered damask. I described this figure especially to give an example of his natural style and

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the use of a few shades to arrive at the truth of color. He painted the Virgin Mary in an important painting, while she is resting during the flight into Egypt.[12] There is an angel standing and playing the violin while St. Joseph, sitting, holds the music book in front of him. The angel is very beautiful because turning his head slightly in profile he shows his winged shoulders and the rest of his naked body covered only by a linen cloth. On the other side sits the Virgin Mary with her head reclined and apparently asleep with the baby at her breast. These paintings can be seen in the Palace of Prince [Camillo] Pamphili. There is another one as excellent as these in the rooms of Cardinal Antonio Barberini. This one shows three half-length figures playing cards.[13] He portrayed a naive young man with cards in his hands, a finely drawn face and wearing dark clothing. In front of him there is a young cardsharp seen from the side, leaning on the card table with one hand. With the other hand he pulls a false card from inside the belt behind his back, while the third figure next to the first one looks at the cards and signals what he sees with his fingers to the cheat, who, in bending over the table, exposes to the light a yellow jacket with black stripes, and the color is by no means falsified in the imitation. These are the first things he painted after the manner of Giorgione, with tempered shading. Prospero, acclaiming the new style of Michele, increased the fame of such works to his own advantage among the most important people at court. The Card Game was bought by Cardinal Del Monte[14] who loved painting so much that he took Michele under his protection and gave him an honorable place among his retainers. For him he painted young men in half-length figures playing music, drawn from live models;[15] a woman in a shirt playing a lute with the music in front of her;[16] a Saint Catherine kneeling and leaning on her wheel.[17] The setting of the last two is still the same room, but they are of a darker color since Michele had begun to make his shading bolder. He painted St. John in the desert as a youth seated nude with his head bent forward and grabbing a lamb.[18] This can be seen in the palace of Cardinal Pio.[19]

But Caravaggio (as he came to be called from the name of his birthplace) was becoming more famous daily for the coloring that he began to introduce, not sweet as before, and with a few tints, but full of daring shadows, using much black to give relief to the bodies. He went so far in this technique that he never let any of his figures get out in the open air but always found a way of painting them with a background made up of the murky air of a closed room, having light come in from above and descend directly upon the principal parts of the body, leaving the rest in shadow in order to lend force by the vehmence of chiaroscuro. Painters in Rome were so astonished by this novelty that particularly the young ones ran to him and celebrated him as the only imitator of nature, and admired his works as miracles, and competed to imitate him, undressing models and raising the lights. And henceforth abandoning study and learning, each found in the

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square and on the street the masters and the examples for copying from nature. And all were so attracted to this method that only the old painters accustomed to their own practice remained bewildered by this new study of nature and never stopped complaining about Caravaggio and his manner, saying that he did not know the way out of the taverns and that, without invention or *disegno*, without decorum or art, he colored all his figures with one light and in one plane with no perspective. These accusations nevertheless did not slow the flight of his fame. He did a portrait of Cavalier [Giambattista] Marino the poet, which gained him applause among the men of letters, so that the name of the poet and that of the painter were celebrated together. Marino himself celebrated Caravaggio's Medusa,[20] which Cardinal Del Monte gave to the grand duke of Tuscany.[21] Thus, Marino, because of his great benevolence and admiration for the work of Caravaggio, introduced him into the house of Monsignor Melchiorre Crescenzi, cleric of the Chamber, and there he painted the portrait of this most learned prelate as well as that Virgilio Crescenzi.[22] The latter, having been made the heir of Cardinal [Mathieu] Cointrel,[23] chose him to work with Giuseppino [i.e. Giuseppe Cesare, the Cavalier d'Arpino] on the painting of the chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi. Marino, a friend of both painters, suggested that Giuseppe, who was very good at fresco painting, should do the wall paintings and Caravaggio those in oil.

Then something occurred which was a great disturbance to Caravaggio and almost made him despair of his reputation. For when he had half finished the St. Matthew and placed it on the altar, it was removed by the priests with the complaint that the figure was indecorous and did not look like a saint because his legs were crossed and the feet were indecently exposed to the public.[24] Caravaggio despaired after this affront, as this was his first work made for a church; but then Marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani came to his aid and delivered him from this difficulty by interposing with the priests so that he kept this painting himself and had Caravaggio make another one for the church, which is the one to be seen there to this day. . . . Caravaggio made every effort to succeed in this second painting, and in order to achieve the natural figure of the saint while he writes the Gospel, he painted him with one knee bent over a stool and with the hands on the table, putting ink on the pen above the book. In this act he turns his face from the left side toward the angel, who, suspended in the air by his wings, speaks to him and gesticulates, touching with his right hand the index finger of his left. The angel seems done in anything but a fake color, and is suspended by his wings toward the saint, with nude arms and breast, with a swash of white cloth that surrounds him in the obscurity of the field.[25] On the right side of the altar is Christ, who calls St. Matthew to the Apostolate. There are a few heads drawn from live models here, including that of the saint who stops counting money and placing his hand on his chest turns to the Lord, and that of an old man who puts his glasses on his

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nose to look at a young man who pulls the money toward himself in the corner of the table.[26] On the other side is the martyrdom of the saint in clerical dress lying on a bench. The ruffian who comes toward him brandishing a sword to kill him is a nude figure; all the other figures recoil in horror.[27] The composition and the movement however are not sufficient for the story even though he redid them twice. Furthermore, the darkness of the chapel and the colors make these two paintings almost invisible.

He then painted another painting in the Chapel of the Cavalletti family in the church of Sant'Agostino: a standing Madonna with the child in her arms in the act of giving a blessing. Two pilgrims kneel before them with their hands joined; the first of these is a poor barefoot character with nothing over his legs and a leather cape over his shoulders and a stick. He is accompanied by an old woman with a cap on her head.[28] Among the best works of Caravaggio is rightly held to be his Deposition of Christ in the Chiesa Nuova[29] of the Oratorians, in which the figures are situated on a stone at the opening of the sepulcher. The holy body is in the middle; Nicodemus holds it at the feet, embracing it below the knees, and as the thighs are lowered the legs come forward. Saint John puts an arm under the shoulder of the Redeemer and the face rests back, the chest a deathly pallor, with the arm dangling with the sheet. The entire nude is drawn with the force of the most exact imitation. Behind Nicodemus are seen the grieving Marys, one with her arms raised, another with a veil over her eyes, and the third looking at the Lord.[30] In the church of the Madonna del Popolo in the Chapel of the Assumption painted by Annibale Carracci, the two side panels are by Caravaggio, the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*[31] and the *Conversion of St. Paul*,[32] of which the latter story is done entirely without action. He continued in the favor of the Marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani, who employed him in a few paintings, like a *Crowning with Thorns*,[33] and a Saint Thomas putting his finger in the wound in the side of Christ, while Christ guides his hand towards it and reveals his chest by pulling a sheet away.[34] Not long after these half-figures he colored[35] a *Victorious Amor*,[36] raising the arrow with his right hand, with arms, books and other instruments at his feet as trophies. Other Roman gentlemen competed for the delight of his brush, and among these, the Marquis Asdrubale Mattei had him paint the *Taking of Christ in the Garden*, also in half-length figures. Judas has his hand on the Master's shoulder after the kiss; meanwhile a soldier, fully armed, extends his arm and iron hand toward the chest of the Lord, who patiently and humbly waits with hands crossed in front of him; and Saint John takes flight behind with arms outstretched. He rendered the rusted armor of that soldier, with head and face covered by a helmet and profile jutting out; and behind a lantern rises, followed by two heads of armored figures.[37] For the Massimi family he colored an *Ecce Homo*, which was taken to Spain;[38] and for Marquis Patrizi a *Supper at Emmaus*, in which Christ is in the center blessing the bread, and one of the apostles, seated, opens his arms on

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recognizing him, while the other places his hands on the table and looks at him in wonder; behind there is the innkeeper wearing a cap on his head, and an old lady who brings the food.[39] Another of these inventions, somewhat different, he painted for Cardinal Scipione Borghese.[40] The first painting is darker, and both of them are praiseworthy for the imitation of the natural color, even if they are lacking in decorum, because Michele often degenerates into humble and vulgar forms. For the same cardinal he painted *Saint Jerome*,[41] who as he writes attentively extends his hand and pen toward the inkwell, and a David in half-length, who holds the head of Goliath by the hair. The Goliath is a self-portrait. David is holding his sword and is portrayed as a young man with an uncovered shoulder, colored with backgrounds and shadows that are striking in Caravaggio's usual way.[42] The cardinal was pleased by this and by other works of Caravaggio and introduced him to Pope Paul V, whom he painted as a seated figure for much money.[43] For Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, who was later Pope Urban VIII, besides a portrait,[44] he did a sacrifice of Abraham, with Abraham holding a dagger at the throat of his son, who screams and falls.[45]

Yet Caravaggio by no means gave up his boisterous occupations as he painted. After he had painted a few hours each day, he appeared around the city with his sword at his side and got into fights, doing anything but things pertaining to painting. He got into a fight with a friend while playing tether ball and they beat each other up with their raquets. When the fight proceeded to arms, he killed the young man and was injured himself. He left Rome[46] penniless and a fugitive from justice and put himself under the protection of Duke Marzio Colonna in Zagarolo, where he painted a picture of Christ in Emmaus between the two apostles[47] and another half-length figure of the Magdalene.[48] He then took off for Naples,[49] where he immediately found work since his style and reputation were well known. For the church of San Domenico Maggiore he got the job of doing the *Flagellation of Christ at the Column*[50] in the chapel of the Signori de' Franchis; and in Santa Anna de' Lombardi he did a *Resurrection*.[51] Among his best paintings in Naples is considered to be the *Denial of St. Peter* in the sacristy of San Martino, in which he depicted the maidservant indicating Peter while Peter turns around with his hands open in a gesture of denying Christ; and it is colored in nocturnal light with other figures warming themselves by the fire.[52] In the same city for the church of the Misericordia he painted the *Seven Acts of Mercy*[53] about ten palms long; there is seen the head of an old man leaning his head out through the bars of a prison sucking the milk of a woman who turns to him with a nude breast. Among the other figures appear the feet and the legs of a dead man being carried to the sepulcher; and from the light of the torch of one who holds up the cadaver the rays spread over the priest[54] in a white surplice, and the color brightens, giving spirit to the composition.

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Caravaggio was anxious to get the Cross of Malta that was usually given to men very eminent in merit; so he travelled to that island[55] and was brought before the Grand Master Wignacourt,[56] a French gentleman. He painted him armed and standing[57] and also seated in the garb of the Grand Master,[58] and the first portrait is still in the hall of the Order. This gentleman procured for him the Cross; and for the church of St. John there he painted the Decapitation of the saint,[59] who is lying on the ground, while the executioner, as though he had not hit him previously with the sword, takes his dagger from its sheath and grabs his hair to cut his head off. Herodias[60] looks on intently and an old woman with her is horrified by the spectacle, while the prison warden abets the executioner. In this work Caravaggio used all the power of his brush and worked with such impetuosity that he left the neutral colors of the priming in the background. Thus, the Grand Master gave him not only the honor of the Cross but also a gold chain and two slaves. . . .

Caravaggio considered himself very happy with the honor of the Cross and with the praises of his paintings. He lived in Malta with grace and dignity, not lacking in anything. Finally his troubled mind made him fall from that prosperous state, and from the good graces of the Grand Master. He quarreled with a very noble gentleman and was thrown in jail, so he was reduced to a sorry state indeed. To free himself he exposed himself to great danger. At night he escaped from the prison and fled incognito into Sicily so quickly that no one was able to follow him. When he got to Syracuse,[61] he did a painting for the church of Santa Lucia alla Marina. There he painted the saint dead with the bishop blessing her; and there are two men who dig in the earth to bury her.[62] Later when he went to Messina[63] he colored a picture of the Nativity for the Capuchins,[64] depicting the Virgin and Child outside the shack, with broken boards and beams; and there is Saint Joseph leaning on a stick with a few shepherds in adoration.[65] For the same [Capuchin] Fathers he painted Saint Jerome writing on the book,[66] and in the church of the Ministri degli Infermi,[67] in the chapel of the Lazzari family the *Resurrection of Lazarus*,[68] who, supported outside the sepulcher, opens his arms to the voice of Christ who calls him and extends his hand to him. Martha cries and Magdalene is amazed, and someone holds his nose to protect himself from the stench of the cadaver. The painting is large, and the figures are all in the space of a cave, with the greatest light upon the nude figure of Lazarus and on those who hold him up, and it is very highly regarded for the force of the imitation. But Michele's disgrace never abandoned him, and fear chased him from place to place. He crossed Sicily, from Messina to Palermo,[69] and there, for the Oratory of the Company of San Lorenzo, he did another Nativity, with the Virgin contemplating the baby, Saint Francis, Saint Lawrence and Saint Joseph seated and an angel in the air, the light among the shadows spreading through the night.[70]

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After this work his sojourn in Sicily was no longer secure; so he left the island and went to Naples.[71] There he hoped to stay until he got a reprieve so he could return to Rome. To placate the Grand Master he sent a half figure of *Herodias with the Head of St. John in a Basin.*[72] His efforts were useless. One night at the Cerriglio tavern he was grabbed by some armed men and beaten up with injuries to his face. As soon as he could, in spite of the great pain, he got on a boat and headed toward Rome,[73] having already obtained his freedom from the pope through the intercession of Cardinal Gonzaga. As he pulled into port [near Porto Ercole], he was grabbed by Spanish guards looking for someone else and put in jail. Although he was soon set free, he could not find the boat carrying all his possessions; agitated and dismayed, he wandered along the shore under the scorching summer sun. Once he got to Porto Ercole he collapsed and died of a malignant fever, in about the fortieth year of his life, in 1609.[74] That was a disastrous year for painting, since it also took Annibale Carracci and Federico Zuccari.[75] Thus, Caravaggio was reduced to concluding his life and burying his bones on a deserted beach, and just when his return was anticipated in Rome, the unexpected news about his death arrived, causing universal regret. Cavalier Marino, his very good friend, celebrated his death with the following verses:

> A cruel plot against you
> Death and Nature laid, Michele
> One feared your conquest
> in every image, created by you and not depicted
> The other burned with anger
> because by great usury,
> whoever he wanted to kill by his scyth
> you made relive again by your brush.[76]

Caravaggio no doubt helped painting, since he arrived when the natural style was not much in use. At the time, figures were painted according to established forms and in the established manner. They aimed more at charm than at truth. Caravaggio, however, took all the prettiness and vanity out of colors, reinvigorated the tints, and restored to them blood and flesh, calling upon painters to use imitation. . . .

He professed to be so obedient to his model that he did not even make a single brush stroke of his own, claiming that they were all from nature. This novelty procured him so much applause that even some of the greatest geniuses and those who had been trained in the best schools tried to imitate him—such as Guido Reni. . . .[77]

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15. Filippo Baldinucci, *Life of Bernini*

In 1680 the quintessential artist of the mature Baroque in Italy, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, died in Rome, aged eighty-two. Two years later, Florentine collector Filippo Baldinucci tried to understand and defend his accomplishment, using the advances in art historiography pioneered by Bellori, as part of a larger effort to explain stylistic change in Italy since the thirteenth century.[1] In doing so, he provided one of the small classics of the genre. Born in 1625, he cut short his studies at an early age to aid his father Giovanni Baldinucci, the plague diarist, in the business of managing patrician estates. This business not only provided him with a convenient regular income for the rest of his life; it also placed him in the midst of some of the most noteworthy art collections in Florence, such as that of the Bartolommei family, with the task of serving as middleman between artists and patrons. Meanwhile, he cultivated his love for the fine arts by frequenting the shops and studios of local artists. Thus, by the time his father died in 1656 and he veered away from a religious vocation, marrying Caterina degli Scolari, a second career began to open up for him. The trouble was, art connoisseurship of the best sort required a suitable situation. Fortunately, good breeding, a hereditary position in the prestigious merchant's guild, and the recommendations of his employers gave him entry into the highest circles of the Florentine patriciate. There, his skill in executing impromptu portraits and drawings made him an immediate hit. As his reputation for artistic acumen began to spread, grand duke Ferdinando II's brother Prince Leopoldo,[2] patron of the Accademia del Cimento, gave him the job of arranging the rapidly increasing Medici collections of artists' self-portraits and drawings. And from that time until Leopoldo's death in 1675, he organized by artist and date what was to become the Gabinetto dei Disegni, one of the great collections in modern times, adding new works and classifying the old. Later, he turned his experience into writing, and began publishing his masterpiece in 1681: the *Studies of the Professors of Design since Cimabue*, which remained incomplete at his death in 1696. Also in 1681 he produced the first dictionary of artistic terms, the *Tuscan Vocabulary of the Arts of Design* (Florence: 1681). At around this time, Queen Christine of Sweden, patron of the arts in Rome, to write a biography vindicating her favorite artist Bernini of accusations about damage to the structure of St. Peter's due to modifications in the interior. What she hoped was that Baldinucci would be more favorable to Bernini than her librarian, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, who sustained a rigidly traditionalist line in his *Lives of the Modern Painters, Architects and Sculptors* of ten years before. Through her, he made contact with the Bernini family while consulting with able architects concerning

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Bernini's engineering practices. The result, published in 1682 (Florence: Vincenzo Vangelisti), was the biography excerpted here.

. . . So far in my account of Bernini's works I have tried to follow an historical chronology. I would now like to touch in a general way on some other of his fine qualities, qualities either given him by nature or which, through long and diligent effort, were always and everywhere the inseparable companions of his deeds and had become second nature to him. First of all, we can with good reason affirm that Cavalier Bernini was most singular in the arts he pursued because he possessed in high measure skill in drawing. This is clearly demonstrated by the works he executed in sculpture, painting, and architecture and by the infinite number of his drawings of the human body which are to be found in almost all the most famous galleries in Italy and elsewhere. A conspicuous group of these drawings merits a worthy place in the volumes . . . assembled by the Most Serene Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, of glorious memory. The Chigi family possesses many, and a great number of them were sent to France. In these drawings one notes a marvelous symmetry, a great sense of majesty, and a boldness of touch that is really a miracle. I would be at a loss to name a contemporary of Bernini who could be compared with him in that skill. A particular product of his boldness in drawing was his work in that sort of sketch we call caricature or "charged strokes," which for a joke distort in an uncomplimentary way the appearance of others, without taking away the likeness or grandeur if the subjects were, as often happened, princes. Such personages were inclined to be amused at such entertainment even when their own appearance was concerned and would pass around the drawings for other persons of high rank to see.

The opinion is widespread that Bernini was the first to attempt to unite architecture with sculpture and painting in such a manner that together they make a beautiful whole. This he accomplished by removing all repugnant uniformity of poses, breaking up the poses sometimes without violating good rules although he did not bind himself to the rules. His usual words on this subject were that those who do not sometimes go outside the rules never go beyond them. He thought, however, that those who were not skilled in both painting and sculpture should not put themselves to that test but should remain rooted in the good precepts of art. He knew from the beginning that his strong point was sculpture. Thus, although he felt a great inclination toward painting, he did not wish to devote himself to it altogether. We could say that his painting was merely diversion. Nevertheless, he made such great progress in that art that besides the paintings by his hand that are on public view, there are more than one hundred and fifty canvases, many owned by the most excellent Barberini and Chigi families and by Bernini's children. A very fine, lively self-portrait

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hangs in the famous gallery of self-portraits of great masters in the palace of the Most Serene grand duke of Tuscany.[3]

Before Bernini's and our own day there was perhaps never anyone who manipulated marble with more facility and boldness. He gave his works a marvelous softness from which many great men who worked in Rome during his time learned. Although some censured the drapery of his figures as too complex and sharp, he felt this, on the contrary, to be a special indication of his skill. Through it he demonstrated that he had overcome the great difficulty of making the marble, so to say, flexible and of finding a way to combine painting and sculpture, something that had not been done by other artists. This was the case, he said, because they did not have the courage to render stones as obedient to the hand as if they were dough or wax. . . .

Bernini had great knowledge and noble sentiments concerning the arts and those who professed them. To the general and habitual courtesy of those masters of art I here register my debt, as the fruits of this narrative come directly from them. Bernini wanted his students to love that which was most beautiful in nature. He said that the whole point of art consisted in knowing, recognizing, and finding it. He, therefore, did not accept the thesis of those who stated that Michelangelo and the ancient masters of Greece and Rome had added a certain grace to their work which is not found in the natural world. Nature knows how to give to every part its commensurate beauty, Bernini said, but one must know how to recognize it when the opportunity arises. In this regard he used to relate that in studying the Medici Venus he had at one time come to the same conclusion in observing her most graceful gesture. But since that time, having made profound studies of nature, he had clearly observed exactly the same graceful gesture on many occasions. He held that the story of the Venus that Zeuxis made was a fable: that is to say, the story that Zeuxis had made her from the most beautiful parts of many different girls, taking one part from one and another part from another. He said that the beautiful eyes of one woman do not go well with the beautiful face of another woman, and so it was with a beautiful mouth, and so on. I would say that this is absolutely true, since the various parts are not only beautiful in themselves but in their relationship to other parts. Thus the beautiful shaft of a column is praiseworthy for the proportions it has by itself, but if one adds a beautiful base and a fine capital that do not go with it, the column as a whole loses its beauty. This principle of Bernini's agrees with another of his concepts. He said that in making a portrait from life everything consisted in being able to recognize the unique qualities of individuality that nature gives to each person rather than the generality common to all. In choosing a particularity one must pick one that is beautiful rather than ugly. In order to achieve this end Bernini had a practice very different from the general run. He did not want the person he was drawing to remain immobile. Rather he wished him

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to move about and talk, since he said he then could see all his beauty and, as it were, capture it. He said that a person who poses, fixed and immobile, is never as much himself as he is when he is in motion, when those qualities which are his alone and not of a general nature appear. Such individuality gives a portrait its likeness. But a complete grasp of this is not a game for children.

In order to make the portrait of His Majesty the king of France[4] Bernini first made many models. He removed all these models when he set to work in the presence of the king. When the monarch, wondering at his actions, asked why he did not want to make use of his work, Bernini replied that he had used models in order to introduce into his mind the features that he had to trace, but that once they had been envisaged and it was time to make them manifest, such models were no longer necessary: on the contrary, they impeded his purpose which was to conceive a likeness of reality rather than a likeness of the models. Since we are speaking of that great king, I will repeat what Bernini used to say of him, that he never knew a mind as able as the king's to adapt itself to the cognition of beauty.

He used to say that all the delight of our senses is in imitation. As an example of this he pointed out the great enjoyment that comes from seeing a fine painting of a rancid and loathsome old woman, who in living and breathing flesh would nauseate and offend us.

In his works, whether large or small, Bernini strove with everything in him to make resplendent all the conceptual beauty inherent in whatever he was working on. He said that he was accustomed to putting in no less study and application in designing an oil lamp than in designing a very noble edifice. In preparing his works he would consider one thing at a time. He gave this procedure as a precept to his disciples, that is to say, first comes the concept, then reflection on the arrangement of the parts, and finally giving the perfection of grace and sensitivity to them. As an example he cited the orator who first conceives, then orders, elaborates, and embellishes. He said that each of these operations demanded the whole man and that to do more than one thing at a time was impossible.

He placed the most famous painters in the following order:

The first and most important he said was Raphael whom he called a bottomless vessel that collected waters from all the springs; that is to say, Raphael possessed the most perfect aspects of all the others together. After him he put Correggio, then Titian, and finally Annibale Carracci. He gave first place of excellence among Raphael's works to the Stanze of Pope Paul[5] that he painted and the works at [S. Maria della] Pace[6] and the beautiful portrait of Bindo Altoviti, which is owned by Monsignor Antonio Altoviti, a most noble Florentine cavalier, who was auditor to the Most Eminent Cardinal Alderano Cibo and is now secretary of the Council. Bernini said that Guido Reni had a style enriched by such fine concepts that his paintings delight not only skilled artists but also the uneducated.

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He used particularly beautiful aphorisms regarding nobility or pre-eminence in the arts. Bernini declared that painting was superior to sculpture, since sculpture shows that which exists with more dimensions while painting shows that which does not exist, that is, it shows relief where there is no relief and gives an effect of distance where there is none. However, there is a certain greater difficulty in executing a likeness in sculpture and, as proof, Bernini pointed to the fact that a man who loses his color no longer looks like himself, whereas sculpture is able to create a likeness in white marble.

The great art in bas-relief, he said, was in making things appear in relief that are not in relief. In speaking of *mezzorilievi*, particularly those in Alexander VI's apartment,[7] he used to say that they were of little technical skill since they are almost completely in the round, and are what they appear to be, rather than appearing to be what they are not. He said that among the works of antiquity, the *Laocoön* and the *Pasquino* contain, in themselves, all the best of art, since one sees in them all that is most perfect reproduced without the affectation of art. The most beautiful statues existing in Rome, he said, were the Belvedere Torso and the *Laocoön*, of those still whole: the *Laocoön* for its emotional content, particularly for the understanding it displays in that leg, which already being affected by the poison seems to be numb. Bernini, however, said that the Torso and the *Pasquino* seemed to him more perfect stylistically than the *Laocoön*, but that the *Laocoön* was whole while the others were not. He said the difference between the *Pasquino* and the Torso is almost imperceptible and could not be perceived except by a great man, but that such a man would find the *Pasquino* to be rather better. Bernini was the first in Rome to place the *Pasquino* highest. He told of one time being asked by someone from beyond the Alps which was the most beautiful statue in Rome, and that when he responded, the *Pasquino*, the foreigner, thinking Bernini was pulling his leg almost picked a fight with him.

Bernini had splendid precepts concerning architecture: first of all he said the highest merit lay not in making beautiful and commodious buildings, but in being able to make do with little, to make beautiful things out of the inadequate and ill-adapted, to make use of a defect in such a way that if it had not existed one would have to invent it. Many of his works attest that his skill came up to that level. It is seen, especially, in Urban VIII's[8] coat of arms in [the church of Santa Maria in] Aracoeli. There, since the logical space to place the emblem was occupied by a large window, he colored the glass blue and on it represented the three bees as if flying through the air, and above he placed the triple crown. He proceeded in a similar way in the tomb of Alexander VII[9] and in the placement of the Cathedra, where the window was turned from an impediment into an asset: around it he represented a Vision of Glory, and in the very center of the glass, as if in place of the inaccessible light, he portrayed the Holy Spirit in the form of a

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dove which brings the whole work to a consummation. He put such ideas in practice more than once in the designing of fountains. The fountain for Cardinal Antonio Barberini at Bastioni is a fine example.[10] Since there was very little water and very thin jets, he represented a woman who, having washed her hair, squeezes it to produce a thin spray of water which satisfies both the needs of the fountain and the action of the figure. . . . In another fountain made for Duke Girolamo Mattei for his famous villa at the Navicella he wished to make something great and majestic, but the water would only rise a little. He made a representation of Mount Olympus, on which he placed the figure of a flying eagle, the emblem of the Mattei, which also makes an effective reference to the mountain. He placed clouds midway up the mountain, since they could not rise to the summit of Olympus, and from these clouds rain fell.[11]

Another of his precepts should be brought forth since we are speaking of fountains. It is that since fountains are made for the enjoyment of water, then the water should always be made to fall so that it can be seen. It was with such a precept in mind, I believe, that in his restoration of the bridge of Sant'Angelo by order of Clement IX,[12] he had the side walls opened up so that the water could better be enjoyed. The eye then may see with double pleasure the flow of water as well as the ornament of the angels on the side walls. . . .

He who pointed out that poetry is painting that speaks and, conversely, that painting is a kind of mute poetry spoke well. But if such a description fits poetry in general, it is much more suited to that kind of poetry called dramatic or narrative. In such poetry, as in a beautiful narrative painting, we note various persons of diverse ages, conditions, and customs, each with an individuality of appearance and action, with admirably distributed colors which form, as do the voices of a well-balanced choir, a beautiful and marvelous composition. Therefore, it is not surprising at all that a man of Bernini's excellence in the three arts, whose common source is drawing, also possessed in high measure the fine gift of composing excellent and most ingenious theatrical productions since it derives from the same genius and is the fruit of the same vitality and spirit. Bernini was, then, outstanding in comic scenes and in composing comedies. He put on many productions which were highly applauded for their scope and creativity during the time of Urban VIII and Innocent X.[13] He created most admirably all the parts both serious and comic in all the various styles that up to his time had been represented on the stage. He enriched them further with such ideas that the learned who heard them attributed some to Terence, others to Plautus and similar authors that Bernini had never read. He created them all by the force of his genius. Sometimes it took an entire month for Bernini to act out all the parts himself in order to instruct the others and then to adapt the part for each individual. The keenness of the witticisms, the bizarreness of the devices through which he derided abuses and struck at bad behavior were

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such that whole books could be made of them, not without delight to those who might wish to read them. But I leave all of them for someone better. It was, nevertheless, wonderful to see that those who were the butt of his witticisms and mockeries, who for the most part were present at the performances, never took offense. Bernini's ability to blend his talents in the arts for the invention of stage machinery has never been equalled in my opinion. They say that in the celebrated spectacle *The Inundation of the Tiber* he made it appear that a great mass of water advanced from far away little by little breaking through the dikes. When the water broke through the last dike facing the audience, it flowed forward with such a rush and spread so much terror among the spectators that there was no one, not even among the most knowledgeable, who did not quickly get up to leave in fear of an actual flood. Then, suddenly, with the opening of a sluice gate, all the water was drained away.

Another time he made it appear that by a casual unforeseen accident the theater caught fire. Bernini represented a carnival carriage, behind which some servants with torches walked. The person whose job it was to perpetrate the trick repeatedly brushed his torch against the stage set on the wall partitions, as is sometimes done, to make the flame larger. Those who did not know this technique cried out loudly for him to stop so that he would not set fire to the scenery. Scarcely had fear been engendered in the audience by the action and the outcry, when the whole set was seen burning with artificial flames. There was such terror among the spectators that it was necessary to reveal the trick to keep them from fleeing. Afterward there was another noble and beautiful scene. . . .

It was Bernini who first invented that beautiful stage machine for representing the rising of the sun. It was so much talked about that Louis XIII, the French king of glorious memory, asked him for a model of it. Bernini sent it to him with careful instructions, at the end of which he wrote these words, "It will work when I send you my head and hands." He said he had a fine idea for a play in which all the errors that come from running the stage machinery would be revealed along with their corrections, and still another, never again seen, for putting the ladies in their place on the stage. He disapproved of horses or other real creatures appearing on stage, saying that art consists in everything being simulated although seeming to be real.

More could be said here which for the sake of brevity is passed over. I will close this section with Cardinal [Sforza] Pallavicino's familiar remark that Cavalier Bernini was not only the best sculptor and architect of his century but, to put it simply, the greatest man as well. A great theologian, he said, or a great captain or great orator might have been valued more highly, as the present century thinks such professions either more noble or more necessary. But there was no theologian who had advanced as far in his profession during that period as Bernini had advanced in his.

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It is not surprising, then, that one can say that Bernini was always highly esteemed and even revered by the great. He was so generously remunerated that it seems to be a certainty that there was no one else in recent centuries, no matter what his excellence, whose works were so richly rewarded. . . .

Bernini had many followers in the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, and we shall here note some of the more prominent. First place must go to Luigi di Pietro Bernini, blood brother of the Cavalier, a good sculptor, a better architect, and an excellent mathematician. He worked for a time at sculpture. . . . Later he dedicated himself to civil architecture, mathematics, mechanics, and, especially, to speculation concerning the forces and measurement of enclosed waters. He advanced so much in each of these fine disciplines that later on the Cavalier, his brother, always discussed his most difficult problems with him. Among these were the erection of the obelisk in Piazza Navona and the Scala Regia. And although Luigi's position as superintendent of the construction of the Apostolic Palaces was under the direction of Gian Lorenzo he was often allowed to work on his own, since the architect was sure that his brother would not err. Luigi contrived that fine scaffold, ninety palmi high, to facilitate work in the upper parts of St. Peter's. We see it being pulled here and there in the great church with a marvelous movement aided by steering devices for each movable part. It completely supplanted the old structure which ground down the floors so much when it was moved that the cost of the damage every year was enormous.

The ability to move the great organ of St. Peter's from place to place—until then the work of twenty men—without getting it out of tune was his discovery as was the device for pulling as many as fourteen cart loads of travertine with great ease. This instrument consists of a great jib seventy palmi high to which are joined two others from each of which hang two iron tackles six and a half palmi long, cast in one piece and containing six metal disks, three on each side. With this machine, never before seen or used, all the stones of the colonnades and portico of St. Peter's were put in place. But the most wonderful of all his inventions was the iron steelyard twenty palmi long that he contrived solely in order to weigh the colossal bronze statues of the Cathedra of St. Peter. The steelyard, through the action of a smaller balance with a capacity of no more than ten pounds attached to the top to establish the weight, was capable of weighing up to thirty-six thousand pounds. This invention was highly applauded by artists and everyone. . .

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3
Political and Civic Affairs

Selections in this section run the gamut from high theory (Malvezzi) to serious as well as playful political reflection (Boccalini) to biting polemic (Leti) to vindication of rights (Tarabotti). And they explore the situations of persons of both genders, of diverse religions (Luzzatto), and at every social level, from princes to paupers (Squarciafico). Together they offer an account of the complex mosaic of Italian life in the seventeenth century and the dynamics of social and political change. Some remarks are in order.

The tradition of state theory running from Niccolò Machiavelli and Francesco Guicciardini in the early sixteenth century to Giovanni Botero at the end found its logical development in the early seventeenth-century writings of Traiano Boccalini. Boccalini tried to make more explicit the point about the essential defects of monarchy most readers misunderstood in Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Like other astute observers, he remained unpersuaded by Botero's attempt, in *On the Reason of State* (1589), to Christianize the state morality Machiavelli had discovered and bring religion, relegated by Machiavelli to the margins, back to the center of politics. Boccalini believed he was witness to a new age; but not the new age of Cesi. The great change from the early sixteenth century to his own time, he thought, was the tremendous increase in the money and power at stake, as Europe had become immeasurably enriched, leading to hitherto unknown possibilities of depravity.

To conventional notions about reason of state and responsible government, late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century political thinkers added a new category of state theory: economics. Giovanni Botero was the first to incorporate economic development into a larger conception of the causes of the greatness of cities. Antonio Serra turned some of the same perspectives into practical suggestions for the particular case of the Kingdom of Naples. Virgilio Malvezzi formulated a theory of grain policy to avoid a repetition of the crisis of 1620. Simone Luzzatto offered solutions to the problem of the trend among successful merchants toward landed investment and away from trade. And Bolognese naturalist Ovidio Montalbani showed that a modern state could be built by simply

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extending to an entire region the traditional urban economy of the Italian cities without reference to a feudal hierarchy.

Still other selections examine whether public opinion could have a significant influence on government without bringing about the revolutionary dislodging of absolutism. The theme was not new. Machiavelli had long before considered the role of consensus in politics. And Malvezzi made the notion of politics as a public spectacle the center of his political theory. Meanwhile, the development of the political press went a long way toward creating lines of regular communication between rulers and ruled, thereby increasing the role of public consensus in government. From newspapers to pasquinades like that of Milanese exile Gregorio Leti, branding the Roman government as corrupt, overwhelmed Italian readers with information about what was going on all over the peninsula. At first, governments were reluctant to allow news about their activities to spread, as Sarpi advised; later on they began to give in, recognizing that an informed public was easier to rule (in Neapolitan lawyer Giovanni Battista De Luca).

New ethical theories accompanied these political developments. Torquato Accetto from the Kingdom of Naples, in one of Benedetto Croce's and more recently Rosario Villari's favorite documents from the century, tried to explain how states could be strong and citizens free at the same time. Malvezzi explored the consequences on literature of various political arrangements in a rudimentary attempt at literary sociology. Montalbani sought to counter the effects of the merchants' flight to the land by introducing a work ethic and providing moral support to the importance of the trades noted by Serra.

Emancipation is the theme of two other selections, argued in different ways. Luzzatto makes an ardent appeal for toleration, demanding liberty of commerce for the Jews of Venice, basing his argument on utility. Arcangela Tarabotti, perhaps the greatest feminist of her time, ignores most of the advantages to her argument from the notion of utility, and prefers to insist upon freedom and liberty as absolute values—supplying a passionate rhetoric to the widening political base.

16. Traiano Boccalini, *Reports from Parnassus*

Surveying the internal political situations of the Italian states in the context of European affairs at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Traiano Boccalini produced one of the period's great classics of political criticism—lively, humorous and acute.[1] And he did so toward the end of a career of first-hand experience in government. Born into the modest family of an architect, he took up the study of law at the university of Perugia and finished it at Padua. There he listened to some of the greatest jurists of the

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day, including Guido Panciroli, and he threw himself enthusiastically into a career of jurisprudence. He sought his fortune in Rome, where his family possessed some property; and his auspicious marriage with a distant relative of Pope Pius V in 1584 allowed him to purchase a secretaryship in the curia. This was the stepping-stone from which he advanced, under Clement VIII (1592-1605), Leo IX (1605) and Paul V (1605-21), to a series of governorships in various minor cities and towns of the papal states. Usually remaining six months in a given place, he was supposed to represent the pope's authority where otherwise virtual self-government obtained, administering civil and penal justice. And from Trevi in Umbria in 1592[2] he proceeded to Tolentino, Benevento, Comacchio, Argenti, Sassoferrato, and Nocera Umbra, with a brief interruption between 1599 and 1603 to serve as criminal judge for the city of Rome. As the employments increased in prestige, his experiences of the effects of corruption, privilege, and ill-government became more frequent and his enemies increased in number and resorted even to spurious denunciations to the Holy Office. Already before 1590 he began what might have been another career by writing down his comments on the history of Tacitus, interlacing them with perceptive observations about contemporary politics. And in 1594 he composed a dialogue concerning the Protestant reform in Northern Europe. But none of these ever saw the light during his lifetime. From around 1605, perhaps relying on some of the ideas in these earlier works, he began what was to become his masterpiece, a set of supposed reports from Apollo's mythic college in Parnassus, the habitat of the Muses, where current and past persons and events are discussed by the most illustrious human beings of all the ages and given final judgment by Apollo.[3] He loosely modelled himself on the contemporary manuscript newsletters that circulated along the main mail routes, as well as on the more substantial printed occasional reports, direct ancestors of newspapers, that provided information about particular events when they happened. Targets of his mordant polemic included lawyers, also the enemy of contemporary Spanish polemicist Francisco de Quevedo to whose *Dreams* his style deserves close comparison, as well as contemporary literary fashions, corrupt and inept government, rapacious ministers, and, last but not least, Spain. Encouraged by reactions to the first instalments he circulated in manuscript, yet vexed by the laborious process of prepublication censorship in Rome, he had the first Century, or hundred reports, printed in Venice in 1612. Just as the success of this and his next Century began to offer the possibility of a more satisfying career, he died in Venice in 1613. The work evidently hit a nerve—especially because few readers besides scholars were likely to find much pleasure in Justus Lipsius' ponderous *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae* (1589), a distillation of ancient wisdom stemming from work on a scholarly edition of the works of Tacitus, which was the next best synthesis of ancient and

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modern political wisdom. Hence the tremendous posthumous reputation of the *Reports*, which were reprinted in Milan, Florence, and even Amsterdam and eventually translated into French, German, English, and Flemish.

The principal monarchies in Parnassus ask Most Serene Venetian Liberty how she manages to benefit from such exquisite secrecy and exact obedience among the nobility.

The virtuous and honorable controversy which arose some days ago among many of the learned and which was decided by Most Serene Venetian Liberty, has given this whole state of Parnassus much material for discussion and argument. But it has also incited such envy, especially in the powerful monarchies of France, Spain, England and Poland, that two days ago they went to her. They told her how amazed they were that she should find such perfect secrecy in all her nobility, whereas they had often found obtaining this from one single secretary and a pair of counsellors to be an almost impossible desire and a hopeless undertaking. Those powerful monarchies said this calamity was so much greater now, since the first weapon some princes draw against their enemies in this present fraudulent age is to corrupt other potentates' chief officers with vast sums of money. They therefore desired to know how she had obtained from her nobles so much secrecy in her most serious affairs and such obedience, even when this meant for them danger of certain ruin. To this Most Serene Venetian Liberty answered that she enticed her nobles into practicing the virtue of secrecy by giving them rewards, and frightened them away from the vice of disobedience by punishments. The monarchies then replied that they made use of the same means but could not obtain the same results. Venetian Liberty said this happened because the rewards given by monarchies are poor and the punishments light in comparison with those given by well-governed republics. But they answered that monarchies could affirm exactly the contrary: the rewards of free countries, compared with the profuse generosity which great kings lavish on their chief ministers of state, were beggary. For the Venetian Republic was never known to reward the fidelity of any of her senators with those generous gifts of castles, cities and noble and rich feudal possessions whereby princes often rewarded their ministers of state. The greatest reward given by the Venetian Senate to its deserving senators was to promote them to more important magistracies, and even that only by degrees and only upon proof of very hard work, not to mention the fact that most of the Venetian offices required spending money rather than earning it, since the only real earnings were in reputation. They added that

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as far as punishment was concerned, there was no comparison: the punishments inflicted by the resolute will of a prince for great offences were much more dreadful and severe than those inflicted upon a senator by any senate, which were usually mild and cautious rather than arbitrary and cruel. Besides, there was a great disproportion between a prince judging his vassal and a senator using his vote to punish his equal, his friend and one of his own blood. The Venetian Republic, they continued, did not use any newer or crueller gallows, axes, ropes or fire for noble crimes than those used by France, Spain, England and Poland, except for the Canal Orfano,[4] the Venetians' most terrible punishment. And if there were no canals like that in their kingdoms, nevertheless they could easily sew up their disloyal ministers in sacks and have them thrown into lakes, rivers and deep wells. At this point Most Serene Venetian Liberty smiled gracefully and said that instead of giving worthy ministers limited government over feudal possessions, as princes do, she gave to her loyal and obedient nobles the most noble kingdom of Candia, Corfù, and the other islands subject to her dominion, the states of Dalmatia, of Istria, of Friuli, the cities of Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Crema, and Venice itself, the most majestic miracle of all royal cities, and all this with full authority to command and govern them absolutely. Therefore the Venetian nobles were not private men, but kings and great princes, who, in the most serious affairs of the Republic, were faithful to themselves; whereas the ministers of princes were faithful to others. The Venetian nobles' refusal to sell the secrets of the Republic to foreign princes came from the infinite disproportion between what they would lose by being disloyal and what they would gain by being loyal. There was no comparison between the remorse a minister might feel for having betrayed his prince and the fear a senator might feel for having been unfaithful to his free country, because being unfaithful to others is nothing like betraying oneself. Lastly, Venetian Liberty said, the rewards which princes gave their secretaries and their ministers very often had pernicious consequences, completely contrary to the intentions of the givers. First, they made the minister less earnest in the service of his master, since he could not expect anything more from him; secondly, since the minds of princes were very changeable and the schemes of court rivals very frequent, the minister sought, by disloyalty and damage to his master, to insure whatever reward he had already obtained by honorable service. All these pernicious effects were absent from Venetian Liberty to the same extent that the greatness of her empire increased and the fire of love and respect towards the Republic burnt stronger and stronger in the hearts of the senators. Then she said she had noticed an even larger disproportion between herself and the monarchies in the punishments, for when she threatened the nobles—even those who were armed and allured by foreign princes—with the terrible and frightening punishment of Senate's

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displeasure and the privation of nobility, there was no Venetian senator who would not run obediently to Venice's side with the bold determination rather to lose his life between the two columns[5] than be deprived of the freedom so highly valued by generously-minded spirits. The was no Venetian senator, she added, who would not willingly suffer death rather than be subjected to a foreign prince, because the Venetian noble was a fish born in the waters of freedom in those lagoons and could not live outside Venice in the element of servitude. . . .

Cornelius Tacitus is chosen as prince of Lesbos but proves an unsuccessful ruler.

Two months ago the prince of Lesbos departed this life, whereupon the electors of that state, which, as everybody knows, has an elective prince, sent ambassadors to Apollo asking him kindly to name someone worthy of such a high title, whom they would willingly choose for their lord. Apollo suggested many worthy men of letters; but the ambassadors thought Cornelius Tacitus was superior to all others, due to his reputation for being a great politician, and therefore deserved to be selected. But before proceeding any further in the negotiations, they went to visit Tacitus and asked him how prudently he would govern them, in the event they should choose him for their prince. He answered the ambassadors' question by speaking of himself in bombastic terms. He said everyone knew his abilities in the science of good government; in fact, so highly valued were his writings everywhere that he thought he might justly boast that modern princes ruled the whole world according to his political precepts. He also said they might easily believe that having taught others how to practice correctly the most sophisticated reason of state, he could put it into practice in his own state better than anybody else. And though, on this occasion, he could have dared to give a complete impromptu speech in their presence on the best way for a prince to govern an elective kingdom well, yet, to show them that he was justly called by the most experienced politicians a true master of the art of governing, he would tell them in a single maxim what satisfaction he intended to give them with his government. This is what he was going to do: he would diligently imitate the late prince in those things which had pleased the people, and differ from him in those that had displeased them. He added that what he had said was the very extract and quintessence of all true politics, distilled by him and thought out by him alone and imparted to them in strictest confidence, for if it were divulged, even shop-keepers and the meanest sort of men would know how to rule kingdoms and govern empires.

The ambassadors were very pleased with what Tacitus had said and assured him that he would be selected; but they also informed him that when he became their prince he would have to use more ordinary words in

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order to be understood better by the people of Lesbos, who were not as learned as those of Parnassus.

Tacitus answered that it was necessary for one like him, whose difficult profession was to speak more sentences than words, to speak obscurely, for sententious phrases and political precepts lost much of their reputation when spoken in grammar-school Latin. He used a complicated style of language to make sure the base rabble would remain ignorant of the political science[6] that should only be known to great kings. Therefore his ideas were only understood by the most elevated minds, whose delicate palates were able to relish them. Yet, for the general good of those who had little understanding of these things, he would bring with him, as his interpreters, Mercerus, Lipsius, Fulvio Orsini, and all the way from Italy he would bring the most affable Curzio Picchena,[7] whose help had been offered him, whenever he needed it, by Grand Duke Ferdinando I of Tuscany, the best scholar who ever came out of the Tacitist school.[8] The ambassadors returned to Lesbos much satisfied with these answers and reported so favorably about Tacitus' wonderful wisdom that, by the general applause of all the people, he was immediately chosen and declared prince.

But the outcome of the government of Tacitus proved contrary to expectations. As soon as he was in office, he began first to sow, and then to nourish, great discord between the nobility and the common people. Since the nobility was more powerful and knowledgeable than the people and the people were naturally intimidated by the great, Tacitus secretly and cunningly sided with the weaker party. The heads of the people, then, much emboldened by the prince's help, grew so intolerably insolent towards the nobility that, in less than a month, Lesbos was burning in the dreadful fire of civil war. In the meantime, Tacitus made sure he appeared to be a lover of universal peace in public. He acted as mediator to reconcile those differences, which in reality he wished to continue; and he shrewdly showed himself so concerned for the good of all people, that he became the absolute arbitrator of the differences between the two sides. Making use of the calamities of others as an instrument to increase his authority, he first infused great fear into the people, making them believe that they would be quickly cut to pieces by the power of the nobility, if they did not find very soon some remedy to preserve their safety. By this means he obtained their agreement that a militia of foreign soldiers, which he frankly called "soldiers of peace," should be admitted into the city to prevent the nobility from overpowering the people. Then he armed this militia with the consent of the nobility, under the pretence that it would be used to curb the people, who had already become too insolent. There were three thousand soldiers, and Tacitus appointed someone he trusted to be their commander. To make sure they might be always faithful to him and ready to serve him whenever he needed them, he obliged them by oaths,

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gifts and wonderful demonstrations of liberality, and he also made them as partial to him as they were inimical both to the nobility and to the people, by allowing them to commit the worst sort of cruel and rapacious acts against everyone else. Having thus strengthened his power, in a few days he filled the senate, the city of Lesbos and the whole state with accusers and cruel spies, whom he incited against the most important nobles. The latter, under the pretext of various faults, were deprived of their possessions and of their offices, with which Tacitus aggrandized and exalted the accusers. Therefore, the chief men of the senate, some because of greed, some because of ambition and many to save their own lives, became wicked ministers of their prince's cruelty and ambition by accusing and slandering the greatest subjects of the state. To those important senators who could not be smeared by false accusations, he gave uninfluential and expensive posts abroad; then little by little and under various pretexts, he disarmed the officers who had long been in charge of the army and put others in their place who were loyal to him. While he abased the powerful by these deep and wicked schemes, he raised new men from among the meanest sort of people, totally dependent on him, to the ranks of senators and other supreme magistrates. Then, under the pretext of protecting against the invasions of foreign princes, he began to surround the state with impregnable citadels in the hands of foreign friends. He hated to see the people and the nobility armed, but he knew that trying to disarm them would be a dangerous business; so he accomplished his goal in a safe and effective way by giving them a long peace, idleness, wantonness and by using severe justice against those who fought necessary duels to defend points of honor. And to make sure that even the last trace of virtù[9] was eradicated from his subjects' souls, he had costly theaters built in the capital city, where games, plays, hunts and other delightful spectacles were staged all the time, so that the people and the nobility, constantly absorbed in these activities, abandoned their ancient involvement in public affairs and the thought of military exercises. Since he knew very well that to reach his desired goal of imposing a tyrannical government upon people who were born free and had been living in freedom for a long time, it was necessary to stun them with abundance, by keeping them perpetually satiated, he did everything in his power to ensure that there was always great store of all good things in his state.

Up to this point, Tacitus' affairs had been successful. But when he tried to implement the last precept of tyranny, by threatening to kill some great senators of whom he was jealous, he incurred ruthless and universal hatred. To avoid being killed by a great conspiracy, which he discovered was plotted against him, he fled Lesbos incognito six days ago and returned to lead a private life in Parnassus. Pliny the Younger,[10] the best friend Tacitus ever had (as all the learned know), was the first to visit him there. With typical Roman frankness, he severely reprimanded his friend,

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who after prescribing such excellent rules of good government for others, had himself fared so poorly in his principality of Lesbos. Pliny himself reports Tacitus' answer: "Heaven is not so far from Earth, my dear Pliny, and snow is not so far in color from coal, as actual governing is far from writing beautiful precepts of political theory and excellent rules of reason of state. The maxim I had Galba teach to Piso,[11] which has won me so much credit among men and has been esteemed an oracle, and which the ignorant think may be easy to put into practice, was no good when I tried to enforce it, because the metamorphosis from a private man to a prince is too great. And you have to know that private men hate and detest many things as great defects and obvious vices in princes that are otherwise virtues and exquisite qualities. I tell you this, for, as soon as I was chosen as prince of Lesbos, I was resolved to steer the ship of my principality by the safe North Star of that maxim. Therefore I inquired about all my predecessor's actions, firmly resolved to imitate him in those things that had been praised and differ from him in those that had been criticized. I found out that he had greatly offended the Senate by assuming so much power, that had taken over the prerogatives of all the magistrates until all that was left of their offices was empty names. I realized that he was much hated for underestimating the nobility and for taking over all affairs of state. And I also discovered that his strict manner of governing the state of Lesbos by absolute power, like an hereditary prince, rather than by limited authority, like an elected official, had alienated everybody. While I was a private man, I thought this way of government was brutish and altogether tyrannical, and therefore I resolved to shun it. But you have to know that the very first hour I was in office, I felt the accursed power of rule uprooting and eradicating those good resolutions and first wise determinations in me; and I might say, *absolute sway had power to convulse and transform* me.[12] I began to think that my predecessor's actions, which as a private man I considered brutish, imprudent, insolent and tyrannical, were instead virtuous and not done haphazardly but according to good precepts, political resolutions and necessary reason of state. Unable to resist the violent ambition of government that possessed me, I began to think I would be baser than a porter if I did not arrogate to myself the whole power of the tiny state of Lesbos, where the prince's authority is severely limited. My inordinate desire caused dissatisfaction among the senate and the people of Lesbos, which brought about my fall. All these disorders, my dear Pliny, occurred not because of my ignorance, but because of my excessive knowledge. In the elective principality of Lesbos, the people live between liberty and slavery and *can endure neither complete slavery nor complete liberty.*[13] He who wants to reign there quietly for a long time must not only resolve to leave things the way he found them but must also be a peaceful soul, alien to ambition and able to put into practice the difficult precept, 'live and let live.' Politicians like me

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are by nature anxious to have all the power in their hands and want to measure everything by their reason of state. We therefore do very poorly in the government of elective principalities. . . ."

Niccolò Machiavelli, banished from Parnassus upon pain of death, was found hidden in a friend's library, for which the former sentence against him is put in execution.

Niccolò Machiavelli was banished from Parnassus and its territories many years ago, with severe punishment to him if he returned as well as to anyone who dared to give shelter in his library to such a dangerous man. Nevertheless, last week he was arrested at the house of a friend, who kept him hidden in his library. The judges immediately certified his identity, and this morning he was scheduled to be burnt. But he asked His Majesty to be granted permission to say a few things in his own defense before the tribunal which had condemned him. Apollo, with his usual kindness, told him to send his lawyers, assuring him that they would be listened to. Machiavelli replied that he wanted to represent himself because Florentines did not need anybody to speak for them; and his demand was granted. He was then brought before the criminal Quarantia,[14] and this is what he said in his own defense: "Here I am, O king of the learned, that same Niccolò Machiavelli who was condemned as a seducer and corrupter of mankind and as a spreader of scandalous political precepts. I do not intend to defend my own writings, which I publicly accuse and condemn as wicked, full of cruel and execrable documents for the government of states. So, if what I have published is a doctrine invented by me, I desire the sentence against me by the judges to be executed without mercy. On the other hand, if my writings contain nothing but such political precepts and rules of state as I have derived from the actions of some princes, whose names, if Your Majesty gives me permission, I will give here, and whom no one can criticize without risking one's life, would it be just or reasonable that they, the authors of those angry and desperate policies, should be held sacred while I, who only published them, should be considered a knave and an atheist? I cannot see why an original should be adored as holy and its copy burnt as execrable, and why I should be so much persecuted while the reading of history, not only universally allowed but greatly commended, has the well-known virtue of turning all who look at it with a political eye into so many Machiavellis. For people are not as simple as many believe them to be, and it is therefore improbable that those who by the greatness of their minds have been able to find out the most hidden secrets of nature might not also have the judgment to discover the true ends of the princes' actions, however cunningly hidden. And if princes want to keep their subjects foolish and dull, the better to deceive them, they must do as the Turks and the Muscovites do and prohibit

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letters, which turn blind intellects into so many Arguses, or never achieve their ends. For hypocrisy, so widespread today in the world, has no more power to enforce belief than the stars, which may only cause a certain inclination, have to enforce behavior."

The judges were greatly impressed by these speeches and were ready to revoke the sentence, when the magistrate told them Machiavelli had been deservedly condemned for the abominable and execrable precepts contained in his writings and ought to be punished severely again for having been found in the middle of the night among a flock of sheep, in whose mouths he was trying to put false dog's teeth, thereby damaging shepherds, whose presence in the world is extremely necessary. It was really an indecent and annoying thing to think that, by means of his actions, shepherds would now be forced to put on breast-plates and gauntlets when they wanted to milk or shear their sheep. How much would the prices of wool and cheese shoot up if shepherds had to be more wary of their own sheep than of wolves, and if they could no longer keep their flocks obedient with a whistle and a crook, but had to employ a regiment of dogs, and if hurdles made of rope could no longer keep the sheep in at night, but walls, bulwarks and ditches with counterscarps after the modern manner had to be put up? The judges thought these accusations were very serious, therefore they all voted to have the sentence executed against such a wicked man. They also published a fundamental law that from then on, anyone who dared to teach the world such scandalous things should be considered a rebel against mankind. They all agreed that it was not the wool, cheese or lambs which made sheep precious to men, but their great simplicity and meekness, and that a single shepherd could never tend a great number of sheep unless they were deprived of horns, teeth and intelligence. Therefore, trying to make simple men malicious and to make moles, which Mother Nature had wisely made blind, see the light, would be to turn the world upside down. . . .

Apollo receives great news by express carrier from Italy and communicates it to the learned with much jubilation.

. . . Apollo appeared in the hall with his most serene Muses, took out of his breast the letters that the carrier had brought him from Italy, showed them to everybody and said: "My beloved learned. The world, which never ceases to produce princes of eminent virtue and private persons of excellent learning, will produce them in great number forever hereafter. In fact, thanks to the protection of immortal God, learning, which once vacillated under the weight of the barbarians, cannot perish. Rejoice then with me, be blithe and merry for the great and happy news that I just received from Italy. The most virtuous and serene prince of the modern men of letters, Francesco Maria [II] Della Rovere, duke of Urbino,[15] has

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realized that the sacred justice which eternal God has desired among men on this earth in order to ensure that disagreements about *mine* and *thine* might be immediately resolved to everybody's satisfaction, has now become corrupted by the unfortunate efforts of an infinite number of lawyers. They, by their writings, have buried the wholesome laws in the ditches of caution and the abyss of confusion. To the three horrible scourges from God—war, plague or famine—a fourth has been added, that of litigation, a scourge which greatly afflicts the mind and consumes the wealth of the largest patrimony and is therefore more cruel than the other three. This disorder, my beloved, is all the more harmful to mankind because, although it is known and complained of by everyone, people have given up on it as an incurable disease and so far no physician has been found who dares undertake the responsibility of curing it. But God, who by his inscrutable judgments has let such disorders reign among men this long, now at last, out of his natural goodness in refusing to allow evil and errors reign long upon the earth, has given the world a new Justinian.[16] This man is none other than Francesco Maria [II] Della Rovere, who, with resolution worthy to be remembered for all eternity, has drawn sacred justice out of the darkness and confusion into which misguided lawyers had thrown it by the infinite labours of their embroiled writings. He has published a holy edict commanding that no lawyer, in pleading for his clients before any judge of the state, will be allowed to allege anything but the laws themselves, Accursius's Gloss, the Commentaries of Bartolus, Baldus, Paolo de Castro and Giasone; and in the field of criminal law Angelo's *On Crimes* and a few other authorities.[17] This is an excellent decree, since I cannot think without shedding many tears about how lawsuits have become so unfortunately long-lasting in all tribunals that the cavils raised will never be resolved in any one person's lifetime. Yet everyone knows that among the Turks, who on this subject are wise without books in spite of their ignorance, similar disputes would be resolved and decided with one hearing. Add to this, my beloved, that the pernicious disease of eternal lawsuits, which ought to be banished with the utmost care from the states of all the princes who fear God and have their people's welfare at heart, has become, to the ultimate misery of mankind, a horrible and deadly business run by useless men. While they suck the vital blood of artisans, farmers, merchants and others who furnish us with commerce and rob their victims of all their wealth, to the detriment of the public good, nothing is more talked about in the world than the enormous inheritances left by lawyers, notaries, cops, attorneys and judges."

His Majesty, having said this, started walking towards the main temple of Parnassus accompanied by an infinite number of learned listeners. When he got there, he asked God with all his heart to grant a long life to Francesco Maria for the universal good, to fill the world with princes like him and to awaken in the other potentates of the world the same honorable

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and holy thoughts as those which that wise prince had managed to put in execution in his happy country. For even the most tranquil minds could scarcely tolerate the sad and miserable spectacle of justice administration reduced to such confusion that the common, more common, most common, nay, more than most common opinions of private jurists were more authoritative at the bar than the authority of the law itself, while suits had become so interminable and expensive that those involved were better advised to give up their patrimony than to defend it with so much mental anguish before these cruel harpies.

17. Antonio Serra, *Why Naples is Poorer than Venice*

Heavy fiscal pressures imposed by Spain's military necessities were a common complaint in Naples, but the Spanish-appointed viceroys and the nobles in control of the larger cities managed to maintain a semblance of public order first of all by successful grain provisioning policies especially in the city of Naples, controlling prices and distribution to prevent the regular grain shortages typical of old regime agriculture from degenerating into famine.[1] Furthermore, interest in the fiscal system, one of the most lucrative in Europe, was distributed among tens of thousands of citizens, including those with investments in the funds themselves and those concerned in the management of the gabels and taxes that furnished the interest on them. These practices had some disadvantages. Fiscal drag and the opportunity for safe incomes in the state funds diverted attention away from large-scale commerce and industry. The underdevelopment of industry slowed the absorption into the Neapolitan urban economy of poor immigrants fleeing the countryside due to high rents, foreclosures and the enclosure of common land for grazing. In the *City of the Sun* (1602), Tommaso Campanella said that in Naples alone, around 50,000 of the nearly three hundred thousand inhabitants were idle. To be fair, some industries continued to thrive by producing luxury silk cloths for export as well as household products for local distribution; and goods like raw silk and wool, oil, olives, wine and grain circulated to a pan-Italian and sometimes pan-European market. Antonio Serra, lawyer in Cosenza, considered the economic crisis in this brief memoir submitted in 1613 to viceroy Pedro Fernández de Castro, count of Lemos. In it, he presented the classic argument for early mercantilism, later elaborated by Thomas Mun and others. The usual approach to national wealth based on maintaining the local money supply by raising exchange rates, he pointed out, was ineffectual at preventing the outflow of currency and tended simply to put local merchants at a disadvantage. The true solution was to redress the

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balance of trade by encouraging more industries capable of turning local raw materials into finished goods.

Venice versus Naples

The kingdom of Naples has food enough not only for its own use but it also exports more than 6,000,000 ducats' worth per year. Venice, on the other hand, does not have nearly enough in its own territories for its own provisioning. It does not export any victuals, and indeed it must spend nearly 8,000,000 ducats per year or more on food.

Gold and silver money in Naples is valued higher than anywhere in Italy, including Venice. Silver brought into Naples from anywhere in Italy earns about 5% or more; and gold, which does not have a fixed price and can be said not to circulate as money, earns much more, according to the usual rate. On the other hand, Neapolitan money brought into any part of Italy loses around 8%. And anyone who does not believe this, let him try to discover his error and learn the truth, as more will be said about this later on.

Gold and silver money is valued at such a low price in Venice compared to Naples that silver, taken from Venice into Naples, earns around 5%, as has been said, and gold earns more, according to the going rate. On the contrary, when money is brought from Naples to Venice one loses, as has been said, according to the conditions of Naples; yet when money is brought from Venice into other parts of Italy or from those into Venice, one pays only the cost of minting.

From Naples no outflow of foreign or local money, of gold or of silver, is allowed, under most heavy penalties and the loss of the said money, and at present the fine is triple.

Any quantity of Venetian money can flow out of Venice, although not foreign money; and every year more than 5,000,000 ducats flow out to the Levant alone.

In Naples, the revenues are priced so low that they yield around 7 1/2% or 8%, and even at 10%;[2] and because the [government's] debts are many and money is scarce, any large sum can be employed that way.

In Venice, revenues are so high-priced that their yield is no more than 4 or 5%, so that no one would make much by employing his money in them.

His Catholic Majesty's revenues from the Kingdom of Naples are entirely spent in and die there, because none at all is put away in the treasury and he frequently has to send there as much as millions in cash; and anyway it would be difficult to put any of that revenue away, since

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they are almost all sold and converted into pay for beneficiaries and militia of the kingdom.

In Venice, all the incomes of the Signoria[3] are not spent, but most are put in the treasury; and after the debt incurred in the year 1570-71 for the navy was retired by Procurator Priuli, nearly 600,000 ducats are placed in the office of the depository every year besides what is brought into the mint.

Therefore, considering the conditions of both cities, Naples should be in a powerful position to abound in money, whereas Venice ought to have very little. Nonetheless, the opposite actually happens, and Venice abounds in money while Naples lacks it. The causes for these opposite effects must therefore be considered.

Why Venice Abounds in Gold and Silver

The conditions of the city of Venice all point to the outflow of money, whereas those of Naples point to its inflow; so the former ought to be poor and the latter ought to be rich in money. Nonetheless, the effects are the opposite, and Venice is rich while Naples is poor. The cause of this opposite effect must now be found. We start with Venice. Since outflow necessarily presupposes inflow (because otherwise it would be impossible) the problem will be to discover why the inflow is so great that it not only equals but so far surpasses the outflow as to produce the observed abundance of money. Once this is discovered, there will be no more reason to marvel at the contradiction previously mentioned. And without any doubt, since that city possesses to perfection the three necessary features—namely, numerous artisans, abundant commerce, and wise government policies—these features must be regarded as the reasons why it possesses an inflow not only equal to the said outflow but also enough to produce the observed abundance.

It will not cost me much effort to prove the existence of the first two features mentioned above, which are as well known to those who have not visited the city as to those who have. The third must be known from the observed effects, because, as has been said, the government's policies promote and preserve the arts and commerce by preserving order, without which nothing in the world can work well, just as confusion, on the contrary, produces all evils and is one of the miseries in hell. Indeed, the arts, commerce and policies produce an income so great that, even subtracting the money flowing out, the city is still richer than any other not only in Italy but also elsewhere, including places possessing gold and silver mines. These features are such that they aid and improve one another: abundant commerce aids and improves the feature concerned with the presence of artisans, who thereupon multiply; while the multiplication and improvement of the artisans aids and improves commerce. Likewise,

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the policies of the government maintain and support the good functioning of these other features. By removing whatever impediments might occur, they encourage the artisans and merchants already present in the city to remain and practice their arts and commerce there and attract others from elsewhere by offers of every possible facilitation. Other particular provisions supply opportunities and everything necessary for both of these groups, as occasions arise.

However, concerning abundant commerce and wise government policies, the city in question has some peculiarities that distinguish it from other places where these features might be introduced. As regards commerce, first of all, it has a particularly favorable position. And as regards government policies, what is unique is that it has always been under the same government. Other principalities and republics have never had this continuity because in monarchies the government cannot be more than fifty years or so with the same king in possession of the same knowledge, judgment and experience. Where the prince does not reside, government lasts only as long as the office of the viceroy, as is well known. A government in a monarchy can last only as long as the king who governs. Afterwards, whether the successor is his son or someone else, the next government will not be the same as before, because, as the proverb says, "new king, new law." The new king will not always agree with the opinion of his predecessor, and he will not know what the predecessor judged to be a disorder in the kingdom, nor what provision his predecessor had made or still had to make to remedy the disorders that past experience showed to be corrigible by the same provision or to remedy the new disorders that occur. There is no certainty that, as the new king begins to feel his way, he will be successful. This is why the subjects of the Papal State, because of the continuous change, do not experience the good government they would experience if the government were stable.

But the government of Venice, conceived from its first origins in order to produce good government, and having as its unique object the public benefit, has made many diverse provisions and continued to improve the old ones or get rid of them according to the circumstances. Particularly concerning the creation of magistrates and rulers, a similar set of practices has never been conceived in any other lordship or republic. Experience has shown that no dominion or republic in the world ever lasted as long as Venice, which is still inviolate almost 1,200 years since its founding as a refuge from the scourge of Attila.[4] The procedures for creating magistrates are so perfect that there can be no intimidation or granting of favors, as knowledgeable observers know well, and no candidates can rise to the highest degree who do not have experience, and they cannot even rise to the lowest and middling ones if they have behaved badly. The Council of the "pregai"[5] is the supreme ruler of all, just as the ancient senate in Rome, with the power to make and unmake laws and to make war and peace. And

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there are always around 150 senators or more,[6] who in effect have life tenure, and who have experience in past magistracies. And no magistrate ever has supreme power for even a moment without the consent of the council of the "pregai." The order of this government being thus, necessarily it will always be the same. . . .

How the Conditions of Naples make it Poor in Gold and Silver

Just as the above conditions of Venice affect the outflow of money, and we have explained what causes its inflow, so, by contrast, conditions in Naples favor inflow without outflow. The well-known disappearance of the money flowing into Naples is even more marvelous than Venice's abundance, and an explanation must be sought. One of the two propositions must be false: either the supposed outflow must not exist in reality, or else the supposed inflow must not exist, because otherwise there would be a contradiction. This difficulty amazes everyone, and De Santis,[7] unable to find any other solution, blamed the lack of inflow and the excessive outflow on the very high exchange rate. This opinion will be discussed later, and the small or nonexistent inflow into Naples and the destination of the outflow will be explained without taking the high or low exchange rate into any consideration at all.

To discover the truth, both propositions must be evaluated and we must not assume anything unless it is certain and appropriate. Knowing the truth about the inflow of money is essential, and, as we said above, according to the opinion of the said De Santis, this ought to be some 5,000,000 ducats each year, after deducting the outlay for goods that must be imported from outside, which, according to his view, may amount to 600,000 ducats, and the revenues sold to foreigners amounting to the same again. So if the total income from export of goods is circa 6,000,000 ducats or more and we subtract circa 1,200,000 ducats' worth of incomes, some 5,000,000 ducats ought to remain every year. Since the export of commodities worth 6,000,000 ducats is assumed, which ought to bring in that much money, there is no need to dispute that point but only to find out whether the income actually comes in, and if it does, where it goes. So the question is: whether there is indeed another outflow of money and whether the money ever actually flows in. In fact, the outflow is far greater than the previously mentioned sum; and the revenues and industries of foreigners, added to the goods imported, amount to far more than the quantity of money [flowing in]; therefore, the opinion [of De Santis] must not be true. And this is why Naples is poor in gold and silver although the value of things exported is circa 6,000,000 ducats per year.

To understand this, it is necessary to keep in mind what goods Naples needs to import, whether they are necessary, convenient or delightful to the persons in the kingdom. Then we must consider how much they are

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worth and what effect this produces. For they must be considered as an outflow of money; because otherwise the goods exported could not with any consistency be regarded as an inflow of money.

First of all, the kingdom clearly has no artisans making fine woolen clothing; therefore, clothing is imported (as De Santis says in talking about the sixth result which he believes a decree would produce). As a rough approximation, let us consider that the kingdom consists of around a million hearths including freehold and feudal. Counting the persons in each hearth and how many can dress in fine clothes, and keeping in mind that besides all the nobles and merchants and wealthy citizens, every mediocre artisan has clothes made of the cloths in question at least for feast days, and considering the cost of a piece of clothing and how long it lasts, the whole sum will arrive at 3,000,000 ducats. I will be content to place this outflow of money for cloths at less than 2,000,000 ducats. To this must be added priests and friars and monks who all for the most part dress in imported clothing, which amounts to something. So that our estimate can be said to be on the low side rather than in excess of reality.

Besides this, the kingdom needs all the apothecary's products, both simple, such as rhubarb, agaric and others, and compound like theriac and mithridate,[8] almost all of which come from Venice. Likewise, all the spices must be imported, including pepper, cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, ginger, myrrh, incense, storax, benzuin and infinite others. There are also not enough sugars.

Now, considering the greatness of the kingdom and the number of all such things, especially pepper, of which no family consumes less than a half a ducat, and the same goes for the spicy simples, and counting everything in proportion to the other things, the total will perhaps come to the same amount as the cloths, or a little less.

Furthermore, all drugs,[9] both artificial and natural, are imported, and most of them from Venice, since the Kingdom is very lacking in substances such as vitriol,[10] mercury, sublimate, cinnabar, antinomy, arsenic, orpiment,[11] verdigris,[12] sal ammoniac, white lead, red lead, tutty,[13] camphor, alum, brazil,[14] and all things for dyeing and coloring, as well as other drugs in great numbers. Although a small quantity of these things might seem sufficient and a great quantity might seem unnecessary because they are not used by everyone but only by particular people, I say that joined to the other things already mentioned and considering the greatness of the kingdom, their necessity in the crafts brings them to a considerable quantity. Still other things that do not serve for the crafts nor for any other necessity or convenience except pure caprice, come to considerable quantities given the size of the kingdom. The amount of sublimate[15] consumed, which serves for nothing else but to rub on women's faces, calculating the size of the kingdom, amounts to perhaps a million ducats.

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Likewise, this kingdom has no mine of metals except iron, and even this is not sufficient for its needs, so a considerable amount must be purchased abroad. All copper, too, comes from abroad, as also all lead and tin. And considering the necessary use of the said metals, particularly copper and tin for artillery and bells, and personal use as well, anyone can imagine the quantity imported. Likewise all brass is imported.

Furthermore, all books on the sciences and the arts must be imported; and although there are printers in Naples, they might as well be nonexistent for this purpose, since they do not print such books but only things of little substance. And likewise everything having to do with glass.

At times, grain must be imported, as in the last few years, when scarcely a *denaro* of weight remained in stock, so the price increased by ten percent. Likewise there is not enough paper.

All delicate linen fabrics such as holland, orleans and cambrics also are imported, and so is ordinary linen. Likewise all arms. The craft of making arquebuses, morions[16] and corselets[17] has been introduced recently, but it is not extensive. Besides these and other manufactured goods, there are many products of the kingdom which our lazy inhabitants do not know how to craft, so the crafted goods must be imported, at the cost of whatever the goods are worth. For example, the refined sugar called *panetto* [in lumps] comes from Venice. Although sugar is made in the kingdom and there is a sugar cane business, such is the lack of industry that no one cares to learn the craft of refining it. Instead, it is brought from Venice, paying double. Likewise with the whitening of wax.[18] Occasionally someone has tried one or the other of these trades at the instigation of foreigners, but without success. An account of all the things imported into the kingdom, and particularly manufactured goods, would fill a book, and a close analysis would reveal that the outflow of money surpasses the inflow.

But even assuming that it does not (as far as commodity trade is concerned), still one must take into account the revenues accruing to foreigners in the kingdom [from loans] to His Majesty or to private individuals, and their possessions, along with the manufactures they operate in the kingdom, which manufactures are for the most part in the hands of foreigners. The natives, due to their negligence or, one should say, indifference, not only fail to establish industries in foreign countries but cannot do anything with their own products in their own country even though they see foreigners do so. I declare that all these things must be taken into consideration; the foreigners who have money in the kingdom from either revenues or industries do not even have to bring money in from outside to be able to take products out, because they can buy them with these very incomes and industries. De Santis affirms that this amount does not come to more than 600,000 ducats; and even if he meant to include only the revenues alone and not all the other things mentioned, he

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was still wrong. Later he forgets what he said on this subject when he points out that foreigners do not convert their thirds[19] into capital, and explains this with the fact that there are no products left in which to invest, since they have already sucked the blood from all the individuals in the kingdom, and there is no more life left. Considering all this, one must conclude that if the foreigners wished to and did purchase and take out as much as they could with the money they have in the kingdom from incomes or industries, the amount would equal or exceed the value of the 6,000,000 ducats' worth of goods exported, especially when added to the necessary outflow for purchasing the goods that must be imported into the kingdom; and let us not forget that there is no other reason for money to flow into the kingdom except to pay for the 6,000,000 ducats' worth of goods exported. The kingdom does not remain entirely exhausted of money for this reason: because the foreigners do not invest all the money from their revenues and industries in the purchase of goods for export and prefer to keep some of it here, finding greater convenience in keeping a good quantity of money in the kingdom for more investment either in industries or in the public debt. And yet, if His Catholic Majesty or some private persons had not responded to the great scarcity of money by bringing in some quantities of money or silver occasionally for their private interest, total dearths would certainly have occurred several times. Indeed, if private persons had not brought some in during the past year, the extreme penury would have been obvious to all. Which sums, although small, have looked very large and sufficient to remedy the scarcity of money in the kingdom: a clear indication of its poverty. From what has been said the reason for the lack of money in Naples should be clear; indeed, what small amount there is should seem remarkable. Finally, the high or low exchange rate is obviously not the cause of any penury or abundance, but other causes and other remedies must be found. . . .

18. Virgilio Malvezzi, *Discourses on Cornelius Tacitus*

Unlike Boccalini, Virgilio Malvezzi was only at the beginning of a distinguished career in public life when he burst on the literary scene in 1622 at age twenty-six with his *Discourses on Cornelius Tacitus*.[1] These were anxious times for political observers. The first rumblings of the Thirty Years' War were already being heard in Italy; and Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy's efforts to play the main protagonists, France and Spain, off against each other seemed likely to draw the war down deep into Italy. Worse yet, 1621 had been a famine year for most of the peninsula's northern states; and commercial economies seemed to be

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sliding deeper and deeper into depression. How to maintain authority in such situations was a growing problem for political thought. Malvezzi, born in Bologna of noble parents in 1595, his father a senator and his mother an Orsini of Rome, at first observed politics from afar. After finishing his law degree at the local university in 1616 he followed his family to Siena, where his father had been appointed governor of the city for Grand Duke Cosimo II. There he cultivated his love for painting and studied astrology, medicine, and, above all, politics. And what he lacked in personal experience of government he made up for in his powers of observation and analysis—both of his father's operation and of the classic texts, ancient and modern.

In good Machiavellian style, Virgilio Malvezzi chose to frame his political science as a comment on an ancient writer—not on Livy, the historian of the Roman Republic, but on Tacitus, the historian of the Empire also adopted by Boccalini in work published before the *Reports from Parnassus*. Like Machiavelli and Boccalini, he sought to use his chosen author's text merely as an organizing principle and a springboard for his own ideas. And by adding the accumulated experience of the ancient world to his own, he came up with a number of practical suggestions. He expressed them in an innovative style aiming to strike a balance between the scientific rigor of scholastic treatises on politics, like that of Juan de Mariana on the one hand, and, on the other, the discursive style of Boccalini's *Reports*. Keenly aware of the predominance of princely governments in his time, he pointed out the role of public opinion and the need for good public relations. He insisted on the human causes of events, while situating earthly affairs in the widest context possible. He showed his awareness of the perils of writing under the patronage system. His *Discourses* were an immediate success and were printed in two other editions and an English translation.

Malvezzi's entrance into public life and chance to implement some of his ideas was postponed for several years by a duelling incident that sent him into exile and a brief career as a soldier in Spanish service. Then in 1627 he returned to Bologna to serve as senator, while participating actively in the artistic life of the city, including relations with Guido Reni. Thinly-veiled flattery in his 1635 tract on statesmanship cemented his alliance with the count-duke of Olivares, who thereupon invited him to Spain. His trajectory at court followed that of his patron Olivares. Invited to the Councils of State and War, he soon went on a diplomatic mission to England during the Civil War and served as counsellor to the Cardinal Infante, Ferdinand, governor of the Netherlands. After the Portuguese revolution and the fall of Olivares, he returned to public office in Bologna around 1646, with a rich stipend as official historian to Philip IV,

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responsible for writing about some events in which he had personally taken part, a task on which he worked periodically until his death in 1653.

Tenth Discourse: How hard it is to write history; and when writers may be most easily found and which should be believed.

> *But, while the glories and disasters of the old Roman commonwealth have been chronicled by famous pens, and intellects of distinction were not lacking to tell the tale of the Augustan age, until the rising tide of sycophancy deterred them, the histories of Tiberius and Caligula, of Claudius and Nero were falsified through cowardice while they flourished, and composed when they fell, under the influence of still rankling hatreds.*[2]

The above-mentioned words of Tacitus give me occasion for two discourses, one concerning the writing of history, the other concerning flattery. As to the first, I intend to show the difficulty of writing history, what dangers historians face, of whom it is easier to write and in what time. The difficulty may arise from the disinterested reader as well as from the committed reader, and from the times in which one writes.

Now, to begin with the general, that is, with the disinterested reader, the historian will surely find difficulty persuading such a reader of the truth of what he says. For he must relate actions that are either worthy of praise or of blame; if he blames, this may be attributed to his malice, whereas if he praises, this may be received with envy, as Thucydides attests through Pericles' funeral oration to the people of Athens for those slain in war. The praises of the dead, if heard by friends, never seem enough; if by strangers, as long as the listeners believe they could have done the deeds themselves, the praises are received with patience, but passing that bound are ridiculed as fables or else envied. Sallust drew this case out of Thucydides when he said, *I regard the writing of history as one of the most difficult of tasks: first, because the style and diction must be equal to the deeds recorded; and in the second place, because such criticisms as you make of others' shortcomings are thought by most men to be due to malice and envy. Furthermore, when you commemorate the distinguished merit and fame of good men, while everyone is quite ready to believe you when you tell things which he thinks he could easily do himself, everything beyond that he regards as fictitious, if not false.*[3] Between these two extremes, then, the writer will be more believed and esteemed who in blaming discovers the vices and defects of others than the writer who, in praising, makes others' virtues too resplendent; because a reader sees himself praised if he does not have the vices for which another

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is blamed, and he sees himself blamed if he does not find those virtues exalted by the writer. Besides, blame being always accompanied by danger and praise always by benefit, he who blames will be taken as a free and sincere man, whereas he who praises will be taken for a flatterer. Perhaps Tacitus was thinking of this when he said, *they listen with ready ears to calumny and spite; for flattery is subject to the shameful charge of servility, but malignity makes a false show of independence*.[4]

The second difficulty comes from the people for whom one writes. These may be either princes or republics. If a prince, he may be either virtuous or vicious. If the prince is vicious, whether the historian writes about the prince's ancestors or about someone similar to him, he will take the open recounting of the faults of others as a secret reproof of his own. Tacitus learnedly expressed this when he said, *you will still find those who, from a likeness of character, read the ill deeds of others as an innuendo against themselves*.[5] Likewise, the reader will take the praise of the virtues of some other prince or of his own ancestors as an upbraiding for his own vices, and thereupon be moved to indignation and envy, and his lack of virtue will make him hear the praise of others with ill will. Tacitus says: *Even glory and virtue create their enemies—they arraign their opposites by too close a contrast*.[6] Which our Lord God meant to indicate through Ezechiel: *But thou, son of man, shew to the house of Israel the temple and let them be ashamed of their iniquities, and let them measure the building: and be ashamed of all that they have done*.[7] And St. Gregory, expounding on that passage, said the Temple of God is thrown into confusion when a wicked man sees the acts of a just one; and God, to show that a wicked man cannot bear to hear about the lives of good men, says, *to show the temple* and not *that they should see the temple*, meaning *to relate the deeds of the virtuous to those who refuse to consider them on their own accord*.[8] Therefore, they will hear about them with ill will; and knowing this, Tacitus refrained from writing the life of Agricola, a good man, in the time of wicked emperors, and only took it up in the time of Trajan, having seen examples of so many writers losing their lives and having their books burnt for publishing histories of good men while living under wicked princes, without any benefit to those of whom they wrote. So he says: *It is recorded that when Rusticus Arulenus extolled Thrasea Paetus, when Herennus Senecio extolled Helvidius Priscus, their praise became capital offence, so that the persecution fell not merely on the authors themselves but on the very books*.[9] A historian runs an even greater risk under a wicked prince if he seeks to write the history of that prince. For if he conceals the vices, he will show himself to be an obvious flatterer and an imprudent historian, since a historian without truth, Polybius says, is as useless as a sightless animal.[10] On the other hand, if he professes the truth, he may be digging his own grave.

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If the historian writes under a good prince, he will be relating the actions of the prince or else of the prince's house. If he writes of the prince, the historian can never avoid suspicion. It is not enough to say that there will be no need to depart from the truth in such cases, because few men do not conceive of their own actions or do not wish others to believe their own actions to be greater than they are; and when they find the historian does not correspond to their own high opinion of themselves or to the one they wish to communicate, they will think he blames them by insufficient praise. If the historian under a virtuous prince writes of the prince's family, another important difficulty arises. For most cities and provinces have been republics at one time and became kingdoms usually with the shedding of the blood of the citizens and very often that of the princes. Writing of these things under the prince who is now lord of the city is dangerous whether he is good or bad—first of all, because of the effect on the citizens, who reading of the deaths of their ancestors may be stirred to hatred, or reading of their own greatness in the time of the republic may conceive desires. Taking into consideration the greatness they had and the injuries they suffered and unable to revenge the latter or repair the former except by the death of the prince, they are often drawn into cruel conspiracies. Secondly, the prince, reading such histories, seeing continually before his eyes the citizens whose ancestors either killed or at least conspired against his ancestors and unable to imagine they could love him, may find himself unable to love them, knowing that things tolerated because of force will never be tolerated when the force is removed. To this may be added another difficulty on the part of the citizens who feel indignation at hearing their ancestors' disgraces related in histories. This is what Tacitus meant when he said, *but of many, who underwent either the legal penalty or a form of degradation in the principate of Tiberius, the descendants remain.*[11] And Tacitus himself often refrains from writing about such things, as when he says of those who suffered calamities under Nero, *they have passed away, and I regard it as a debt to their ancestors not to record them by name.*[12] The danger of writing about wars waged by these princes or their ancestors is well attested by the example of Cremutius Cordus, who for praising Brutus and Cassius was forced miserably to end his life, as Tacitus relates.[13] True, this only happened under wicked princes like Tiberius. For Augustus, as Tacitus said, took such things in good humor rather than becoming indignant.[14] And so much for princes.

Now in writing histories under a republic, a thousand other difficulties emerge. First, if the historian writes about the origins, he will make himself odious to all in general and everyone in particular. To all in general because all things having but weak beginnings, men prefer to hear the story of the republic in the prime of power rather than in the weakness of infancy. To particular persons because they can scarcely take any

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pleasure in hearing about the origins of their houses, which are usually most humble; for which reason such writings have been banned in some cities. Livy expresses this concept most effectively when he says, *and at the same time I doubt not that to most readers the earliest origins and the period immediately succeeding them will give little pleasure, for they will be in haste to reach these modern times, in which the might of a people which has long been very powerful is working its own undoing.*[15] If historians write about wars under a republic, they run the same risk mentioned before under a prince when they excessively praise those against whom the war was fought. Besides, in these matters it is easier to offend a republic, which consists of many, than a kingdom, which consists of one. So writing the truth of one seems easier than of many, and yet more dangerous, because the hatred of private citizens may be shunned but the hatred that comes from the public person of the prince and reaches one's life and goods is impossible to avoid. Therefore, writing about a prince is dangerous, whether he be good or bad, and whether the actions be his own or his ancestors' and whether in foreign wars or in domestic ones. And writing about republics is likewise dangerous, not only when this is about their origins but also about every other time.

Let us now inquire whether it is easier to find historians under a kingdom or under a republic.

The prince may be a tyrant and living, or the republic may be corrupt and continue; and while it continues, love of country will prevent almost every citizen from disclosing things which ought to be kept secret. Likewise, while a tyrant lives, fear will prevent almost everyone from revealing his misdeeds. Therefore, the most wise Solomon in his Proverb says, *and the name of the wicked shall rot*[16]—not *does* rot, because in his own time his stench is not smelled; or, to say better, no one will be so bold as to discover it. And in either form of government, any historian bold enough to write will surely flatter. So Tacitus says the histories *of Tiberius and Caligula . . . and Nero were falsified through cowardice while they flourished.*[17] Historians care little about those who come after them and consider only their own interest. Knowing the effort required just to survive in those times, they lose their desire to write histories; and even if they wanted to do so, they could not, since public affairs are not revealed to them, are alien to them, not governed by them, not attended to by them, are in the hands of the prince alone and are therefore not understood by them. This Tacitus recognized when he said: *But after the battle of Actium when the interests of peace required that all the power should be concentrated in the hands of one man, writers of like ability disappeared; and at the same time historical truth was impaired in many ways: first, because men were ignorant of politics as being not any concern of theirs; later, because of their passionate desire to flatter; or again, because of their hatred of their masters. So between the hostility of the one class and*

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the servility of the other, posterity was disregarded.[18] If this tyrant prince be dead, and the tyranny altered, or if the corrupt republic is abolished and replaced by a principate, then there will be no lack of historians, but their truth may be doubted. In the abolished republics, because they may be flattering the new prince, and in the case of the dead prince because of their hatred for his tyranny. Tacitus had this in mind when he said the histories were *composed, when they fell, under the influence of still rankling hatreds*,[19] and, in another place, when he said that historians who wrote of tyrants wrote many things out of hatred that were not true.

Under a well-governed republic and under a good monarch, historians will be found in abundance. So Tacitus says, *the glories and disasters of the old Roman commonwealth have been chronicled by famous pens.*[20] Here he uses the word *old* to denote the republic when it was not corrupt. And concerning a good prince, he adds, *and intellects of distinction were not lacking to tell the tale of the Augustan age.* Here he speaks of the first years of Augustus, which were indeed the best, whereas he wrote mainly of the later years, which were the worst, and truthful historians were hard to find. . . . So according to Tacitus there will be many writers both under a well-governed republic and under a well-disposed prince, but in my opinion, more under a good prince for these reasons. First, because there is greater profit. For a prince will take more notice of a writer who relates particular actions than a republic will of one who writes of general actions. And here is to be noted the difference between the remuneration of a prince and that of a republic. Over the short term, a republic remunerates less; and the reason is because as the proverb says, he who serves the public serves no one. The benefit, not being received by anyone in particular, is little regarded and therefore little remunerated; and we see Joseph received far more recompense for the benefit he did to the Pharaoh than for what he did to the republic. Over the long term, I consider serving under a republic to be more profitable, because the memory of the benefit done to a prince, as to a particular person, dies with him, whereas the memory of the benefit done to a city continues for the life of the city, and rewards not only him that did it but also his posterity. And here again we have the example of Joseph, who over the short term was rewarded by the Pharaoh and became more king than Pharaoh himself. But over the long term his actions did him more harm than good, since his successors were enslaved by him whose grandfather Joseph had served before the famine. . . . Secondly, because there is less danger. For when a historian praises a prince he has no cause for worry; and when the prince is good he may praise him truly. Therefore Tacitus, discoursing of such princes, exclaims, *because of the rare good fortune of an age in which we may feel what we wish and may say what we feel.*[21] But in a republic, as I said before, scarcely anything can be written that among so many blames no one; and often the hatred excited in one outweighs the benefit from the

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love of all the rest, because the latter feel little obligation, as having been given just their due, while the former conceive themselves to be irreconcilably wronged. Thirdly, historians will more willingly write the deeds of a prince than of a city because men take more pleasure in the praise of those who are above their rank; and envy, as everyone knows very well, occurs among equals. And in republics, everyone looks to be praised himself rather than to read the praise of others. Sallust, lamenting on the scarcity of writers in Rome, rightly noted: *But the Roman people never had that advantage, since their ablest men were always most engaged with affairs; their minds were never employed apart from their bodies; the best citizen preferred action to words and thought that his own brave deeds should be lauded by others rather than theirs should be recounted by him.*[22] And so much for the persons of whom the historian writes.

Concerning the times written about, there are three kinds of historians: those who relate things which happened in their own times; those who relate things that happened in the past; and those who write of things that are about to happen. Some who relate the events of the past are called prophets, such as Moses, writing of the creation of the world. Others who write of the future are called historians—such as Isaiah, who wrote about our Church as though he had a completed account of the events to study. So says St. Jerome. . . .[23] But setting aside those who write with such authority, whose truth is not subject to doubt, we will discuss the others. And since, as we said, some wrote of past times and others of their own times, and of the latter, some were present at the events they relate while others had them only by report, and there are great difficulties in all of these sorts, let us now examine these difficulties and see which kind is more worthy of belief.

Those who relate things which they themselves have witnessed may easily be drawn to diverge from the truth through passion—sometimes hatred, sometimes envy, and sometimes love. Plutarch therefore claims that this is a matter of great difficulty; and perhaps this is what Livy meant when, speaking of such writers, he said, *even if it could not divert the historian's mind from the truth,* [passion] *might nevertheless cause it anxiety.*[24] And Polybius, to give greater authority to his history, takes pains to show that the stories of the First Punic War by Fabius Pictor, a Roman, and by Philinus, a Carthaginian,were full of lies in favor of their respective countries.[25] And indeed, I think they may have adulterated the truth quite in good faith, each writing what he believed and not what really happened, because in things where people have affections, the good always increases and the evil always decreases according to the rule of Aristotle, *two bodies cannot exist in the same place.*[26] To anyone looking through a green glass, everything seems green; and to a palate affected by bile, everything tastes bitter. And therefore David prayed to God to keep

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him like the pupil of his eye. . . ,[27] which, as it has no color and therefore sees things as they are, so he desired to be without affections in order to know the truth of things. We may therefore conclude that those who write of their own times and do not have the virtue of the pupil of the eye, may easily deviate from truth—not only by malice, but sometimes also by ignorance, it being impossible for a man to be an eyewitness to everything he writes or to be present at all actions and counsels in such a manner as not to require information from others; and even those present at the same event seldom agree about how it went.

On the other hand, a historian might appear to be more believable who writes about his own time and of things at which he himself has been present than one who is forced to rely on what has been transmitted from the ancients, either in histories or in memoirs, as Plutarch well observes. And because there is usually more than one account of the same history, a writer must look at those who wrote before him, and in such an abundance of accounts he may easily be confused and talk without being thoroughly informed about things that he had to learn himself. Besides, those first writings or memoirs which the historian must use may have been written under the influence of passions.

Finally, there is no difficulty in proving that those who write the histories of their own times from reports of others are more worthy of belief; because they are less subject to the above difficulties. Not having been present at the actions they relate, they are also not subject to the passions which cause a historian to be less truthful. And by writing of their own times, they do not have to choose between many conflicting books. . . . The Holy Fathers of the Church drew from this a proof of the truth of the Gospels, because the four writers agree in all points. Far from disproving my argument, this example reinforces it—because to make four men agree on all points, there must have been one to instruct them all: namely, the Holy Spirit.

But even these third sorts of historians are not without difficulties. Indeed, in my view, they may be subject to the difficulties of both of the first two sorts I have discussed. Although not present at the events they relate, the third sort are living at the time of the events, and this may stir the affections even of those who are physically far away, as anyone may experience for himself. Furthermore, he who gives the information they rely on may be moved by some passion and will be so much more inclined to lie as he knows he will get what he wants and another will take the blame. Thirdly, if they take information from more than one, they will fall into the same difficulties as those who write of past times, since two reporters rarely agree and one is often in contradiction with himself.

Thus we see there are difficulties in all times and in all writers; whether they write of time past or of their own times, and whether they write from reports of others or as eyewitnesses. We may conclude that

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things written by historians who are eyewitnesses of things done in their own time are more to be believed, as long as they are honest men. So we ought to believe the histories of Argenton, concerning events at which he himself was present, more than Giovio, who wrote from reports by others while remaining in his own diocese.[28] I am not saying Giovio is not worthy of belief; since it is not my intention to castigate anyone. Argenton shows us the difference, when he interlaces the histories of Louis XI with those of England, taking care to indicate the events at which he was not present, but naming the persons who informed him, so that from the greatness and credit of his informers he might win credit for his own account. This was also the case of St. Luke, who, writing his Gospel of the life of Our Savior, because he had not himself been present, sought to procure credit for it by saying at the outset that he had the information from persons who were present, *according as they have delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word.* But when he wrote the Acts of the Apostles, without any preface or apology, he began thus: *The former treatise I made, O Theophilus, of all things*, and this for no other reason than because he knew how much more credit a history has when written by one who has seen the things that happened. There is no wonder, then, that St. John to gain credit for himself says: *And I saw, and I gave testimony, that this is the Son of God.* And therefore it was God's will that the Apostles should bear witness to him: *And you shall give testimony, because you are with me from the beginning.* And St. Peter in the Acts, when he wanted the Resurrection of Christ to be believed, said, *who did eat and drink with him.* Whereupon St. John Chrysostom, considering why St. John names himself where he says, *and Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did the other disciple*, gives the reason in these words: *He was obliged to mention himself, so you might understand that he narrates more exactly than the rest what took place in the hall, as having been himself within.*[29]

Any objection is obviously cleared if the historian is an honest man. For two things are required of a good historian: ability and desire. And he who writes about what he has seen must certainly have more of the former than anyone else, because he can write the truth. As for the will to do it, he will not lack this if he is honest. If not, the historian who writes of times past may be more worthy of belief than him. . . .

Fifteenth Discourse: How necessary it is for the prince to maintain a plentiful food supply in order to gain the peoples' love; how scarcity occurs and how it may be remedied, and how a prince may make good use of it.

The populace was conciliated by cheapened corn.[30]

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Above all things necessary for gaining the people's love, the prince must take care that food should be plentiful. [Julius] Caesar appointed two aediles only for this purpose.[31] And among the other secrets of the government of Augustus, as Tacitus relates, was his great care for Egypt, from whence came all the grain for the Roman food supply.[32] And indeed, both these rulers well understood this, because scarcity is apt to cause popular insurrections, as was often seen among the Israelites against Moses, who without God's powerful protection, would have been in danger because of this. On the other hand, the provision of a plentiful food supply alone is enough to raise a man to the emperorship, as was about to happen in Rome, when the city was so oppressed by scarcity that the citizens chose rather to die in the waters of the Tiber than to remain on land and starve to death.[33] An example is when Our Lord Jesus Christ, having fed the multitude that followed him into the wilderness, received acclamation as a king and as a prophet. . . . And another time, the crowd desiring food, asked for bread . . . and when he then denied them corporeal bread, those who had previously called him a prophet and wanted him as their king when he gave them food now called him a carpenter's son, only because he denied them corporal bread in order to seat them at God's higher table. For people enjoy no happiness like when they have something to fill their bellies. . . . So, as St. John Chrysostom observes, the people, when mentioning the miracles and the stupendous acts of Moses, preferred to include the one of the manna rather than all the other more amazing ones. . . . A prince must therefore maintain the food supply or leave his principality, and especially one who comes newly into power, like Augustus. Isaiah, prophesying about the one whom the Israelites should ask to accept the kingdom, shows that he himself would be unfit, for he could never maintain his power in a famine: *In my house there is no bread . . . make me not ruler of the people. . . .*[34] Having shown that Augustus won the people over by ensuring a plentiful food supply, I will now show how famines occur, how they can be remedied and how a prince may be blamed for them.

A famine may occur first of all because of the sterility of the soil, as with the Israelites in the wilderness. Secondly, it may happen because of a lack of farmers to till land that might otherwise be fruitful and even produce surpluses, as happened sometimes in ancient Mesopotamia, and as might happen often in our times, along the seacoasts of Siena, if the Most Serene grand duke did not send farmers there. Thirdly, it might happen through an excessive number of people in a small territory, as would have happened in ancient Rome, and in our own time in Florence, if the first had not had the granaries of Egypt and Sicily and the second had not had a gracious and prudent prince for a purveyor. Fourthly, it may happen through the sterility of the season or the year, as particularly this year of

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1621. Fifth, many times there are farmers and land enough, but the land is not tilled because of war or some other reason, as happened in Rome not long after the banishment of the Tarquins. The people, quarreling with the Senate (as Livy relates), refused to till the ground and came close to dying of hunger.[35] Lastly, a dearth may happen because of a siege, as in Jerusalem, where mothers ate their own children, or through the incursion of enemy armies, as in Athens during the whole social war.

And although no blame can justly be laid on the prince in any of these cases, nevertheless, it is his job to fight fortune, nature and accidents by money and diligence, using all his power. In the first case, I hardly need to show how a scarcity may be remedied in the desert; for only a fool would build a city in an entirely barren country, and although the Israelites found themselves in this situation, their tabernacles were for passage and not for habitation. If the second case should occur, namely, a want of men where the land is sufficient, the prince must induce men to marry and draw in foreigners to dwell in the country. The former plan will succeed best if Lycurgus' strategy is followed, who seeking to make Sparta populous, allowed great exemptions to those who begot children; otherwise, by removing the burden of taxes from them (as the duke of Parma presently does in his state of Castro), he may allow them to accumulate enough wealth so they will try to have children to whom to leave it, while at the same time encouraging foreigners to come and enjoy the same advantages. For men willingly put their lives in danger when they see there is sure and immediate profit to be had, careless of an uncertain and distant death. We have examples in the state of Milan, where the air is so unhealthy in some places that few of the inhabitants even reach the age of forty, and they grow rich while ignoring the example that is constantly before their eyes, choosing to dwell there rather than in other places with healthy air. Another possible course is to have a foreign nation come there, as Antiochus did, when he caused two thousand families of Jews to come to dwell in Mesopotamia and Babylon as Josephus relates, giving them land to till and places to build upon, exempting them from tribute for ten years and, lastly, providing them with grain enough to last until they harvested their own. Those who dwell in places with such bad air and in such countries should have no other burdens upon them except that of bringing up their own children. Says Livy: *The poor paid dues enough if they reared children.*[36] But there is no more powerful stimulant for making a country populous than for the prince to live there. This is what Tullus Hostilius did, and we have seen that Pitigliano was infinitely more populous when the Orsini lords kept their residence there than it is today under the Most Serene grand duke of Tuscany,[37] however just and clement the new ruler may be; for the presence of the natural lord is so important that many times men would prefer a tyrant living among them than a good prince far away.

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Another method princes use nowadays to populate such places is to send petty criminals there; because if they live they increase the number of inhabitants, and if they die, there is no great loss. Whether good or bad, this expedient is very ancient, and even Tacitus speaks of it: ***Another debate dealt with the proscription of the Egyptian and Jewish rites, and a senatorial edict directed that four thousand descendants of enfranchised slaves, tainted with that superstition and suitable in point of age, were to be shipped to Sardinia and there employed in suppressing brigandage: "if they succumbed to the pestilential climate, it was a cheap loss."***[38] If the famine comes from the third case, that is, from the excessive number of people in a small territory, the common remedy is to send out colonists as Pericles did to solve a famine in Athens. Plutarch in the *Life of Numa*, counsels that trades in such a place must be kept in high esteem and idle persons severely punished.

But the best course of all is for the prince to spare no cost to fetch grain where it may best be had; so a thousand times did Tiberius, and Nero, who gave no heed to the great quantities of grain lost at sea and in the Tiber, and went to infinite expense to ensure the price of grain would not be raised. Cosimo II, grand duke of Tuscany, followed the same course, spending infinite sums to ensure a perfect food supply by bringing grain in through Leghorn and elsewhere and providing alms from his own purse to six thousand persons. I do not need to mention that over many years he spent over 100,000 *scudi* of his own to keep down the price of grain, an act that exceeds any of the ancients', who were moved only by their own interests, whereas he was moved by the office of a prince and the zeal of a Christian. In the fourth case, provisions can be made from other countries by the means already demonstrated. In the last two cases, where the scarcity may be caused by wars, sieges and foreign invasions, the Swiss have found an excellent remedy: in certain places under ground they keep in store for many years all sorts of provisions and things pertaining to the trades; and the Republic of Lucca has taken to imitating them in this.

But above all, the prince must avoid causing famine himself by trafficking in grain and by hoarding, and he must prevent others from doing the same, for he will be blamed and the subjects will have just cause to complain. Likewise, he should not indulge in feasts and banquets when the people are in want, for this shows indifference to his subjects' miseries. This behavior is most dangerous for princes, who should instead show unity with their people and encourage them to bear their labors more contentedly. Our Lord God teaches us this in the Old Testament when the Israelites were in the wilderness and the shepherds dwelt in the tabernacles, and he too dwelt in the tabernacles; and when they changed their course and went to war under the judges and the kings, and their army used tents, he too dwelt in a tent; and when David desired to build

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him a temple, he would not allow it; until finally there was peace under Solomon, so everyone could dwell in his own house, and he too was contented to have one built for him. . . . But this course was not imitated by Augustus, who, while people died of hunger in the streets, held a sumptuous banquet with guests dressed as gods and goddesses and himself as Apollo, as Suetonius relates; so the indignant people conceived great hatred. . . .[39]

But the prince who is not the cause of the famine and shows no joy in it may turn it richly to his own advantage by increasing his money or his authority or by acquiring the love of his people. The Pharaoh, king of Egypt, by means of a scarcity and Joseph's counsel, became lord of all Egypt: *So Joseph bought all the land of Egypt, every man selling his possessions, because of the greatness of the famine. And he brought it into the Pharaoh's hands: And all its people from one end of the borders of Egypt, even to the other end thereof.*[40] Which purchase was not distasteful to the people, for the cause just mentioned; indeed, they considered themselves obliged to the king for it, saying, *our life is in thy hand; only let my lord look favorably upon us, and we will gladly serve the king.*[41] Whereupon I conclude that when there was a great famine in Rome and the senators had grain brought in from Sicily, this was an excellent time to regain the authority usurped by the people. This Coriolanus knew well, as Livy relates;[42] and his plan was rejected not because the others were disinclined to think a mitigated version might be serviceable, but because the other senators were afraid they could not keep the authority thus regained. Intent upon arming the people in order to increase the territory, they considered that once the famine passed, the people might try to regain by force what they had given up by hunger.

A well-managed famine, then, may gain for a prince authority, riches, and the love of his subjects. Indeed, Herod the Great, more hated by his people than any other prince, by supplying them with grain in a time of scarcity made himself beloved and thanked and freed himself from a thousand dangers.

Twenty-Seventh Discourse: Serving the prince in cruel and tyrannical acts is dangerous.

> *To the centurion who brought the usual military report, that his instructions had been carried out, the emperor rejoined that he had given no instructions and the deed would have to be accounted for in the Senate. The remark came to the ears of Sallustius Crispus. A partner in the imperial secrets—it was he who had forwarded the note to the tribune—he feared the charge might be fastened on himself, with the risk equally great whether he spoke the truth or lied. He therefore advised Livia not to publish the mysteries of the palace. . . .*[43]

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Sallustius [Crispus], instructed by Tiberius, had given the orders and provided the means for the killing of Agrippa Postumus. But Tiberius, denying any involvement in the fact, told the centurion who had executed the deed that it had been done under no command of his, and that he would have to answer not to him but to the Senate. Justin recalls a similar case, where Harpagus acted *lest she should take her revenge for the killing her child, which she could not do [on] her father, [on] his minister.*[44] So Sallustius, seeing he might be called to account, began to counsel Livia, *not to publish the mysteries of the palace, the counsels of the friends, the services of the soldiery.*[45] Tiberius' idea was good. He wanted, as I imagine it, for the centurion to go to the Senate and tell them he had executed the command of Augustus about the death of Agrippa. But I prefer that of Sallustius [i.e., to keep quiet about the whole thing]. For no one was likely to believe that Augustus ordered the death of a grandson for the security of a stepson. By talking, Tiberius had nothing to gain and everything to lose; and if he showed he did not care whether the death were known, there is no doubt people would have spoken boldly about it and perhaps have conceived some ill affection. But by keeping silent (which he did), he prevented the notice from reaching many ears, and those who heard it kept it concealed, knowing the danger of discovery and of talking about what princes wanted secret. Furthermore, if he had made it known in the Senate, his deception would have caused all the more indignation because doing it without telling constituted an act of force alone, whereas doing it and telling of it would have added cunning, and subjects feel more slighted when overcome by cunning than when overcome by force. Therefore, they would have been more upset about the death of Agrippa if the Senate had been informed in this underhanded fashion, using a tale that no child would believe. Indeed, the Roman nobles took it very ill when Nero tried to tell them his mother's shipwreck was an accident and that she had sent Agermus to kill him,[46] which were foolish devices to cover his own guilt. I am not saying Tiberius would have been more in danger if he used the cunning trick I mentioned; because those who understand such tricks are men of intelligence who have as much ability to understand such subtleties of the prince as they have judgment to conceal them by making a show of belief. And upon such men the people, who are the prince's only real fear, cast their eyes, and believe to be true whatever these wise men pretend to believe, looking only on the outer skin of things, and not distinguishing truth from simulation. And we have an example of this in Tacitus, in the previously mentioned case of Nero, when the chief men began to take a distaste to being mocked by those foolish inventions and they nevertheless made a show of believing what they were told. . . .[47] Herod was very much afraid that beheading John might lead to a popular insurrection; whereupon he resorted to the stratagem of binding

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himself by oath, so the beheading would seem to have been against his will. And indeed, he succeeded, inasmuch as the chief men made a show of believing him, both out of interest and out of fear; and the people believed him in fact. Yet in the present case, when they can secure themselves against the people and avoid the distaste of the Senate at the same time, I like Sallustius's idea better.

In any case, one thing is certain: those officers who have served their masters and have been their instruments in cruel and tyrannical executions usually come to grief—for several reasons. First, because masters often tire of such servants. Knowing their own crimes, in which they often go so far that *they can endure neither their vices nor their cure,*[48] as Livy says, they are constantly torn by their gnawing consciences: *For the worm shall eat them up as a garment: and the moth shall consume them as wool.*[49] Tyrants usually experience this, as Plato teaches and as Tacitus says referring to Tiberius: *So surely had his crimes and his infamies turned to the torment even of himself. . . .*[50] The same was seen in Nero, who after he had killed his mother was seized by a great terror and feared the trembling of every leaf. And Alfonso of Aragon always had apparitions before his eyes, in which he thought he saw those lords whom he had put to death. Likewise, King Theodoric,[51] having put Boethius and Symmachus to death, thought he saw the head of Symmachus when the head of the great fish was brought to his table; and he was so terrified that he threw himself into bed and died. Poets feign that Orestes was tormented by the Furies after killing his mother; and the ancients saw these tyrants always in such a state of continuous terror *(The sound of dread is always in his ears: and when there is peace, he always suspecteth treason*[52]*)* that they thought that such men were frightened by the ghosts of those they killed. Therefore these princes, seeing that they cannot undo what they have done, desire at least to be rid of those who have been their instruments and whose presence constantly reminds them of their crimes. So Tacitus says, speaking of Anicetus, whom Nero employed to kill his mother: *He had, after the commission of his murder, experienced some trivial favour, afterwards replaced by a more serious dislike, since the ministers of crime are counted a visible reproach.*[53] Tiberius therefore often got rid of those servants whom he had employed in such things; and in order to continue his cruelties, recruited others to serve in their places, as Tacitus relates, where he says, *though he was disinclined to see the ministers of his villainy destroyed by others, yet often wearied of their ministrations, and when fresh workers in the same field presented themselves,* [he] *struck down the old and burdensome.*[54] Secondly, they often put servants to death whom they have employed in murdering persons of the royal blood, so those who have dipped their hands in the royal blood should not murder them too. Perseus killed him who had been his instrument in killing Demetrius, and Otho killed all those who had been his ministers in killing

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Galba.[55] Thirdly, princes may wish to secure themselves by preventing their crimes from coming to light. For when they can find no other way to conceal what they have committed, they kill all those who had any hand in or knowledge of their crimes, as David did, who committed a murder to cover his adultery; and likewise, [Septimius] Severus' son Bassianus,[56] who, after having his brother Geta killed, ordered his counsellor Letus and all others acquainted with the act to be slain. . . . Fourth, such servants face a great danger when public hatred all over the city focuses upon them for the evil deeds the prince made them do; and the prince may kill them to deflect hatred from himself and make believe the crimes were done without his consent. So Valentino did,[57] when he employed Remiro d'Orco to extinguish the factions of Romagna with great cruelty and then, having finally attained lordship over it and achieved his end at the cost of incurring the infinite hatred of all his subjects, at last he cut his miserable minister to pieces so the hatred might be deflected toward him. Tiberius did the same to Seianus; and histories are full of similar examples. Indeed, tyrants attract such men to themselves just so that when seditions occur the people may vent their anger on the servants rather than on the masters. Fifth, such servants run a further danger because the master's favor is short-lived; being entirely based on his hatred toward someone else, once that person is dead, so ceases the favor that was given to the executioner. Tacitus says as much speaking of Plancina, who after the hatred toward Germanicus was ended, was herself in danger: *When both hatred and favour ceased, justice prevailed.*[58]

But princes never achieve any good effects by these ways, first, because it is false that they can ever cancel from their own minds the memory of their crimes, since the one's conscience is too great a witness. Indeed, Our Lord God, as Theodoret says, took the life of that son of David born in adultery with Bathsheba to save him from shame for the sin he had committed. . . .[59] Yet David continued to feel the pangs of conscience, as he said: *My sin is always before me.*[60] Secondly, this is no way to conceal crimes: *There is not anything secret, that shall not be made manifest; nor hidden , that shall not be known.*[61] And even if crime might be concealed for a while, it will not be concealed on Judgment Day. Thirdly, this is no way to make people believe the crimes executed by servants were perpetrated without the prince's consent. The deception sometimes appears to have succeeded, but only because (as I have said concerning the passage in Justin), people will presently vent their anger on the minister when they cannot on the prince, and eventually they will vent it on the prince himself. Such was the case with Valentino. Sometimes, the people make a show of believing the crimes committed were done without the prince's consent, just so he might, on the death of such ministers, give up cruelty altogether in order to preserve his good opinion of himself. Finally, this stratagem is no way for the prince to avoid being killed,

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because if he is not killed by the people he will be killed by others, and often he will kill himself, as happened with Otho.

This strategy therefore is no good at all, and is the most wicked course that can be imagined, since it is nothing but a multiplying of cruelties. True, if a prince should employ a servant to kill a delinquent, so that both he and his servant should legally deserve to die, in such a case he would commit no error in condemning the servant, and indeed, would only be imitating Our Lord God, who often makes use of the wicked to punish the wicked. But then God, like a loving father, casts away the rod wherewith he beat the child and indeed punishes those whom he used to execute his anger: *Woe to the Assyrian, he is the rod and the staff of my anger,*[62] says the Truth through Isaiah. So Our Lord God used the king and the army of the Assyrians to punish the people of Israel for their sins; but having done that, he so punished the Assyrians themselves that he destroyed them all. And there is no doubt that Our Lord God did all this with exceeding justice and providence, punishing justly those Assyrians, who, besides being a most perfidious people, had fallen upon the Israelites (as Theodoret expounds it) not out of zeal to execute God's justice but only out of hatred.

To return to our purpose, I conclude that Sallustius was extremely intelligent in not wanting the cause to be brought before the Senate, which, if it had reached there and Tiberius still refused to admit culpability, all the anger and vendetta would have fallen upon Sallustius himself since they could not be vented upon Tiberius....

Thirty-Eighth Discourse: A prince should be both loved and feared.

> *Tiberius, by habit or by nature, was always indirect and obscure even when he had no wish to conceal his thought.... But the Fathers whose one dread was that they might seem to comprehend him melted in plaints tears and prayers.*[63]

Tiberius' obscure manner of speaking frightened the senators considerably, and they wished he would speak in a more understandable manner. I cannot blame princes for speaking obscurely, seeing that the vulgar habit of excessive openness debases them.... It may justly be said of princes who lay themselves open to view what Solomon said in the Canticle: *thy eyes are dove's eyes, besides what is hid within.*[64] That is, the eyes being beautiful in themselves appear more beautiful when partly covered and shaded by feathers; and so do the discourses of princes, which will be so much more eloquent as they are enveloped in some obscurity; and therefore Solomon in the Proverbs commends this kind of speech where he says, *to speak a word in due time is like apples of gold on beds of silver*.[65]

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But because Tiberius spoke obscurely not for this purpose but only *with the further object of gaining an insight into the feelings of the aristocracy*,[66] he must not be praised, for he was really acting like a tyrant, and his obscurity aimed only to keep in fear the principal senators who had previously been governed by Augustus with so much love. Therefore, the present discourse concerns how a prince may make himself both loved and feared. . . . I will try to show that a prince does not do well to have himself only loved, and secondly, he does not do well to make himself only feared. Instead, he should make himself both loved and feared; and putting these two extremes together is not only easy to do but necessary in order for him to be a good prince.

Concerning the first, there is no doubt that if love is not accompanied by fear the prince will soon be open to contempt. Moses, who perhaps had no equal in mildness, understood this; and after praying to God out of love for the people, saying, *forgive them this trespass, or if thou do not, strike me out of the book that thou hast written*;[67] he caused many thousands to be cut to pieces when he came down from the mountain, showing a prince's love must be accompanied by the severity that causes fear. St. Augustine . . . shows that a prince should not only be loved but also feared, seeing that love alone causes contempt. . . .[68]

Fear is so necessary that Domitian, although he terrified the Senate by governing through fear, nonetheless after his death was mourned by all, since fear kept his officers in awe. Sometimes mildness makes a prince worse off. France was most miserable under Charles the Simple and Charles the Fat (as one author writes); and on the contrary, flourished by the end of the reign of Francis I, though he was a terrifying and violent king; and again, in the time of Henry his son, a very mild prince, the treasury dried up.[69] Pertinax and Elagabalus[70] almost brought the Empire to ruin by their mildness, and [Septimius] Severus Africanus and Alexander Severus[71] raised it again by their incomparable severity. A prince therefore must not only be loved but also feared.

The second point, that fear alone is pernicious to a prince, is easily proven by that passage in Genesis when Noah was leaving the Ark with his sons, and Our Lord said to him, *and let the fear and dread of you be upon all the beasts of the earth*.[72] In other words, you must be feared by beasts, not by men. And Moses, when he came down from the Mount, his face horned with rays of light, noticing that his aspect inspired fear, covered it with a veil, showing plainly that a prince should not just be feared. Our Lord Jesus Christ showed the same thing when he gave among the first precepts to his Apostles that they should carry no rod; and St. Ambrose rightly observes that a prince ought to govern more through love than through fear. . . , and likewise St. Bernard. . . .[73]

Love alone is not good, because it causes contempt; and fear too alone is no good because it causes hatred. This the Ancients meant to signify by

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the fable of Jupiter, who gave the frogs a log when they wanted a king, and when this did not stir, the frogs despised it and desired another king; whereupon Jupiter gave them a Hydra instead, who ate them up, so they hated him. By this they meant that a king should not be so gentle as to be more log than man; yet not so severe as to resemble a beast, sucking the blood of the citizens. A prince must therefore join one with the other; and how easily this can be done may be understood if we distinguish between [two] kinds of fear: one is the fear which is reverence, such as filial fear. . . . The other is the fear which is terror, as Adam felt when he heard the voice of God, "Adam, where are you. . . ?"

Secondly, we must distinguish between two kinds of man: perfect and imperfect, as we find in all cities great and small. If men are imperfect, it is enough to make them fear—not with filial but with servile fear. . . . Because, as Aristotle says in his *Physics*, no things that are made from what is like them, but only from their contrary. *All things that are naturally produced are contraries or are composed of them.*[74] So to produce love where it is not, love must not be used, but rather its contrary, which is fear; and as in generation, the contrary departs when the thing is generated, so when love is produced, fear departs. . . .

There remains now to show how a prince ought to behave towards those who are good and perfect; but since love alone begets contempt and fear begets hatred, as we have shown, he must make himself loved and feared at once—not with that servile fear which is most likely to cause rebellion, as occurred when God appeared to the Israelites on the Mount, causing a great fear and as a consequence, a rebellion, but rather with a virtuous fear. To understand the difference, it must be kept in mind that fear may have two objects: some terrible damage or else a person who has power to cause such damage, as St. Thomas says. Since our purpose here is to speak not of the first object but of the second, namely, a prince, we may consider him either inasmuch as he has power to cause harm or else inasmuch as he may desire to cause harm. Inasmuch as he may desire to cause harm, let him not make himself feared in this way, but let subjects fear him on their own. So God wants himself to be feared and not feared. And St. Paul said to the Philippians, *with fear and trembling work out your salvation.*[75] Here Paul wants us not only to fear that God might not want us to be saved, for [he] *will have all men to be saved*, but to fear our actions might provoke God to anger. . . . Likewise, the prince should not make his will feared, because his will must be for the welfare of all his subjects, but he must indeed make sure all are in fear about what they do.

And if we consider the prince the second way, that is, inasmuch as he has power to cause harm, in this sense he ought to behave in such a way that his person is feared; because the authority of him who has power to punish (as St. Thomas says) must be so eminent that it can hardly be resisted, because otherwise it will inspire no fear. Therefore, although

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there may be no fear of damage from one eminent in authority, the reverence that comes from eminence is justly called fear. . . . And this is the meaning of that passage in St. Paul, *render therefore to all men their dues. Tribute to whom tribute . . . fear to whom fear.*[76] And he who wishes to be feared in this manner must do some great and wonderful things to inspire an awe that makes people acknowledge his eminence above others. Our Lord Jesus Christ struck fear into the Jews when they saw him do such great miracles. . . . And even good subjects need not regret fearing the prince in this manner, since Christ bore the same virtuous fear towards his father. . . . Thus, a prince ought to make himself universally loved and generally feared, in conformation whereof, St. Gregory says, *such ought to be the management of governance, that he who is in command should rule himself toward those under him by this measure that both while laughing he may be feared and when angered be loved that neither excessive mirth should render him contemptible nor unlimited severity made him hated.*[77] And elsewhere, considering those words of Job, *when I sat as a king with his army standing around him, yet I was a comforter of them that mourned,*[78] St. Gregory exhorts princes to do as the Samaritan did, who poured wine and oil into the wound of him who had been assaulted on the road: *that by the wine the wounds should be bitten, and by the oil they should be soothed.*[79] And the Psalmist says, *Thy rod and thy staff, they have comforted me,*[80] for the rod serves to strike and the staff to defend. The same was expressed in the Ark, in which, together with the table of the law, was placed the rod with the manna; both love and fear being necessary for observing the law. As a sign of this, Christ our Lord appeared in his Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor between Elijah, who used fear to move men, and Moses, who used love. And therefore in the Scripture among the qualities of a prince are always included beauty to make him loved, and power to make him feared. . . . And 2 Kings calls *Saul and Jonathan lovely, and comely in their life . . . swifter than eagles, stronger than lions. . . .*[81]

A prince therefore ought to inspire a servile fear in the wicked by punishing them for their faults; and he ought to inspire a reverential fear not only in wicked men but also in good men by showing proofs of his valor and doing great actions, as I have shown before, which justly make a prince feared with reverential fear. And although he ought to seek the love of his subjects above all, nevertheless, there was never any prince so good that some of his subjects did not hate him, and none so bad whom some did not love. Some of the principal youth of the city so loved Tarquinius Superbus that they began a conspiracy on his behalf. Likewise, Nero got the love of many, as Galba testified: *Nero will always be missed by the worst citizens.*[82] The reason for this is the sympathy of similar characters. In all cities, large and small, there are some who are warlike and some who are peaceful; some who are ignorant and some who are learned; some

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who are good and some who are bad; and since a prince must necessarily be either good or bad, warlike or peaceful, ignorant or learned, he will necessarily be hated by the ignorant if he is learned, hated by the peaceful if he is warlike, and hated by the bad if he is good. And the reason for this lies in the nature of contraries, which is to destroy one another; and it is just as impossible for these to love each other as for one to love its own destruction.

The second difficulty a prince may experience when trying to make himself loved is justice, which makes the prince odious to the good if administered badly, and if administered well, in civil or criminal cases, every year it will gain him the hatred of many, even among the good, since few men like justice when it is not favorable to them. And over many years, those who begin to hate the prince for this reason must come to a great number indeed; and this is the main reason, I believe, why governors are usually loved the first year, hated the second, and detested the third, as anyone can see who looks into the matter.

Yet among all these difficulties, the prince must not be discouraged. First, because he need not worry about being loved by any but the good, to which purpose Galba said there was no reason for concern if Nero was loved by the wicked, as long as the good did not want him. *Nero will always be missed by the worst citizens; you and I must take care that he be not missed also by the good.* Secondly, the end of the prince is the same as that of the orator and the physician, who, having to affect someone else and being unable to do so, have discharged their offices as long as they applied the fittest means. A physician who does not heal is no better than one who heals, nor is an orator who does not persuade better than one who does, as long as they have used every means possible to heal and to persuade. So for our own purpose, since love is in the one who loves, just as honor is in him who honors, a prince shall have done his duty and done as much as he had to do if he has used all means possible to procure his subjects' love, by doing good to all, by maintaining them in plenty, by showing himself alien to cruelty, by defending them from their enemies, and finally, by giving a show of great love for them; for there is no fitter way to be loved than to love.

19. Paolo Sarpi, *On Slanderous Books*

When the Venetian Interdict was lifted in 1607, Paolo Sarpi's work for Venice was not over.[1] Until his death in 1623, he continued to supply advice on jurisdictional matters in a set of opinions aimed at helping direct the course of government policy. In this respect he exemplified the expert advisors by which European governments began in this period to staff their

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bureaucracies in response to the emergence of increasingly complex problems.

A particular concern of Sarpi, in the aftermath of the bitter pamphlet war between Venice and the Papacy, was how to regulate the book trade. In Venice, as elsewhere in Europe, books containing heretical or subversive views were thought to have enormous potential for disturbing public tranquillity. To this end, laws stipulated that no books should be printed without a licence from the government-appointed Riformatori dello Studio di Padova (described below), who based their decisions on consultations with religious and political authorities. The main problem with this system was that prohibitions on books, unless issued by Rome, had no effect outside the state from which they emanated, so those forbidden in one state could be printed in a neighboring state and smuggled in. Indeed, one source for the partial resurgence of the once-great Venetian printing industry may well have been just this kind of writing, approved in Venice but injurious to other states. Sarpi agreed with the ideas about the dangers of the printed word current in his time. As a general rule, he insisted on reserving the "public" space of political thinking and activity to properly constituted authorities, leaving the rest of the population in the "private" space of their own families. However, when an anonymous printed anti-Venetian pamphlet entitled *Very Secret Advice Given to Frederick, Count Palatine,* and attributed to one baron H. C. von Friedenberg, began to circulate freely in 1620, Sarpi tried to come to terms with the increasingly obvious failure of the prohibition system and offered some novel suggestions in his consultation *On Slanderous Books* of the following year. The best way to fight dangerous ideas, he noted, might be to come out and refute them in the free, public marketplace of ideas, allowing readers to judge for themselves. And he came very close to calling for regular communications by the government to the people regarding current events, drawing back only because this might give the population the impression that their approval was necessary for any government action. Through the rest of the century, the notion of prohibition alternated with that of competition in the marketplace of ideas in much thinking about the book trade, and Sarpi's writings were cited again and again.

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sirs![2]

The resolution adopted by Your Most Illustrious Excellencies to combat the defamatory writings published against the Most Serene Republic is very necessary. Some of these writings, by defaming the authority of the state and portraying its government as weak, undermine the state's reputation both among its neighbors and among its subjects to

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such a level that disdain encourages the introduction of novelties which are never tried by enemies in war or by subjects in revolt against governments that are reputed powerful and effective. Other writings, by depicting the government as perfidious to its neighbors and unjust and unloving to its subjects render it odious to both. But the most pernicious of all is a third type of writings, which impugn the piety of the Republic in religious matters and so destroy the subjects' faith in it and remove their affection for the Prince; the reason is that everyone is naturally well-inclined toward those whom he believes to be favored by God and turns his soul away from those whom he considers contrary to the service of his Divine Majesty. Indeed, just as no one tries to do anything against those whom he thinks God favors and is likely to protect, so everyone dares to oppose those he thinks are in divine disgrace, on the conviction that God will guarantee and abet every such enterprise. Nor do such writings cause damage only in those who read them; worse yet, they encourage conversation and provide material for the discourses of disaffected persons and opportunists, who insinuate themselves into the open ears of the simple-minded, seducing them and impressing upon them concepts with pernicious effects, and worst of all, they encourage preachers and confessors to administer their sinister offices in confessions and in other religious conversations with an effectiveness that we do not need to learn from history. A League, whose effects are still lingering, was formed in France in our own times, by means of the preachers, which has succeeded in depriving a very powerful king of both his realm and his life.[3] The true and proper remedy would be to prohibit the entry of such writings; since this is impossible, all that remains is to blunt their blade and weaken their effect by opposing them with other writings that show them to be malicious and false and clarify things enough to confound the spiteful, confirm the sentiments of the well-affected and impress the truth upon the undecided. . . .

The first and easiest way is the one most people would propose after considering the problem in general: namely, to respond to false libels by showing the reasons behind the Most Serene Republic's policies and actions. This is easy to do since such policies and actions, just and prudent as they are, furnish abundant material for a good defense, nor could this be criticized, for it involves no injury to others and no lack of truth or modesty. Nonetheless, there are a few disadvantages. In literary battles, even more than in private quarrels and armed actions, staying on the defensive is the most miserable strategy of all and condemns the user to certain defeat; for the enemy will proceed to new and more impudent insults in the assurance of never being struck and always being respected. Indeed, past experience has demonstrated that princes or private persons attacked with tracts or other kinds of writings who have done nothing but defend themselves have only provoked other more pernicious and

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defamatory writings, causing much to be said where before there had been little. Just as good captains avoid conducting merely defensive battles, so do good writers hold apologies to be not only fruitless but damaging unless the abused abuses the adversary just as much and somewhat more; and nature itself teaches that whoever is injured must fight the injury with blows and should be praised as long as he does not exceed reasonable terms, since only excess is condemned.

This truth will become clearer as I descend to particulars. No state has been nor can be without very great imperfections: the empires of Cyrus and Alexander, of heroic virtù, and the France of St. Louis, of holy perfection, were all subject to great conflicts.[4] The Republic is by no means immune to the human condition. Its defects could be exposed and censured and used to condemn the whole government by anyone who wants to offend and create a bad impression; they cannot be defended, can scarcely be hidden, and to make excuse for them is to admit them, and human malice does not listen to excuses. Thus, there is no other response to this kind of criticism except to recognize the imperfections that the human condition imposes on every government and to show that those of the opponents are greater and much more reprehensible. Adopting this strategy is all the more justified in that it is used by those accused of heinous and deliberate excesses—and the Jesuits have been particularly adept. Whenever they are attacked they defend themselves by changing the subject and heaping up such slanders against others and with such petulance that everything said against them is forgotten. . . .[5]

Here is another worthwhile counsel: never attempt to respond to writings that speak evil with brevity and wit, even if falsely, when the defense requires a long narrative or discourse, since brief and witty expressions impress themselves on and take over the mind, whereas a long discourse tires it to such an extent that it will never open up to the truth. . . .

As far as the present time is concerned, the best strategy is to pay attention to events as they occur and publish a narration of them with arguments supporting the side that fits one's interests and increases one's advantage, without, however, exceeding the truth. This is what the French of both factions do.[6] When anything happens that affects them, they immediately come out in print turning the fact to their own advantage; and even when they do not have a present need, they do it in order to prepare opinions usefully for the future. Milan did the same thing, it will be observed, in the affair of the Valtelline.[7] When adopting this strategy, speed is of the utmost importance for two reasons: first of all, when the events are new and recent, curiosity excites everyone to read, whereas after a few days no one wants to hear about them any more; secondly, the first impression is usually the most effective for holding the mind and arousing the emotions. However, the strategy is very difficult to follow in

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Venice, where the reviser of books has to avoid reprisals from a great number of people. Presuming with good reason that the printing of material regarding current affairs in any form whatsoever will displease someone, he usually takes the safest route of not allowing anything to be published at all.[8]

Another kind of writing that regards the present time is that which diffuses publicly all the legal reasons by which a prince undertakes or plans some enterprise; it is called a *manifesto* because it publishes documentation and testimony that is unfamiliar to most readers. In this the government is not commended and the forces of the state are not praised, but the cause in question is demonstrated in legal terms to be rigorously just, that is, founded on equity. . . .

Only one point remains to discuss: whether the public is served by the publication of writings in one of the above two forms, which apparently have no inherent disadvantages; and on the face of things, it appears that it might be better to maintain the subjects' respect and reverence for public affairs in such a way that they should suppose any explanations to be *a priori* full of justice and equity. And everyone confesses that the true way of ruling the subject is to keep him ignorant of and reverent toward public affairs, since when he finds out about them he gradually begins to judge the prince's actions; he becomes so accustomed to this communication that he believes it is due him and when he does not get it, he thinks there is no reason for this, or else perceives this as an affront and conceives hatred—and what is said of subjects can be applied to neighbors *mutatis mutandis*. This reason is so strong that it is utterly decisive in cases where the opponents have not published and are not expected to publish contrary arguments; otherwise the subject would not be kept in ignorance and reverence, but the door would be opened to the contrary opinion formed by the reading of opposing manifestoes, which the public service insists must be prohibited and once diffused must be eradicated. When the adversary publishes writings either giving his arguments or else explaining events in his favor, the case does not only argue for, but compels and necessitates a response in kind. . . .

I also entreat you to attribute this reverent report to the affection I bear for your service. Thank you.

20. Ferrante Pallavicino, *The Postman Robbed*

In the states of Italy, as everywhere else in Europe, prepublication censorship was required before books could be placed on the market.[1] Censors were everywhere given similar mandates to ensure subversive and irreligious material did not circulate by making sure all works were

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reviewed and by punishing the possession and circulation of prohibited ones. In Venice, ecclesiastical and political censorship was handled by the government. Elsewhere, a combination of government officials and ecclesiastical officials, sometimes with close ties to Rome, did the work. That this system could be frustrating and cumbersome critic Ferrante Pallavicino knew first hand.

Pallavicino became a scandalous literary success in his own time and a legend as soon as he was decapitated by papal officials in Avignon in 1644 at age twenty-nine.[2] Younger son of an illustrious family in Piacenza, he was sent to a monastery in Milan with the expectation that he would pursue an ecclesiastical career. Instead, he dedicated himself to deliberately flouting contemporary codes of behavior. During studies at the university of Padua he began associating with members of the reputedly free-thinking Accademia degli Incogniti in Venice and became a close friend of like-minded writer Giovanni Francesco Loredan as well as Girolamo Brusoni, who became his biographer. Ordered to France by his religious superiors, he stayed in Venice instead and joined the ranks of the pamphleteers and hack writers who made a living from the largest printing industry in Italy. His numerous productions ranged from novels based on biblical stories to commentaries on current affairs and ran the gamut from innocuous moralizing to biting satire. Targets of his wit included current reason of state practices, hypocrisy, the papacy, and the lascivious underworld of whores, procuresses and roué youths prowling the streets of the Italian cities, evoked in obviously gleeful detail. His first brush with the authorities concerned a polemic against Spain, which the Venetian authorities regarded as too sensitive a subject to allow publication. Subsequently, the duke of Parma forced him to publish an *Apology* retracting views he had expressed in his *World Affairs of 1636* [*Successi del mondo nell'anno 1636*]. The papal government put his works on the Index beginning in 1636 and eventually pressured Venice to have him thrown in prison on charges of failure to register a work; but when he came out he was more determined than ever. In 1643 he published his masterpiece, *The celestial divorce caused by the dissoluteness of the Roman Spouse* [*Il divorzio celeste cagionato dalle dissolutezze della Sposa Romana*], in which Christ decides to divorce the Church because of the amazing wickedness of man, all described here. Soon afterward, Pallavicino left Italy for the last time.

[Pallavicino pretends that a prince, in order to intercept letters from the governor of Milan directed to Rome and Naples, has had a postman robbed, keeping the important letters and giving the rest to his courtiers for their amusement. After the letter, we listen to the courtiers' conversation.]

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. . . Another letter was taken out for perusal, and it was the following:

"My Most Reverend Sir:

What devil pursues the men of letters there [in Rome], so that they receive so much less remuneration than they deserve and the reading of their compositions is prohibited? What extraordinary rigor has brought on such a severe destruction of books, while moral dissoluteness otherwise reigns? The authority once used to censure the temerity of the heretics, who corrupted the truth with dogmas contrary to faith, is now abused so that books are prohibited out of sheer malice or ignorance. The matter has been placed in the hands either of the Jesuit fathers, who approve only what comes from their own pens, or of other less knowledgeable but more envious persons, who only allow publication of works that conform to their own caprices. One example is the *Adonis* of Signor Marino, and another is the recent proposal to prohibit the lessons of sacred history that a certain writer has transformed with modern paraphrases in Italian style.[3] Will a judgment that should only involve the sentiments of the conscience, by a person professing integrity of thoughts no less than of holy actions, be corrupted by the senses of a disaffected soul? I cannot believe that there is any other reason than this for the severity of these times, when simple words never objected to in poets' descriptions nor in writings of the profane authors are sufficient cause to condemn books as heretical or impious and apt to corrupt morals. Such a pronouncement punishes words like Fate, Deity, Destiny, Paradise, Beatitude and the like, as though anyone who writes or reads might vacillate from true belief whenever he runs up against these concepts, which seem to conform to the views of insane antiquity. I judge that the faith of a Christian will not tremble at these trifles if it remains firm while witnessing the precepts of Christ trampled on, his counsels scorned, and simony and sodomy along with every more serious vice practiced there where you are, by those very persons who try to make people believe they are better than anyone else. For my part, I think this comes from their jealousy at seeing modern works gain a reputation while the cold books of scholasticism and sermons wherewith a few little friars presume to triumph over everyone else remain buried. They see very well what is obvious even to the most blind: that the new books of humane letters surpass all others in reputation. Works of theology and philosophy gain no other glory for their authors than the title of being good asses, able to bear a great burden, since they carry on their backs ideas, opinions, arguments, indeed the contents of entire libraries of books, and their works are therefore nothing other than a summary of the ideas of other writers. In sacred discourses or in compilations of conceits for use in sermons, they can claim no other merit but that of the temerity to

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falsify the Bible, to feign the authority of the saints, and indeed, to corrupt by distorted meanings and barbarous style what others have pronounced more eloquently. Others, who perhaps have more presumption in their affected erudition, show themselves to know little while showing themselves to have read much, for they are rich only in borrowed finery; and their virtue is not a living fount, but their abundance depends on what is brought to them by larger rivers. If this sort of erudition had its way, then blame rather than praise ought to go to those first writers who gave birth to such ingenious productions without impregnating themselves by the ideas of others and thereby, though consumed by time, defied death and lived on for so many centuries.

The modern writers have renewed the ancient glories of the first men of letters. They form their compositions, envied for their popularity, by creating a style of their own through the vivacity of the spirits wherewith the souls of their intellects furnish their pens. This cannot be doubted by anyone who knows that among authors the poets have always been called divine, and the streams of their discourses have been called enthusiasms or furors inspired by the Heavens. Not so with the most subtle Questions or the most erudite discourses. The exquisiteness of the Tuscan style practiced in this century of ours is nothing other than poetry itself, absolved of the severe obligations of rhyme, and thus its common attributes are such that, having received the purple robe, it casts a blush upon every other kind of writing. Here is the stumbling block whereby false suppositions and imagined pretexts seem to make the best books appear worthy of tripping up against ecclesiastical censorship.

Where you are, those who are in control of censorship ignorantly entrust these matters to the Jesuit fathers, who, wearing theological vestments, say much study makes a good brain. They are usually ambitious and malicious persecutors of anyone who practices virtù, and with envy concealed by an appearance of zeal, they condemn any works that seem to outshine their muddled productions. Thank goodness that the wisest persons are not so silly as to appreciate the words of a parrot more than the discourses of a man; nor do they foolishly judge the former to be more perfect in his chattering. I use the same comparison regarding the men of letters. Parrots are those who say nothing but what they get out of books or which they imbibed from others' teaching. Men are only those who write what is suggested to them by their own intellects without needing to look back at the ancient rags in order to find some letter of credit whereby to increase the capital of their ignorance.

The same excessive merit acquired by the best books also causes the Dominican fathers, who have turned their authority over the Inquisition into a tyranny,[4] to divert public attention away from these books by forbidding them. Then they print the same books under their own names with little or no change, thus enriching their Order with learned personages

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through these maliciously buried treasures. They use this artifice because they are no less poor in genius and learning than they are in material things, and just as they maintain themselves by what they beg in their lives as mendicants, so also they gain credit only by what they rob in this way.

Similarly, compositions worthy of singular praise would be at a distinct disadvantage if they were not persecuted by the envious and the ignorant. We would think gems were acorns if they encountered the appreciation of the pigs. There was a tyrant who, just in order not to lower the price of silver and gold, punished and prohibited the marvellous invention of patching glass together and making it as flexible as any of the most flexible metals.[5] Let us learn from this by whom and for what reasons admirable works full of glory are prohibited.

I can hardly exaggerate when I call these prohibitions tyrannical, since I see them based on the presence of the words kiss, embraces, amorous satisfactions, and other similar expressions of exchanged affection. Any day now, I expect there to be a prohibition against reading the Bible, in which words like *he kissed her* and *he slept with her* and *he had intercourse with her*, and so forth, abound. Is not the Song of Songs full of loving tendernesses, such that greater ones could hardly be placed in the mouth of a lover before his goddess? Why then do they not permit, for the description of terrestrial loves, the same true and proper terms that the Holy Spirit uses in a metaphorical sense to declare spiritual love?

Oh, but in the city where you are, a kind of love is practiced in which there is no place for kisses. This is why they forbid these to be printed on paper; for those grandees abhor them and detest any impressions on the lips, on the forehead, on the cheek. They think such a reading might corrupt the souls of youth before they themselves are able to corrupt them to their own wills even more indecently. They fear that in seeing the natural delights of love for a woman represented, youth might be torn away from consenting to those infamous delights whose practice is the only one they approve. In sum, I cannot imagine what basis there might be for persecuting by the rigors of censorship the amorous terms permitted in matrimony and at least not contrary to nature outside matrimony except in order to ban the memory and abolish the practice. They only allow those terms to survive with which they nourish the infamy of their pleasures. Let Rome prohibit the excesses whereby it corrupts not only morals but faith; and if the quality of the climate or the long-established custom make toleration of these evils necessary, let it have pity also on books, which try to flatter the century with a few charming features. I conclude that a modern book cannot harm simple persons, since it is superior to their intelligence; to intelligent persons it does not teach anything bad, since they already know the ways of the world from the vivacity of their own imaginations, which often precede practice. If Your Most Reverend Lordship should have occasion to discourse familiarly with some cardinal

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there, tell him about this inconvenience which discredits the pope's authority. Prohibitions made so commonplace are no longer effective; and indeed, they cause books to increase in value, so every author is encouraged to beg for them in order to increase the value of his compositions. This creates great disorder and those are to blame who, more malicious than zealous, campaign against books rather than against vices. Let Your Lordship excuse this outpouring necessitated by the impertinence of the inquisitors, who don't let men of letters write or read. I should like to know by what pretext those gentlemen pretend to exercise this tyranny. If you will let me know, my obligation to you will increase all the more. . . ."

Then the Marquis said, "The writer has forgotten to mention the practice of the princes in their states of prohibiting any books containing things not to their liking."

"This," chimed in the Count, "is a custom among popes and grandees alike, who do not want the truth to be said whenever it reveals some fault of their own."

"This is the main reason," pointed out the Knight, "why the Spanish call for the prohibition of books relating to current affairs; since their actions, totally filled with cruelty and injustice, should constitute a reproof to them in any kind of typeface. . . ."

21. Gregorio Leti, *Lampoons*

The most infamous political pamphleteer in seventeenth-century Europe was born in Milan during the plague of 1630 into the family of a professional military commander in the service of Spain and his noble wife.[1] When he lost both his parents before he reached age seventeen, his uncle promised to help him through law school and into the priesthood, completing the education he had already begun at the Jesuit college in Cosenza. But Gregorio Leti had other plans. After rejecting every other conventional career, he travelled at first from one remote relative to another in the great capitals of Europe and then on his own, financing himself by a rapidly dwindling capital made from the sale of the family property in Bologna. The store of social and intellectual experiences he began accumulating were to become his stock in trade when he finally settled upon a career as a writer. In Lausanne, physician Jean-Antoine Guérin abetted his growing attitude of opposition to the Church, persuaded him to turn Protestant, and gave him his daughter in marriage. After settling in Geneva in 1660 as a language teacher, he soon began to earn most of his income from a series of publications ranging from political criticism to travel literature and popular history that were reprinted in

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multiple editions throughout Europe—the *Life of Elizabeth Queen of England* appeared in no fewer than six during his lifetime—and smuggled into Italy where the listing of many of them on the Index of Forbidden Books helped increase their popularity. In rapid succession, he published the *Conclave that Elected Fabio Chigi called Alexander VII*, the *Love of Carlo Gonzaga Duke of Mantua and of the Countess Margherita della Rovere*, the *Political Dialogues* excerpted here, *Roman Nepotism*, also excerpted, and *Roman Whorishness*, works that claimed access to secret information exposing scandalous practices in Church and government—especially in Italy—while raucously satirizing contemporary fashions and social behavior.

The material was frequently not Leti's own. In fact, the *Political Visions*, published in 1671, reproduces long portions of Gaspare Squarciafico's *Political Maladies of the Republic of Genoa*, while the *Rulers of Italy*, one of his most famous works, reproduces a considerable amount of information from Florentine grand ducal librarian Antonio Magliabechi. When he did not deliberately delay his publication of manuscript sources in response to blackmail payments by the governments concerned, his chief contribution to the contemporary political scene was to provide wide access to the sort of satire that had been circulating for years among the elites. However, regulations in Geneva, like those elsewhere, required prepublication permission from the government, a procedure Leti preferred to avoid because of the sensitive nature of his material. Just when his literary fame was at its height, friction with the censorship led to expulsion from Geneva and resettlement in France, where his panegyrics of Louis XIV procured him a position as historiographer in 1680. He then accepted a similar position in England just in time to lose the one in France due to his Protestantism; but his irrepressible pen soon got him expelled from there too. After receiving the title of official historian of the city of Amsterdam, he died in 1701, the author of over sixty books published in Italian, French, German, Dutch and English.

Citizenship[2]

Counsellor: . . . Selling citizenship in the manner practiced in these times, to the basest rabble, not only of the city but of the whole universe, is praiseworthy in no republic. Let Venice pardon me, which has opened a door so some can enter the Senate by paying a sum of gold who would be more worthy of bearing burdens in the countryside than of bearing the illustrious office of nobility in such a city. Republics are preserved by virtue and valor; so citizenship must be granted to these qualities and not to baseness and ignorance.

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Ambassador: Receiving citizenship from an aristocratic republic is one thing; and receiving it from a democratic republic is another. The latter does not so easily receive foreigners as citizens, because, governed by the people, it would have to allow such new citizens to turn immediately from citizens into princes. Such is not the case in aristocracies, where the commanders are few and those few are princes, so new arrivals become not peers in government but helpers for the princes to use in any emergency.

Counsellor: Republics that frequently receive new citizens run a risk when these come from a different climate, language and customs. And truly, what good can be hoped, what gain can be expected, what can be earned and what profit will that senate receive which admits to the center of its affairs a man born in another state, perhaps of a nature unknown to himself as well as to those who receive him? Imagine a new man giving his vote to a senator whom he does not know. Imagine a senator not known by the senate but knowing all the senators. Imagine as judge of public affairs a man whose origins and type of education have never before been seen in the senate. Certainly these things are fit to frighten not only the councilors of the republic but the very walls of the councils.

Ambassador: I can assure you that things are not exactly as you describe. The new citizen of a democratic republic is admitted into the councils where state affairs are discussed only after many years. The new noble in an aristocratic republic can barely see with his eyes what the others do, and even if he sees, his sight would only shame him because usually he has no other power except to lend his vote to others, certain that the others will not give their vote to him before a long experience of his actions in the senate as a subject of whoever commands and reigns over him.

Counsellor: If they are not in power, they are nevertheless in a place where they can observe the most recondite affairs of whoever makes public decisions. They are brothers of the senators, not servants of the senate, so the senate should be very careful before accepting them into the brotherhood of senators. I myself have seen citizenship given for twenty *scudi* in some republics, and to what men? To some who had been banned as traitors in other republics! To some who had fled from their own countries as failed merchants! To some who had been tried as murderers in other states! To some who had no other religion besides atheism! That is the quality of men they chose to add to the number of their citizens in the place I am thinking about.[3] The senate ought never to use so much diligence in giving offices to its old citizens as in giving citizenship to a foreigner before knowing his actions for at least ten years; the contrary would be the same as bringing the enemies from the countryside into the city and an evil in from the outside. If offices are given to a citizen, however bad, the evil dies where it is born. The Athenians are known to

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have been so reluctant to grant citizenship to foreigners that they tried to secure themselves by a law saying foreigners had to receive no less than 6,000 secret votes in order to become citizens. Indeed, if we can believe Demosthenes, citizenship was denied to Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, even though he was a great supporter of the public cause. . . .[4] In the beginning, republics obviously need inhabitants in order to reach perfection; nonetheless, stones that are differently shaped from the rest, oddly cut and protruding beyond the proper limit, do not fit well in such an edifice. I know that the need for money usually forces senates to admit new citizens; nevertheless, senators ought to consider that the money of the republic comes and goes in an instant, whereas the citizenship once conferred remains forever. A bad citizen in a republic is a domestic enemy. Rome began to fail when it admitted thousands of unknown and subject persons as citizens.

Ambassador: Isn't it worse when the most wicked persons are admitted to citizenship just to populate a city, as when Rome, lacking inhabitants, gave liberty to live freely to anyone even if accused of the most horrible crimes in other, however friendly, countries?

Counsellor: In that time Rome was more like a barracks of soldiers than an assembly of citizens, because there was no attempt to live according to the rules, but only to increase the population. With the whole world standing ready at arms, the councils could think of nothing else except war. In the beginning of a dominion, the slightest amount of virtue is enough to keep things going as long as the force is sufficient to maintain it. Virtue is good for maintaining, not for acquiring, whereas force acquires but does not maintain; so when a city is establishing its foundations it must bring in the worst people from the surrounding places by attractive promises. Otherwise, it could never become populous, because good people prefer to stay with what they have rather than pursue something they cannot foresee. Novelties are more welcomed by the worst sort of people, because the best people are attracted by ripe and well-established situations, whereas the worst people gravitate more toward unripe and uncertain ones. Few want to change countries in the simple hope of living well in an unknown place unless some important concern makes them want to forget where they just lived.

Ambassador: Then it is no wonder that the ancient republics took such care to increase the number of inhabitants before worrying about the laws. The laws by themselves open the way to good government, but what is good government if there is no one to imitate it—indeed, if there is no one to say it is such?

Counsellor: Let us end by saying that the main question in granting citizenship ought to be not to how many but to whom. . . .

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Roman Nepotism[5]

. . . If the popes had been content to be the greatest of the Church in holiness and good living rather than in majesty, the world would never have conceived so many sinister thoughts against them; nor would it be so scandalized by the actions of those whose holy lives caused them to be adored in their persons rather than in their foot because of their huge possessions, as many believe.[6]

But let us speak the truth. As long as the popes left to the emperors the secular care of government and all the interest of the temporal state, they excelled in holiness and good living, and so did the rest of the Church and clergy; and the miracles of the saints resounded in equal measure with the thunderings of the tyrant emperors.

But as soon as the popes usurped political power and the government of temporal affairs, the Church's holiness diminished, miracles vanished, and the emperors became saints while the popes became men, if not worse, and too involved in temporal cares.

The heretics go further, saying that the popes are really tyrants for having introduced the Inquisition, which forces men's consciences to serve God on the outside and more severely punishes the violation of one of the pope's decrees (this is why the popes are called tyrants) than it does the violation of one of God's commandments.

The popes defend themselves, saying policy obliges them to establish the Inquisition, and then they leave the other sharper objection to the theologians. These in turn, to convince the heretics, have written such vast volumes of controversy that the heretics, unable to read them, remain in their obstinacy with no small annoyance to the pope and his theologians.

But these strange changes of scene, played not before the popes in Rome but by the popes before the whole universe, are not so much to be attributed to the popes themselves as to their nephews and relatives. For while the popes were content to lead private lives and leave their nephews alone in their own homes, they were eminent for their religious zeal. No sooner did they introduce them into Rome, forgetting themselves, than they fell to idolizing them and not the altars, and to increase their greatness, they employed not only the gold of the Church but all the pains and weapons of the papacy, even the consciences of their whole flock.

Experience teaches us that many popes, and particularly those with the greatest reputations, in the beginning of their papacies, not only renounced their relatives and refused to acknowledge them, but protested to the cardinals by solemn oaths that they would govern alone and not allow their relatives in on any pretext whatsoever, and particularly, that they would not allow them a share in the government.

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Alexander VII[7] was one of these, indeed, one of the greatest, and we may judge the rest by him. In the beginning of his pontificate he showed himself to be so averse to his relatives that some thought him a saint and others thought him to be inhuman.

Don Mario, Don Agostino and the cardinal every day offered their prayers up to heaven for a change in their uncle's inclinations;[8] the ambassadors of princes and the cardinals did nothing but wear themselves out in alleging to his holiness that introducing his relatives would not only be honorable but of great advantage to the state and Church.

Yet the good pope, unshaken in his opinion, was resolved to deny all their entreaties—indeed, was exceedingly scandalized at anyone who insisted, saying he could not grant their desires in good conscience; and one day, on being urged for this purpose by Jesuit father Pallavicino, his confessor and now a cardinal,[9] he answered, "your obligation, father, is to absolve us from sins, not to encourage us to commit them."

Alexander has not been alone in this view, and there are many other examples in the lives of the popes; such as Adrian VI and Pius V,[10] who customarily said they wished to persuade the world that they could live without relatives, yet they either did not want to or did not know how.

I wonder what brought them to this opinion, so far different from the others'? If an indifference to and hatred for their relations, it was surely a sin; since the commandment says, "despise not thy own flesh."[11] If in order to make a show of zeal, this was worse, for they were guilty before their relatives, before the world and before God. And if out of a desire to bestow favors on their friends first before giving themselves up to their nephews, this was a preposterous charity that ought to have begun closer to home.

In conclusion, the popes who made this profession of disowning their relations must have made it because they were really persuaded that the errors of their predecessors proceeded from the principle of admitting relatives to a share in government, and therefore they thought fit to free themselves from so great an imputation. They must have known very well the damage that the nephews of other popes had done to the Church on a hundred or a thousand occasions, and wished to correct such errors by keeping their relatives as far from Rome as from the Vatican.

So, to save the reputation of the papal dignity, I am forced to say that the popes who professed an aversion to their relatives, and later admitted them, must have been seized at first by some melancholy humors and capriciousness that made them commit such errors. My using the word errors must not seem strange, since it conforms entirely to reason. For when these popes first decided their predecessors had wrongly admitted relatives into Rome and given up the government of the Church into their hands, and when they swore and promised to keep their own relatives at a distance so as to be freed from such inconveniences, only to call those

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relatives later to Rome, give them the keys of the treasure and put all temporal and spiritual administration into their hands, allowing them to make themselves princes and giving them absolute authority over the Church, the papacy, and indeed, the very person of the pope, this was to suggest the popes could turn what they themselves had condemned as bad and mischievous into something good. But if the popes believed this, certainly anyone with judgment and sound understanding does not.

As for me, I have never denied the opinion of the Roman theologians that the "popes cannot err," but as soon as I came to see the falsehood of this proven in the person of Alexander VII, I have begun to curse the theologians who flatter the popes in this fashion, not to serve the church but to make themselves great; and we know very well how many of them have been made cardinals merely because they wrote to the advantage and honor of the pope, encouraging still others to do the same. But whatever they write, the whole world shall never persuade me that Alexander's behavior in calling upon his relatives, against his oath, was not as great an error as any pope ever committed. . . .

Yet let us do them the favor of interpreting their doctrine their own way and allowing their distinction, namely, that the popes are infallible in matters of faith but not in matters of politics, that they have the Holy Spirit, and that terrestrial graces are not decreed by Heaven. Let this be so, if the theologians wish; it makes no difference. Even if this is so, if we do them this kindness, I hope they will requite it by answering these questions. When the popes' nephews are admitted into the Vatican, they have the same authority as the popes, governing all affairs—political, civil and ecclesiastical—since all things, sacred, profane and divine, pass through their hands. Then the popes may sometimes err with them in matters of faith, since in such matters they often trust their nephews, who, being men subject to passions, are admitted by all to be capable of error. So who can say on such occasions that the popes cannot err, unless they are canonized while living?

I ask you then, did Alexander VII, who had such an aversion to his relatives at first, claiming he did not want to admit them in any way to the government of the Church, have the assistance of the Holy Spirit or not?

If you answer he did not, I will not be scandalized by his actions, and I will simply attribute them all to chimaeras and human caprice.

But if he had the Holy Spirit, why did he first refuse to call his nephews to his assistance and then call them to give them everything, even though they could err, being glad to err with them?[12] For admitting them to his aid in such a great office was either good or bad. If good, then he erred at first in keeping them away and showing himself so alienated from them; if bad, then he erred in calling them to Rome and giving them what he has given them, which if it is not all, it is no little thing, either.

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The Holy Spirit is infallible, and to believe the contrary is great impiety. How then do the popes have the Holy Spirit and yet not abstain from error? Certainly this seems to me to be a profanation of the honor of divinity. We know that the Holy Spirit inspires nothing but what is good, and yet we see that the popes commit evil. The Protestants utterly deny this opinion and demonstrate by good proofs that the pope neither has nor can have the Holy Spirit; but for my part I believe that the Holy Spirit enters the popes when he likes, and they receive him when they can.

So to save the reputation of Pope Alexander VII, I will say that in the beginning of his pontificate he did not have the Holy Spirit, for if he did, he would have received his relatives; but the Holy Spirit began to take possession of him just as his relatives began to take possession of Rome and of the Church. And if Pope Alexander now feels satisfied in having given them so much authority, or, at least, so much money, it must be believed that he was much to blame for keeping the Holy Spirit and his relatives out for so long together, since by this means he deprived himself of the riches of the Spirit and his relations of the riches of this world. But now he has corrected his error and made amends for everything. . . .

22. Gaspare Squarciafico, *The Political Maladies of the Republic of Genoa and Their Cure*

Genoa in the seventeenth century was not just one of the wealthiest cities in Europe, enriched by its bankers' exclusive position as financiers to the Spanish crown and owners of lucrative revenues in the kingdom of Naples.[1] It was also the political hinge of Southern Europe. Situated at the vertex of the inverted triangle formed by the Savoy states and Lombardy, it served as a buffer between the ambitious expansionary schemes of the former and the Spanish possessions in the latter. And it riveted the attention of Spain because of its position as the sea-link to the Spanish Road passing through Lombardy and then through the Valtelline passes in the Alps and into the Spanish Netherlands. However, the social strife of the sixteenth century continued unabated. The uneasy alliance created by the constitutional reforms of 1576 between the "old" nobility, the more recently ennobled or "new" nobility, and the common people, began to disintegrate.[2] The *alberghi* or noble clans,[3] unique institutions which made the weaker families subject to the more powerful ones, were officially abolished, new families were added to the lists of nobles, and the "old" and "new" nobles were united, on paper, at least, into a single seamless ruling elite; but strife continued. And the fragile network of international alliances in which the Republic was enmeshed began to unravel in the

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Thirty Years' War, providing occasions for the expression of discontent. Trouble began brewing when the Spanish government declared bankruptcy in 1627, temporarily wiping out all but the largest Genoese lenders. Next, while attempting to annex the Valtelline in the Thirty Years' War, that government secretly concluded pacts on behalf of Genoa with Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy, the Republic's sworn enemy. He in turn almost immediately financed the unsuccessful conspiracy by Giulio Cesare Vacchero and others in 1628 to overthrow the aristocratic government in favor of a more popular one. The Genoese government thereupon assumed a more aggressive posture; and it sequestered Spanish ships engaging in contraband in the 1630s out of the port city of Finale. But the new policies soon became the subject of intense internal controversies. The "old" nobility, still searching for ways to regain power lost by their ancestors in the constitutional revisions of 1576, insisted on a policy of armed neutrality in European affairs along with some modest territorial gains. To preserve the Republic's position they raised cash by selling noble titles (which they intended not to honor) and offered large sums of their own money to purchase Pontremoli and other cities from Spain in return for large privileges to themselves. To dislodge the "old" nobility and their policies once and for all, exiled "new" noble Giovanni Paolo Balbi organized other exiles in a conspiracy in 1648 to deliver the city over to France, but failed when Cardinal Mazarin backed down. In 1654 the government once again decided to confiscate Spanish ships that had evaded the tariffs on the way to Genoa; but this time the Spanish authorities responded by sequestering Genoese goods and incomes all over Italy, initiating yet another round of inter-noble rivalry and conspiracies with France. Gaspare Squarciafico,[4] laureate in law and dabbler in mathematics and poetry, was heir to one of the oldest families in Genoa as well as to the distinguished traditions of Genoese humanist political writing dating back to Ludovico Spinola in the sixteenth century and Andrea Spinola more recently. Writing in the 1650s, he participated actively in the civil strife he describes and offered his prescription for change from the vantage point of exile in Spain. His work exemplifies noble self-perceptions and social relations in this part of Italy and also the printed polemical form increasingly adopted for political invective as the century wore on.

Pretensions of the Nobles

... The "old" nobility assert their importance by specious, grandiloquent and magnificent titles....[5] At the same time, they persuade themselves that the "new" nobles, whose base origins they despise and ridicule, have

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no right to the administration of the state—as though this were a cogent argument.. . . .

They hate to see new rulers of the country sprout every day like mushrooms in the fields. If a quantity of vile salted fish is brought in from the Breton marshes, the resourceful grocer soon puts on the patrician toga. Though milk was rarely plentiful in the pastures of Piacenza, whoever manages to bring into his barn a greater abundance of it than in previous years soon lands in the Royal Palace with the senator's miter. If the heavens and the Holy Patron of the Deserts has favored the illegitimate offspring of the thoroughbreds of Arcadia more than usual, the stable-boy comes down and becomes a candidate in the Ligurian forum and seeks the pretorian and ducal magistracies. If an industrious artisan finds a way to teach water how to turn useless and tattered rags into white sheets of paper, not too long afterwards he presumes that his nobility ought to be written on them in gold lettering.

They make fun of their deportment and arrogance. They say it is a monstrous spectacle to see many of them proudly and ostentatiously strolling, huffing like Aeolian caves,[6] taking strides like Polyphemus,[7] casting glares like porcupines' barbs, speaking with Stentorian voices,[8] placing their hands on their hips like the Colossus of Rhodes, raising the right arm like Jupiter shooting a lightning bolt. . . . They thus hold them up continuously to the scorn of the common people, who in fact insult them wherever they can by annoying whistles called *gnarre* in our language, following them while repeating these satanic melodies everywhere but especially in Piazza San Siro, where it is considered a worse crime than desecrating the statues of Caesar for them to remain. They are commonly known by the name of "bears,"[9] and I believe this comes from the abusive attitude they assume in chivalric exercises and from the rusticity of their conversation. . . .

The "old" nobility therefore claim the "new" nobles are objects of popular hatred, on no other grounds that I can imagine except for the scorn indifferently directed toward all the nobility. They say it comes from the arrogant ill-treatments and haughty insults the common people suffer unrevenged every day from the unworthy. They point out that there are many non-nobles of good and ancient birth, to whom military Crosses cannot justly be denied, who see every path toward the attainment of nobility closed to their companions because the "new" nobles, not being so blind as not to recognize their own baseness and certain to lose their own authority when compared to those more worthy than themselves, are afraid of admitting anyone, and so make sure no one is admitted except from the lowest dregs of the basest plebeians.

But the "old" nobles' strongest argument is the devastation the common people can easily observe from so many bloody civil wars in the past, with no gain except the increased power of the "new" nobles and a

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more miserable servitude that the common people, abandoned, and totally betrayed, lament to the heights.

Thus, the "old" nobles compare the sweetness and gentleness of their patrician domination with the barbarous and uncivil one of the present rustic tyranny. The noble order never permitted any impositions like those instituted after an unjust law decreed the addition of new families, allowing the names of the most illustrious houses to be uttered in the basest streets of the city and the glories of heroes who have exhausted the pens of historians and the flight of fame to be shared by others, vile and unknown. But even though these rebaptized and disguised personages have already been forced to abandon their inappropriate surnames, they ought now to be relieved of command for having stolen many no less glorious ones from the tombs of extinct families, and by public decree declared unworthy successors of those whom they so little resemble in their habits.[10]

These are the pretensions of the "old" nobles, supported more by blustering words, self-esteem, and scorn of others than by real and legitimate reasons.

Why the "New" Nobles Think They Ought to Govern

The "new" nobles, for their part, defend no less constantly than arrogantly the authority they enjoy and adduce in their own favor all the reasons that used to support the common people's authority, as though the latter were extinct, simply negligent, or else acquiescent in giving it to them. They demonstrate the common people's government and exploits in each period by well-ordered histories, both foreign and domestic, showing when and how the citizens moderated the arrogance of the nobility by laws and exile before finally depriving them of magistracies and preventing them from entry into government, after destroying their violence and rebelliousness and spilling their blood in long and cruel wars. . . .[11]

They respond in kind to the scorn and insults of the "old" nobles and jealously try to besmirch the best and most illustrious of them, calling them sons of slaves who received their surnames from their masters at baptism and whose vile birth subsequent generations disguised by wealth. . . . They charge still others with imposture, whose illustrious origins are perfectly obvious, telling about the lowness of their businesses, the vileness of their work, the infamy of their earnings, the usury and detestable inventions they practiced to enrich themselves. . . .

And what point is there in remembering the *virtù* of the old families, they say, if the present families are totally different? What if everything seems vile to them in comparison to gold, and they esteem nothing except what shines and can be exchanged for merchandise? The old families now scorn all letters (say the "new" nobles) except for letters of exchange; and

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they pay no attention to glory if it involves ruining one's clothes and scarcely revere any altar unless it is spread over with precious ornaments. And since the native shores seem too narrow for their huge and avaricious ambitions, they disperse themselves everywhere else. Like a thick cloud of hungry locusts sent by the malignant Auster[12] into the most fertile regions when the grain goes ripe, leaving no single spike standing to console the eager efforts of the grieving farmers, they let loose their insatiable greed upon every place to extract every possible particle of gold collected by the long labors of those miserable people. They particularly nest in the provinces best adapted to their mercantile strategies: Naples, Milan and Rome bear witness, and likewise all of Spain, where they took up the occupations left behind by the Moors. There, they have expanded their impostures among the ministers and increased their possessions, and under the appearance of bringing profit to the king, they have discovered, to their eternal reproof by all posterity, the annual tribute, the semiannual tribute, the subsidies, anticipations, gifts, aids, and other innumerable synonyms of "gabels," whereby they oppressed the weak, defrauded the powerful, destroyed the people, excited provinces to rebellion and impoverished the very king who possesses an inexhaustible treasure hidden in the bowels of a new and exceedingly vast world. . . . Thus the "new" nobles derisively reprove and exaggerate the vices common to all the nobles and deem unworthy the same occupations whose exercise they do not condemn in themselves.

The "new" nobles respond with greater vigor to popular arrogance and hatred, particularly since those two qualities are commonly more proper to those who consider themselves to be far superior. For the rest, they rail just as loudly as the "old" nobles against the abolished law concerning the alberghi and against the new names of families, perhaps to gain some praise from the disdain of things they dearly wish for but know they cannot have. . . .[13] The Riformatori proposed twenty-eight alberghi, in one or the other of which everyone admitted to the government had to be included, on the belief that just as in earlier times, civil discord and the seeds of new turbulence would disappear.[14] But this idea really came about by the initiative of the "old" nobles, who used this pretext to abuse the common people, to suppress and enervate the opposing factions, and to assume or indeed seize the true titles of command and dominate unchallenged.

Sentiments and Condition of the Common People, called Artisans

In the midst of these altercations and disagreements the common people[15] suffer a miserable servitude; and the more they demonstrate their indignation, the more the magistrates oppress and the young nobles insult them. A long peace and an almost uninterrupted application to

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moneymaking have made them forget their former ferocity but have not cancelled from their memories the power they once had nor their hatred for their rulers. The idleness following the French invasions, the wars of Italy and the cessation of commerce brought most of them to desire new things;[16] and the experience of many in the militia has reduced to some extent the effects of the cowardice and inertia they wallowed in for an entire century. Since the most conspicuous and deserving have virtually ceased to be enrolled among the nobles as the laws prescribe, except for a few rare sales of nobility for great sums of gold, the threats of the most turbulent ones no longer have an outlet. They call themselves the grandchildren of those who chased out the tyrannical aristocracy, deprived the nobility of all power and restored the republic to its ancient state, establishing a very glorious and powerful democracy and keeping it powerful for many centuries. . . .[17] They condemn the nobles as tyrants; and for all their misgivings about the absolute domination of one alone, they heap ever greater praise on that sort of system only because it would be preferable to the present situation, wherein such a multitude of discordant masters renders their servitude more miserable and intolerable. In familiar conversations they discuss the revolt of Naples, the revolutions of Catalonia,[18] the Portuguese plot,[19] the change of government in England,[20] and the liberty of Holland all in one breath.[21] And when they look at earlier events, they not only see the times of the Tarquins and of the first Caesars as having been happier than their own, but they even see Nero as having been more advantageous to his people than their own lords because under his power, whoever was not important—in other words, whoever was not more powerful than many kings—lived securely in Rome. . . .

But the common people's misfortune is that they have no relief or protection. Their wives have been raped, their daughters kidnaped, their commerce impeded, their merchandise sequestered, their possessions stolen, their persons insulted and beaten and, in the end, they have either been sacrificed to the public tribunal if they publicly complain or cruelly excluded from private vendettas if they quietly defended themselves. No one of any rank whatsoever is immune to such injuries. The wealthy are rapaciously despoiled because of their riches, the poor are mockingly scourged because of their baseness, the wise are exiled because of their knowledge, the idiots are punished for their simplicity, the audacious are condemned for sedition, the timid are openly insulted because of their inability to defend themselves. There is no place in the city so secret as to offer solace from the diligent investigation of 1,500 enemies.

Thus, the common people turn their thoughts to themselves. And they say, "Such a tiny number is nothing compared to our power. A thousand can easily compete against one—one who is already enfeebled by the knowledge of his own cruelty, by the multitude of his vices, by his

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effeminacy and lack of expertise, by the awareness that he deserves the punishment anyway—and a thousand who, insulted and united, accustomed to death and its horrors by continuous experience, would be fighting for honor, for property, for life, and for liberty."

Thus the common people debate in their secret assemblies, awaiting the proper opportunity and a leader who dares to expose himself to the first encounter with fortune and remove the reins of the timid multitude. . . .

Quality and Behavior of the Plebeians

These sentiments are transmitted to the lowest plebeians,[22] who adopt, ever more tenaciously and ardently accordingly as they are guided more by fury than by reason, the attitudes of those who give them their livelihood, daily work and protection against insults from the nobles, even though they do not aspire to the greatness of government.

And a truly incredible number of them pass their lives in sordid poverty amid an infinite multitude of evils, some working but most of them idle. They stupidly believe their suffering is due to tyranny and bad government and not to their own idleness and the natural sterility of the country. The notions passed on to them by their fathers are confirmed daily by the haughtiness of the great. Thus the scorn, the noisy screams and cries wherewith they fill the city unpunished, and the seditions and tumults they bring on all the time for any unimportant cause but especially where food is concerned are impossible to describe. There are two ways in which they are won over to and practically enrolled among the artisans. One way is through work, because even though they are maintained by very generous daily alms from the Poor Office, nonetheless they are easily entertained by a few base tasks from the artisans, who flatter them rather than curing their laziness. The other way is through the confraternities, called Houses. There they go for spiritual exercises, while in the meantime communicating to each other all their thoughts and dissatisfactions and deciding upon the best course of action. Their diligence is such that scarcely any of them is not associated with one of these Houses or fails to attend meetings. And their union and brotherhood are such that each House member brings in his wife and brothers. Especially in the nocturnal vigils involving visits to the Holy Sepulchers, they march under their particular emblem (consisting of a devout sculpture of their Holy Protector or Protectress, which they bring to the cathedral), apparently trying to outdo one another in the bearing of all sorts of arms and assembling in more of a military than a pious formation. The city quarters then appear to burn with thousands of torches, whose splendor is only surpassed by the thousands of horrible swords. . . .

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How the Nobles Pursue Private Quarrels

Other than by fraud and by insults, the nobles attack one another's reputations by pursuing private quarrels in two ways: by arms and by public authority. The former course is chosen by the youngest and least experienced, the latter by the more prudent and experienced, for which the practitioners of the former are called roguish, of the latter, wise. The former course is usually accompanied by exile and by danger; the latter by the greatest rewards. The practitioners of the former seek more to improve their reputations than to achieve any practical effects, and desire to be reputed powerful rather than actually to be so. Pure cowardice prevents them from carrying out their threats most of the time; but frequently, under cover of darkness, they band together into numerous armed squadrons and face off against each other, although if one of the more daring of them should chance to begin a fight, few remain in the field. You might say they love the idea of battle but not the thing itself, hoping to do great harm to the enemy without ever endangering their own safety. And since they cannot afford to maintain such large squadrons, and even if they could they would refuse to waste their resources in this fashion, they have adopted a clever stratagem to pursue their illegitimate designs under the color of pure legality. The law prohibits anyone, under specific and heavy penalties, to carry arms—a measure ostensibly aimed at preventing sedition. In order to bring the transgressors to justice, many groups of thugs called police are permitted to range about the city and lay their hands upon anyone they wish among the people, and, frequently, among the nobles, whose enemies pay out bribes to cause them to be persecuted. The thugs' impudence and harassment is such that they dare to stop any venerable and dignified personage several times in a single day unless he pays them off; they search him and shake him from head to foot, rob him of any silver they find, poke fun at the size of his virile member as though of a prohibited weapon, and many times (such is their vile greed), pretending to have found a dagger or pistol hidden somewhere in his robes, drag him off to prison amid villainies and blows. In order to avoid being harassed many people pay these thugs an annual stipend; others more enamored of arms and less able to spend so much money join together and elect a young noble to serve as their leader, paying him a pittance to protect them. He in turn rounds them up one night in some secret place and gives each of them a little candle to make their faces easier to discern. He then calls the police with its captains, who pass along the whole line as in a procession, considering the faces of each one carefully, and in return for the agreed-upon donation, promise to leave them alone, free from molestation and search, for a full year; then, retiring to one side, they await another command. The noble leader then makes a

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proud and threatening speech exaggerating his power, greatness and quickness to exact revenge, reciting a few of his vices and misdeeds and declaring his implacable indignation against whoever should be so bold as to break the promise. Finally, he makes the nobles take a solemn oath to avenge insults against any of their companions according to the severity judged by the leader. And the youth of each faction walk about in these groups and insult each other.

But the nobles whom experience has made wiser pursue their deep-rooted enmities in a more hidden and more serious fashion. . . . Tacit accusations are not only welcomed, but a law of ostracism, popularly known as the "purge," has even been established to encourage them. Whoever is inculpated by such letters is subject to censure by the Minor Council.[23] If the crime cannot be proven, he is normally punished by two years of confinement. And if there is the possibility of proof, he is declared guilty by public fame and reputation and condemned to torture. Many times hatreds and factions have forced innocent persons to undergo either one of these punishments. Nonetheless, neither the "old" nobles nor the "new" nobles ordinarily permit any of their own to be punished unless another of the opposite side is made to share the same punishment. . . .

How the Magistracies are Distributed

The government of the Republic is in every way divided between the two factions of "old" and "new" nobles. The former, having endured so long, continue to decline without being restored. . . . In power, wealth and number, the two groups differ very little except for a few of the "old" nobility, who are excluded from the government anyway because of the states they govern or the eminent positions they hold. In the creation of any magistrate, an equal number from both parties is elected by tacit agreement. And if perchance there is an unequal number, a rancorous dispute ensues wherein each of the many participants tries to promote his own. But the "new" nobles ordinarily have the advantage since, particularly ambitious for positions their ancestors never possessed, they are more zealous in the collection of votes. The dogeship, the governorship of Corsica and similar positions are distributed in alternation. Both factions contain many other particular parties, whose members proceed with such obstinacy that they try to prevent any affair from being concluded against their views and anyone whom they do not like from enjoying public dignities in spite of the interests of the Republic. No one can hope to obtain anything without swearing solemnly to preserve the usurped authority of these factions and to vote exactly as instructed. From prominent places in the councils they direct their followers by agreed-upon signs. If anyone should declare to them his own ideas, based upon the innocence, the merit, or the justice of the cause, they get him out of their

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way by responding, "Your Excellency is right, but there are not enough votes." Thus, anyone who happens to have some considerable quality that shines forth among the others and is therefore rejected by the local heads of the Rioni as being too hard to manipulate is left to contemplate his own dissatisfaction and conceive a desire for new things. The republic is reduced to such a miserable situation that anyone who is not stupid, credulous and ignorant aspires to the magistracies in vain.

How Popular Tumults and Attempts to Introduce New Things can be Avoided

. . . The Poor Office and the very abundant alms whereby the city sustains an estimated forty thousand poor and indolent persons are incapable of removing the causes of sedition;[24] indeed, they are more like an ineffective lenitive putting off the ultimate disturbances just until the necessary spark appears. Anyone can cause rebellion by simply circulating false rumors or declaring himself the author of novelties. . . . But the great and desolate kingdom of Corsica suggests an opportune relief for our excesses. I would have all the unfit poor transported there at public expense, and support by public piety could be offered on condition of their departure. Let anyone who has no skill or means of earning a living for himself and his family by work be forced to give his name in order to be sent away. Let the transgressors be sought out diligently and thoroughly and subjected to heavy penalties. Other benefits will result from this, such as the restoration of that kingdom and the gradual introduction of cultivation into it, so that supporting the poor will be easier and less expensive. Besides, new magistrates ought to be created to oversee all the crafts, which will not be difficult considering the multitude of indolent nobles and the desire of everyone to have a voice in government without regard to income, as is our custom. Their job will be to keep track of all the artisans and find out their manner and means of maintaining themselves, their customs and their quality; to force their creditors to pay them for goods and merchandise received, without a judicial process and without excuses or delays; to defend them from the insults of the youth and the nobles; and to seek certain, quick, and severe punishments from the Supreme Governors so that the common people will always be considered sacrosanct and their persons kept inviolable as majesty itself. Another tribunal will be created concerning the idle and the vagabonds and those who are not enrolled in any guild, who will be immediately sent to the galleys to learn the business of rowing. Foreign beggars will not be admitted, nor will they be sent to the island [of Corsica] with those of the Riviera. And with the city having been purged and the common people liberated from insults in this way, the two greatest and most imminent dangers to the Republic will be removed.

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But the remedy for the ambition of the others will be enrollment in the nobility—not by sale but by reward to those who have consecrated their praiseworthy efforts to the public utility. Many who believe they ought to have such recognition refuse to buy it; so their pretensions become ever more violent and prejudicial. And others with abundant wealth refuse to live well and civilly, encourage sedition, and use their treasuries to procure for themselves the service of the multitude by buying the merits they seek. Those especially who are employed in sedentary occupations such as law, medicine and the other sciences, ought to be promoted. Their way of life suppresses anger and bile and therefore does not encourage them to desire novelty or foment violence; so if the best among the rest of the people can be persuaded to adopt it, gradually they will forget their ferocity and foolhardy designs. Let the latest fashion of the Venetians not be suggested as a rebuttal—that nobility ought to be sold; because many things can be tolerated in a healthy body that would cause death in our feverish Republic. And besides the fact that the present most dangerous war forced them to take that step,[25] they have a gentle and well-behaved population with no pretensions to such dignities and entirely resigned to being excluded. Nonetheless, in times when the Venetians were able to operate more freely, as after the victory over Chioggia, they elevated to the nobility those who had struggled most vigorously for the country.[26]

To this must be added the abolition of the confraternities and every other secret assembly where the baby of sedition is suckled in the midst of devotional exercises. Whoever desires to pray without distractions can retire into his cell; plenty of holy temples exist for public prayers. In them, let those who so desire sing the Holy Office and compete with the Anchorites of the Thebaid[27] in reciting the whole Psalter, without any more particular sort of officials or brotherhoods than those prescribed by the Gospel. The greater their piety the better off the public will be and the more obediently they will hearken to the commands of their government.... But these confraternities have so long captured the affections of the common people that they will have to be taken out of their hearts very quietly before being chased out by an express prohibition. This will not be hard if some of the most conspicuous nobles are made to join them. The heads of the common people, in competition with their betters, will thus lose the authority and veneration they now have, and the rest, seeing the diminution of the usual liberty and licence, will make attendance so irregular that there will be an excellent excuse for total suppression.

The common people must finally be brought to heel by severe laws and punishments against transgressions.... If they are maintained in subjection to the laws and punished opportunely, they will follow, like a powerless, timid and naturally peace-loving flock, every command that the rustic bagpipes of an inexperienced little shepherd might impose. Such is

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the common people of Venice, who languish in obedient leisure and regulated licence, anxiously venerating the patrician majesty and loving the nobles no less than their own parents.

How the Factions of the "Old" and "New" Nobles can be Eliminated and Magistracies Distributed

The illness brought on by pretending to reform the nobles is pernicious to the Republic and curable only with great difficulty because it is now imbedded in the spirits and the faith of the aristocratic life. Members of the same body are fighting against one another and their own breasts are lacerated by injuries from one another. They try to destroy the very edifice that equally sustains them all in the throne of a noble principate, not recognizing that the destruction of its fundamental columns will miserably oppress them all. . . . The first measure, then, is to cancel and obliterate the names of "old" and "new" from the Republic and subject their use to the severest penalties. Next, magistracies must be distributed to the worthiest candidates on the basis of good and honest actions without regard for campaigning or party strife. For this purpose, multiple balloting will have to be abolished so elections will simply go to whoever has the more favorable votes without regard to the size of the majority. The size of a majority necessary for election in elective governments and especially in the Roman conclaves was carefully considered for two reasons: first, so the largest portion of the congregation or council would be satisfied by seeing elevated to the principate whoever it had judged worthy, thus avoiding schisms and discord; and secondly, so that the complexity of the election procedure would give the electors time to consider the quality of the person about to be promoted and an opportunity to withdraw their support if they found him unworthy or else to join more fervently with the majority if they found him worthy.[28] But in our Republic, party strife has vitiated both of these reasons and the power of the few and the favor of partisans prevail instead. To avoid such malignant effects we must discontinue practices that might be beneficial if used properly but that have been perverted by our pernicious habit. In this way choices will be made on the basis of everyone's first impressions and to some degree on chance; and factions and party heads will not be able so easily to exclude others, to promote their own candidates, to prevent the rise of some or to help others who have not yet risen. The alternation will be so confused that equality will reign. . . . But none of this will work as long as the nobles are still allowed to keep their secret associations, where they confer with one another and make public purposes serve their own private ends. Spiritual congregations, oratories, confraternities and the like must therefore be severely prohibited no less among the nobles as among the general populace and the transgressors punished with no lesser penalties. Because

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the nobles are no less hungry after novelties than the common people, and the nobles particularly, since they are more generous and powerful, must be restrained from the most violent resolutions.

Concerning the Employment of the Young Nobles, and Concerning Equity and Justice

I have never been able to understand why our youths are kept away from and judged incapable of holding magistracies, while elsewhere those of their age are employed in the greatest affairs of arms and politics. Only the emeriti and the decrepit are ever called to the dogeship, the highest and most troublesome position in the Republic, whose desire for quiet and incapacity make them more fit to be ruled than to rule others. And no-one can be a candidate for the senatorship who has not passed his eighth lustrum,[29] even though God's vicars and the Redeemer himself were sent to govern and enlighten the world after their sixth. . . . Those who rot in their idleness and apply to the destruction of the state those insights and energies that could make them very useful ought to be admitted. The multiplication of magistracies, praised as a way of furthering the arts and supervising and restraining the common people, is no less useful for this end; and many other employments ought to be invented to satisfy and occupy the greater part of the nobles so that with all of them knowing they have their hands on the rudder, they will leave off licence, carelessness and insults and learn the reasons and the interests of the state from the most experienced. But since there is a particular age for which exercise, strenuous effort and licence are more appropriate than serious concerns, young noblemen, as a condition for their participation in the Republic, should be made to dedicate a few of the years they usually pass in idleness instead to a four-year stint in the maritime service or else in the galleys and public vessels (to be discussed later), thus considerably increasing the forces of the latter. . . .

Equity, moreover, will be the principle virtue of our judges—who, according to the most praiseworthy constitutions of our fathers, will be selected from among foreigners, and neither the "Senate by regal mandate" nor any other semantic invention will be allowed to usurp this power. Passions are stronger and riper than ever among us, so we could never keep the balance in equilibrium by ourselves. As things stand, a just sentence many times gives rise to hatreds and vendettas, even though penalties based on discord rather than on useful severity should always be strictly avoided. These judges therefore will examine actions alone with no concern for the persons of the accused. . . . Let them resemble Areopagites, who see no faces but deal out penalties only according to deeds done. No-one should be allowed to escape from the lictors or the axe just because of the splendor of his gold, the high-sounding words, the

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positions of his relatives, if he has committed a crime worthy of prison or death. Hatred of inequality and a belief that laws are like spider webs, capable of stopping the little butterflies while allowing the larger flying creatures to pass through at will, most strongly excite the spirits of our nobles to do everything to turn Heaven and Hell upside down to attain the level of the greatest. I therefore believe that certain customs allowing some to attain far greater power than the middling sort ought to be abolished and other customs more firmly reestablished. . . . Let the use of arms be severely punished and the serious abuse of conducting the public ministers to one's private employment be removed. Nonetheless, the nobles of middling wealth are still particularly vexed by the practice of exile, since their inability to deposit the requested securities forces them to stay away forever. Thus, of two accomplices in the same crime, one may be reprieved while the other is subjected to heavy penalties. This too, along with all the other laws that weigh down those of mediocre means, must be abolished; because it is a very certain axiom of aristocratic states that not this group but rather those belonging to the most conspicuous group must be more subject to the constitutional provisions to offset their excess power. Anonymous denunciations, public rumors, infamy and ostracism are unjust judges that mainly punish the innocent. In Athens, a most flourishing and well-ordered republic, such customs could be tolerated in order to combat the power of some citizens who overwhelmed the authority of the magistrates. But among us they are useless except for punishing hidden crimes, while the manifest ones go rewarded, or to place the weak at the mercy of the arrogance of the great, oppressing those who cannot repulse with equal force the hatred and persecution of their adversaries. Looking for transgressions where there are none, observing the actions of others under the microscope and aiming Galileo's telescope everywhere and thus bringing into view not only the smallest things but also non-existent ones—these are artifices appropriate to tyranny and not to government by nobles.

Let whatever does not show up in a modest and just inquiry flee from our punishments as long as it will not have pernicious consequences; and let what is not sufficiently proven by judicial means not be placed under our tribunal. Let the punishment of obvious crimes, however, be certain and undoubted. In fine, let our justice be such that it punishes, rather than aggravating, failing, conceding, disputing, and permitting. Let concord, truth, and paternal severity be the three Fates that weave and cut the threads of the lives of our nobles. Let piety, modesty and moderation supply to them the linen and the scissors. But let rigor raise the axe when insults and violence are used against the common people. Let these be no less atrociously vindicated than injured majesty and rebellion. . . .

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How to Oppose Foreign Forces and Make the Republic Powerful

. . . There remains to find out how the Republic can maintain sufficient forces to defend itself from its declared enemies without incurring disaster. One of these I would consider particularly convenient, as it would at the same time enrich the treasury. Because of the need to provision the city and because of the merchandise that is traded here, our port is usually frequented by eighty or a hundred vessels with no other important occupation. Now, if the public borrowed from the Casa di San Giorgio to rent or buy thirty vessels (more or less) that, well furnished, might bring us the necessary provisions, many benefits would result.[30] There would be a powerful armada ready for every occasion and able to offer opposition to any great prince.[31] The money that now is distributed among the foreign merchants would instead be to benefit the Republic. The city would be unfailingly provisioned, without having to await help from anywhere else. Those who carried their merchandise on these ships would be safe from pirates, so that there would be fewer business failures among citizens. Many participants would have to be allowed to join with the public in forming a shipping company on the model of the ones in Holland and England, which our armada would surpass in number and power according to my plan. Youth would leave off their dissipation and take up work on the caravan; and the virtuous competition between those who wished to advance over the others would redound to the common benefit. In a few years we would acquire experienced captains and brave soldiers and our nation, esteemed above all others in maritime exploits, would regain its ancient renown. Glory and victory would return home to our armies and regain its Genoese citizenship. See the expansive territory that nature and fate have opened up to us, since every land road is closed off from us by inaccessible mountains making commerce with the rest of Italy impossible. If in this territory we manage to cut furrows with our ships, we will reap the most abundant harvests, and if the thickness of our oaks, like powerful reefs, preserves us from waves and shipwrecks, we will make light of foreigners' boasts and threats and consecrate our country as a temple to immortality. . . .

23. Giovanni Battista De Luca, *The Vernacular Lawyer*

Boccalini was not the first to complain about the almost proverbially corrupt and inefficient legal practice in the various states of Italy in the early modern period; and Ludovico Antonio Muratori was certainly not the last.[1] To begin the job of reform fell to one of the greatest jurists of the

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seventeenth century, Giovanni Battista De Luca. Born near Potenza in 1614, he received his law degree at Naples in 1635. Dismissing practical legal knowledge as petty memory exercises unworthy of true erudition in jurisprudence, as Vico was to do, was not for him. He spent the next thirty years of his life as a lawyer, first in Naples, then in Rome, where he became chief lawyer of the Ludovisi family and then of the Spanish monarchy. Some of this experience he distilled in his main work, the eighteen-volume *Theatrum veritatis et iustitiae* [*Theater of Truth and Justice*], published from 1669-81, where he included some 2,500 of his most important opinions, in a veritable encyclopedia of the jurisprudence of his day. A major problem with legal practice was the confusing array of apparently authoritative jurisprudence, from the Roman law compiled in late antiquity to customary law to local statute to opinions by glossators, Bartolists, and modern commentators, to decisions by major tribunals. Worse yet, much jurisprudence was carried out in the Latin language that only scholars understood. In his *Theatrum*, De Luca provided the first comprehensive and up-to-date single tool for lawyers, magistrates and clients alike, with special emphasis on recent changes that made earlier law obsolete, and suggestions for a more relativist attitude toward truth in legal science. Then he provided a translation of the whole work into Italian for consultation by everyone, for reasons he gives below. Consolidating, illuminating and informing was one thing; putting into practice was another. And when he received his first opportunity to suggest real administrative reforms as auditor and secretary to Pope Innocent XI, his ideas ranged far and wide. But projects to eliminate the office of papal nephew and to streamline the bureaucracy ran up against stiff opposition in the Curia, of which he only became a full member with the conferral of the cardinalship in 1681, two years before his death.

Whether it is well to discuss law in the vernacular; and for what sorts of persons this literature is proper, and particularly, if for princes and lords.

The operations of the human intellect are for the most part problematical and may be worthy of either praise or blame and productive of either good or bad effects, perhaps by an ordination of Divine Wisdom aimed at demonstrating our frailty and showing there is no pure and perfect good except in God and in the other blessed life. Therefore, human prudence, regulated by the precepts of religion, the use of reason or experience or the most common opinions of the wise, usually tries to choose the most probable good, because this will be the best and most praiseworthy as long as the effects are better and more profitable to the republic, whereas a choice that prudence views as tending more to evil than good effects will be considered bad and blameworthy.

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Common usage teaches us to call a man virtuous or vicious according to the rule of the philosophers and jurists of taking account of the predominant part. In fact, generally speaking, there is no virtuous man without vices nor vicious man without virtue; so by these terms we intend to signify the most salient quality.

Into this category of problem falls the question indicated: whether it is good or bad to treat of law or legal materials in the vernacular language, even though simple people could then understand them; and many are the arguments supporting one side or the other.

Arguments against this practice include first the example of the Holy Catholic Church, which, having carefully examined this question, hotly disputed in the last century, prohibited translation of the sacred Scriptures of the New and Old Testaments and their Interpreters. Secondly, because if the common people should ever come into the knowledge of the exceptions and cautions whereby crimes might be excused or contracts and obligations impugned, they will be more likely to commit excesses or to defraud the good faith which unsophisticated people observe in their natural simplicity. Thirdly, because in this way many quarrels would be rekindled that are otherwise buried in silence only because simple people cannot understand the arguments they could use to support their causes. Fourthly and above all, because this would put a stop to scientific studies of the law once and for all, laziness being for the most part natural to the human condition; and everyone would become a judge or counselor or patron of causes.

Arguments in favor of this practice are the following. I leave aside the examples of the law God gave the people through the mouth of Moses and of the law Christ gave in the New Testament through the mouths of the Apostles and the Evangelists in the Gospels, both of which were in the popular vernacular language then in use, since it is not my job to enter into these materials, not being a professor of sacred theology. Speaking as a lawyer, I bring in the example of the Roman Republic. Both in its laws and in its other temporal and profane matters, it can rightly be called the example for all princes and republics. It sent to get the laws, called the Twelve Tables, from Greece.[2] It followed the same custom as today of having two languages, one natural and common to everyone, called the vernacular by us (for the Roman Republic, Latin) and another learned by skill and study and known only to scholars (for the Roman Republic, Greek). However, laws were framed in Latin rather than Greek, so they could be understood by the whole people who had to observe them. Cicero and others wrote in Latin, although they were very fluent in Greek. In fact, when the Greek language began to come into use in legal and juridical matters, Tiberius expressly prohibited it; and in imitation, the kings of France, England, Spain and elsewhere have done the same [with Latin].

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The second argument in favor of this practice is that this is the most frequent usage of the princes and republics of the present century and also in the past. They usually emit their decrees, constitutions, edicts and proclamations in the vernacular language used in the country. True, the pope retains the ancient custom of emitting bulls and constitutions in Latin; but he does so with good reason, since these are the laws of an ecclesiastical prince and head of the Church, to be observed all over the Catholic world, so it is a good idea to speak in a language common to all nations. However, in affairs regarding the temporal dominion of the Ecclesiastical State, the decrees, edicts, chirographs, and other documents, for the most part are drawn up in Italian to be understood by everyone.

The third argument is that nature itself, or natural reason, teaches that people who are obliged to observe a law and are threatened with punishment in their persons and goods for non-observance ought to know what they are supposed to observe. And this is proven by what the laws decree (as is indicated below among the requirements), that for a law to be binding it must be expressed clearly so that it will come to the notice of everyone and be accepted by them expressly or tacitly; which shows that it must be brought to their notice. This is easier through the vernacular language, which is within the capacity and intelligence of everyone, than through Latin, which is known only to a few scholars. For this reason theologians and canonists urge that the rules and constitutions of religious orders be translated into the national and vernacular language of every country; and our first masters, particularly Bartolus, so revered among the jurists (and rightly so), say that the judge must speak in a scholarly fashion to scholars but in the vernacular to the common people.

Fourth, the people, knowing what the law prescribes concerning the punishment and chastisement of crimes and criminals and concerning the other effects of dishonesty, will more willingly abstain from crimes and observe what they promise.

Fifth, the Latin language is more susceptible to equivocations and consequently apt to produce quarrels over various grammatical meanings, so that the most common usage of the world reasonably calls for testaments and contracts and other dispositions to be drawn up in the natural language of the country; and the custom of the Roman court and the Ecclesiastical State is universally derided, namely, that of having testaments and contracts of women and simple people drawn up in Latin so that the action is really performed by the notaries and not by the parties disposing or contracting, who do not understand anything that is going on. Certain jurists must be accused of much greater silliness. When they interpret last wills or contracts they often pay great attention to and take great store by the grammatical significance of clauses and dictions and other terms, considering whether or not there is a punctuation mark or whether the verb governs more than one noun or word and similar idiocies.

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This practice is rightly derided by professors of other sciences when the testaments or other dispositions are not of literate persons who naturally and studiously ordered the words themselves in such a way that their deliberate meaning could be teased out.

Sixth, this would be a way to avoid the oppression and malice of those lawyers, rightly called pettifoggers, who oppress simple people appealing to them for patronage and give bad advice to further their own unworthy earnings, filing and protracting suits and telling their clients that black is white; whereas [if the language used were the vernacular] any simple people with the slightest light of reason could obtain at least a vague idea of what the law provides concerning their interests.

Seventh, and especially, princes and barons and other greater magistrates, soaking up legal materials in exactly the same way whereby they soak up all the other things of this world, along with literature and history, in their leisure hours, will be better able to govern their subject peoples and will write instructions into their petitions and appeals on how to recognize the falsehoods of counsellors and officials and the oppressions of tribunals and judges who prolong cases eternally and take over not only the goods in question but the wills and liberty of the litigants, and who this way will have no excuse.

To princes and lords and even magistrates—supreme, middling and low—and not to professors of law, or else to professors of law whom the former hire as counsellors or auditors or assessors or the like, the present work will serve (according to the understanding of those concerned) as a guide for the blind, who can walk easier along the road of justice and not fall into the ditches or over the precipices of injustice.

This comparison might however be considered inappropriate, since the prince or particularly the supreme magistrate, though he may not be a professor of law (as the very erudite Spaniard Bobadilla says in his *Politics*[3]), must be reputed a man of prudence and good judgment, wise in the ways of the world and in some other science—at least, in history and politics; and consequently, the term "blind," indicating someone who is unable to see the good road by himself, will not apply to him.

The other comparison seems more appropriate, where the above-mentioned counselors or assessors play the role of servants who carry the candle or lantern for their master at night, showing him the way, or else of those persons whom travellers take as guides along unknown routes; because if there were enough natural light for the master or the traveller to see the good road by himself and the servant with the lantern or the guide showed him the bad one, it would be folly for the master or the traveller to follow where the lantern or the guide indicates and abandon the road they can see is best.

Thus, the present work will serve to provide this light and this knowledge, since the professors of law, either by malice or, frequently, by

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bad judgment, often indicate the worse roads, because, being slightly touched by that study or only partially acquainted with it, they willingly seize equivocations, imperfectly distinguishing laws and cases; or else, since they pay attention, in scholastic fashion, only to the letter of the law, this serves rather to darken their intelligence and deprive them of judgment, which is the most necessary faculty for governing, judging or counseling.

Weighing thus the above arguments for one side and the other, the latter side appears to me to be more weighty; and even though there are indeed many good arguments against the practice and some disadvantages could arise from it, nevertheless, the predominant side must prevail.

Examining the arguments offered against the practice, the example of Sacred Scripture is not relevant because of the diversity of the case. In matters of faith the sense of the spirit and mystery lying underneath the words is usually followed instead of the literal sense. Consequently, reading ought to be done only by scholars who know how to extract the allegorical sense and not by the ignorant or by simple people, because reading might cause some mischief among the latter (although in some cases the sense of the words must be observed), and because of other good reasons offered by the Holy Church, about which (as I said before) it is not for a jurist to speak. Seeing that the case is much different, the reason is much different and it follows that similar dispositions do not apply.

The second argument against the practice rather turns upon itself, as was pointed out before in the fourth argument in favor; and the same may be said for the third, because when the principal part can have some knowledge that his pretensions are unsubstantial, he will more probably abstain from litigation, and on the other hand, when they are substantial, he must be enlightened concerning them in order to defend and recuperate his own property and direct the matter more toward justice.

The fourth argument would have much force if not for the abuse of some judges and lawyers who already, with no knowledge of legal science except a vague concept of tradition, parrot some ill-founded doctrines of the moderns and thus create more equivocations and disorders. More frequently, equivocations arise from taking laws and doctrines solely at the literal or verbal sense without reflecting on the congruent application, which is impossible to do well without a knowledge of the theory and of the true terms and legal principles. . . .

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24. Torquato Accetto, *Honest Dissembling*

Born in the Apulian town of Trani in the 1580s to parents of modest means, Torquato Accetto served for most of his life in nearby Andria as secretary to the powerful Carafa clan, owners of the town, except for brief periods in Naples and Rome. His collected poems received three editions before mid-century and procured for him the acquaintance of Angelo Grillo, a follower of Giambattista Marino, as well as that of Giambattista Manso, celebrated patron of the arts, founder and head of the most important cultural institution in the early seventeenth century outside the university—namely, the Accademia degli Oziosi. Though he never managed to make a full transition to a literary career, *Honest Dissembling*, published in Naples in 1641 and his only known treatise, contributed to a debate that has subsequently been called "one of the most important keys" for understanding seventeenth-century culture.[1] The art of dissembling or dissimulation had already been explored, in the field of moral philosophy, by Niccolò Machiavelli and Baldassare Castiglione, who had analyzed, respectively, astuteness in princes and astuteness in courtiers. The study received new impetus from Isaac Casaubon's 1592 critical edition of Theophrastus' *Characters*, containing brief, witty delineations of moral types. Accetto, drawing to some extent on Giovanni Bonifacio's *Arte de' cenni* (1616), set out to describe astuteness in any walk of life, and he produced the following full treatment of the theme several years before Spanish moralist Baltasar Gracián's more famous *Art of Worldly Wisdom*. In doing so, he contributed to yet another debate in the field of aesthetics concerning the limits of fictitious representation possible within the ideal of verisimilitude, exemplified in the poetry of Giambattista Marino. Writing far from the epicenter of the worst political and social discontent, he nonetheless reflected, in his nervous, probing pages, the dangerous climate of what was to be one of the most memorable decades in the history of the Kingdom of Naples, culminating in the Masaniello revolt of 1647, and registered his experiences of life, art and politics joined to a single cultural ideal.

. . . My aim is to prove that living cautiously is a perfect accompaniment to purity of soul, and he who thinks that enjoying earthly things means abandoning heavenly ones is more than blind. Whatever is not innocent is not truly prudent, and the arrogance of those who scorn justice and truth cannot endure. Such King David said of the sinner he saw raised up, like the cedars of a very famous mountain, from which he concluded: *Keep*

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innocence, and behold justice; for there are remnants for the peaceful man.[2]

Thus, I say, he who dissembles with the honest purpose I talk about is a peace-lover, tolerating, keeping quiet, and waiting. By adapting himself to whatever happens, he can enjoy to a certain extent also what he does not have. In contrast, lovers of violence do not know how to enjoy what they have because, when they are beside themselves, they fail to see that the road they travel leads off a cliff. Those fully acquainted with history can remember the unfortunate end that those who followed deluded advice brought on themselves. From what happens every day anyone can see the advantage of proceeding with slow and measured steps when the road is full of obstacles. Having been persuaded by these considerations to examine the subject, I tried to avoid giving it any negative sense and to be as brief as possible. If I could have made myself understood by putting gestures down on paper, I should willingly have done so, thus avoiding even these few words. . . .

1. Concept of this Treatise

When the first man opened his eyes and saw he was nude, he tried to conceal himself even from the sight of his Maker. Thus concealment, practically originating with the world and with the first sin, has come into common use by way of the practice of dissembling. But considering the hatred incurred by wearing this veil too awkwardly and the importunate cloud of falsehood that ought to be excluded from the serenity of life, I have decided to depict the serpent and the dove together, in order to sweeten the venom of the one and preserve the candor of the other (as is expressed in these divine words: *Be as wise as serpents and innocent as doves*).[3] Whoever commands or obeys must use this technique as a powerful weapon against the many contradictions encountered. And even though others may understand this material better than I do, I believe I can nonetheless express my opinion, especially since I well remember the damage I myself might have suffered from my own unbridled and never regretted love of telling the truth, a preference which I will try for the rest of my days to exercise with less danger.

2. The Beauty of Truth

Before our eyes get lost in the search for the shadows belonging to the art of pretending, which does its best work in the dark, let us consider first the light of truth, in order to take leave of it later without abandoning honesty. Truth is always accompanied by the good, and its special place in the intellect corresponds to the good in things. The mind can never find its true end by straying from truth. If the common people believe themselves

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to be happy in the pleasures of sense and politicians in virtù[4] or honor, the contemplative types place their greatest good in considering the Ideas that are on the first step of truth. Truth in all things is the property of being established for those things, and things are true in as much as they conform to the divine intellect. But God understands himself and everything else; and since the divine being not only corresponds to, but is identical in substance with the divine intellect, he is truth itself. Truth itself in turn is the measure of all truths, as the first cause of all things, and all truths are in the divine mind as the first examples of all things. Divine truth, which is one, produces the many truths in the created intellect, where truth is not eternal except when it turns to God as example and cause; and then all the substances and accidents and their operations return to it. And just as truth is immutable in God because his intellect is not variable and he knows everything in himself and therefore does not get truth from elsewhere, it is mutable in the created mind and capable of passing from true to false according to the changes in opinions or, if an opinion remains the same, according to changes in the thing itself. Thus, truth is always true only in the eternal light—in that first light, which is so much higher than mortal concepts and draws deep down within itself all the things that are diffused throughout the universe and ties them together with the knot of love. True beauty lies in truth, and whatever is beautiful is so only insomuch as it contains truth. But the present occasion calls for examining moral truth, which shows man for what he is. Setting aside the discussion of those clear abysses of the first truth, I will go on to discuss this other truth so deeply connected with our humanity, which renders it strong and sincere by adorning it with every delicate raiment or (more to the point) by denuding it of those veils, woven by the hand of fraud, that so heavily encumber the soul and make it long for the age known, among other names, as golden. Then, truth placed words in sweetest harmony under the musical notes of hearts, which, entirely revealed, seemed almost to issue forth from every breast and become impressed into every discourse. Clearly for other reasons, too, that age was honored by such a glorious name, and in particular it was the age of gold because there was no need of gold. Taking food and dress from the simple hands of nature, everyone knew how to find a suitable lodging in the forests, and sought no richer roof than the sky, nor more solid bed than the ground.[5] Thus, the work of time and the effects of the elements encountered souls well-prepared to enjoy simple pleasures. But all these satisfactions would have been in vain, if truth had not been constantly in the mouths of that exceedingly fortunate people and had not been written in the candor of their magnanimous breasts with perfectly legible (though invisible) characters. Above all, defense and prosecution needed no witnesses. The friend spoke to the friend, the lover to the lover, with no other thought than friendship and love. Truth was obeyed because it invited everyone to show himself

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unclouded. Thus, the *straightforward sort of man*[6] represented himself as the person who is truthful in word and deed, taking truth to be naturally honest. Being *the lover of truth*,[7] he loves the true not for reasons of usefulness or of honor but in itself, and has more occasions to love it when the welfare of the republic or of a friend is at stake.

3. Never Abandon Truth

Nature does not abhor a vacuum as much as custom should refrain from falsehood. For falsehood is the vacuum as regards speech and thought: *for to think or say what is not—that is, I suppose, falsehood arising in mind or in words,* says Plato.[8] A lie (considered on its own terms) should not be allowed to cause even a tiny mole to appear on the face of human relations; and keeping silent is especially advisable when the true does not seem true, as Dante affirms: "To that truth which has the face of a lie a man/ should always close his lips so far as he can,/ for through no fault of his it brings reproach."[9] The eyes must therefore turn to the light of truth before the tongue is moved to speech. But just as the *unlimited vacuum* of the philosophers is thought to exist outside of this world, where arrows go that are shot from the sky's extremities, likewise man, being a little world, perhaps has a certain space outside himself that may be called equivocal. Yet it should not be understood as pure falsehood. There he may receive, so to speak, the arrows of fortune and ready himself to encounter those stronger than himself and who desire more in this course of human interests.[10] And I say this happens outside him, because no one who has not lost the use of his intellect has ever been able to persuade himself of the opposite of a concept he has learned from the action of reason. Therefore, self-deception is impossible, since presumably the mind cannot lie with the knowledge of lying to itself, in which case it would see and not see at the same time. The memory of one's own evil, nonetheless, can be obliterated for a time, as I will explain. But the lines of dissembling are drawn out from the center of the breast to the circumference of those who are around. And this is where prudence comes in, which, entirely based on truth, nonetheless goes about holding it back or demonstrating its splendor as the occasion demands.

4. Simulation is Not Easily Accommodated to the Honest Purposes of Dissembling

I would discuss simulation and fully explain the art of pretending in matters where it appears necessary, but it has such a bad name that I have decided instead to abstain. Despite the saying, *he cannot live who cannot feign*,[11] there are many nonetheless who say death is better than such a life. I do not know why any of the brief course of days or hours or

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moments of our mortal lives needs to be dedicated to destroying life itself by adding falsehood to operations whose very being is almost nonexistent. As Plato says, since the only true essence is of incorporeal things, the essence of corporeal things is really imaginary.[12] A discussion of dissembling therefore will suffice, wherein I will explain its true significance. Dissembling is nothing more than a veil made of honest shadows and violent deference, resulting not in falsehood, but in a brief repose for the truth that will plainly emerge in time. Just as nature made day and night part of the order of the universe, so in the course of human affairs there must be light and shade, which is to say, actions in the open or hidden conform to reason, which is the rule of life and life's occurrences.

5. Sometimes Dissembling is Necessary, and To What Extent

Fraud is man's appointed form of evil, just as reason is his good. Fraud is the abuse of reason, and no art can transform it in such a fashion that it should deserve praise. Nonetheless, dress may be changed occasionally to suit the season of fortune, not with the intention of doing but rather of avoiding harm; and this is the only reason to tolerate dissembling, which thereby is not fraud. Even in such a moderate sense, dissembling must be avoided except for very serious reasons: namely, when chosen as a lesser evil rather than as a good to be sought on purpose. There are some who transform themselves deliberately with the bad intention of never allowing themselves to be understood; and spending this coin with a liberal hand on every small occasion, they find themselves penniless when they need it most. Discovered and branded as deceptive, no one believes them. This aspect of the matter is perhaps the most difficult, because however helpful continuous experience may be elsewhere, in dissembling the opposite is the case, and no one can always successfully dissemble. What cannot always be done is very difficult to do to perfection. And indeed, Tiberius cannot be said to have been very clever in this matter, though many have said he was; for Tacitus, who says, *the diction of Tiberius, by habit or by nature, was always indirect and obscure, even when he had no wish to conceal his thought,* did not only say first that *a speech in this tenor was more dignified than convincing* but concludes, *the Fathers, whose one dread was that they might seem to comprehend him*, and so forth, proving that they understood his intention completely in spite of his continuous artifices.[13] In substance, dissembling is a practice of which it is impossible to make a profession except in the school of one's own thought. If anyone were to wear the mask every day, everyone's curiosity would make him the most scrutinized of all. But nothing is known about the great dissemblers who have been and who are.

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6. *Of the Natural Ability to Dissemble*

Those whose prevalent humor is the sanguine, the melancholic, the phlegmatic or the choleric are not well-disposed to dissembling. Happiness thrives where the blood is abundant, and its natural openness makes it difficult to conceal. The melancholic humor, when particularly strong, causes so many consequences that they can scarcely be hidden. The excessively phlegmatic humor, because it pays little attention to displeasures, shows tolerance willingly and openly. The choleric, when very much in prominence, is a bright flame that clearly demonstrates its disposition. For this prudent practice, therefore, the temperate is the most appropriate humor, because for it to work, the face must stay entirely serene in the midst of the heart's violent tempests; or on the contrary, when the soul is at rest, the face must appear disturbed, as the occasion requires. Now this is not easy except for the temperament that I mentioned. Not to contradict the opinion of those who regard some peoples as generally more apt to dissemble and others as virtually incapable, I can affirm that in every country some are apt and others are not; but with even more certainty, I assert that no one hides his soul by sheer overwhelming necessity, and the will is always free to choose. . . .

7. *The Practice that Perfects Dissembling*

Whoever regards the doors of his birthplace to be the *non plus ultra* and does not read in books about the length and breadth of the world and its various customs is very unlikely to make the decision to dissemble. Such a mild and ingenuous person is likely to find this practice exceedingly difficult, which calls for one to be very much while appearing to be very little. Whoever is not so limited, on the other hand, is more able, because the observation of others allows him full command over himself to be quiet at the right time and to put off until tomorrow a course of action that could be harmful today but helpful later. Travelling to different countries, like Ulysses in Homer's poem, *who saw the customs and cities of many men,*[14] or reading about and observing many events, strongly conduces to a gentle disposition capable of reining in the emotions. More like subjects and obedient citizens of reason than like tyrants, they may then be content to accommodate themselves to necessity, of which Horace said: *'Tis hard; but by endurance, that grows lighter which Heaven forbids to change for good.*[15] The greatness of spirit one needs in order to accommodate oneself to the present and be able to judge the future is therefore acquired by a life occupied in affairs of the world and in the consideration of past times. With the mind so satisfied, no change of any sort presented before it will

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seem new, and in consequence, its understanding of events will depend on it alone rather than on the rocky precipice of sense.

8. What Is Dissembling

After showing what dissembling means, I will then go on to explain its significance more clearly. Dissembling is the attempt to prevent things from appearing as they are. It hides what is there, whereas simulation is the attempt to make things that are not there appear to be. Virgil says of Aeneas: *He feigns hope on his face, and deep in his heart stifles the anguish.*[16] This verse contains the simulation of hope and the dissimulation of pain. The former was not in Aeneas, whereas of the latter his breast was full; but he did not want to reveal his worries. So he recounted to his companions that he had previously suffered greater evils. He mentioned the anger of Scylla and the noise of the reefs and the rocks of the Cyclops, as though to bury all the future evils that had already begun to worry them between those two monsters and among those past ruins. With the very suave phrase, *it will someday be a joy to recall*,[17] he concludes: *Through divers mishaps, through so many perilous chances we fare towards Latium, where the fates point out a home of rest. There 'tis granted to Troy's realm to rise again; endure, and keep yourselves for days of happiness.*[18] But his soul was wounded and the pain too great, because *so spake his tongue; while sick with weighty cares.*[19] Here the art of hiding the bitterness of fortune is apparent. It had been expressed first by Homer in his explanation of how Ulysses in disguise dissembled his pain while giving news about himself to his Penelope:

> *As she listened her tears flowed and her face melted as the snow melts on the lofty mountains, the snow which the East Wind thaws when the West Wind has strewn it, and as it melts the streams of the rivers flow full: so her fair cheeks melted as she wept and mourned for her husband, who even then was sitting by her side. And Odysseus in his heart had pity for his weeping wife, but his eyes stood fixed between his lids as though they were horn or iron, and with guile he hid his tears.*[20]

Behold how prudently Ulysses held back his tears at the proper time; and the metaphor of Penelope melting like snow gives me occasion to add what is humid and dry according to Aristotle: *Moist is that which, though easily adaptable to form, cannot be confined within limits of its own, while dry is that which is easily confined within its own limits but is not easily adaptable in form.*[21] From which it can be understood that dissembling has something of dryness because it keeps within its own limits. In the case above those limits are the eyes of Ulysses, which in a time of pain

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resemble the hardness of horn or iron, while those of Penelope are soft and without any prescribed limit—like those Ulysses turned upon his soul while keeping his eyelids dry. And to this the following maxim from Heraclitus seems to apply: *the wisest soul is a dry splendor*.[22]

9. *Of the Good Produced by Dissembling*

Defects are inevitable in this condition of mortal life. Where they cannot be corrected, and yet ought not to be seen either because they are too ugly or because they carry the danger of producing ugly circumstances, grave disorders would occur if they could not expediently be hidden. And among all the other works of nature here below, besides those directly concerning men, everything beautiful is known to be nothing but a pleasant dissembling. I am referring to the beauty of bodies that are subject to change, among which are flowers, including the queen of all flowers. And the rose will be found to appear beautiful precisely because on first sight it dissembles its utter transitoriness, as its simple surface of vermillion almost persuades the eyes that it is an immortal purple. Then, as Torquato Tasso says, it "no longer seems the bud beloved of/ thousands of lasses and of lads in love,"[23] because its dissembling cannot endure. And the same can be said of a rosy visage, and indeed, of one resplendent among the most beautiful legions of Love on earth. Even though a mortal beauty is usually said to seem scarcely terrestrial, it is really, to tell the truth, nothing other than a corpse dissembled by the blessings of the youthfulness whose effects still prevail over those shapes and colors that the force of time and death will divide and conquer. A certain dissembling of nature is useful, then, for all things existing among the elements here below, where all that glitters is certainly not gold. What glitters in the sky, on the contrary, always corresponds to what it seems to be, because there all things are beautiful inside and out. Moving on to the usefulness of dissembling in moral matters, let me begin with the things that are most necessary—I mean, the practice of good manners, which amounts to nothing other than the diligent practice of dissembling. And Monsignor Della Casa's writings suggest that the whole very noble art can be reduced to restraining excessive desires that may cause annoying actions and appearing not to see the errors of others so that good taste in conversation will be maintained.[24]

10. *The Pleasure of Dissembling*

Dissembling is honest, useful and even pleasurable. If victory is always sweet and, as Ariosto said, "To win was always deemed a splendid thing, whether it be by fortune or by skill,"[25] then winning by the pure force of intelligence clearly brings the greater joy, and most of all winning over

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oneself, which is the most glorious victory that can be carried off. This happens in dissembling, wherein total peace comes from the victory of reason over sense. Even though it is painful to keep thoughts quiet or not to act upon emotional impulses, nonetheless, the knowledge of having practiced sobriety in words and deeds brings great pleasure. Whoever desires to live peacefully must turn his thoughts to this ultimate satisfaction. Whoever wishes to behave wisely, let him observe the mistakes of others, and then he will know that what is truly ours is what we hold inside. I am not saying that secrets must not be entrusted to the bosoms of friends who are truly our friends. And that epigram of Martial is worthy of great consideration, where he speaks to himself about the blessed life and, after naming seventeen things conducive to this end, places *wise simplicity* directly in the middle. . . .[26] The prudent candor of the soul is, therefore, the center of tranquillity. *This is the task, this the toil.*[27]

11. On Dissembling with Dissemblers

He who applies himself to the pleasure of the part in us that is subject to death, scorning the use of reason, transforms himself into a beast. Thus he should be considered, as Epictetus the Stoic pointed out. . . .[28]

From this proposition one of the most difficult impediments to dissembling can be considered. Guarding oneself against wolves and lions is much easier than against foxes, because of the information available about their violence and because of their rarity; but foxes are everywhere among us and are not always easy to detect, and even when they are, cunning is hard to use against cunning. In this case, whoever is better at acting the fool will prevail: our appearing to believe the deceiver will cause him to believe exactly as we wish; for the height of intelligence is to seem to see little just when one sees the most, and playing with open eyes that appear closed.

12. On Dissembling With Oneself

Among the various kinds of dissembling, the first to consider, I think, is dissembling with oneself. But whoever wishes to hide himself from himself must be extremely prudent and not do so for very long. Then let him take brief leave of the dictum, *know thyself*, as though on a salutary stroll outside of himself. Before taking such a measure, let him try not only to be informed about himself and his affairs, but to have full knowledge. Let him live not on the surface of his opinions, which are often fallacious, but in the depths of his thoughts. Let him know his abilities and their true value. For people devote a remarkable amount of attention to discovering the price of their possessions, whereas they usually take very little care to

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understand the true value of their being. Having done everything possible to know the truth about all these things, someone who is miserable might do very well some day to forget his misfortune by trying to live with at least an image of satisfaction so that the object of his miseries should not always be before his eyes. If he can do it well, his deception can be considered honest because it is a moderate oblivion serving as a respite for the unhappy. Though it may provide only a transitory and partial consolation, nonetheless, it may be necessary for gaining some breathing space. And just as sleep gives necessary repose to tired thoughts, keeping the eyes closed to the knowledge of one's own misfortune may serve to make them more alert after such a brief respite—and I emphasize brief, because this form of negligence, practiced to excess, could easily turn into lethargy.

13. On Dissembling Due to Reverence

When I consider that wine was discovered only after the Flood, I understand why the same amount of water was necessary to temper it. Herein are two things worthy of note. First of all, Noah became naked as a consequence, demonstrating that wine is very contrary to dissembling, and to the same degree as the latter tries to cover, the former uncovers. Secondly, the two sons, reverently turning their faces away and dissembling not to see their father in such a state, covered him; whereas their brother, already alienated from every human law, scorned the nakedness of him who had dressed him in his own flesh. Oh, how many are there in the world who would imitate this monstrous ingratitude, making fun of those whom they ought to love and revere! Few are the imitators of the other two sons, who scrupled to turn their backs out of reverence to their father, not as many do, who instead turn their backs upon their fathers' needs. Not only did those merciful sons make an effort to cover their father, but they kept up the appearance of not having seen him in that condition. Accordingly, everyone must try his best to excuse blunders, especially when committed by those placed above him. Other reverent actions appear to me in the story of Joseph, who, having been sold by his brothers, pretended not to recognize them, only in order later to recognize them all the more by his favors. Showing a rare example of goodwill, he dissembled the gift of provisions he appeared to be selling them while sending money back home in the sacks. Finally, having invited the last of his brothers and tried every possible way of demonstrating his magnanimity, *Joseph could no longer refrain himself before many who stood by*. With this his sincere and innocent dissembling ended; and Genesis goes on to narrate the story of his reverence: *Whereupon he commanded that all should go out, and no stranger be present at their knowing one another. And he lifted up his voice with weeping, which the*

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Egyptians and all the house of Pharaoh heard, and he said to his brethren: I am Joseph.[29] There he was in Egypt at the height of glory, already known as the saviour of the world; but taking no account of the insults received, he dissembled his relation to them in order to be more than a brother. I do not know who can hold back the tears while reading this pious story, which teaches the sweetness of pardon and of the dissembling of offenses, especially when they come from those as dear to us as our brothers.

14. Dissembling Between Lovers

Love, which is blind, makes itself too visible. It may be small, but as Torquato Tasso says: "Small is the bee and yet its small sting makes the most grievous and troublesome wounds; but what thing is smaller than Love who lurks in the minutest things, and hides himself in every little space?"[30] Nonetheless, it is still so great that it can nowhere hide completely, and when it arrives at its target, which is the heart, if it is not apparent by any other means, it ignites that amorous fever, of which Antiochus fell ill. . . . Thus, with the whole house on fire, anyone can imagine how the sparks and indeed the flames will make a public show from the windows and the roof. This and worse happens when love takes residence in human hearts, igniting them to excess, so that the sighs, tears, pallor, glances, words and every thought and deed go about dressed in the costume of love. Thus when Antiochus fell in love with Stratonice his stepmother, the fire showed itself in his veins and in his pulse, even though he kept quiet. Dido refused to admit she was in love when Love courted her in the figure of Ascanius; but she nonetheless appeared entirely enflamed, as Virgil attests: *Above all, the unhappy Phoenician, doomed to impending ruin, cannot satiate her soul, but takes fire as she gazes, thrilled alike by the boy and by the gifts.*[31] And even though she went about hiding the pain of the wound inside, as her affection grew, *But the queen, long since smitten with a grievous love-pang, feeds the wound with her life-blood, and is wasted with fire unseen;*[32] even what the tongue did not say was expressed in the shriek of the wound she made in herself in desperation. . . .

If the same pain that torments lovers does not suffice to make them tell each other of their love, it is transformed into an amorous desire to demonstrate their affections. If honest souls wish to avoid giving themselves away, only with great effort can they support the whole weight of the cloak that must cover their afflictions.

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15. Anger is the Enemy of Dissembling

The greatest obstacle to dissembling is anger, because among the affections it is the most manifest. Once ignited in the heart, it spreads to the face in a trice and shoots from the eyes with a horrible light; and worse yet, it makes words tumble out precipitately almost with the aborted concepts that, prematurely formed and coarse in substance, give a hint of what is in the soul. To contain such lively agitation much prudence is necessary. . . .[33] Achilles was in this sort of passion against Agamemnon, when, *Looking at him with a surly demeanor, "Oh man," he said, "made entirely of fraud and imprudence, who of the Greeks after this will ever obey you willingly?"* [34] But the duty of reason, personified by Minerva, descended from the sky, reined him in: "*I did not come from the heavens, O Achilles," she said, "To see you go out in anger to vindicate the injury received, but to repress your rage.*"[35] So Homer uses Achilles also to explain the importance of dissembling. Two powerful impulses produce such freedom of words in anger, namely, displeasure and pleasure. Anger is an appetite, including pain, for suitably avenging an insult we think we or our associates have received, as Aristotle says; and this pain is followed by pleasure from the hope of vindication and from a soul already in the act of vendetta. And Aristotle adds, *"sweeter it is by far than honeycomb dripping with sweetness, and spread through the hearts of men. . . ."* [36]

16. Excessive Self-Conceit Prevents Dissembling

Errors in self-conception sometimes cause things to issue forth from the confines of our breasts that ought to remain inside. Whoever takes himself to be more than he really is may speak like a maestro as though everyone else were his inferior, making a great show of knowing and saying things that he ought to have kept quiet. Pythagoras, a great authority on oratory, also taught how to keep silence; and this latter exercise requires the greater effort, though it may seem to require none. The concepts that resound in words not only give expression to those in the soul, but they are mentally related (since they cannot be said to be related by blood) to the concept a person has of his own knowledge. All other concepts follow from this—so to speak—firstborn one. Thus, if it is not moderate, many and varied reasonings proceed from it, which inevitably expose whatever was being thought. But whoever esteems himself no more than is reasonable does not give his tongue any greater jurisdiction than corresponds to the light of the intelligence that must move it.

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17. Divine Justice Helps Us Tolerate and Thus Dissemble the Things that Displease Us in Others

The discussion turns more particularly now to the things that must be tolerated, which is the same as saying dissembled, for there are many disappointments in this great theater of the world, where man is a spectator every day of the comedies and tragedies that are represented. I am not talking about those written by the ancient and modern poets, but about the true changes in the world itself, which assumes a different aspect and different customs from time to time due to human events. Order is the form that makes all things similar to God, their creator, whose gift of Providence keeps them and carries them in a prosperous voyage throughout the great sea of being. Order decrees a constant rule for judging the merits and demerits of human actions, nevertheless prohibiting our weak thoughts from plummeting into the depths of the divine counsels that we must only and infinitely revere, since whatever is consonant with the will of God must be received as just. We do not always see in mortal affairs the same infallible order that the motion of the sun, the moon and the other stars so clearly demonstrates. But even though affairs here below very often seem entirely confused, the eternal law, which orders everything toward the best end, is no less certain. And reward and punishment, though not always immediate, can be expected through the inexorable decree of divine judgment, which penetrates everything with its eternal unlimited power. To this truth, which is the means for quietly dissembling sinister appearances, I will add a more specific way of accepting them.

18. On Dissembling the Fortunate Ignorance of Others

It is the great torment of worthy men to see the favors of fortune bestowed upon entirely ignorant persons who, having no other occupation except continuous idleness and little knowledge even of the land they have under their feet, are sometimes masters of no small portion of the same. Whoever sets himself to consider this miserable state of affairs truly risks losing his tranquillity if he does not also realize that fortune, which may at times give some small pleasure to the crowd of the simple-minded, usually does not do so for long. Just when it seems most splendid, fortune breaks, casting ridicule upon those unworthy of its graces, who can only pretend to achieve the glory properly belonging only to the truly knowledgeable. If someone of excellent virtues occasionally remains as though buried alive, the cry of his merit will nonetheless inevitably be heard and his reputation will not only resound among those who live at the same time but will pass

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on even from one century to the next. For true valor is what "makes men immortal through fame," as Petrarch said. . . .[37]

Thus, the hands of death cannot hold on to such a name. A soul full of such high hopes will be undisturbed by the unworthy, while the inept who receive a brief applause and a temporary leap of fortune will leave no trace, like smoke in the air.

19. On Dissembling Before an Unjust Power

Horrible monsters are the powerful who devour the substance of those subject to them. Whoever is in danger of such misfortune can use no better remedy than to avoid ostentation in his prosperity and refrain from tears and sighs in his misery. Not only material goods but also those of the soul should be hidden. Virtue that hides at the proper time conquers itself and saves its riches, because the treasures of the mind must occasionally be buried just like worldly treasures. The head that bears an unmerited crown suspects every head crowned with wisdom. The highest virtue of all is to dissemble virtue itself, not by the veil of vice but by the artifice of hiding some of its rays in order not to offend the weak vision of others' jealousy and fear. The splendor of fortune must also be revealed with great caution, since the pomp of excessive trappings and idle ornaments not only brings about expenditures that destroy the original capital but also usually raises a great fire in its own house by awakening the eyes of the greedy to seek part of it or even the whole. But more difficult is the effort of wearing a pleasant demeanor in the presence of tyrants who keep surveillance upon the sighs of others. Thus Tacitus says of Domitian: *Under Domitian it was no small part of our sufferings that we saw him and were seen of him; that our sighs were counted in his books; that not a pale cheek of all that company escaped those brutal eyes, that crimson face which flushed continually lest shame should unawares surprise it.*[38] There can be no sighs when the tyrant forbids everyone to breathe. A pallid face is forbidden when iron makes the ground run red with innocent blood. Tears are denied, which benign nature has given to the miserable as their own dowry in order to form the wave of tiny droplets that carries away every troubling vexation and leaves the heart, if not refreshed, at least not so oppressed.

20. On Dissembling Insults

A person who could dissemble an insult but instead shows his desire for revenge is more insulting than his enemy. Not everyone perfectly understands the propriety of honest tolerance, upon which all the philosophers are agreed in spite of their disagreement and division into various sects on other matters. . . . Those who see no difference between

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strength and temerarious daring are ready to take revenge at every opportunity, and any gesture they dislike they see as an occasion to guess the thoughts of someone else and take offense as though of a public insult. Such irascibility approaches the extreme of evil, and experience teaches that tiny insults, if they cannot be dismissed cleverly, usually become great. Those in power do best to turn their sight away from similar occasions, because having plenty of force to fight back, they may often feel the urge to court disaster, unlike those who cannot do much and therefore are capable of commanding themselves to be tolerant. Indeed, many of those in high places, forgetting not only the use of pardon but also about the proportion of the penalty, take violent means to bring about the ruin of others. Consequently, it happens that their affairs remain in such agitation that they not only incur the public hatred, but also begin to hate themselves for the loss of internal tranquillity, which is an inestimable good belonging to innocence.

21. Of the Hidden Heart

Nature has taken great care to hide the heart, which is the center not only of life but of quiet living, because, protected by the natural order, it preserves itself. When it must be hidden because of the moral circumstances, this ensures the success of the external actions. However, it must not hide from everyone. . . . Experience, which often regrets deception, could shed some light, which the uncertainty of making the proper choice has turned into a dark forest. Every wise mind uses the abysses of the heart, that in spite of its size is infinitely capacious, and indeed, unable to be filled even by the whole world, since it can only be satisfied by the world's creator. We admire the convenience enjoyed by men of exalted position, who can remain within the ramparts of their palaces and in the secret rooms inside, surrounded by iron and by servants guarding their bodies and their interests. Nonetheless everyone, however much exposed to the sight of his neighbors, is clearly able to hide his affairs in the vast and yet secret house of his heart, because therein he may find the serene temples about which Lucretius sings, *But nothing is more delightful than to possess well fortified sanctuaries serene, built up by the teachings of the wise, whence you may look down from the height upon others and behold them all astray, wandering abroad and seeking the path of life.*[39] And I apply these verses to signify an exaltation of soul and a tranquillity that conduce to pleasure and to immortal glory and not to fallacious titillation.

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22. Dissembling Cures All Ills

Job placed so much importance in honest dissembling that when he saw himself deprived of his prosperity, he reflected on the many times he used this art, thinking that in so doing everything ought not to have slipped through his fingers, and said: *Have I not dissembled? Have I not kept silence? Have I not been quiet? And indignation is come upon me.*[40] He took care of his situation in tranquillity, and as long as he could dissemble he did it willingly. He was convinced that no change ought to have occurred in his affairs, secured as they were by the sort of prudence that includes dissimulation, silence and quiet. But if he fell into misery in spite of all of this, it was the will of God, who was pleased to show in the person of that saint an undefeated constancy and a triumphant patience, making him drag along in the chariot of true glory all the evils, like chained men, until he regained his original happiness with redoubled satisfaction. The justice that God demonstrated to the world through Job's simple nature, will always be an example in all centuries to affirm that the servants of God in every situation are always blessed. Therefore, Job was too, even in the time of his torments. But, in order not to digress from the matter I am discussing, I say that while examining his conscience, he said *Have I not dissembled? Have I not kept silence? Have I not been quiet?* to signify that this art is usually accompanied by every pleasure. And whenever some incident occurs to disturb such serenity, heaven will allow splendor to follow the adversity and to abound in souls that are alien to the attractions of the world.

23. On One Day Alone There Should Be No Dissembling

The necessity for using this veil is such that it can be omitted only on the last day. Then all human interests will cease to exist, hearts will show more than faces, souls will be exposed to public view and thoughts examined by number and by weight. There will be no more reason among men for dissembling of any kind, and God, who today *overlookest the sins of men,*[41] will no longer dissemble, but placing one hand on the reward and the other on the punishment, will put an end to mortal artifice. Then those wise intellects who have abused their own illumination will discover the uselessness of the art of sewing on the skin of the fox where that of the lion does not stretch, which was the counsel of a king of Sparta. For the omnipotent lion, making the world roar from the abysses up to the stars, will call everyone, and each will have to know and say, with Job, *I shall be clothed again with my skin.*[42] That dawn will bring a day full of justice; and when the accounts are shown, there will be no art of making black seem white. The decree will be heard, which will be the last of the laws,

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and it will give the eternal law to the stars, to the darkness, to pleasure and pain, to peace and war. Dissembling will have to flee from everything when truth itself opens up the windows of the sky and with its flaming sword cuts the string of every vain thought.

24. In Heaven All Things Are Clear

If on one day alone in this life dissembling will not be needed, in the next life it will never be needed at all. Setting aside the question of unhappy souls, who by the light of the eternal fire, or rather in the darkness, show the horrible monsters of sins, I will speak of the state of the eternally happy souls. There they have a mirror, which is God, who sees everything, and his name in Greek, as Gregory of Nyssa observed, signifies effectiveness in seeing, because *theòs* comes from *theáome*, which means "look" and "contemplate." The blessed see him who sees, so that in heaven there is no need for anyone to hide. Everything is manifest there because everything is good, everything is clear, everything is dear. The more there are who possess the greatest good, the wealthier they are. Where there is so much love there can be no occasion for any particular interest. Here below, clothed in corruption, we seek the cloak of dissembling as a remedy for many ills; and honest though we may be in this, it is nonetheless troublesome. So we must long for the termination of this necessity, and turning our glance from terrestrial objects, we often observe the stars as signs of the true light that by means of them invites us to the very dwelling-place of truth. There in the divine essence the blessed enjoy the clear view that is the last beatitude of man, being the highest operation of the intellect, by means of the light of the glory that comforts it; and since the divine essence is above the condition of the created intellect, the latter cannot see it by natural power but only by grace. And just as one intellect may have more light of glory than the other, likewise it can know it better, even though it may never be able to see how much of it is visible, because however much of the light of glory that intellect may have, it does not possess an infinite amount. But, considering how satisfied, happy and perpetually secure must be the inhabitants of Paradise, they should have no defects to hide. Consequently, dissimulation remains on earth, where all its business lies.

25. Conclusion of the Treatise

Having shown that the heart must not be always transparent in this life, I think well to conclude with an affectionate nod to dissembling itself.

O virtue, ornament of all the other virtues, they are all the more beautiful as they are in some way dissembled, using the honesty of your veil in order not to make a vain show of themselves. O refuge of defects

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that are usually hidden within your breast, you render an indispensable service to sustain great fortunes and you lend a helping hand to modest ones so they are not constantly dashed to the ground. Your clothing is needed in good and bad weather, at night as well as in the daytime, and outside the house as much as inside. I did not know you for a time, and little by little I learned that in effect you are none other than the art of patience, which teaches not to deceive and not to be deceived. Not believing in all promises, not nourishing all hopes, are the things that produce you. All the purples in their best scarlet raiment have frequent recourse to your black cloak; crowns of gold have no brightness that at some time does not need your darkness. Scepters not carried by your hand are often susceptible to vacillation; and sparkling swords, if they do not use any of your cloud, shine in vain. Prudence, with all its virtue, possesses nothing better than you; and even though true prudence may be adorned by many other qualities, at the proper times it enjoys your silence more than any other effect of its own industry. Miserable world, if you should not succor the miserable. You are the master of many operations that order republics, administrate wars and keep the peace. And on the other hand, look at how many disorders, how many losses and how many upsets have occurred when you are abandoned, bringing on the violent turbulence that so many times has wreaked havoc upon and eventually destroyed entire provinces. When someone who ought to die of hunger has so much good fortune that he could give food to many, when an ignoramus is reputed learned by someone who knows less than him, when an unworthy person receives some position and a vile one is considered noble, how can one live if you did not accommodate the senses to such hard objects? I should like to be able to show all the obligation I feel for the benefits you have given me; but instead of thanking you, I should offend your laws if I did not dissemble what I have rightly dissembled.

25. Simone Luzzatto, *Discourse on the Condition of the Jews, Especially in Venice*

Perhaps the most eloquent Jewish apologist of Early Modern Italy was Rabbi Simone Luzzatto (circa 1582-1660).[1] The Venetian Jewish community, one of Europe's oldest, maintained its cultural identity in spite of intermittent harassment by zealous authorities and severe limits on its activities (outlined below by Luzzatto). It was aided in this by the privilege of limited self-government, somewhat like other religious corporations or guilds. Across the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century it grew by the addition of "Ponentine" or Western contingents from Spain, Portugal, the Low Countries or elsewhere in Italy, and "Levantine" or Eastern

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contingents from Ottoman lands to the native so-called "Germanic" nucleus and began to prosper in the wool and silk trades. And in 1632 it received official sanction for the international trade in which some of its members had already been engaging. Then in 1638 it underwent a new wave of accusations when it became a convenient scapegoat for the resuscitation of age-old fears of a decline in trade by Venetian citizens, recently voiced by Leonardo Donà (concerning whom, see the Interdict selection by Paolo Sarpi). And it very nearly suffered a renewal of the famous 1571 banishment. Luzzatto, in bringing its case before the entire reading public in his famous *Discourse*, offered not only a moving defense of toleration but an innovative contribution to the mercantilist debate begun by Antonio Serra and others. By claiming that agriculture was just as necessary as commerce for economic prosperity, he intended to define a special place for the Jewish community in areas of economic activity from which Venetian citizens, in his view, had long ago begun prudently to withdraw. There was some factual basis for his argument. Agricultural investment by city dwellers was no new thing in the first half of the seventeenth century. Two centuries before, the larger city-states on the peninsula had become territorial states partly through the spread of the economic interests of the urban office-holding and mercantile elites into the countryside. Landed property, they believed, was good business; for not only did it make mercantile houses more impressive, it also furnished a good income, particularly when agricultural prices were on the rise as populations increased. Accordingly, Venetian patricians bought up a third of the land around Padua, nearly the same again around Rovigo, and a quarter of the land around Treviso by the second half of the sixteenth century. A newly established *Commission on Uncultivated Land* bought up swampland all the way to Aquileia and put government force behind projects for reclamation and irrigation. By the seventeenth century, when the economic downturn made these investments the most effective hedge against economic disaster, a new rush to buy up the Terraferma began. Venetians were still trading, but not surprisingly, some observers thought the decline of Venice was imminent. Fortunately, Luzzatto's search for a modus vivendi between Jews and Christians worked, and the expulsion was postponed.

The Usefulness of Commerce

. . . Among the aids and benefits that the Jewish nation brings to the city of Venice, the main one is the profit accruing from its particular devotion to the mercantile profession. This profession produces five important results. First, it increases import and export duties. Secondly, it brings various

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goods from remote countries to serve men's needs as well as to ornament civil life. Third, it supplies the workers and artisans with material in great quantity, wool, silk, cotton and the like, ensuring the peaceful and quiet maintenance of the workers' industry and preventing those tumultuous commotions that come from penury of foodstuffs. Fourth, it exports so many of the city's manufactures, which provide sustenance for so many thousands of people. Fifth, it promotes commerce and mutual negotiation between neighboring peoples, which is the foundation of peace and quiet, since princes are more often moved to war by the inclination of the people than people are by princes. Egypt and Syria never made war on Italy, but the Barbary coast[2] has always openly done so, being an infamous nest of pirates with whom Italy had no commerce or considerable business, and of them Virgil says, *let no love nor league be between the nations*;[3] and in every century this was always true. The Jews contribute to this commerce by employing in it their labor and their possessions, and in the present time a part of it is handled by them with great success and in great numbers. However, human ingenuity strives to impugn even the best of evidence. Some opponents insist that rather than importing merchandise and bringing business, the Jews take the place of others who might do this, and that in earlier times, indeed, when the city was full of commerce, these affairs were managed by the citizens, after which the Jews eventually made themselves in large part the arbiters and masters of commerce to the great detriment of the citizens and of the city itself. The Jews, they say, are not responsible for the abundance of merchandise. Rather, the admirable site of the city, the convenience of the port, the vicinity of navigable rivers, the closeness of Germany, the freedom of living, the security of property and the quantity and perfection of the arts all combine to attract and bring in merchandise and business; and if not for the industrious vigilance of the Jews, all affairs would necessarily fall into the hands of the city's own citizens. Nor can it be said that the Jews, insofar as they are considered aliens, enjoy as merchants the same privileges as the citizens do who are connected to the city by the possession of real estate and other particular prerogatives. This, then, is the fallacious reasoning adduced by vulgar minds against this nation. The fallacy will become manifest when the course of human affairs is considered from a higher perspective, and the change of application and employments of the citizens will be shown to depend upon the changed and modified state and condition of the city.

That Most Commerce is in the Hands of Foreigners

Although mercantile traffic is commendable in itself, useful for those who undertake it and profitable to the city where it exists, it is nonetheless laborious and very dangerous, putting persons and possessions at risk due to the dangers of long trips, difficult navigations and dubious agreements.

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The aim and goal of the commerce of every merchant is therefore repose and the cessation of commerce, and after he has amassed sufficient riches, he desires to enjoy his acquisitions in quiet and tranquility, investing them in real estate and city revenues far from the insults of fortune—not only for his own sake but especially for his children's and successors', who he fears may in their lack of skill or experience throw away the wealth acquired with such effort and labor. He therefore encumbers his property with various impediments, such as fideicommissa,[4] primogenitures, and similar conditions, and in this fashion he can steer his posterity away from engaging in commerce. Thus, cities are made great and powerful through the trade of their own citizens, because of investment in landed property, building of sumptuous edifices, acquisition of precious ornaments, and spending in urbane pastimes; then, foreigners are pushed into the city by the difficulty of life in their own native lands and drawn by the lure of gain, so trade ends up in the hands of foreigners and strangers. Many examples could be adduced, but the city of Venice itself should be enough. Its citizens made it the most celebrated emporium of all the world by their commerce, pursuing their Levantine navigations into the last recesses of the Maeotidian Marsh,[5] covering the whole Western Mediterranean, emerging from the Southern strait to find the Ethiopian negroes, and toward the North, penetrating as far as the last ports of Muscovy and Tartary, earning commendation as the first adventurers who left to their posterity the hope of discovering new regions and countries, as is attested by the trips and navigations of Da Mosto, Quirini, Barbaro, and Marco Polo,[6] patricians of this city. But after the Most Serene Republic successfully widened its dominion into the Terraferma, there arose in the souls of those industrious and tireless tillers of the sea the exceedingly prudent notion of relieving themselves from the annoyances and the complications of distant business and dangerous travels and employing their efforts in the possession of landed property, cultivation of land, and other occupations of the civil life, far from the assaults of fortune, as Cicero said in his discussion of commerce: *Nay, it even seems to deserve the highest respect, if those who are engaged in it, satiated, or rather, I should say, satisfied with the fortunes they have made, make their way from the port to a country estate, as they have often made it from the sea into port*, adding, *but of all the occupations by which gain is secured, none is better than agriculture ... nor more becoming to a person.*[7] The Venetians having given up commerce for these reasons, in the course of time almost all the commerce and navigation in the West that had previously been in their hands was taken over by foreigners and people from various places and countries: the Genoese, the French, the English, the Flemings and others. The truth of this, besides the evidence of the fact that proves it, can be shown also by the Venetian law permitting any foreigner to do business in the West, whereas business in the East is

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permitted only to citizens and other privileged persons. Moreover, if we wish to consider the traffic done in the East in that tract of the Terraferma going from the shores of Dalmatia all the way to Constantinople, we will find all the business has fallen into the hands of the Turks or their Greek subjects due to the voluntary renunciation and arbitrary alienation by the Venetian citizens and the absence of anyone else. This can be easily demonstrated by two very evident proofs. First of all, since the city of Venice (God preserve it) has never suffered an invasion or sack or other scourge bringing annihilation or considerable diminution of the citizens' possessions and wealth, and since the Venetians are most jealous of their customs and institutions, the cessation of business by them can come from no other reason or cause but their spontaneous decision, on the basis of their having found other more profitable and secure employments in which to do business. Secondly, the public wisdom has decreed a three percent surcharge on the duty for goods imported and exported by foreigners doing business in the West, causing them thus to pay more than the Venetians, so that any citizen inclined to do business would, by his advantage of six percent in the sale of this merchandise, quickly exhaust and exclude the foreigner from commerce. But because this citizen has already found other more secure profits and easier earnings, he does not allow any advantage to attract him into new involvement in the troubles and risks of trade, and in this manner the commerce in the West and in Italy in general has entirely fallen into the hands of foreigners. In this state of things, it is not a question of whether the city benefits more from having the commerce of the East and of the Turkish mainland in the hands of the Jews or in those of the citizens; it is a question of whether the city would benefit more from having this commerce in the hands of foreigners or in those of the Jews. And formed this way, examining the options, I believe the question will without doubt or comparison be settled in favor of the Jews. . . .

That the Jews are Ideally Suited to Commerce

Men of the common crowd complain about nature having burdened and vexed them with far more urgencies and necessities than the unreasoning animals; but they wrongly lament, because indigence and need are the true stimuli and impulses to invention and discovery of the most worthy and excellent arts that so ennoble the human race. And experience demonstrates that Southerners lack all industry because of the clemency of their sky and the fertility of their lands, whereas Northerners, due to the rigor of their climate and sterility of their soil, are moved to navigation and the exercise of the arts and have become celebrated and famous. I sometimes marvel at how the Romans were compelled by their false superstition to erect altars to and deify the inventors of the useful professions, and to particularly adore even Fortune itself, whom they

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considered to be blind and reckless, building for her many sumptuous temples; yet they never instituted any cult nor observed any religious rite in regard to Need, which is the first stimulator and animator of worthy enterprises and profitable inventions. In the school of hardship, under the rigorous discipline of this Need, the Jews are taught and instructed more than any other nation, being deprived of real estate, without exercise of the mechanical arts, far from the profits of the legal profession and other urban employments, burdened with family, since celibacy was prohibited to them by their rites, so they had to procure their own maintenance and sustenance by industrious diligence and accurate vigilance. Wherever the Jews lived, commerce and business have always been observed to flourish. Witness Leghorn. And the city of Venice will never forget the memory of the first discoverer, Jewish by nation, of the entrepôt of Spalato,[8] whose plan caused most of the Levant trade to be shifted to that city, which is now believed to be the most stable and solid foundation of commerce Venice has, for that route is more convenient than any other, land being more stable and less exposed to the injuries of fortune than the sea. What is more, other Jews who took refuge under alien dominions (as I have indicated in the preceding consideration) send a great quantity of their capital to the Jews of this city, satisfied by whatever small profit and emolument they can gain, not because of the greater profit they can gain here than elsewhere, but only to avoid the dangers that they might encounter by keeping it themselves. But other persons, who are capable of engaging in other employments, are likely to withdraw from commerce at every slight diminution of earnings and turn to more profitable occupations.

Now, descending more into particulars concerning this matter, merchants well know that a city, especially a maritime one, may attract commerce to itself in three ways. First of all, it may do so by its own navigation, whenever the possessors of vessels are also the arbiters of merchandise, as we see among the Flemings. Secondly, with persons who personally go into different cities to create friendship and correspondence. Third, by sending out its own capital into different places, thus inviting and attracting others reciprocally to remit theirs and send their own wealth. As far as navigation is concerned, the Jews are almost entirely deprived of vessels of their own, although some of them in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Hamburg are part owners of vessels. In travelling and making new contracts, the Jews are second to none, since they have no opportunity to remain in their own country and cultivate the land or to practice other urban occupations from which they are excluded; and furthermore, not being able to practice celibacy and therefore having many in their families to assume domestic cares, the others are easily employed in long trips and peregrinations, bringing new business from foreign and remote lands into the city where they have placed their principle domicile. Finally, the Jew

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more than anyone else is likely to send his capital all over the world, not only because of the urgent need that stimulates him to try the favors of fortune by every means, but also because his funds, not being invested in real estate, are in cash money and merchandise, ready and predisposed for transportation and transmission wherever he pleases and desires. How much profit this last practice brings to Venice is worthy of observation. Especially in the whole tract of the Terraferma lying between Dalmatia and Constantinople and the other areas of Turkish dominion, unlike in the other ports of the Levant, there is no resident Venetian consul or other public representative so that it would not be advisable for Venetians to send their capital into the hands of the Turks or the Greek subjects of the Turks or even of their own correspondents because of the dangers and injuries that could all too easily occur to them in such places. But the Jews, either forced by the necessities of life or else because so many other Jews, indeed, the greater portion of their nation, are subject to the Turk, daringly go there in person and send their capitals and goods; and these peregrinations and transfers of persons no doubt attract commerce. Even though the favorable climate and the geographical position of countries certainly have much to do with commerce and business, nonetheless, the voluntary concourse and attraction of men is a most effective cause. The first man from whom all posterity drew its origins was created in the temperate Oriental region and amid the delights of Paradise. But his progeny departed from that site, as Scripture attests, *and when they removed from the east, they found a plain in the land of Sennaar, and dwelt in it,*[9] leaving the place where they were expelled from Paradise and where they then suffered a Flood that almost entirely annihilated all living things, far more offended by these insults than mindful of the benefits they had received. As that orator said in Thucydides, men produce their fortunes and not vice versa; I mean, men guide commerce where they will, for they are its masters. How many changes and fluctuations has the spice trade undergone in Alexandria in Egypt, in Damietta, in Damascus and in Aleppo; next they arrived in the Caspian Sea, and from there they went all the way to Muscovy and eventually to the Tanais,[10] and by diverse ways from there to Venice, where they were distributed to the Western regions of Europe. Now this commerce is limited to the Portuguese, the Flemings and the English. Likewise the money of Europe once went to Besançon in Bourgogne, to Lyon in France, and then to Antwerp. Today Amsterdam, in those Northern regions, by the concourse of merchants, has become the most famous emporium of Europe. Spanish wool came first to Venice, rather than to Genoa and Leghorn, even though those places are closer to Spain. Now it is brought to this city from those places. Earlier, the circulation of money in Italy and outside could be said to be centered in Piacenza; now much of it is reduced to Verona. A short time ago Tripoli was the main port of Syria; now there can hardly be found a single little

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tartan in a whole year, and everything devolves on Aleppo. Alexandrette,[11] Ragusa[12] and Narenta[13] were terminals of the Turkish caravans to Italy, now this trade has shifted to Spalato. Leghorn was a tiny and humble village; but by the labor of the grand dukes it became a famous marketplace in Italy, in spite of its inconvenience for the transmission of merchandise, there being no nearby navigable river nor wide plain for transportation and communication, since its territory is surrounded by steep cliffs. Even though it is close to other more secure and opportune ports, those most prudent princes managed to reduce the difficulties and ease the impediments. Surely, the greatest attractor of business is freedom to live and security in one's possessions, which is what Venice exactly and punctually provides for its inhabitants and its merchants; and this is a real stimulus to the Jewish nation, naturally diffident due to its weakness, to come there. So from the things mentioned in this chapter, one may conclude that a certain amount of business and commerce is naturally connected and joined to the persons of the Jews, and that they necessarily depend on the industry, invention, correspondence, and practice that comes from this, all of which would entirely be lost or alienated from the city without them, or would go elsewhere.

Of the Profits and Benefits Brought by the Nation: A Precise Calculation

. . . Since general discussions often produce errors and fallacies and truth always accompanies and follows particularity and distinction, I think I ought to descend to details and calculate a probable estimate of the profit that the public[14] regularly and annually receives from the Nation living in the city. Without including those who live in the rest of the state, I estimate the Jews to number around six thousand. Just as the rest of the common people, they pay duty on their food, including bread, wine, oil, and meat, as well as on clothing and other similar necessary things, and this must be judged to arrive at the sum of forty-eight thousand ducats, at eight ducats yearly per person. Such a computation might be considered misleading on the grounds that if the Jews did not dwell in the city other Christian inhabitants would take their places, who would be of greater profit to the prince than the Jews, just as happened in the year after the last plague, when the city filled up again in a very short time and returned to its pristine state. But this argument is not valid, because the Jews are interdicted from the exercise of all the trades, prohibited from possessing real estate, excluded from the legal profession. But since they make a living in the unusual occupations I mentioned earlier, they do not take anyone's place. If they left, no one else would come to dwell in the city in their place with the same restrictions and prohibitions. Physicists say the plenum desires to occupy and fill the void—but only where there was before a similar plenum; it does not desire to fill a void that was never

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occupied by any real thing.... The Jews, not being allowed to exercise any mechanical or manual art and to own land from which they could draw their sustenance, must get everything by merchandising. Therefore, many persons here support themselves by selling them food, and artisans are employed in serving their persons as well as in working up the goods exported by them to diverse parts of the world. Since there is no certainty regarding the number of such persons, I will suppose they are around four thousand. If the Jews were not here, at least some of these persons might remain, but without this business they would be reduced to such poverty that they would not contribute any emolument to the public. According to the above computation of eight ducats each, then, the total comes to thirty-two thousand ducats. The import and export duties directly and actually paid by the Jews amount to around seventy thousand ducats per year and would be mostly lost if the Jews were not here, since they do business with their own capital as well as with that of their closest relatives of the same nation, who prefer to direct their business to their own people wherever they are. The duties that accrue to the public obliquely through the commerce of the Jews must also be noted. A Jew who exports a woolen cloth pays duty on it, but this export is also the cause of the import of wool, oil consumed in working the cloth, as well as woad,[15] indigo, cochineal,[16] and crimson to dye it. Likewise, in the export of soap, besides the simple export duty, the duty on the import of oil and other ingredients necessary for its manufacture must also be taken into consideration. The same goes for silk cloths and all the other goods exported from the city. From the import duty actually paid on all these goods may be calculated the export duty they cause to accrue to the public, which I judge to be around two thirds of the first, that is, another forty-seven thousand ducats per year. Besides this there are also the taxes on the provision of the banks and their employees, and other ordinary expenses, to the sum of around eight thousand ducats per year. Now, this tax and all the other extraordinary taxes are levied on the basis of the assessed valuation of one's net worth and do not affect the poor. Not too many families contribute to such payments, relative to the entire population, and some have paid as much as four hundred ducats per year of ordinary taxes and, including the extraordinary ones, up to six hundred ducats. The cost of lodging princes and ambassadors who sojourn here at public expense is likewise considerable, and when the government paid for this, it spent up to eight hundred ducats per month. This is one of the most burdensome and annoying obligations that have been imposed upon the Jews because of the difficulty of executing it, since palaces must be changed constantly for such lodgings.[17] Other minutiae must be added, such as the consumption of salt, of which I believe they use four times what the Christians use, because of their custom of salting meat to extract the blood that they are not allowed to eat; there is no need to give a precise account.

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The sum of the annual revenue mentioned above is 205,000 ducats, although I do not dare to affirm that this figure is entirely exact and unexceptionable, political affairs being full of changes and contingencies; and in this Discourse I determined to follow, after the manner of a new academician, the probable and the verisimilar and not, as a mathematician, the absolute, the demonstrable and the indisputable. To all this is added the extraordinary tax of the past year 1636, which amounted to eleven thousand ducats, a sum that would have been modest if it had been spread over the entire population, but one that, when imposed on one group [the Jews], turned out to be very burdensome in comparison to the rest of the population. Then there was the tax of one-fourth of the rents, which weighed very heavily upon the Jews, because the assessment of their tiny houses, confined to the narrow limits of the Ghetto, amounts to three times what it would have been if those houses had been situated outside the Ghetto and inhabited by Christians; and this amounted to six thousand ducats.[18] Adding these two additional amounts to the previously mentioned sum, the total comes to 222,000, a considerable amount of money, and more than the revenues of some entire duchies. Furthermore, whenever a naval fleet is to be fitted out, the Jews contribute with the other artisans in supplying the public needs, and on one such occasion they paid 1,500 ducats. It is also noteworthy that the artisans and tradesmen who are in the city because of the Jews, as I have said elsewhere, join with them when the fleet is being fitted out, or rather, contribute in person or with money to hire seamen for service in the navy according to the decrees of the Prince, and this, too, is an advantage derived from the Jews. Besides this, consideration must be given to the considerable amount of money from the Jews that circulates in the public Bank,[19] available for the service of many, and especially for commerce. Also, when mandatory deposits in the Mint were imposed by law at the usual rate, the Jews were assessed like everyone else. And since the Jews receive possessions and wealth belonging to friends and relatives of their own nation subject to foreign princes, as I just said when discussing deposits in the Mint, the state could negotiate a large loan with them using the interest accruing to money entrusted to them, which would be more advantageous than making a similar deal with other foreigners who, by repatriating every year the income accruing to them, deprive Venice of it. With the Jews, a different outcome would perhaps occur, because not having a country of their own, they go wherever their money and profit are. . . .

The Most Serene Republic, induced to favor and help its poor by human and state interests and also by charity, among other excellent measures of benignity and exemplary piety, imposed upon the Jews to open three Banks for answering the needs and urgencies of the miserable poor at a profit of only five percent per year, so little that the expense for the renting of the places, employees, agents, and other necessities far

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surpasses that tiny interest. The sum loaned out is without limitation, although the bankers are not obliged to give more than three ducats for each object pawned. This convenience is particular to the city of Venice, and in other places in Italy the Jews loan at the rate of up to eighteen percent. The reasonable impulses that induced the Most Excellent Senate to impose this burden upon the Jews in particular, I believe, were, first of all, because, the Most Prudent Senate, noticing that the Jews excited a certain dissension and repugnance by the disparity and difference of religion, and considering the disadvantages they might suffer as the weakest group among the common people, decided that they might generate a certain amity or at least tolerance toward themselves by furnishing money to the rest; and indeed, the common people here are observed to be more pleasant and cordial to the Jewish Nation than in any other part of the world. . . .

The Difficulty of Defining the General Behavior of the Jews

. . . The internal effigy of our mind is composed of a mosaic, which seems to form a single idea, but under more careful scrutiny reveals itself to be a combination of various fragments of common and precious little stones connected and combined together, so that our minds are composed of different and distinct parts that on various occasions show their own particular appearances. Therefore, to describe the nature and condition of a single man is very arduous and difficult. So much the more difficult, then, is it to refer all his actions to a single norm and idea. Indeed, many authors have written about the nature of dogs, horses and falcons, and discussed their behavior and conditions with unsurpassed exactitude; yet few have attempted to explain the nature of man, and those only cursorily. The best was Theophrastus, the disciple of Aristotle, who put off this enterprise until the last years of his life, when at age eighty he wrote a historical and observational treatise concerning the character of the human mind, of which we possess a fragment, the rest having been obliterated by the ravages of time.[20] And if to define the internal nature of a single man is so difficult, how could we ever describe those of an entire nation? And especially the Jewish one, which has been dispersed throughout all the parts of the world, so nothing certain and decisive about it can be said. The Jews are spread throughout the universe; and like a river running through a long stretch of countryside, receiving its color from the various qualities of earth where it passes, likewise the Jews acquire different customs from the other nations where they live. A Venetian Jew's manners are therefore different from a Constantinople Jew's, and the latter's differ from a Damascus or Cagliari Jew's, and those of all these differ from the German and Polish Jews'. Anyone who should still care to inquire about the general customs of those of this nation could say their minds are very

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debased and weak, they are incapable, in the present condition, of any political government, engrossed in their private interests, caring little or nothing for the generality, their parsimony approaches avarice, they are great admirers of antiquity, they care little about the present course of things, many of them are rude, they apply themselves little to knowledge or languages, they observe their law according to the views of others, to the point of scrupulousness. These qualities are counterbalanced by others worthy of some observation: remarkable firmness and tenacity in their belief in and observation of their religion, uniformity of dogmas concerning their faith during the whole course of 1550 years that they have been dispersed throughout the world, an admirable constancy—if not in encountering danger, at least in suffering calamities, a singular knowledge of Holy Scripture and its interpretation, human charity and hospitality toward anyone of their own nation even though from outside and a stranger—the Persian Jew condoles and sympathizes with the trials of the Italian one, and the distance between their origins causes no disunity between them because of the uniformity of religion, great abstinence from carnal vices, great punctiliousness and exactitude in conserving the homogeneousness and purity of the race, dexterity (in many of them) in treating of any difficult affair, and finally, subjection and respect toward anyone outside their religion. Their faults and delinquencies have always been vile and abject rather than great and atrocious....

Concerning the Application to Study Among the Jews

Every people and nation that desired to consecrate its memory to eternity has tried to do so by means of arms or doctrines. The Greeks immortalized themselves by the invention of the most noble sciences and arts, as Horace says: *To the Greeks the Muse gave native wit, to the Greeks she gave speech in well-rounded phrase; they craved naught but glory.*[21] The Romans did so by triumphs and empires.

The Jewish nation, when it was protected by divine favors in both of these professions, was famous among the peoples of its time in every period.... After they had to give in to the divine decree and were subjugated by the Romans, the Temple destroyed, the city invaded, the religion oppressed, the people captured and dispersed, they not only lost all military glory, but their minds were made so vile and weak that every light of knowledge was almost extinguished in them and any splendor of erudition was obscured, since virtues must be accompanied and maintained by leisure and by a comfortable life. This was a greater disaster and decline than the first; for though the decay of military reputation may bring in subjection and obedience, nonetheless, peoples do not entirely lose their honor and glory by obedience to others.... The Jews would have succumbed entirely to such total ignorance when their dominion

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ended and during the course of that long and miserable dispersion, if the desire to understand the recondite doctrines of the Scriptures had not stimulated them to some mediocre application of intelligence and curious seeking after knowledge. Indeed, while the zeal for their own religion kept them from employment in the humane disciplines by suspicion that dissolute curiosity might lead them into some erroneous opinion and depraved assertion, the same zeal and affection induced them not to abandon the sciences entirely, in order to remain capable of understanding the articles of the faith and the exposition of the Scripture. I cannot decide whether the Jews have reason to lament the condition of the times that have deprived them, by the inconvenience of life, of the multiplicity of books and numerous authors in which they would abound to satiety if they had leisure and ease. Time is often deplored as a voracious consumer of everything, and especially of the efforts of the literary men. My inclination is to deplore it not as a rapacious thief but as a polluter of pure and simple antiquity. One might compare it to the sea, which submerges and swallows up some places on earth while bringing sandy and swampy earth to others, making them unnavigable and inaccessible to vessels, blocking up ports and filling up the recesses with mud. Time likewise entirely consumes and abolishes the memory of some things, and others it has amplified and increased to excess by adding accretions of the incredible and the false. And just as the sea submerges the weighty things and sustains the light ones, likewise, time has been said to oppress and annihilate the solid doctrines and carry and transmit to us only those of little moment and vain. Still, to say something of the literary occupations of the Jews in such a great span of time that the nation has been captive, every spark has not become entirely extinct. . . . Indeed, they hold it to be a precept of their law to dedicate themselves to the contemplation of natural things, in order to attain some probable cognition of the greatness of God; and they also consider themselves particularly obliged to study astronomy, both for determining the time of the feast days and for gaining an infallible introduction to divine wisdom and power, as the Psalmist says: *thy truth shall be prepared in them,*[22] in other words, the heavens are the means whereby God prepares the minds of men for faith, by making them contemplate the vastness and velocity of those motions, the constancy of the periods and the immutability of the revolutions. Certainly, the Jews in the present state of subjection, with no other freedom except to employ their minds in study and knowledge, ought to apply themselves to this with all their thought and industry, in the certainty that the unity of their dogmas, the protection they have enjoyed from princes, and their survival for such a long period of time amid so much oppression, speaking humanely, derive from the virtue and doctrine of the few of them who have acquired credit and authority among their dominators, since they had no other means of aspiring to the favors and graces of the great. And they

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must be certain that without letters and without the esteem of the learned, they would enter into a notable decline and undergo a more despicable oppression than they have ever suffered in the past.

26. Ovidio Montalbani, *The Glories of the Trades*

A long tradition of authoritative ancients, including Varro, Columella and Rutilius Taurus Palladius, suggested that agriculture was not only the most suitable occupation for a gentleman, but that it ought to be pursued as a way of life rather than as a business. Such ideas were reinforced by widely-read sixteenth-century tracts of Girolamo Muzio and Giovanni Battista Possevino concerning the special features of noble behavior that distinguished it from the behavior of everyone else. The accentuation of the differences between rich and poor seemed to threaten a hardening of distinctions between social ranks. And the urban descendants of the Renaissance merchant bankers, who were now the patrician office-holders in the main cities of the North, may well have felt an attraction to the ethos of the few remaining descendants of the medieval feudal lords of the hinterland, if the race to compose the most exalted genealogies and the most elaborate noble emblems is any evidence for this. To counter these tendencies, Ovidio Montalbani[1] appealed to the work ethic of fifteenth-century humanist Leon Battista Alberti and brought to bear his own repertory of ancient authorities to show the value of labor, the active life, trade, and commerce. Younger son of a Bolognese noble family, he took the unusual step of procuring degrees in both law and medicine at the local university. For nearly a decade he collected specimens for his own personal museum of natural history and used them for research in botany and mineralogy, while publishing texts on astrology and astronomy at the same time. Then in 1637, three years after joining the medical faculty at the university he was appointed curator of the city's public museum of natural history. Although Montalbani came into direct conflict with Marcello Malpighi over the new medical theories derived from experimental methods, he thoroughly endorsed empirical methods in science, and he published numerous works on botanical taxonomy. His appreciation of the practical and technological side of scientific exploration, as distinct from the purely speculative, inspired his defense of the trades.

. . . Let no one think he is truly a man who is without intelligence or love of some art, that is, without the Graces, whose leader is Mercury, because

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man and art are bound together. No proof is needed that the etymology of man, *vir*, comes from *virtute* [virtue] . . . or that virtue is the art of living well and uprightly, as the wise and holy men say. Man then is nothing but the artisan of a life lived well and uprightly. *These indeed make the city strong*,[2] as the most wise of all mortals said. Do you desire to ennoble yourself above what nature, by way of the efforts of your ancestors, gave you? Pay attention with all your soul to some art—so said the philosopher Anaximander[3]—and do not doubt that *work ennobles the man*,[4] according to Pindar and, according to that most clever Greek tragedian, *a great man may come from very humble beginnings*.[5] Ask the old, who have seen it with their eyes a thousand times—*take counsel with those whose long lives have made them wise*, says the Sulmonese[6]—and they will reply, *renown has been sought through the liberal arts*.[7] Glory is the daughter of the arts: *Labors great, and thence glories high*, Euripides proves.[8] The supernatural bread of glory and honor is not eaten without sweat. *In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread*[9] is a sentence of eternal truth. Princes and kings are the first to sweat and are the most fatigued bases of the great political edifice; they, in particular, with great prudence, providence and industry, must philosophize continuously to raise the prostrate, to reform deformities, to collect the dispersed, to humble the proud, and to serve as eyes for the blind, tongues for the mute, vindicators of wickedness, terror of the perverse, glory to the good, and dispensers of all good things. Then, will not any particular man, born to labor like the birds are to flight, dedicate himself to some art? Nature stops at providing people with bread and water. And no one doubts that *the chief thing for man's life is bread and water. Rivers and grain are enough for peoples*.[10] All the other conveniences must be commanded by the civil governors, who must ensure that the minds of any order of citizens and their offspring subject to them do not rust nor their hands become lethargic. Like the evangelical and apostolic patriarchs, they must make their subjects provide a reckoning of their past lives from time to time, by *giving an account of their stewardship*,[11] and say to the praiseworthy, *well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy*,[12] and so forth. The real blows of the sword of distributive justice are the ones that impale and kill idleness, deadly enemy of public felicity, when the prince, as in the republic of the bees, *drives the drones, a lazy herd, from the folds*.[13] Following the sentiments of the Athenians, the Egyptians, and the gymnosophists of the Indies,[14] he cannot suffer extreme punishments to be neglected against the harmful idle. The great Plato, also called divine, showed himself to be a very great enemy of idleness when he suggested that the main regular bodies—pyramid, cube, octahedron, icasohedron and dodecahedron—are the five most artful principles of the whole machine of the world because they correspond to the five external senses and to the five internal habits of the mind of man, from which all the operations come. He knew well that

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man is man by virtue of the arts, whether these go by the name of art or science or prudence or intellect or wisdom, whether practiced by the tongue or the hand. Certainly, the world would collapse if the four great wings of its elements were clipped by idleness and delivered into sloth; and how could man approach and become one with the abstract substances without manipulating those elements and thereby pursuing the fortunate career that leads him to his blessed end according to the prescriptions of nature? . . .

Let no one think any prerogative in the world can possibly exempt him from exertion. Innocent Adam was destined to labor: *And the Lord God took man, and put him into the paradise of pleasure, to cultivate it and to tend it.*[15] The same [Adam], after he had sinned, was thus condemned: *with labour and toil shalt thou eat.*[16] Anyone who loves himself, his neighbor and God will work gladly, and on the contrary, anyone who is scornful and cares nothing for his own or others' welfare will toil painfully and unwillingly. *Three are the virtues*, Euripides remembered, *which must be exercised, my children, to honor the Gods, the parents who raised you, and the common laws of Greece. In doing this you will earn the most beautiful crown of good reputation forever.*[17] In good and in ill fortune, one must work to find the remedy for the latter and preserve the enjoyment of the former, and what one cannot do on one's own one must do with the help of others. The citizens of every city are naturally companions, wrote Aristotle in his *Politics*; and the more populous a society is, the more is private good joined to the common good. Cities therefore grow and increase more by mutual love than by the solidity of their solitary walls, because beneficial acts are more efficacious than marble and cement: *These indeed make the city strong*,[18] said Solomon. No one deserves Heaven who does not devote himself to helping his neighbor and observing the laws that constitute the norm of Divine Justice inseparably compounded in the two precepts of charity. This observance not only makes everything good, but it makes everything supremely good. *God is charity*.[19] So it is said of the sovereign monarch and maker of all; and he wanted man, his most beloved creature, to resemble him particularly in this aspect. *Behold what manner of charity the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called, and should be the sons of God*,[20] say the divine oracles, because *if God loves us we must love each other*,[21] so that all goods can be truly enjoyed and joined together most perfectly. In our hearts and hands we have the ability to infuse, in whatever can be subjected to our actuality, the reasonableness that shines like a life-giving gleam of divinity in our souls, each according to the grace he *hath received*,[22] as the Prince of the Apostles tells us. The first, the simplest and the easiest of all the virtues and arts of humanity is nothing other than fleeing idleness and vice. . . .

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Cities, says Aristotle, are nothing but a multitude of people able to live by their industry and their efforts: *It is necessary therefore for the city to be organized on the lines of these functions.*[23] These civil occupations, because they are easy and yet extremely useful, deserve to be regarded by everyone as most honorable and acceptable, for *a noble spirit is capable of kindly impulses.*[24] Now, I do not want to dispute which Minerval occupation, that of the *eloquent speaker* or the *handyman*, deserves greater public renown for greater usefulness, because Plato equally appreciated both as being contemplative and active in their own spheres: *For the wise man was not expert in all things including the care of the table of the wealthy and of tyrants.*[25] Whoever wishes to be everything to everyone must possess the arts both of the tongue and of the hands, and his well-founded discourse should be accompanied by deeds.

No one is worthy of the name of man nor of living among men who does not help the languishing arts and keep them from perishing, whenever he can, and to prevent their necessary and profitable practitioners from perishing too. *He who, when he may, forbids no sin, commands it,*[26] said Seneca; and likewise, *all evil persons and committers of fraud must thus be destroyed and common remedies must be found,*[27] said another learned man. Morbid distempers of the body and the soul caused the emergence of judges and physicians in the republics, said the best philosopher of Greece. . . .[28] The truly angelical art of preserving all the arts consists of exterminating the first inseminators of scandals and abuses.[29] This, which is the queen of all professions, can and must be fully understood and exercised. Even the stones of our University bear an inscription commanding, *lose your life rather than your art,* which is not far different from the sentiment of the emblem-maker, *I'd sooner die than be dishonored.*[30]

No liberal or mechanical art lacks a complete and orderly constitution and set of rules proceeding from the very marrow of things: *All precepts of the arts are laws.*[31] To observe them, the eye only has to cast a single simple glance; nor should it disdain even the slightest mechanical triviality, and indeed, it ought to receive, and pass on to the intellect, considerable pleasure and enjoyment from the clarity of truth. The word mechanical, insofar as the arts are concerned, does not signify vileness or ugliness, but rather ingenious idea and worthy discovery, from the Greek. . . . The truest and most intimate essence of the mechanical arts is nothing but arithmetic and geometry and the physically generative and corruptible.

The fact that number, weight and measure regulate every substance and produce and multiply all the accidents leaves no doubt that the so-called mechanical arts are not servile, but most worthy of being known, understood and protected by the most noble minds and by the greatest and most honorable personages, who, in fact, may command a vast mass of

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instrumental servants, some of whom are lowly because they work for sustenance, like beasts of burden, without considering why they work or to what effect. And can the possession of numerous servants and slaves ever be prejudicial to nobility? Certainly not. So if this manner of enjoying a multitude of servants, is innocent, most useful, and conducive to a noble and tranquil life, why not seek it eagerly and learn it? It is said: *Question the wise, how you may be able to pass your days in tranquillity.*[32]

We must learn them from experts and masters who understand how to live in justice and equity; and they will say, let us try to outdo each other in praising the lovers of the innocent arts, since this is the proper recompense. *The blessing of God maketh haste to reward the just*,[33] because they are called the sons of God: *Behold, how they are numbered among the children of God*,[34] who lovingly follow their best inclinations toward the acquisition of the virtues and the arts. *We would not be unclothed, but clothed upon*,[35] the apostle of the Gentiles reminded the Corinthians and all of us. Therefore, pursue the arts! Pursue the arts! There are seven kinds of arts, and they support the city like so many columns of the house of Wisdom. *Wisdom hath built herself a house, she hath hewn her out seven pillars*,[36] says Solomon. Therefore, every day we devote to promoting and aiding some art we can number among the happiest of our lives and raise our voices to Heaven, saying, *O day that will bring me three- and four-fold bliss*.[37] Let us therefore give all our souls and powers to help wool-making, architecture, nautical science, agriculture, hunting, medicine, or at least the theater.

Whoever disdains to apply his own hands to one of these aforementioned practices is unworthy of all nobility, and like a putrid worm must say, *his glory is dung, and worms*.[38] Whoever desires to be truly noble, let him do something that his noble ancestors did before him when they bought nobility by their efforts. . . . Whoever knows how to weave in his own days the vital strands of virtuous operations does what is proper to a reasonable creature: *We roll up our lives, like a weaver*.[39] Concerning ourselves with the tasks ordered by God we do not lose nobility; indeed, those who are arrogant lose it. *They that despise me shall be despised*,[40] said the divine oracle in the Holy Scriptures. Artisans, at least those exempt from servile sordidness, are not excluded from the King's Gate: *The artisans did business at the King's Gate*,[41] the prophet says. Are not theatrical functions, gymnastics, military exercises, and other noble and virtuous entertainments likewise laborious employments distinguishing the nobles from the common people? But if the rules and precepts for learning mental vivacity and sincerity constitute an art, why abhor and scorn the very name of art, so glorious and substantial?

The professors of medicine, the beloved creature of the Most High, most honored among the human arts and industries, are in no way inferior to the noblest subjects and the principal elements of the republic; indeed

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they may even command emperors. Who, then, dares to deny the nobility of this art? And who, again, dares to blame and vilify the rural art, most fortunate and practically impeccable? The geniuses of all centuries have always praised it and recognized it as the celestial rather than terrestrial glorifier of the great. So said Xenophon speaking of Cyrus, Quintus Curtius of Abdalonimus, Plutarch of Numa, Homer of Pheacus, and the Romans of so many of their senators, as well as of Serranus and Cincinnatus,[42] and so many most noble families—the Fabii, the Lentuli, the Pilumni, the Pisoni, and so forth.[43] The naval art, most provident, is of all the others the most wealthy treasurer, since it provides for the needs of men with everything desireable, not only material but also spiritual—namely, the incorruptible merchandise of the virtues, since the true political merchants must bring back the effects of the Divine virtues along with the golden fleece: *But a pious posterity inscribed a ship on the copper money to commemorate the coming of the stranger god.*[44] And therefore, in this way, one may earn superhuman honors. Is not hunting perhaps a most noble art, on land, in the water and in the air? Though very laborious, it is at the same time most palatable and frees the soul from troublesome cares, allowing it to attend to the preparation of flavorful and valued sustenance for the body. In this art, man exercises the dominion over everything whereof he was invested by the Sovereign Monarch at the beginning of the world. With the art of smithery, which is second among all other human arts according to the order of nature, fortunes are built that are very solid and prosperous and greater than the one a man is born into; and the metal tools shaped by the fire are those that, out of metal, stone or wood, carve admirable handcrafted objects under the direction of ingenious architects. Who will disdain becoming, in a secondary sense, a palpable creator, innocently emulating, to such great advantage, the most great Maker of all, who brought about whatever he wanted out of the unformed nothingness by his simple *fiat?* Wool-making, finally, the most ancient of the arts, of which God himself was the first master when he made the clothes of Adam and Eve—*and the Lord God made for Adam and his wife, garments of skins, and clothed them*[45]—provides the first and most important conveniences in the republic; and the superior rulers must devote accurate attention and careful thought to it to prevent it from being assaulted or tampered with, so that nudity and intolerable ugliness will not remain unclothed. Dull and animated spinners may work their quotas—*they unroll the soft coils from their spindles*[46]—but the persons responsible for knowing the process as well as the finished product are strictly obliged, by reason of their office, to try to keep the immediate agents occupied in the proper way so that cloths and all other goods of wool, linen, silk, cotton, are worked up perfectly for the public good.

Do not excuse yourselves, O nobles, by saying that such employments degrade your high birth; because you are mistaken. They exalt it and raise

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it to the stars. *Well may we believe they lifted up their heads alike above the frailties and the homes of men.*[47] Do not content yourselves with those fleeting sparks of fortune, or rather of disgrace, that you call nobility, which make you shine obliquely and indirectly among those who have no ingenuity or art and who do not know what true and stable fortunes are: *The splendor of fortune affords an unstable possession to men.*[48] Such treasures of nature should not make you turn up your noses, and if you renounce them against the public and also against your own private utility, then try to rise higher—that is, to learn the most elevated and most glorious immaterial perfections of the soul and of the mind, applying yourselves to them with all your hearts and all your wills; otherwise, I cannot see how you are any different from the irrational animals. The horse goes through its paces in the hippodrome. It jumps, responds to the whistle of the riding crop and the indication of the riding-master, and more than this the irrational creature does not grasp. *Irrational.* And you do the same when you refuse to understand the internal and external reasons for what you do. You go hunting to catch the birds and fool the fish, but of wild beasts and game you do not want to know anything except what touches your teeth and palate, just like the hawk and the dog. You pass your most active and impressionable years in learning the sciences or the so-called liberal doctrinal arts, which are regarded as the most appropriate accoutrements and signs of the noble and the great, that is, the three initial or introductory speech-related arts[49] or the four perfecting and real arts,[50] all abstracted from any sort of matter—individual, sensible, or intelligible. But anyone who does not receive his own tongue from any of these sciences reasons and speaks like a magpie or a confused parrot, mendaciously, and like an actor reciting in a comedy of this world, apparently wearing the clothing of a human person, but a brute beast all inside. Our great grandfathers and ancestors had this well in view when they passed and published that most wise decree to correct their sons who were either uninterested in or incapable of merely speculative pursuits, declaring that the nobility of the family remained intact if they applied themselves to the honest arts. "Let it be known that the sons of the said qualified gentlemen will not be understood to lose their nobility if their fathers or other ancestors made them exercise or themselves exercised some honest art or business for a certain time as a curb upon their youth."[51] Surely fierceness is made mild in this way and laziness is removed, the seeds of vice are crushed, the nascent seedlings of depraved actions are uprooted and cut off, and men are prepared to be most virtuous in all times and places. *Note too that a faithful study of the liberal arts humanizes character and permits it not to be cruel,*[52] sang the Sulmonese; and the lyricist concurs: *Hopeful in adversity, anxious in prosperity, is the heart that is well prepared for weal or woe.*[53]

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Divine justice, the gracious avenger, cries out that those who are planted entirely upside-down in the political soil, who do not know how to produce sweet fruits, and indeed, who disturb the fruitfulness of others by their noxious shadow ought to be cut off and thrown on the fire: *Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be cut down, and shall be cast into the fire.*[54] They ought to be reduced to bare ashes and carried or dragged to the swamps of Acheron. *You will take no wealth to the waters of Acheron: fool, you will be naked when you travel on the ferry of the world below.*[55] The hands distinguish man as the most prudent among the animals, said Anaxagoras; let us add that the same hands show him to be most noble and also most generous. For the arts are naturally luminous and beautiful: *Neither for place of birth nor birth itself had the girl fame, but only for her skill.*[56] Like heavenly fruits, they flee only those who flee them and follow most easily those who follow them; and therefore their usefulness must be continuously obvious to all, and their frank and real delight must be known, as were those of the Egyptian magi. Furthermore, be aware that the heavens hate a hoax.

The true and sincere operations of the arts must be demonstrable, and once demonstrated, *wise men hide not their fathers*,[57] because the wisest are not embarassed to show others the reasons for their discoveries. Those with great knowledge and understanding abhor games of mental and manual vanity.... No one deserves the honorable title of master and preceptor who jealously and avariciously hides the secrets and the rules of the arts, careless of the danger of burying them in oblivion. What piety and reverence toward the mysteries of the Heavens would a painter or sculptor show by their handiworks, if the former did not tint his brush in the true colors of the public good and the conservation of civil society, and the latter did not sharpen his scalpel on the wheels of Ezechiel, that is, on the revealed Scriptures? Artisans who are excellent in their arts and charitable towards their country and their fellow citizens are worthy of all honors and deserve statues like those given to the father of Isocrates, a most virtuous maker of musical instruments, who was neither perversely silent nor ostentatious, and of whom it could be said, *his mouth is not hidden, nor are his eyes lofty.*[58] If all artisans were of this sort, cities would be blessed; they would lack neither people nor gold, and the longer and more prosperous lives of the inhabitants would be like so many precious gems to crown eternity.

The imperial laws of Rome were most reluctant to concede civil dignity to artisans, only because so few of them could be found who were not sullied by the most ugly trait of venality—too fraudulent, too interested. *Low-class manual laborers* like filthy tavern-keepers and Trojans were banned from the councils of Aristotle's republic. The municipal laws of Bologna long ago successfully prevented such evils. The critical and supercilious magistrate of the Lords Tribunes of the Plebs

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along with the defenders and administrators of all the arts ordered delinquents and malefactors in any art to be severely punished by well-informed judges, and to remove and eradicate all scandals and abuses including failure to deliver their merchandise in proper number, weight, measure and quality. But (O disgrace of our times!) such grave and holy laws flutter lightly through the air, unobserved and neglected in the winds. Indeed, the most holy bulls of Pius, Gregory, Sixtus and Paul, great and supreme pontiffs, in favor of various arts of our city, and in particular, those of silk and wool, have gradually become futile and ineffectual. I cannot point the finger at anyone in particular, but this I know: that as tastes have become more depraved, the worst gluttons, as though *plucking with teeth at the herbage*,[59] desiring nothing but sophisticated foreign goods full of gaudy ornaments, have neglected our own durable and excellent products, made according to the statutes of the city. Everyone hopes some lenitive and very simple remedies might be applied to these great disorders, moving the souls of those involved to pity for the effects they have caused. Violent cathartics and emetics can only be administered by exalted and powerful hands. The political physicians of these maladies are the judges and the authorities, and they ought to apply the remedy whenever the present necessities are reported to them. They are responsible for *affixing the black mark of death*[60] after careful attention to any violation of the precepts of the arts. Many forms of monopoly are difficult to discover, as some are so cleverly concealed and disguised that they seem like charitable and praiseworthy works to anyone who does not analyze them thoroughly. . . .

Twenty-five masters or heads of the arts meet every trimester in the city of Bologna; and these, by serving as censors and practical guarantors of the statutes and of the best practice of the arts, act as true laborers in the vineyard of the civil community. And with this mysterious and Minerval number, which is the measure of the composition of all sensible substances, a spherical number, always producing and conserving itself in every tetragonal or cubic multiplication, a sign of perpetuity, our most wise ancestors thought to keep ingenious manual work intact and uncorrupted. By such a provision, namely, by the number five multiplied by itself and placed in charge, our most renowned ancestors imparted soul to the arts; because soul, being a number that moves itself, as Xenocrates said, also encloses within itself the five Platonic genera of all things—namely, Being, Sameness, Difference, Stillness and Movement, which are precisely the considerations to be kept in mind when regulating the arts.[61] And if a damaging diapedesis[62] or anastomosis[63] of the veins of the whole political body have caused loss of life by letting a few bloodsuckers fill themselves with blood (*my body is sick but my mind is worse*[64]), the fault lies with those who let these greedy monsters in and allowed them to grow

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improvidently among our vital juices—indeed, *the sick mind takes falsehood for truth*. . . .[65]

27. Arcangela Tarabotti, *Innocence Undone*

Seventeenth-century feminism reached its most eloquent expression in the writings of this Venetian, sent to the Benedictine convent of Sant'Anna in Venice by her father at an early age ostensibly to protect the honor of a daughter for whom family finances were too modest to provide an appropriate dowry.[1] Admitted in 1620, aged sixteen, to the Order in which she was to remain for the rest of her life, she soon found this arrangement to be entirely unsatisfactory. An avid reader, she filled her cell with books of all kinds, including, as she later said, Machiavelli's *Prince* and works by satirist Ferrante Pallavicino. She began to record her experiences in two manuscripts, one called *Monastic Hell* and the other, *Innocence Undone*, and she reworked the second of these off and on until finally publishing it just before her death in 1652. The first work she actually circulated was thus an ironic manuscript entitled *Monastic Paradise*, written in the 1630s and printed posthumously, where she suggested that the best feature of convent life was the absence of men. Next came her *Antisatira*, printed in the 1640s to defend women's fashions including the famous Venetian platform shoes. These works brought her to the attention of Giovanni Francesco Loredan and his Academy of the Incogniti, one of the bright lights of North Italian literary life at the time, perhaps in part because of its reputation for free-thinking and scandal, including poet Gianfrancesco Busenello, and historian-novelist Girolamo Brusoni. And apart from conversations with some of these figures in the convent's reception area, leading, at least in the case of Brusoni, to a long-term correspondence (which she published in her collected *Letters* in 1650), she also met, between 1642 and 1645, through the offices of the French ambassador in Venice, the most famous libertine in all Europe: Gabriel Naudé. She was not the first Venetian woman to publish feminist ideas. In 1592 Modesta Da Pozzo wrote *The Merit of Women* denouncing male tyranny and criticizing the modest career choices suggested for women by Baldassare Castiglione, whose concept of the "woman of court" represented a considerable advance over the exclusively masculine interpretations of *virtù* examined by earlier humanist theorists like Leon Battista Alberti. Lucrezia Marinelli followed in 1600 with *The Nobility and Excellence of Women, Together with the Defects and Deficiencies of Men*, aimed at bringing to bear an impressive (although not particularly original) array of literary sources to prove women's superiority.

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Tarabotti was noteworthy for her considerable knowledge of contemporary debates, including, for example, Lodovico Settala's recommendations for restricting marriages to conserve wealth in *On the Reason of State* (Milan: 1627), against which she inveighs here, and for her solutions that stepped over into the realm of radical politics.

Disobedience to God's irrefutable will is the most monstrous iniquity that the malice of men could ever invent; yet they never stop breaking his law with their selfish actions.

First place among these sins belongs to the audacity of whoever confines women, against their desires, to convents, condemning them to life imprisonment even though their only sin is to belong to the more delicate sex (in fact, one more reason to pity, help and comfort them, not to imprison them for life), in flagrant violation of the free will granted by His Divine Majesty to both men and women and under the pretext of acting for a holy cause, but actually driven by wicked reasons.

Heraclitus, a mild-mannered philosopher of Ephesus from around the sixty-ninth Olympiad, who spent his life in a state of permanent dejection, was most often observed teary-eyed and with his head bowed down by the gravity of his sorrow- and sadness-filled thoughts, going about deploring the unhappiness of human life that is plagued by so many miseries. Following his example, the eyes of every Christian should shed rivers of incessant tears to lament the uncertain welfare of the multitudes of women shut up in convents under the misleading name of nuns.

But these men do not regret this state of things, and indeed, the most Catholic or spiritual—or I should say, the most hypocritical—among them, ruled by their self-interest, entirely believe that God should receive as a just sacrifice these creatures who come into the light with the same marks of sin contracted from their parents as everyone else and were not conceived without it like the Virgin Mary nor made holy in the bodies of their mothers like St. John the Baptist.

This is a most serious abuse, an inexcusable mistake, an unjust resolution and an evident sign of temerity, since it is obvious that Divine Providence granted free will to creatures of both sexes and provided women with intellect, memory and will in no way inferior to men's, so that, armed with these three powerful tools rather than moved by servile fear, they could avoid the path of evil and choose the path of righteousness by their own free will. For this purpose God gave free will and the ability to choose to both Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, so that women were not created lacking this divine grace or similarity; both men and women indifferently were given this precious treasure, free will, which Dante so highly esteems. . . .[2] They enjoyed the pleasures among which they had been created, we learn, for only seven hours and then they shared

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equal responsibility for transgressing the divine precept. The Divine Maker, in his omnipotence, could have created them free of sin and in a state of grace, but to show us that he prefers a voluntary act instead, he did not do it, in accordance with the words of his beloved Prophet: *I will freely sacrifice to thee*.[3]

But, since this subject has already received ample treatment by very serious and highly esteemed authors, and I do not want to give the impression that I wish to enter into disputations that are unsuitable for me, I will only say that when God, in his incomprehensible goodness and inestimable greatness, before creating man, fell in love with him in his most holy mind, he decided to prepare a stage or a theater for presenting all the earthly pleasures enjoyed daily.

That is how God, with great, or rather divine, mastery, started creating the world. *In the beginning, God created heaven and earth*.[4] In six days he endowed it with all perfections; he divided the waters from the waters, he created the fish and the plants and everything man enjoys and longs for, for no other reason than for the comfort and happiness of the creature that he had formed with his hands.

Since woman is the epitome of all perfections, she is the last of the works of God, as far as material creation is concerned, but otherwise she dates from the beginning, and is the first-generated of all creatures, generated by the breath of God himself, as the Holy Spirit inferred, through the mouth of Solomon in the Ecclesiastes where he introduces the Most Holy Virgin to sing of herself: *I came out of the mouth of the Most High, the firstborn before all creatures*.[5] This creature, although a woman, did not need to be made with a rib taken from man, because, so to speak, she was born before the beginning of time as well as before men, who, blinded by their ambition to dominate the world alone, astutely fail to mention this infallible truth, that the woman has existed in the Divine mind from the beginning. *I was set up from eternity, and of old before the earth was made. The depths were not as yet, and I was already conceived*.[6]

They cannot deny the fact, although their malice prevents them from speaking it openly; but let us try to make them admit, in accordance with the Holy Scriptures rather than with some ill-informed preachers, that the woman made the man perfect and not vice versa. After the Supreme Being created the world and all the animals (as I have said before), the text says *And God saw all the things that he had made*; *and they were very good*.[7] Foreseeing that the man without the woman would be a compendium of all imperfections, God said: *It is not good for man to be alone: let us make him a help like unto himself*.[8] And therefore he created a companion for him that would be the universal glory of humanity and make him rich with merits. If the maker of the Universe, in creating this beautiful machine, had created the man first and then the other delights, that is, animals and plants, and finally the woman, these enemies of truth would say that she

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was created last of inferior material and would use this passage from the Scriptures with great contempt towards women; and since they cannot prove this argument that the woman is less worthy than they are, they never stop blaming her for the first sin. But they are lying, because it was the sin of man that damaged the innocent woman, because we read in the book *De fide ad Petrum* that *if man had not sinned, woman would give birth without pain and would remain virgin.*[9] I will discuss elsewhere the subject of who caused the Fall and who has more reason to regret it.

Almighty God, having kept the creation of the woman as the last act of his wonderful work, desired to bestow privileges upon her, reinforce her graces and gladden the whole world with her splendor. If the Supreme Architect's greatness, wisdom and love towards us shone brightly in his other works, he planned to make the woman, this excellent last addition to his splendid construction, capable of filling with wonder whoever looked at her. He therefore gave her the strength to subdue and dominate the proudest and wildest hearts and hold them in sweet captivity by a mere glance or else by the power of her pure modesty. God formed man, who is so proud, in the field of Damascus; and from one of his ribs he formed woman in the garden of Eden.

If I were not a female, I would deduce from this that the woman, both because of her composition and because of the place in which she was created, is nobler, gentler, stronger and worthier than the man. But I do not want to venture into this sea swept by so many contrasting winds, although I cannot pass over in silence the rashness of men, who exalt their strength to the skies and debase our weakness to the darkest depths, like the liars that they are. What is true strength anyway, if not domination over one's feelings and mastery over one's passions? And who is better at this than the female sex, always virtuous and capable of resisting every temptation to commit or even think evil things? Is there anything more fragile than the head from which you were formed? Compare it to the strength of a rib, the hard bone that is the material from which we were created, and you will be disappointed. Anyone knows that women show more strength than men when they conceive and give birth, by tirelessly carrying all that weight around for nine months.

But you cruel men, who always go around preaching evil for good and good for evil, you pride yourselves in your strength because, like the inhuman creatures you are, you fight and kill each other like wild beasts. This is your so-called strength; as for the rest, you are incapable of resisting a tender gesture, a tear or two eyes that even unintentionally happen to glance at you: you always fall victim of the weakness of your flesh. Horace said: *Live, then, as brave men, and with brave hearts confront / the strokes of fate*[10] and Cato gave it as a rule, *Let not your courage droop in darkest hours.*[11] Thus, if strength is the ability to bear misfortunes and insults, how can you call yourselves strong when you

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shed other people's blood sometimes for no reason at all and take the life of innocent creatures at the slightest provocation of a word or a suspicion? Strength is not mere violence; it requires an indomitable soul, steadfast and constant in Christian fortitude. How can you, o most inconstant ones, ever boast of such virtù? Improperly and deceitfully you have called yourselves virtuous, because only those who fill the world with people and virtù can be called strong.

And those are women. Listen to Solomon, whose words about women reinforce my argument: *Strength and beauty are her clothing.*[12] With incredible strength they generate you, carry you in their wombs and give birth to you. They feed you with their own milk and teach you the straight way, although, driven by your evil nature, you succumb to vice when you grow up.

Revile women as much as you wish; keep croaking while I go back to weaving the thread of my argument. *And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had done.*[13] And God did not rest because he was tired, since he could create everything by his word alone, but to give us a sign that the material world was finished, while there is no end to his graces, and in fact he creates new ones every day. In the perfection of this great happiness, or in these deep mysteries, I cannot find even a single shadow, symbolic or real, that might be interpreted by a keen intellect as a sign that God wished women in this world to be forced to become nuns by some human, or rather inhuman, invention. Our Blessed Creator could have entrusted our first father with the task of founding orders of women devoted to his worship, drawing them from the numerous future generations that had already unfolded in his Divine mind. But he did not do this, because he could foresee all the abuses and errors that were to be committed by men in his Church and because this would have meant taking away from woman the free will he graciously granted her, forcing her to submit to the mostly iniquitous and wicked will of somebody else.

What is practiced every day and more than ever in this corrupt century of ours, I therefore consider to be a serious abuse, because nowhere, neither at the beginning in Genesis nor in the whole vastness of the complete Scriptures, is there a mention or even a hint by His Divine Majesty that his glory is magnified by confining unwilling women in convents. By their own wicked, deceptive and malicious invention, offending God, who called upon Adam to give names to all things, men called these unhappy women nuns, perhaps in derisive reference to the filthy animal supposedly created by the devil when he tried to form a creature similar to man in futile imitation of the Divine Creator.[14] Women who unwillingly become nuns are indeed monkeys; but still more unreasonable than monkeys are those who insensitively and fraudulently make them acquiesce, forcing them to go into convents, and, as they say,

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sink into a glass of water, in imitation of what they have seen other women do.

On the other hand, we can only praise those very prudent women who, aware of the deceptions of the world and the frauds of men, voluntarily withdraw into a solitary cell to contemplate God and the nobility of their souls, adorned to resemble God, and then pass with their minds to infinite affection in contemplating the divine greatness and trying to observe his immensity, of which more is said by keeping silent than by speaking; and while they are animated by a devout and obsequious stupor from that glaring and blinding light, their minds leave their bodies senseless, blind to light, without motion and without feeling, whence they can be said to be transformed into His delight. These women are indeed worthy of praise and admiration; but in our times such privileges are conceded to few and only to those who, made by their parents the masters of their own free will, have chosen such a life, moved by nothing other than the breath of the Holy Spirit. . . .

I add that if woman had been without free will, God would not have given her to the man, as a *help like unto himself*. . . .[15]

There is good reason to be amazed at Adam, to whom, while removing his rib in a delicious sleep to form a sweet companion for him, God revealed many profound mysteries of the things that would happen, such as the flood, universal judgment and the rest, so that he would be more careful about offending him. Instead of falling, man, who boasts about his strength, should have resisted his ambition somewhat and put less trust in the words that promised him likeness to God, whereby he came to imitate the pretense of Lucifer, who boasted about being able to resemble his creator. Imagine the temerarious audacity of that bare-faced one, who has no equal in vainglory, because he is the father of arrogance itself, and who so believed in himself that as soon as he was created, trusting in his own powers, indeed, in his own nothingness, dared to rebel against his maker, whereupon having lost the liveliness of his true lights, that is, grace, he remained, along with all his followers, contaminated in Paradise; and seeing that he had fallen from his first glory and deprived of all splendor was blackened and discolored by the smoke of infernal fire, Isaiah broke out into this derisory but sad exclamation: *How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning?* . . .[16]

If Lucifer fell to extreme misery because of his pretensions to a supreme height, you men, filled with pride and obstinate in executing your decisions, will obviously fall with him into that horrible Kingdom that originated from pride if, like him, you try to be greater than God, by taking free will away from women.

If you cannot provide your daughters with marriages wealthy and noble enough for your vainglory, then place them in lower and less noble marriages. Divide your lands and wealth among them without partiality,

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because God wills it; and do not desire to raise one to the summit of worldly grandeur, just to throw the others into a chaos of miseries and an abyss of damnation. Moderate the luxury of your sons and remember that your daughters are also your flesh; do not seek to stifle the senses God made free to everyone.

But some among these will perhaps allege to the contrary that the human race is so numerous that the first commandment of Holy Genesis should not be obeyed, to which I respond that the inopportune authority of inhuman men should not presume to dispose of thousands of innocent hearts at will, condemn them to prison and sacrifice the desperate creatures with barbarous cruelty to Pluto rather than to God. And to prove that Christ did not expect—indeed, did not want—the contradiction of a virgin body imprisoned with a wandering heart, he exhorts our sex to this chaste life only once in the whole Gospel, but not in order that it should be enclosed; and he does so even then only in the form of a parable and as a counsel....

When I see one of these unfortunate girls betrayed by her own parents, I imagine what happens to a little bird, going about in its pure simplicity among the branches of the trees or along the banks of the rivers, sweetly whispering in gentle harmony, pleasing the ear and consoling the heart of whoever listens, when all of a sudden it is caught by the insidious net and deprived of its dear liberty. Thus, the unhappy one, born under an unfavorable planet, passes the years of her simple childhood, her tongue still dripping with milk, articulating loving sounds and making gracious gestures with her tender limbs, flattering the ear and delighting the soul of the cruel and crafty parents who weave the web of deceit and think of nothing else except of how to deceive her as soon as possible and bury her in the cloisters for the rest of her life, tied by indissoluble knots, so that she can say with a sigh, *The sorrows of death surrounded me.*[17] His Divine Majesty never devised, much less ordered, such an abomination, believe me; and if he permits other sins and other errors, he does not command or counsel them. Only the temerity of men allows them to commit such a great sacrilege.

Even though the sacrament of matrimony is contracted in Paradise in a state of innocence, executed and confirmed in the persons of so many patriarchs and prophets, corroborated by the assistance of Christ, and authenticated by the example of the *most blessed Virgin* herself, divorce can be granted for just causes, although outside the ordinary law, and without offence to her virginal purity, so that even such a fast and holy knot can nonetheless be dissolved at times, and if not, at least with the death of one of the partners. Why then must nuns be condemned without appeal by eternal and unbreakable vows to the sacrament of their profession? Only your ambition, O traitorous man, and your excessive arrogance, without any sanction from the supreme power, condemns the

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innocent flesh of your flesh to the hell of a convent against their will, where, persecuted, lacerated and reviled, they must remain in spite of themselves, even though Christ himself gave to his disciples as a precept, *and when they shall persecute you in this city, flee into another*.[18]

That private persons for their interests (O cursed interests!) commit such enormities is a detestable abuse, but that the superiors and princes permit it stupefies with horror insensibility itself; whereas the eye of the Prince must be vigilant not only concerning the reason of state but also concerning the welfare of souls and not let them perish so miserably, placing reason of state before the salvation of souls.

O most Eminent, most Serene, most Illustrious Sirs, O when, and how much will your souls be agitated by these desperate prisoners' oceans of tears?

You ought to turn your minds to some means of providing for their miserable state; do you not know that *for all that is in the world is the concupiscence of the flesh, and the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life*?[19] These miserable ones are formed of the same material as you; you have no convincing argument in your defense when it will be said to you, *give an account of thy stewardship*.[20]

You know very well that the great multitude of nuns cannot attain perfection since they are constrained in that form of life by the force of their parents and relatives; the unhappy ones do not say *this is my rest for ever and ever*.[21] Most of them are not moved, like St. Anthony, by evangelical persuasion: *Sell what thou hast . . . and come follow me*, [22] but are always thinking about the world, desiring what is owed to them by law and is taken away from them against all reason. Even God seems to hate every action that does not come from a voluntary disposition, since he asks only for the heart: *My son, give me thy heart*.[23] Only those women who voluntarily renounce the world, indeed against the will of their parents like Clara and Catherine of Siena,[24] should be closed within the holy walls. Instead, men imprison them in order not to suffer the expenses and to be able to indulge in all sorts of luxuries, delights and excessive vanities, indeed, to be able to slake their infamous desires by a greater number of greedy whores, to lose their faculties in games, throwing away everything in fulfilment of every unjust desire. Whoever abuses the Christian law in favor of the political law merits cancellation from the book of life. . . .

You will see if your fornications, adultery, robberies, assassinations, sacrileges and sins of every sort are not minutely noted in that tremendous adamantine book from which they cannot be cancelled for the whole course of eternity; but you will have to pay the price of eternal punishment determined by divine justice.

You will then discover whether deceptive love affairs with every quality of person are permissible; and your profession of being enamored of everyone will so torment you that you will want to repent but you will

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be unable. The poets, who now administer conceits feigning the perfect lover with a thousand fables of lying deities, will lose their eloquence and will have no artificial phrases to help you and defend you from the accusations of your own conscience. How will these unhappy ones help you? As Dante says in the *Inferno*, all the lying poets will have to temper their mendacious tongues in the furnace of Vulcan, and not the one they depict in words, but in the real furnace of eternal fire.[25] Believe me that everyone will then be equal. Nor will it help you to say, I am a man with illustrious ancestors and considerable influence; I am rich and can do what I want; laws are not made for me but for women and for the unfortunate poor, as Solon says, because if a miserable beggar should ever transgress the law, which is like a spider's web and just as easy to break, his weakness will ensure that he will be caught and miserably punished. But I have strength and power to resist; I am smart, so I can break the law without anyone having to accuse me or attempting to punish me. Oh foolish one! The eye of God will not only see you, but his just hand will punish you in eternity. Then you will see how many torments your faults have merited, and in particular, the iniquity of having forced women to become nuns. . . . If these women should tear the noses off the faces of their fathers, who are the origins of so many other evils and errors besides having deprived them deceptively of the free and pleasant air of this sky, the world would be filled with monstrously deformed men lacking this feature in the middle of their faces.

Earthly justice determines a similar punishment for you whom I will modestly call ambassadors of Love, and in fact you will receive the same punishment because you use all your power to deliver your daughters into the hands of the Devil, acting as pimps (so to speak) for the infernal monster, by shutting them up against their will and causing them to hate even themselves and to construct a thousand castles in the air, by no means suitable to divine worship. What is worse, your eloquence, O pimps, not amorous but diabolic, will have as its prize for such vile and hateful exercise, nothing but worthy torments and eternal horrors, well deserved since you, by nature, not to do anything without promise of a future reward. *Every labor demands a recompense*;[26] but what rewards, O fools? To acquire eternal damnation you apply yourselves and become involved in these errors, whereby you believe yourselves the executors of a Catholic work, and therefore you go about studiously weaving conceits not only to achieve your purposes but to demonstrate that you undertook to effect such an execrable impiety with a pious mind, insisting that the sacrifice you offer to the Devil should be believed instead to be a victim destined to the altars of God. Wait for a remuneration worthy of the deed, and you will receive from your Lucifer exactly the same reward that the idiotic and impious Thracians receive from their Mohammed, who after death are given an infinite number of immense and eternal martyrdoms. Just when

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you believe yourselves to be at the summit of happiness in worldly fortunes, you will find you are nothing, and you will experience not vanity but transformation into vanity itself. *Vanity of vanities is every living man*.[27] You boast cleverly (you think) of having disentangled your house, wisely and with advantageous strokes, from the encumbrance of females, put your business in good order, and confined the poor innocent ones in the cloistered walls, and for this you see yourselves as wise and clever; but in the end you will see that Solomon spoke of you when he wrote, *The number of fools is infinite*.[28] Yes, yes, your deeds are insane since you do not keep the end in mind and instead you labor to enrich yourselves by delivering poor women to poverty, thus achieving contentment through their miseries, which are caused by you. The Holy Spirit spoke of you when he said, *Who are glad when they have done evil, and rejoice in most wicked things*.[29] And what boasts or what pleasures could be more foolish than that of believing to have done a good deed by performing the highest cruelty? In vain, O crude ones, you deny having a heart of stone, if you do not reduce the innumerable torments and the buckets of tears that flood the eyes of your poor daughters. . . .

Christ Our Lord showed us two roads, one leading to the light of heaven, the other leading to the darkness of hell; and after he became man to save us, he did not tell us to take the path of righteousness against our will just because he had died for us, but he left us the choice and the warning that *strait is the way that leadeth to life and few there are that find it,* and *wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there are who go in thereat*.[30] And you, to protect your worldly interests, try to persuade the anguished creatures you shut up in a convent that the path of righteousness is the easy one and that they need only to be secluded against their will in order to go to Heaven, arrogantly presuming you can correct the determinations of the most loving God. He calls us, invites us and promises his grace if we cooperate, and if we want to ruin ourselves by not cooperating, he prescribes damnation. *Destruction is thy own, O Israel: thy help is only in me*.[31] But you want them to be saved at all costs, depriving them with a tyrannical yoke of the freedom so dear to everybody, that many people, rather than live without it, voluntarily exposed the thread of their life to the sharp sickle of that terrible warrior that triumphs indiscriminately over all.

The Carthaginians set fire to their city to avoid the oppressive slavery of the Romans, preferring to go down in history among the flames of the fire rather than lose their freedom and be kept in chains by the Romans. Cato Uticensis chose to lose his life rather than lose his freedom, and so did Saul, king of the Jews, Brutus, Cassius and other famous princes and senators. According to Plato, freedom is the sweetest and most precious possession of any living creature and he thanked the gods that he was born a Greek and not a barbarian—that is, free and not slave. But if freedom is

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the dearest and most desirable human pleasure, servitude and confinement is without a doubt the most unbearable and detestable misfortune that a woman can suffer when men take away what God gave them.

To be rich, noble, wise and sane are gifts fit to make any living creature happy, but if graces and prosperity have to be enjoyed in prison, they will all seem hideous and despicable, because everybody desires freedom more than any other fortunate condition, since it is not of the same quality as other blessings, of which we soon tire after enjoying them, but is rather the first among the gifts that the living receive from the heavenly hands of the universal benefactor.... Cleopatra, in whom fortune seemed to concentrate all human happiness—beautiful, rich, young, queen of the Egyptians, one of the happiest women on earth, chose to apply an asp to her arm and take her own life rather than be subject to Caesar, paraded as a symbol of his triumphs, and become a slave, a condition always considered worse than death by the most generous and noble women. And what do you have to say now, envious men? These are traits that show what malicious liars you are every time you dare to call our sex weak; in fact, even defenseless she was able to win and triumph over one of the champions of the world, who wanted to make the memories of his triumphs more glorious with the presence of such a great queen.

Nothing but the freedom given them by the generous king of Heaven makes fish dart in the sea, wild beasts run in the woods and birds fly in the sky, so that when one of them is captured by an insidious hand and imprisoned, even if the prison were made of gold and he were fed by a noble hand with delicious bait, nevertheless he would always be looking out of the corner of his eye, trying to free himself by opening a passage with his beak. If he is set free, he is willing to give up food and all the trappings of the prison just to breathe happily and joyfully, once again enjoying solitude and the discomforts of the sky, running the risk of getting killed rather than jeopardizing his freedom by living safely in prison....

Suppose, or rather consider it a fact that more than one third of nuns confined against their will find their senses militating against their reason and subject themselves unwillingly and out of fear to the outrages of the misfortune you have cruelly built for them. Imagine seeing those hearts always afflicted, full of ill feelings and tumultuous passions, because if among the twelve Apostles there was a Judas, you can be sure that among this multitude of miserable nuns there are many who endure the evils caused by your impiety with little or rather no peace of mind. You should therefore remember that blessed Christ never used harshness, deception or threats to call his disciples, but always sweetness and loving tenderness. To one he said compassionately: *Follow me*. To others, like Matthew, he infused grace just by looking at them with eyes full of affection. He even

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I do not dissent from this view, and I would believe myself greatly in error if I should wish to attribute wisdom to women, since they are amazingly bereft of it, not by lack of brains, but by lack of study, and if you charge them with being imperfect, you do so not in virtue of their own merits but thanks to your ambition. Let us come to the reasons why they are not wise.

Who among you, O learned gentlemen, having sacrificed to God an infinite number of animals, as did Solomon, ever obtained that loving response: ask what you wish; and having requested the treasure of knowledge had it given to you gratis by His Divine Majesty, the King who has so much of it in abundance that he can stupefy anyone by his elevated knowledge? Or who, like Aesop, who went to sleep not only an idiot but even a blathering one, and later awakened, has deserved to find himself enriched by the precious jewel of intelligence? Certainly no one, because in order to possess this it is necessary to have wise instructors. All the philosophers and most wise persons by the single aid of study have acquired the sciences, and none of these was ever born infused with wisdom except Christ himself.

I remember reading about Gorgias, the philosopher from Leontini,[37] who lived many years in continuous application to his studies, and when death, the just tribute due him from nature, overtook him, he exclaimed, I am not unhappy to leave the world, but I am sad to die now that I have just begun to know something. There is no one who appears learned by these standards, nor can anyone say he is sufficiently learned. Solon of Salamis, one of the Seven Sages of Greece, testifies to this.[38] When he had enjoyed this life for 137 years, his friends discussed moral questions at his bedside just before he died. Still desiring to learn, he raised his head from the bolster, and when they asked him why he did it, he said in order to learn one more thing before death.

Finally, I find that all the philosophers and jurists and other sages of the world have overcome their ignorance and acquired the name of wise men by each other's studies and teachings. Pythagoras, Aristotle and Socrates are famous because they taught while they lived and still teach now that they are dead. Only God's servants and the just have been able to attain perfection in true Christian wisdom without schools, because divine love is the only teacher necessary. Thus those poor fishermen *were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they began to speak with divers tongues*, confounding the wise men of the world.[39] Peter the Apostle, their prince, used divine eloquence one day to convert three thousand persons to the faith of Christ, without ever having learned to color his preaching with rhetorical adornments. And Catherine, too, who merited a wedding ring from the Word Incarnate as a little virgin, argued the true faith intrepidly against the sophisms of fifty gentile doctors when she was scarcely thirteen, her mind full and her mouth replete with doctrine and holy rhetoric, and brought home such a glorious victory that there is no praise,

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however hyperbolic, that suffices to recall even a shadow of the merit of her wisdom.

Do not evaluate the quality of the minds of women, O you malicious and slanderous ones, while they are shut up in their rooms and denied study and instructors of any doctrine whatsoever, or any knowledge of letters, so that they seem awkward in their discourses and imprudent in their counsels; for you cause this to come about by invidiously denying them the means to become more knowledgeable. They do not lack, as Socrates said in his Symposium, intellect and natural disposition for coming out equal to men in every enterprise and in every sort of doctrine.[40] However, you do bring about another sign of their perfect condition, because instead of coming out idiots and entirely ignorant, they indeed become sincere and loyal in all their conduct, whereas you on the contrary use knowledge mainly to learn how to deceive your neighbor and to commit a thousand malicious acts and vices. Nevertheless, you dare to reprove their awkwardness, while doing everything in your power to raise them and nourish them as though they had no judgment or sentiment at all, having another equally ignorant woman direct their learning, who teaches them badly the first elements of reading, without imparting any knowledge at all of philosophy, law and theology. In sum, they learn no other reading than that of the A B C, imperfectly taught. I know this is true because I can testify to it myself. See them with a pen in hand and the cries and complaints come forth to force them to leave off writing on pain of life itself and pay attention to the feminine tasks of needle and distaff, so that the wise man, speaking of prudent women, said, *she hath sought wool and flax, and hath wrought by the counsel of her hands*.[41] As though our intellect should have no other proper application besides spinning. And yet Virgil described the genius and valor of Camilla, just as Tasso, exalting his valorous Clorinda, says: "And did not deign to bend her strong, proud hand on thread and needle and Arachne's chores."[42]

O you fools, what great insanity is practiced throughout the cities of Italy, more through abuses than through just reason or through the command of any law, divine or human. In how many realms is an extreme liberty permitted to women? In how many cities do they exercise powers that among us are only exercised by men? In France and in Germany and in many Northern provinces women govern houses and handle money, do commercial accounting; and even gentlewomen go into the public squares for the interests of the family, enjoying the free will granted to them by the giver of all things, without any of the considerations and cautions and indeed abuses and rules that they are forced to suffer in these cities of ours. . . .

Speaking of business and negotiations, what intelligence can a woman get, if she is shut up like an unhappy little bird, far away from all commerce, practice and conversation, indeed, buried in insufferable

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confines, and with worse conditions than an animal, because she is often forbidden to enjoy the air that is common to all animals and her eyes are shut off from the sky, perhaps because she merits more to possess it than to admire it?

However, in spite of this grave inertia and forced lethargy, there are women who manage to produce marvellous works of ingenuity, fit to stupefy the most elevated spirits alive, through the pure vivacity of their uncultivated intellects, without schools or the acquaintance of any of the virtuosi of the world. Proof of this is a very close blood relative of mine, whom heaven has granted such a spirit and enriched with such graces that she was able to make enough progress in a brief time by her natural inclinations alone to compete creditably in music and in poetry with Apollo, with Apelles in painting, with Minerva in the sciences, and even with Nature herself by forming certain tiny animals that would surely have had souls if only they could have moved or flown. Ariosto also testified to the good qualities of the female mind, when, speaking of women, he said that if they applied themselves to studies, "By women, women's fame could reach the skies / Higher perhaps than men's renown could rise."[43]

I too confess that idiocy is a quality proper to us, and to which we are trained by the way we live, because of the decisions of you men, who want us supremely ignorant. But you do very well, according to your policy, to keep us far from the scientific operations of the intellect, knowing that if women added knowledge to their natural spirited disposition, they would come to usurp the honors and earnings that you acquire by illicit means, exercising the professions of jurisconsult and lawyer. If these professions were practiced by women with more justice, certainly causes would be resolved and clients would not be robbed by us with the same avarice as they are by you. In proof of this, the divine Plato permits and advocates giving women such jobs.[44]

Cornelius Tacitus writes that the Germans so esteemed the counsels of their women that they believed there reigned in them some hidden divinity,[45] and Ariosto does not differ too much from him. . . .[46] The most wise Augustus, as Seneca writes, took the advice of his Livia[47] in matters of great consequence. And the good King Ferdinand of Aragon wanted nothing other than to execute the commands of Queen Isabella his wife, for whom he conquered the Kingdom of Granada and the Canary Islands.[48] In Athens there was a time when the women went into the Senate as equals to the men. The Emperor Justinian made use of the judgment of his prudent wife when he needed advice in his greatest affairs. Only those of vulgar minds, stupid and ignorant, vilify women.

It was no accident of chance but a disposition of the Supreme Will that even the name of Dames begins with the same letter as Divinities, because their merit comes to participate in the divine, just as the word *Homo* [Man] begins with H, which is a simple and imperfect aspirate, unworthy of

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being called a letter, just as he merits nothing beyond the status of a simple and imperfect aspirate that does not last or live more than a single moment. But let us go on to show that we do not lack the ability to acquire knowledge even though they have denied us the means.

How can the minds ever awaken of those who are refused access to senates and application to business and to whom is denied the universal light, not to mention the liberty, of completing education at Padua, Bologna, Rome, Paris, Salamanca, and the other famous universities? We are never allowed to listen to lessons in public schools; and the sex that is not stronger but more ferocious reproves us for being awkward, even though some of the men, having studied for years and listened every day to the public lectures on theory and on every doctrine by the greatest instructors of the century, learn nothing in the end except how to practice all the ribaldry that is ever practiced today, remaining in the end more stupid and ignorant than before, the rusticity of their intellects never having acquired anything that merits the title of virtù.

O how many who receive degrees cannot claim to have any other ornament of wisdom except a diploma inscribed in gold letters? The Emperor Licinius[49] was so dense and ignorant of letters that he took two whole years to learn to write and still could not advance beyond barely being able to sign a decree. Livius Heraclides[50] was never able to learn even the first rudiments, and after long study he discovered he had learned nothing but how to dissipate many of his father's treasures to pay instructors. In Seneca there is one who read Virgil continuously for ten years, and at the end, asked if he understood what it was about, he said, very well, but he still did not know whether Aeneas was male or female. Philolaus the Theban is the most foolish mind I know about. On being asked what Jupiter, disguised as a bull, wanted of the abducted Europa, he replied seriously and with a straight face that he wanted a cow in the heavens in order to furnish cheese to the rest of the gods, among whom there was a great famine. Margites, who was a human, never perfectly understood himself to be such, nor did he ever, as Suidas says, come to know how to count up to five. When he became an adult, he asked who had given him birth.

If you could hide such great foolishness under the name of simplicity you would willingly do so; but men cannot call themselves simple since many of them are clever, fraudulent, deceitful, and unctuous. Great is the number of idiots and fools, but of the pure, sincere and ingenuous there is hardly a single one: infinite, however is the number of the ignorant who make a profession of letters. . . .

She who has always been so alien to practicing your errors can scarcely be expected to describe them well. Who should be surprised to find many faults in my rough and simple words? If the truth that I profess, indeed, am certain of offering in every statement of mine, did not provide

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me with a shadow beneath which to take refuge, I myself would blame my own temerity in having pretended to embark on a description of these tyrannical barbarities that deserve the fulminations of a Demosthenes. But if I have no elegant concepts, at least I have real and sincere ones. . . .

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4
Aesthetics

In perhaps no other fields was the authority of ancient Greek and Roman antiquity quite so great in the seventeenth century as in the fields of aesthetic expression. The artistic biographies in the section on the Preservation of the Past already showed that to some degree. The authors in the present section, from Marino to Tesauro in literature, from Ivanovich to Perrucci in theater, and from Agucchi to Guarini in the visual arts, show it even more clearly. The theorists and practitioners of the arts did not simply cite the texts of Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, Horace's *Art of Poetry*, Longinus' *On the Sublime*, Cicero's *The Orator*, and Vitruvius' *On Architecture*. They did not simply read the works of the ancient poets and dramatists. They did not just view the productions of the ancients in every possible setting, from the Arena in Verona, the temples at Tivoli, the Golden House frescoes and other treasures of Rome, to the sculpture, medallion, coin and carved gem collections of Vincenzo Giustiniani, Cardinal Ludovisi, the popes and the Medici family. What was more, they encouraged recovery and preservation of the ancient heritage—with notable results: the discovery of the complete *Satyricon* of Petronius, the raising of the Pantheon out of mounds of mud, the restoration of the Pyramid of Cestius, the banning of cattle from the Roman Forum, and the exposure of the Arco di Portogallo as a fake. Finally, they contributed to the already well-established scholarly field of classical antiquities: Perrucci, in the selection below, attempted to describe the traditions of ancient theater. Guarino, in another selection, attempted to define the traditions of ancient architecture. Tesauro tried to explain what Aristotle really meant to say.

Reverent as they were toward classical antiquity, the theorists and artists in this section sought not simply to expound the ancient models but to use those models as the bases for creation of something new—in full accord with the humanist method elaborated by their earlier Renaissance forebears. In painting, after examining ancient applications of the fundamental precept of the imitation of nature, or, more specifically, of how nature ought to be, they could turn for refined examples of the selection of the beautiful in nature to the artists of the High Renaissance. It was to these examples that Agucchi turned when attempting to separate the good from the bad in the complex experience of early seventeenth-century painting. In architecture, the Villa Rotonda of High Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio was at least

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as worthy of consideration as anything Roman. And for Guarini, the main lesson of antiquity, gained by comparing ancient theory with ancient practice, was that the rules may be broken for the sake of more beauty, order and convenience. In literature, the achievements of Torquato Tasso and Ludovico Ariosto in the previous century had already shown that Italian literature could rival Latin and Greek. Marino tried to defend a whole new way of using antiquity—reading with a hook, as he called it. Tesauro tried to define in Aristotelian terms what was in fact a late sixteenth-century aesthetic invention—the stupendous or marvelous embellishment. Pallavicino explored a new problem: how different genres and forms are received by audiences at different social levels. In music, the existence of a new art form was impossible to deny, since opera had only recently been invented. Dalmatian-born librettist Cristoforo Ivanovich shows how the new aesthetics were applied to an actual production; and Neapolitan librettist Andrea Perrucci shows how ideas about opera developed through the century toward the creation of ever more magnificent spaces.

28. Giovanni Battista Agucchi, *Treatise on Painting*

The painting revolution that occurred in the last quarter of the sixteenth century was to determine the stylistic choices available to painters for a century to come; and among the first writers to attempt to explain these changes in terms of a coherent artistic theory was not an artist, but a patron-bureaucrat: Giovanni Battista Agucchi.[1] In a period when the two main ideas about art inherited from the Renaissance were for the first time being examined as sources of conflict and confusion—namely, art as expression of a divine idea of perfection, or idealism, on the one hand, and, on the other, art as the imitation of nature—art theory, whether improvised by artists or conceived by theorists, was an important component of contemporary artistic trends. And Agucchi's appreciation of the role of Annibale (1560–1609), Agostino (1557–1602) and Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619) coincided with that of the scholars and collectors of his time. According to him, the sixteenth-century painters who adopted the unnatural exaggerations of the peninsula-wide experimental style later known as Mannerism kept in mind a sort of Platonic ideal of beauty, neglecting empirical observation of nature, whereas such an ideal of beauty ought simply to serve as a corrective to empirical observation.

Early in their careers as painters (and, in Agostino's case, as engraver), the Carracci set out to reform current aesthetics by steering away from Mannerism and back to what they believed to be the best traditions of the Renaissance. In 1582 they formed an academy aimed at teaching young

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Bolognese to do the same. They provided plaster casts of classical heads and reliefs, models, guest lectures on anatomy, and lectures on theory. They hoped the future artists among their students would come away with a knowledge of how to combine artistic invention with the imitation of nature and of the best art. And they hoped the patrons among their students would achieve a better understanding of art than patrons had had during the Mannerist period, thus bringing artists and patrons into a closer relationship than ever before. As their fame spread, they received opportunities to demonstrate their ideas in large-scale commissions, among the most celebrated of which was the Farnese Gallery in Rome, painted by Annibale from 1597 with assistance from Agostino, and mentioned by Agucchi.

Agucchi came in contact with the Carracci not directly but through one of their most celebrated students, Domenichino, who worked with Annibale on the Farnese frescoes from around 1602, Agostino having left for Parma in 1600. As he gradually moved up the *cursus honorum*, he served as secretary to his uncle, papal nuncio in France, then as secretary to papal nephew Pietro Aldobrandini under Clement VIII, following him on an embassy to France in 1600-01. On return to Rome, Agucchi went into early retirement to enjoy his now established position in Roman society. Meanwhile, he chose to lavish his largesse on what many of his most enlightened contemporaries regarded as the best painters of the age—like Domenichino, whom he kept in his house around the time when he brought to bear his humanist learning on contemporary artistic developments in his *Treatise on Painting*, circa 1615. Finally he returned to clerical work in Rome for a time before settling into a nunciature of his own, to Venice, from 1623 to his death in 1632. None of his many literary works appeared in print in his lifetime, and the segment translated here of the *Treatise on Painting* appeared in Giovanni Antonio Massani's preface to Simon Guillain's etchings from Annibale Carracci paintings, apparently submitted by the author.

The exceedingly ingenious art of painting was most probably born like all the arts, that is, most simple, most imperfect, and destined to arrive at the peak of perfection only after a long time and after many practitioners one after the other added to the things invented by their predecessors, bringing it finally to perfection. What all the authors say may be held as true, namely, that the first principle was taught by nature itself, through the shadows of the bodies receiving light; and then the outlines of these shadows came to be delineated and the limbs and the illuminated parts to be distinguished from the shaded ones. Indeed, the first sort of painting, as Pliny affirms,[2] was the linear, a discovery (as he says) of Cleanthes of Corinth; and Aridices of Corinth and Telephanes of Sicyon were the first to exercise it without colors, just drawing lines inside the figures to indicate shadows.

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Cleophanes of Corinth was the first to color with a single color. Eumarus of Athens began to distinguish male from female and to imitate every sort of figure. And Cimon of Cleonae found the way to vary the actions of the face, invented foreshortening, distinguished limbs with joints and imitated the veins and the folds in clothing. Polygnotus, then Aglaophon, Apollodorus of Athens, Timagoras, Protogenes, Zeuxis, Parrhasius, Timanthes and Aristides of Thebes, added, one after another, many parts that it lacked, until the art was made perfect, especially by Apelles, who furnished it by himself with more beauties than all the others put together, all of which shows that art came not from a single person but from many, over a long period of time.

The experts in this most artful practice will also easily concede that while one master after another has added to it, perfecting the art, the manners[3] of each of them have been considerably different not only as far as practice is concerned, in other words, more or less excellent, but different also according to the diversity of their geniuses, dispositions or tastes. They have all executed their works very differently even though they have all had the same goal, and even supposing the quality of their geniuses were equal. And one sees also today that a single master may have many students, all of whom try to imitate him and show themselves by their works to be from that school, yet each of whom imparts to his work a certain particular quality, proper to himself, that distinguishes him from the rest.

There is another difference among the artists of this profession, and it is that even though it is an imitative art, able to imitate everything that appears to the sight (and certainly no one can call himself an excellent painter unless he knows how to imitate perfectly all visible things), nonetheless, many artists, trying to imitate one kind of thing, concentrate on it alone and ignore all other kinds of things, as though imitating them did not belong to their art.

In another very important matter painters have always been different: in their greater or lesser attention to investigating the perfection of the beautiful. Some, in imitating one or more kinds of thing and seeking only to imitate what usually appears to the visual faculty, have aimed at the perfect imitation of nature, as it appears to the eye, without seeking anything more. But others raise their understanding higher and comprehend in their idea the excellence of beauty and of perfection that nature wishes to produce even though it does not produce it in a single subject because of the many obstacles getting in the way, having to do with time, matter, and so forth. These great artists know that if nature is unable to achieve total perfection in the individual, it tries at least to achieve this piecemeal in many individuals, making one perfect in one thing, another perfect in another, all separately. Likewise, not content to imitate what they see in a single subject, they go about collecting the beauties dispersed in many, use their fine judgment to

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unite them, and make things not as they are but as they would be if they were brought into being most perfectly. From this there should be no doubt about the degree of praise those painters deserve who only imitate things as they are found in nature; and they must be given the same appreciation that the common people give them, because, never attaining knowledge of the beauty that nature wishes to express, they stop at what they see actually expressed, even though they find it very imperfect. This is why things depicted and imitated from nature please the common people, who usually see them in this way and delight in the imitation of what they fully know. But the man with understanding, raising his thoughts to the idea of beauty to which nature apparently aspires, is borne away by that and contemplates it as a divine thing.

We do not wish to deny the proper praise to painters who paint excellent portraits. True, the most perfect practice calls not for seeking to depict what the face of Alexander or of Caesar might have been but rather for seeking to depict what a king and a magnanimous and strong captain should be. Nonetheless, the most valiant painters, without straying from likeness, have aided nature by art and represented faces more beautifully and more comely than the truth, showing that even in this sort of work they can determine how nature would have added more beauty to their subject in order to perfect it.

Therefore, if past artists have had particular manners all their own, as was indicated above, there do not have to be as many manners of painting as there are practitioners. What many of them follow may be considered as a single manner. All those who imitate the true [*vero*], the verisimilar [*verisimile*], or just the natural [*naturale*], or the most beautiful [*bello*] of nature, follow the same path and have the same intention, even though each one may have his particular and individual differences. So even though the ancients had a multitude of painters, we find however that among the Greeks at first there were two sorts of painting—namely, the Hellenic, i.e, Greek, and the Asiatic; and then the Hellenic broke up into the Ionic and Sicyonic, and they became three. The Romans imitated the Greeks, but nonetheless had also a different manner; and so the manners of the ancients were four.

Painting was later buried and lost for many centuries, so that in modern times it almost had to be reborn from those first rough and imperfect beginnings of its ancient birth. And it would not have been so quickly reborn and perfected if the modern artists had not had before their eyes the illumination of the ancient statues preserved up to our day, from which, just as from the works of architecture, they have been able to learn that fineness of disegno[4] that has so opened the path to perfection. All those who began to bring this profession out of the most obscure darkness of barbarous ages and into the clearest light, giving back its life and spirit, deserve much praise. And many excellent masters of Italy and of other nations could be

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named who practiced ingeniously and with great prowess. Nonetheless, since other writers have already described these particulars and written the lives of the artists themselves, we will limit ourselves here only to those persons who in the common view of the connoisseurs have been considered first-class masters and heads of their own particular schools, and we will make brief mention as the present occasion requires.

Let us, then, divide the painting of our times as the above mentioned ancients divided theirs. The Roman school, of which Raphael and Michelangelo were the first,[5] may be said to have studied the beauty of the statues and approached the artifice [*artifitio*] of the ancients. But the Venetian painters and those of the March of Treviso, headed by Titian,[6] have imitated the beauty of nature [*bellezza della natura*] we have before our eyes. Antonio Correggio, the first of the Lombards,[7] was almost better at imitating nature, because he followed it in a tender, easy and also noble [*tenero, facile, e equalmente nobile*] fashion, and made his own manner for himself. The Tuscans have been the authors of a different manner from the ones mentioned, because it has something of the minute and the diligent [*del minuto alquanto e del diligente*] and puts artifice clearly in view [*discuopre assai l'artifitio*]. Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto have first place among the Florentines[8] since Michelangelo did not show himself particularly Florentine in his manner, and, among the Sienese, there are Mecherino and Baldassare.[9]

Four types of painting in Italy therefore can be counted: the Roman, the Venetian, the Lombard and the Tuscan. Outside Italy, Albrecht Dürer[10] formed his own praiseworthy school, known to the world; and Germany and Flanders and France have had many other artists with great prowess who have gained fame and renown.

Now truly, the said masters and so many other worthies who followed in their tracks to the perfection of the art have made the glory of our centuries equal to that of antiquity, when the Apelleses and the Zeuxises produced marvellous works of beauty that excited tongues and pens to celebrate their brushes. Therefore, we may affirm what will not be hidden from any person with a sane understanding—namely, that after the heads of the schools or the above-mentioned manners of our century flourished, and likewise all the others who sought to imitate them with good taste and knowledge, painting then declined somewhat from the peak it had reached. And although it did not fall again into the obscure depths of the previous barbarities, it was in any case adulterated and corrupt, the true way was lost, and likewise almost all knowledge of the good. There arose new and different manners far removed from the true and the verisimilar, and more based on appearance than on substance. Artists were content to satisfy the eyes of the people by the loveliness of the colors and by the embellishments of the costumes, using things lifted from here and there without context and rarely joined well together. Some of them strayed into other egregious

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errors. They greatly departed, in sum, from the good path leading to excellence.

But while this beautiful profession was thus infected (so to speak) with so many heresies of the art, and was in danger of losing itself entirely, three persons were seen to emerge in the city of Bologna, who, strictly joined by blood relations, were equally joined in agreement and united in the purpose of making every study and effort to arrive at the greatest perfection of the art. They were Ludovico, Agostino and Annibale Carracci, Bolognese. The first was the cousin of the other two, who were brothers; and as Ludovico was the oldest, he was also the first to give himself to the profession of painting and gave the first instruction in the art to the other two.[11] And because all three were fortunately endowed with the gift of natural ability so necessary to this very difficult art, they very quickly saw that repairing its decadent state due to the above-mentioned corruption was a good idea. They turned their minds first to some works of Titian and Correggio easily seen in the city of Bologna. There they observed those masters' understanding and good taste in imitating nature. And so they applied themselves to studying nature with the most exacting diligence and with the same intention as is apparent in those masters' works. Then, not content to contemplate only those masters' works locally available, they went purposely to Venice and other places in Lombardy to see other paintings in great quantity, and not only of those two great personages but also of their best followers.

And having put themselves admirably to imitate the manners of these painters, the Carracci arrived very quickly at the point where their own work began to gain them no little credit and renown. So after executing various works for those cities, they returned to Bologna. There the nobility's custom is to know, esteem and love virtue; and the gentlemen there rewarded the minds of the three valorous youths by appropriate occasions for profit and satisfaction. Then, while the city was being enriched by many works from their hands, they also founded an Accademia del Disegno,[12] in which they raised themselves constantly to greater degrees of excellence by studying nature continuously, not only from live models but often from corpses obtained through the Tribunal, to learn the true way bodies relax. They caused many of the youth to become enamored of this beautiful art and of the beautiful manner of those masters; and many took the same profession and by great prowess became famous in the world.

Having indicated above that Ludovico was the oldest in age and was the master of the others, we add here that Annibale was younger than Agostino. In fact, in a short time they all arrived at the point where anyone who happened to be in a place in which the works of all of them could be seen together would easily recognize something particular and individual in each of them. But as far as the excellence of their works was concerned, the connoisseurs could not discern even the slightest difference among them. They made many works in Bologna, getting equal credit and praise for them

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and acquiring the esteem and reputation of being most able masters. As Annibale grew older, there is no denying that he gave more and more signs of possessing greater vivacity of spirit and of being more endowed by nature than the other two. But Agostino also worked at engraving with a burin, in which genre no one is known to have gone beyond him or to have joined so perfectly the knowledge of engraving and the true manner of drawing, as the multitude of engravings by him most certainly testifies. Whereas Ludovico stopped at the degree of excellence he had previously attained, Annibale began to appear superior to the other two and drew the eyes of the connoisseurs to notice his works with more particular curiosity and delight. And as far as the imitation of Titian and Correggio was concerned, he went so much farther that the most knowledgeable of the art considered his works to be of the same hand as those masters. In this connection we will not omit mentioning that an important gentleman for whom Annibale painted some paintings pointed out to him that remaining too intent on imitating the manners of those two masters might be detrimental to him because viewers, fooled into believing the works they looked at came from the hands of Correggio and Titian, might praise them and not the true author. Annibale replied that he considered this to be a great boon rather than a detriment, if his works really caused this deception, because a painter must do nothing else but deceive the eyes of the viewers, making something seem true which is only fiction; and he added that the gentleman himself ought to be aware that those viewers might be deceivers rather than deceived, if in excessively praising those paintings they had wished to deceive the owner of them as well as the painter. Then he said what he often said, that there was an infinite number of adulators who knew better than the painter how to feign, to give to understand, and to deceive.

The academy meanwhile grew in credit and was attended not only by those who chose painting as their profession, but by many of those [Bolognese] gentlemen, and various foreigners, who came for the occasion of study and very frequently for their own delight. And the illumination brought by seeing the masters work was so effective and the manner they introduced was so powerful, that besides the many students who came out as professors of the art and became most capable, many of those gentlemen and knights who attended for personal delight alone were enabled to make things worthy of being seen and esteemed by the connoisseurs.

Since our intention is not to make mention here of all the works the Carracci did in Bologna and in Lombardy, let it suffice to indicate that they did very many and they received applause and commendation for all of them. But we will go on to say that having perfected themselves in those manners of most beautiful coloring, tender, easy and natural, they became most eager and curious to see the statues of Rome that they heard greatly celebrated by those who had seen them. While going through Lombardy, they stopped in Parma to study that great dome of Correggio;[13] and there,

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both Agostino and Annibale in particular had the occasion to do some works for that Most Serene Highness to his great pleasure.[14] This opened for them the way to be able to go later to Rome, supported by the protection of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese.[15] So, leaving Ludovico in Bologna, where he always had important occasions to achieve great praise and satisfaction by his work, Agostino and Annibale went to Rome, where they were willingly welcomed and admitted into service by the above mentioned cardinal, who knew about their ability.

As soon as they saw the statues of Rome and the paintings of Raphael and Michelangelo, and especially contemplating those of Raphael, they confessed to finding themselves in the presence of a higher understanding and a greater fineness of disegno than they found in the works of Lombardy; and they judged that to achieve a manner of sovereign perfection they had to combine the finest disegno of Rome with the beauty of the *colore* of Lombardy. And since they very quickly saw how much Raphael had studied ancient things in order to form the idea of the beautiful not found in nature except in the way explained above, the Carracci put themselves to study the most famous and celebrated statues of Rome; and since they were already great masters, they quickly gave signs of having made great progress.

Let us add here that Agostino, besides his excellence in the arts of disegno, painting and engraving, also had a particular ability to talk about anything and especially about his profession, bringing great delight to those who listened. Not only to see his and Annibale's works but also to hear his discourses, many gentlemen of the cardinal and other virtuosi came to their dwelling from the very outset. One of these occasions is worth recounting. A group of worthies was in the Carracci's rooms and Agostino was discussing the great knowledge shown in the ancients' statues. He paused to celebrate especially the Laocoön,[16] which they had seen most recently, and he wanted Annibale to say something about it too. Annibale was of very different character and taste from his brother as far as verbal facility was concerned; he preferred quiet, purposely fled any occasions for discussion, and only sometimes responded briefly and with great vivacity of spirit. On this occasion he seemed to make very little of the reasoning of his brother; so Agostino showed himself offended and resentfully muttered something against Annibale's apparent lack of esteem for the study they had proposed to do of the ancient statues and especially of the one of which he spoke, which was of such exquisite excellence in spite of Annibale's having held it in little account or forgotten it or not seen it. Agostino then continued his disquisition, holding the attention of those listeners and pleasing them. Annibale meanwhile seemed to listen even less, and while he saw his brother ever more fervent in celebrating that ancient sculpture and the listeners ever more attentive, he approached the wall of the room and without anyone noticing, he took a coal and drew a sketch there of the

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Laocoön, expressing the figures as faithfully as if he had the original before his eyes to make a most perfect comparison. When everyone noticed this they were most amazed. Agostino confessed that besides being amazed he also felt rather mortified. In fact, he had at first thought that his brother was no longer even thinking about the statue, only to realize later that Annibale had it impressed in his mind better than he did and had been able to draw it better than he could. And after Agostino said various things about it and praised the great valor of his brother, and the people around approved, they all wondered whether Annibale might say anything. Annibale, rising to his feet, laughed and said, we painters have to speak with our hands. And so, with everyone amazed no less because of the drawing than because of the few relevant and significant words he had spoken, he left the room.

This anecdote was particularly noted and esteemed worthy of being recounted by anyone who delighted in ingenious works. And when news of it reached the cardinal himself, he went immediately to see the drawing, which he praised highly; and so did many others, who went to that room purposely to see it with great curiosity.

Noticing the pleasure that many had received from this little thing of his and how much it pleased the cardinal, Annibale put himself very diligently to make a drawing on paper of another Laocoön of his own invention, entirely different from the ancient one of marble; and there he executed a thought so elevated and in every respect so excellently understood, considered, and finished, that the greatest connoisseurs regarded it as the product of a most fortunate genius and of very profound knowledge. So the cardinal, who very quickly had the drawing in his hands, remained very fond of it, and with much pleasure showed it as a thing of great beauty to the many who went to see his other beautiful and unusual things.

With these two great masters now in his service, the cardinal decided to embellish his palace with works by their hands, and besides various oil paintings, they put themselves to painting frescoes in some small chambers and in a very great gallery on the side of the palace facing the Tiber. The two brothers began those works as though they belonged to both of them together without any distinction; and indeed, some things there did great credit to both. Nonetheless, in the long run, certain disagreements between them emerged because of someone else who enjoyed seeing them in discord. Agostino therefore decided to remove the occasion for the disagreements and leave his brother with the entire weight of those works, and of the gallery in particular, which was still mostly incomplete. He openly said he knew himself to be much surpassed by Annibale in painting, so leaving him the responsibility of conducting the whole project to a conclusion was a good idea. Agostino therefore returned to Bologna; and from there he went to Parma again to serve the duke and remained for some time to paint various things equal to his prowess; until he finally ended his days while still busy in that service.

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Annibale, left alone to work for the cardinal, continued for many years and finished the gallery along with diverse other works ordered by that gentleman, while also making diverse ones for others, all of which would merit particular commendation. If we were to describe here only the things done by him in that magnificent palace and weigh the degrees of knowledge and excellence that he appears to have attained in these works, the discussion of only a small part would be too long and only partially approach the truth.

Since mention was made above of the ancient and modern painters and their manners and the differences between them, let us add here one other small thing, which will not appear entirely off the subject.

Aristotle considered that poetry must imitate persons of better quality than those of one's time, or else worse, or else of similar quality, and he proved it with the example of painting; because Polygnotus imitated the best, Pauson the worst, and Dionysios the similar.[17] There is no doubt that many others among the ancients used these approaches, and indeed, Apelles, Zeuxis, Timanthes, Parrhasius, and others imitated the best. Pliny[18] recounts that Piraeicus gained the greatest glory by imitating base things like barbers' and cobblers' shops as well as asses, food and the like. Callicles also imitated mean things; Calates painted little panels of comic subjects; Famulus the Roman was esteemed in the painting of humble things; but Antiphilos imitated both the best and the worst. Quintilian affirms that Demetrius, though a sculptor, followed similitude so much that he had no regard for beauty.[19] Now, in our times Raphael and the Roman school of the century mentioned above, following the manners of the ancient statues, have imitated the best more successfully than the others. Bassano was a Piraeicus in depicting the worst. And many of the moderns have depicted similar things to what they saw, including Caravaggio, who was so excellent in coloring and who can be compared to Demetrius because he left behind the idea of beauty in order to follow similitude entirely.

Now having come to the discussion of the school of the Carracci and of Annibale in particular, there remains to make some comparison with the above-mentioned painters, ancient and modern. So, as far as his having imitated those who tried to express the rarest beauty is concerned, we will say that since he attained the goal that he proposed for himself at his first arrival in Rome of joining the fineness of the disegno of the Roman school with the loveliness of the colors of that of Lombardy, he can be said to have arrived at a most eminent degree in this kind of work, which seeks the most sovereign beauty. By looking very carefully in all his works, and especially in the gallery mentioned above, at the composition of the whole, the rare invention of every part, the arrangement, the disegno, the exquisiteness of the outline, the loveliness and softness of the coloring, the proportions, the beauty, the majesty, the gravity, the grace, the lightness, the nobility of the subjects, the decorum, the vivacity, and the spirit of the figures, the nudes,

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the draperies, the foreshortening, the lively expression of the emotions and all the other accompaniments and qualities and details that can be seen or imagined in visible objects, an elevated intellect very knowledgeable about the fine arts can derive an idea of the perfect painter like the one Aristotle forms of the best poet, and Cicero, of the best orator.

Having briefly discussed this artist, let us leave the other forms of imitation and their analysis from every standpoint to the sane judgment of those who, enlightened by knowledge, discern the beautiful, the true and the good, and those who give to virtù the place in their thinking that others, lacking such illumination, give to the vain clamor of the common people, to the favorable aura of fortune, or to the verbal power of whomever is better at using this than the hand. Indeed, the true virtuoso in these professions is often overlooked and princes are defrauded of the glory that they might in their own time and forever have easily achieved.

29. Guarino Guarini, *Civil Architecture*

Of all the cities of Italy, Turin perhaps came closest to an architect's dream. Established as the capital of an increasingly centralized bilingual state comprising Italian-speaking Piedmont and French-speaking Savoy when Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy (1553-80) sought to reduce noble power by isolating the parliament at Chambery, it grew to no less than four hundred percent of its late sixteenth-century population by the end of the seventeenth century in spite of the setback of the plague of 1630.[1] Ascanio Vittozzi (1539-1615) and the family di Castellamonte—Carlo (d. ca. 1639) and his son Amedeo (d. 1683)—undertook construction plans, under the close supervision of the dukes, to accommodate this growth as well as to supply an appropriate ceremonial topography for an important power. And when the city had already been thoroughly transformed, in the second half of the century Charles Emmanuel II (1637-75) and Victor Amadeus II (1675-1730) engaged Guarino Guarini to design some of the most distinguished buildings.

Just a short time before, Guarini would have seemed like anything but an obvious choice. Born in Modena in 1624, he completed his education and began his novitiate in the Theatine order in Rome in 1639, showing a predilection for mathematical and philosophical studies rather than artistic ones. But these interests led to architecture, particularly as he became acquainted with the work of quintessential baroque architect Francesco Borromini (1599-1667). On return to Modena in 1647 he began a career in education and ecclesiastical administration; but competition with local ruler Alfonso d'Este's favorites led him to pursue other aims. When he finally

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went to Messina in 1660, his modest practical experience in the reconstruction of the Theatine church of San Vincenzo in Modena paid off, and his fellow Theatines exploited his ability on several of their churches, helping this avocation develop gradually into a new vocation. By the time he was called to Paris to work on the abortive project for the church of St. Anne, the philosopher-architect, now the author of a textbook called *Philosophical Opinions* (1665), was in great demand. His design for San Lorenzo in Turin, with its unusual intersecting ribbed vault inspired by Gothic architecture, a favorite style of his as the following selection shows, led to a brief tug of war between Louis XIV and Charles Emmanuel II. And in 1668 he was appointed to oversee the construction of the Chapel of the Holy Shroud. As will be seen below, he insisted on incorporating the most recent mathematical discoveries in his architecture, and at the height of his architectural career he published the *Euclides adauctus* and several works on astronomy as well as a *Method for Measuring Buildings* (1674). In connection with work on the Turin fortifications, he published a *Treatise on Fortifications* (1676). Finally in 1679, three years before his death, he began his last important commission, the palace of Emmanuel Philibert Amedeus, prince of Carignano and cousin of Duke Charles Emmanuel II. In this work, all of his architectural experience came together in one of the most striking buildings of the century. And some of the principles behind its construction can be appreciated in the following excerpts from the summary of his architectural ideals that he produced around the same time, posthumously published as *Civil Architecture*. There, just like Tesauro in literary theory, he drew upon the most authoritative ancient writers, especially Augustan Age architect Vitruvius, as well as more modern sources, to create new artistic languages and forms.

First Treatise

Above all else, architecture must seek convenience

This is important, because the art of building comes from necessity and was first discovered through this. Even the most barbarous peoples of America had some sort of houses in which to take refuge from the outrages of the weather. And men's first aim in building was to supply their need and seek convenience in their buildings. Therefore, Vitruvius affirms that the prudent architect must consider utility, saying: ***utility is when the sites are arranged without mistake and impediments to their use, and when there is a fit and convenient disposition of each kind, according to the region.***[2] From this the following observations are deduced:

ARCHITECTURE MUST NOT ARRANGE BUILDINGS CONTRARY TO THE CUSTOMS OF THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE. This follows from the

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preceding point, because if architecture runs contrary to the custom of the country or of the people, it will not be convenient. Large rooms would be uncomfortable for poor peasants, just as making them too high would be uncomfortable in cold countries, and so forth; for Vitruvius says, *a fit and convenient disposition of each kind, according to the region.*

THE ARCHITECT MUST PROCEED DISCREETLY. He must consider the convenience of the person giving the commission, who would certainly not be well served if the expense forced him to leave the project incomplete or if the completed project reduced him to beggary. Indeed, this would be most inconvenient to the very person who ought to experience enjoyment; so that Christ himself says: *For which of you having a mind to build a tower, doth not first sit down and reckon the charges that are necessary, whether he have the wherewithal to finish it, lest after he hath laid the foundation and is not able to finish it, all that see it begin to mock him, saying, this man began to build and was not able to finish.*[3]

Thus, according to Vitruvius,[4] there was in Ephesus a law obliging the architect to finish public buildings out of his own pocket if they cost one-fourth more than he estimated before beginning to build; and he wanted such a law in Rome: *Would that the Gods had impelled the Roman people to make such a law not only for public but also for private buildings!* [5] Indeed, some architects perniciously deceive people into spending far more than the little expense promised, to the ruin of entire families. On this account Serlio berates Palladio,[6] who induced the Vicentine gentlemen to build so sumptuously that the expense soon overcame them and only the beginnings of almost all the buildings are now visible. The architect must therefore not consider public magnificence so much as private means, nor seek to acquire honor for himself in a beautiful enterprise so much as to avoid damage to his neighbor by impossible commitments. Urban VIII said telling sincerely what a building is going to cost may be good Christianity but is not good architecture. Nonetheless, I say that one should tell the truth about the cost, if for no other reason than to avoid ruin from the excessive expense falling upon the architect himself, who can thereby acquire no other fame except that of an incompetent or a deceiver, both of which are equally damaging to his reputation.

THE AIM AND OBJECT OF ARCHITECTURE MUST ALSO BE THE SAFETY OF THE BUILDINGS. This follows from the same principle; because the inhabitant would find no convenience in always having to start again, and much less in not being able to live safely in his house or having to rebuild it at very heavy expense after finding it ruined after a few years. Thus again, Vitruvius says: *Account will be taken when strength within the foundations is carried down to the solid ground and when from each material there is a choice of supplies without parsimony.*[7]

In these words one must note Vitruvius does not place the solidity of the building in the thickness of the walls, which only have to be fairly thick, so

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much as in the depth of the foundations and the good choice of materials. Those who make durability depend exclusively on the thickness of the walls only succeed in emptying purses, increasing expense, and by excessive weight, weakening the building rather than making it more solid.

ARCHITECTURE AIMS AT BEAUTY AND PROPORTION OF PARTS. This comes from the same root as the utility of the habitation, because no weak or graceless object can ever be dear or convenient to the person enjoying it. Convenience, therefore, to be perfect, must also be agreeable and attractive; and Vitruvius says buildings must *be so carried out that account is taken of strength, utility, grace*, and later explains in what this beauty consists: *when the appearance of the work shall be pleasing and elegant, etc.*, and *the architect's greatest care must be proportions.*[8]

ARCHITECTURE CAN CORRECT THE ANCIENT RULES AND INVENT NEW ONES. The beauty of buildings consists in a proportional accommodation of the parts; and to obtain this, the ancients, including Vitruvius, gave certain specific rules, to which some architects adhere so closely that they would not depart from them *by a hair's breadth.* I, on the other hand, in my own discreet judgment, based on what happens in every other profession, believe that some ancient rules can and must be corrected and new ones added. Experience particularly demonstrates this, because even Roman antiquities are not built precisely according to the rules of Vitruvius nor the proportions of [Jacopo] Barozzi and the other moderns, who follow the ancient documents in the slightest details. Alsted says, *architects who know true architecture do not depend on Vitruvius in everything, but let themselves be guided by reason and by attentive observation as well as by the most beautiful buildings of antiquity;*[9] and Dechales says *there is no doubt that we owe much to the Ancients who taught us the first elements of the sciences; however, we need not submit to them so slavishly as to lose all faculty of judgment.*[10] He later concludes, *I believe it is right therefore to take a middle road, to concede something to the ancient architects: the symmetry of each order must be accurately respected; whereas the remaining arrangement must be confided to the ingenuity of the learned architect.*

This can also be proven, because as the customs of men change, so also must the architecture ordered for their utility change, accommodating the habitation to the new customs.

Furthermore, many arts are now being newly discovered, and as Cornelius Tacitus says: *Nor indeed were all things better in the old time before us; but our own age too has produced much in the sphere of true nobility and much in that of art which posterity well may imitate.*[11] So there is no wonder that an art should change to some extent.

This is confirmed because military architecture and the art of warfare is entirely changed from antiquity, especially in the new fire machines, so there is no wonder civil architecture should also change to some extent.

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TO OBSERVE THE PROPER PROPORTIONS IN APPEARANCE, ARCHITECTURE MUST DEPART FROM THE RULES AND FROM THE TRUE PROPORTIONS. This is proven because architecture aims to please the sense; and if the sense is deceived, as frequently happens, into judging a straight object to be crooked, a horizontal one to be inclined, and a large one to be small, additions and compensations must be made in order to satisfy and oblige it and supply what it mistakenly sees lacking. Vitruvius says: *When therefore account has been taken of the symmetries of the design and the dimensions have been worked out by calculation, it is then the business of his skill to have regard to the nature of the site, either for use or beauty, to produce a proper balance by adjustment, adding or subtracting from the symmetry of the design, so that it may seem to be rightly planned and the elevation may lack nothing. For one kind of appearance is seen near at hand; another, in a lofty building; yet another in a confined site; a different one in an open site; and it is the business of a fine judgment to determine exactly what is to be done in these cases.*[12] In this connection, he offers several examples of deceptions of the eye—perspectives that seem to project when they are really flat, oars in the water that seem broken. And he shows very well that to please the eye, something must be added to or taken away from the proper proportions, since an object may appear one way when it is in front of the eye, another way when high up, another way when in a closed place and still another way when out in the open. For this reason, we see that painters and sculptors leave images and statues rough and only half-sketched when they are to be viewed from afar, since they look better this way than when totally finished.

ARCHITECTURE MUST CONSIDER THE NATURE OF THE PLACE AND INGENIOUSLY ACCOMMODATE ITSELF TO IT. This must be one of the architect's principal intentions: to accommodate himself to a place. For example, if the place is imperfectly square, irregular and unable to contain a square except with great loss of space, and an oval shape would be more appropriate, an oval shape rather than a square should be built there. If the site is surrounded by houses and cannot receive light except from above, the architect must choose a type and form of building that receives light from above, and so forth. Vitruvius asserts: *I do not think it should be doubtful that we ought to add or subtract, as needed by the nature or requirements of our sites; but this is to be done by native skill and not by rule alone.*[13] Therefore, accommodating oneself to the necessities of the place is in perfect agreement with the sentiment of Vitruvius—changing the proportions by adding or subtracting something from the proper measurements. And to know exactly how much he can remove to accommodate himself to a site without danger, the architect must first know what the proper proportions are. So Vitruvius concludes: *we must therefore first determine the method of the symmetries, from which these modifications are to be correctly deduced.*[14]

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THE PROPORTIONS OF ARCHITECTURE CAN BE VARIED WITHOUT DANGER. The proof of this is that there is no science, however obvious, that does not have various and even contrary opinions, sometimes in the gravest matters of faith, customs, and interest. How much more various must be the opinions in architecture, which has no other purpose except to please the sense and no other directing principle except the gratification of a reasonable faculty of judgment and a discerning eye? This can be observed in the different proportions which the ingenious and famous modern architects give, as also in the Roman antiquities we see at variance with the sentiments of Vitruvius. This can also be seen in Gothic architecture, which must have pleased in its time and yet is derided today and not esteemed at all, even though those truly ingenious men erected buildings that are full of artifice and, regarded dispassionately, are marvelous and worthy of much praise, even though they are not so exact in proportion.

ARCHITECTURE MUST NOT BE AS LICENTIOUS AS PERSPECTIVE. Perspective reaches its intended goal when it fools the eye and reveals the surfaces of bodies, and it can do this laudably even by depicting the most irregular sort of architecture. Actual architecture, however, cannot use deception to reach its goal of pleasing the eye; it must use true proportions. Perspective does not have to pay attention to the solidity and firmness of the work, but only to the delight it brings. Architecture, however, must consider solidity, so it is not as free to invent things as is perspective.

ARCHITECTURE MUST NOT SEEK EXPENSIVE AND RARE MATERIALS. Since everything must be made with a minimum of expense, materials should not be chosen that must be sought from outside the country at great expense. Vitruvius said, *in the first place, the architect does not require what can only be supplied and prepared at great cost. For it is not everywhere that there is a supply of quarry sand or hewn stone, or fir or deal or marble. Different things are found in different places, the transport of them may be difficult and costly. Now where there is no quarry sand we must use washed river or sea sand; the need for fir or deal will be met by using cypress, poplar, elm, pine.*[15] The architect must be content with the materials he finds in the country, especially since the beautiful arrangement of the materials and not the materials themselves make the building beautiful. . . .

Describing the Plan of Rooms

The proper proportion is also to be observed in the rooms and halls, which, according to their purpose, may increase in length up to double their width, as can be seen in the three rooms of figure LMNO, PSQR and FGHI (Table 1).

The rules for good rooms are as follows. First of all, they should not all be equal, according to Viola.[16] Secondly, the doors of the rooms should be

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proportional to each other and to the windows, as in the passage or juxtaposition between MOSQ and XZNO. Third, they should have at least two windows. Fourth, their windows should not ruin the exterior order.

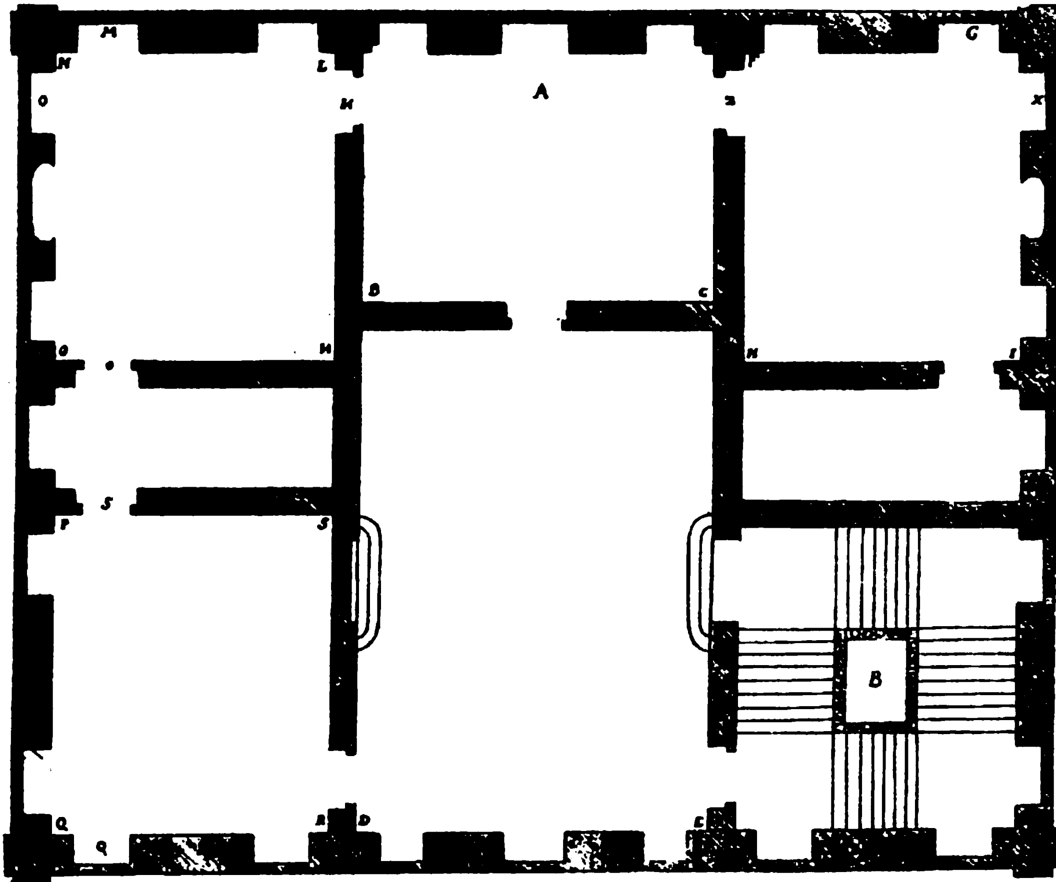

Table 1: The Plan of Rooms

Fifth, their doors should be close to the wall, especially where there are windows, in order not to occupy the place of the beds. Sixth, they should not be subordinated to other rooms in such a way that many must be crossed in order to get to them. Seventh, to go from one room to another, public spaces should not have to be crossed. The other conditions depend on the particular architecture; so we reserve that for the next treatises. . . .

Of the universal arrangement of the building

A well-organized plan requires many conditions. First. The main door of any house should always be in the middle, however irregular and deviant from the square a site may be. Second. The windows should be equally or correspondingly distributed—that is, those more distant on one side should be corresponded by the more distant on the other, and the closer ones in the same way by the closer ones. Third: the façade and principal door should be no less ornate than the other parts and at least appropriate for the state and

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condition of the proprietor. Fourth: there should be no dark place nor any chamber without windows. Fifth: the noble courtyard should be immediately behind the atrium, and the stairway should have the conditions indicated above.[17] Sixth: the largest chambers should be the most exposed and the smaller and familiar ones should be the most remote. The kitchens, washing rooms and the common places and all the other non-noble parts should be hidden and yet comfortable. Seventh: each chamber must face, as much as possible, the direction proper to it; and Vitruvius assigns to each apartment its proper place: *The baths and winter dining-rooms should look towards the winter setting sun. . . . Private rooms and libraries should look to the east, etc.*[18] Eighth: if the site is not square, one should try to remedy the defect in the non-noble and less public parts, reducing it as much as possible to a single place, and not spread it throughout the building in every room, as some do. Ninth: the apartments should be independent, and to pass from one to another there should be no need to pass through the halls and public places; so there should be some private and discreet passageway conveniently joining them. Tenth: the same number and size of apartments should be in the lateral parts, as Palladio teaches,[19] so that every part should have the proper correspondence, and if there is some diversity, this should not be apparent from outside in the noble courtyard or on the façades.

Third Treatise

The eye, which the proportions of the orders must delight, must be judicious and free of every preconception

If our arrangements had to gratify the various visual senses of all people, no designer would ever dare to show his inventions, which might be applauded and approved by all except for a few, so puffed up by their own self-esteem that they cannot see the inventions of others except to despise them. Some have such a critical and jealous streak that they cannot speak except to speak evil. Others' ignorance and inability prevent them from judging perfection in a work. Some are surprised and overwhelmed by an unusual though beautiful appearance. Others abhor whatever is alien to the customs of their own countries. Still others, finally, are dominated by their own natures to follow their own inclinations—as, for example, a grave man may find excessive ornamentation displeasing, whereas someone who delights in delicate things may dislike simple and massive ornaments. Suetonius says Caligula had such an envious heart that if he encountered some pretty youth adorned with a very full head of hair, he made him shave it off to deform it, unable to suffer such beauty. As further proof of his perverse nature, he thought of suppressing the verses of Homer and almost decided to remove the images and writings of Livy and Virgil from all the libraries, saying the former was no genius and the latter was too loquacious.

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Ignorance is certainly not any more appropriate as a standpoint for judging the operations of architecture than it is for judging those of the other disciplines; and indeed, when the ignorant try to judge painting and sculpture they usually reach inept or false conclusions. Kircher points out that the Greeks, the Africans, the Egyptians and the Syrians coming to Rome at first could not bear to hear Roman music. *The Eastern peoples, Greeks, Syrians, Egyptians, Africans, who live here in Rome can scarcely bear the very delicate music of the Romans and much prefer their own rude clamor.*[20] The reason for this certainly lay in an inability to understand the art of Roman music. Also, being accustomed to seeing imperfection hinders the formation of any good judgment about the perfection of a work. This we can observe in clothing, where many obviously deformed fashions that take all the just proportions away from the body nonetheless are pleasing because they are in use and followed.

Thus, I believe that buildings should be planned to please the eyes not of everyone, but only those who, free of every passion and knowledgeable in the art, may be competent judges, and with whom most others will agree.

There are five orders of architecture according to the ancients

Wotton, mentioning Aristotle, says, *man himself, according to Protagoras, with whom Aristotle somewhere agrees, is like a prototype of every exact proportion.*[21] Therefore, according to Vitruvius, architecture took its first proportions from human stature: *When they wished to place columns in that temple*, i.e., that of Ionia, *not having their proportions . . . they measured a man's footstep and applied it to his height. Finding that the foot was the sixth part of the height in a man, they applied this proportion to the column. Of whatever thickness they made the base of the shaft they raised it along with the capital to six times as much in height. So the Doric column began to furnish the proportion of a man's body, its strength and grace.*[22] And seeing the favorable results of this proportion taken from the male human stature, when they wished to erect a temple to Diana, they took the measure of the female proportions, divided into eight parts. Vitruvius concludes: *Thus they proceeded to the invention of columns in two manners; one imitating manly plainness, unadorned, the other imitating feminine subtlety, ornament, symmetry. And this order made by the Ionians was called the Ionic.*[23] The third order they took from virgins, as he notes: *The third order, which is called the Corinthian, imitates the slight figure of a maiden.*

Therefore, in this chapter, Vitruvius recognizes only three orders, although in the seventh chapter he treats of the Tuscan order as an added foreign one; and to that he gives the height of seven modules[24]—exactly what he said in the first chapter had been given to the Doric order: *Advancing in the subtlety of their judgments and preferring slighter modules, they fixed seven measures of the diameter for the height of the*

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Doric column, nine for the Ionic. Thus, Vitruvius knew only four orders—three Greek and proper ones, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian, and the fourth foreign one called Tuscan.

The oldest was the Doric order discovered by Dorus,[25] who built a temple to Juno with those proportions in Argus, a city of the Peloponnesus, now Morea. The other was discovered by Greek colonists in Ionia, a province of Asia, who built a temple to Diana, imitating the stature of their patroness, just as the Doric imitates the male stature; the third was discovered in Corinth by Callimacus,[26] imitating virginal stature and beauty.

Later the Romans discovered the Composite by putting the Ionic and the Corinthian together; but if one must speak sincerely, the Composite order is scarcely distinguishable from the Corinthian, and the Tuscan scarcely distinguishable from the Doric, so they are practically the same; whereupon Milliet Dechales said, *I can scarcely find a difference between this order and the Corinthian except in the capital.*[27] And Wotton: *the last is the composite order, whose name indicates the origin; indeed, this column is nothing but a fusion of the preceding orders, which constitutes hardly a new species, and, although it may be adorned with great opulence, it is nonetheless deficient, inasmuch as it receives all its beauty on loan; and just so it might have at least something of its own, it length is ten diameters.*[28] More than one author, then, doubts whether the Composite order is a separate order; and Dechales says that the unpersuaded, *those who are too devoted to antiquity, recognize only three orders, that is, the Doric, the Ionic and the Corinthian: they relegate the Tuscan one far from this discipline, as being too rustic, and the Composite, as a generator of confusion.*[29] Moreover, a very charming order is currently in use consisting of a sort of Ionic Corinthian, with the Corinthian abacus, and the ovolo, height, of the Ionic capital, but with volutes[30] like the Composite order; so that if I had to decide these differences, I would say there are only three simple and original Greek orders, of which many others can be composed, and of which there has been made many varieties of orders, as can be seen from Roman antiquities. I agree with Theopompus[31] that the Doric order is a species of Tuscan, but more complete, and that the Composite is the same as the Corinthian, but more orderly; especially since some assert that architecture flourished in Italy before it did in Greece, and Cassiodorus notes, *it is said that the Tusci were the first to find statues in Italy.*[32] And if they were excellent sculptors, they could not fail to have a great knowledge of architecture. Therefore, let us now subdivide the three principal orders into nine for a greater abundance of inventions, placing all the others in the category of bastardized forms, since in our times there is not only the Roman, but many others. Next, in each order, going from six diameters up to ten, we increase the heights of the whole columns by more or less a semidiameter.

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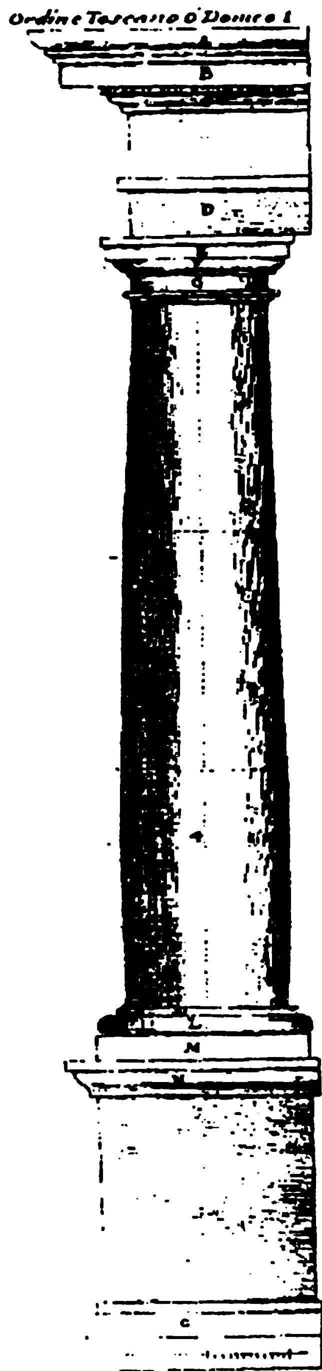

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

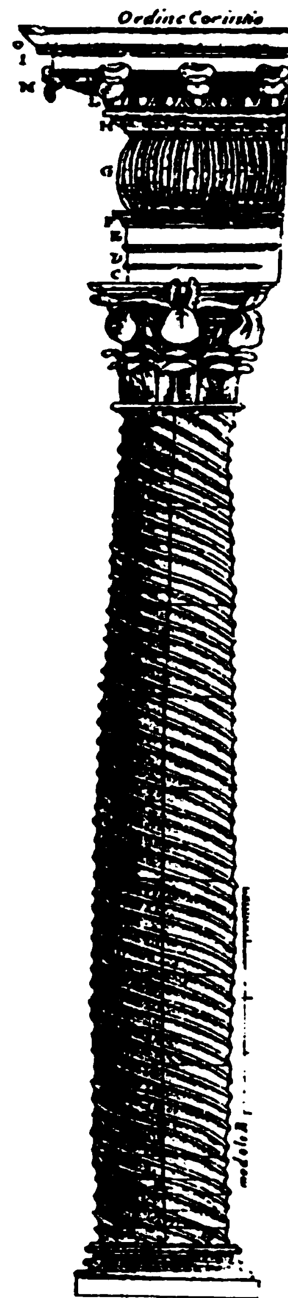

Fig. 3

Table 2: The Classical Orders

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On the distinctions between orders

The orders are entirely confused and almost indistinguishable because of the various combinations one makes of them. If we look, for example, at the cornice of the Doric given by Jacopo Barozzi, there is no way to tell it from that of the Ionic, even though the friezes are different, nor is there any way to tell the latter from the Composite he gives, nor, especially, from his Ionic, which has all the same members, even though not in the same sequence as in the Composite. Likewise, Palladio delineates an Ionic and a Composite that are scarcely distinguishable, of which the former has modillions[33] just like the latter with only an ovolo added. Viola describes both of them;[34] and even though the modillions are more ornate or have a slightly different curve, this does not seem to constitute a significant difference in this crucial question of distinguishing one order from another. Sebastiano Serlio's Ionic differs little from the Corinthian.[35] This confusion comes from the combinations present in the ancient Roman works themselves, which authors have tried to relate to whichever order seemed more appropriate; but we, who wish to impart an exact knowledge of the three orders, will attribute only the torus with the astragal to the Doric base, the ovolo under the abacus to the Doric capital, only a single band to the architrave, only the metopes and triglyphs to the frieze, no more than the guttae to the cornice, and the cyma reversa under the corona and, above, the ovolo.[36]

To the Ionic order we allow a scotia and a torus in the base and two tori above the dado; we will make the abacus not square, the frieze sculpted, the cornice with dentils, the capitals with volutes, and the columns fluted with troughs or else entirely full.[37]

To the Corinthian order we allow two tori or two troughs in the base, two tori above the dado, cauliculi and leaves in the capital, modillions and sculpted ovolo in the cornice, three bands to the architrave, a sculpted and pulvinated frieze,[38] and columns one-third ridged and the rest fluted. Although Vitruvius seems to attribute modillions to the Doric order, saying, ***in the Doric order, the detail of the triglyphs and modillions was invented with a purpose,***[39] he does not mean that the modillions were invented for the Doric order, but that when triglyphs were invented, modillions were then invented in other works. After triglyphs were invented, in the form of certain paintings covering the ends of the cut beams in the surface of the walls to present a more agreeable appearance, such pictures were later also placed on the rafters, and in flattening these, they invented modillions. ***The divisions of the beams being hidden began to have the arrangement of the triglyphs, and, between the beams, of metopes. Subsequently other architects in other works carried forward over the triglyphs the projecting rafters, and trimmed the projections. Hence just as triglyphs came by the treatment of the beams, so from the projections of the rafters the detail of the***

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modillions under the cornices was invented.[40] All he gives to the Doric cornice, therefore, are two cymae, concave and convex, on top of one another under the corona, without adding any dentils, since he attributes these to the Ionic, and without modillions, which he attributes to the Corinthian.

In what the proportion and beauty of the orders consists

It is difficult to say exactly what symmetry and correspondence of features in a well-designed orthography[41] give so much delight to the eye; indeed, it is no less difficult than to say what causes discord between sounds in music or what causes the variety of colors in painting. Nonetheless, architecture is so strictly based on those symmetries that it ought to discover what they are and what their nature is, the better to express them in its creations.

I would say that proportion is nothing but a disposition of features adjusted so that next to one another they do not seem too great nor too small. The eye does not measure, but judges things to be relatively small or great by comparing them with other things it sees close by. Therefore, if one very small thing is situated next to another very large one, the eye will judge the first to be smaller than it really is and the other to be much greater, causing disgust and displeasure. After all, every sense is offended by extremes: a color too vivid dazzles the eye, an odor too acute bothers the smell, a taste too mordant annoys the palate. Therefore, a nose either too prominent or too flat, a mouth too wide, lips too thick or too thin, cheeks too fat or too hollow, eyes too large or too small, all ruin the beauty of a face, because their excess causes other features to seem either smaller or larger than they should. Thus, the ass seems deformed among the quadrupeds because its head is too large, its ears are too long, its legs are too thin and its tail is too short with respect to the rest of the body. Likewise, the pig's snout is too long, its eyes are too small, its legs and tail are too thin with respect to its girth, and therefore it is considered to be a deformed animal. And to argue more to the point, Gothic architecture does not please because however thick its columns may be, the excessive length makes them seem slender; however wide its churches may be, the immeasurable height makes them seem narrow; however great its windows may be, the excessive elevation makes them seem too small, and likewise with many other features. To organize his designs well, the architect should not be excessive in any feature.

On the principal parts composing the orders, and their proportions

Because architects cannot always remain perfectly faithful to the orders, either because of the material or because of the site, I therefore think some general rules might be helpful so their inventions may at least be well-

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proportioned, as they diverge from the secure path embodying the long experience of many centuries. . . .

Various general rules concerning the symmetry of every order

Because sometimes the measures of every order cannot be observed, here are some general rules that can be used in any situation.

First of all, there shall never be two of the same element in the same cornice, especially one after another, or at least not of the same size. For example, two cymae reversae may be admitted as long as one is small and the other is large and they are not next to one another. A work is always more correct the more diverse it is.

Secondly, between one element and another there should be a fillet[42] serving as the extremity of each, determining them and distinguishing them.

Third, the elements should ordinarily protrude in proper proportion to their height, except the corona in the cornices of the orders, which is more prominent than its height would allow.

Fourth, the whole cornice including the frieze and the architrave should comprise one-fourth of the column, the pedestal should be one-third, the cornice alone as much as the diameter, the frieze as much as three-fourths of this, and the architrave the same. None of this should be understood strictly, but only approximately, because Palladio, like Viola, says the cornice should comprise one-fifth, whereas the Amphitheater at Pola and the Arch of Nerva show only one-third, as Serlio reports.[43]

Fifth, the columns should be narrower at the top usually by a sixth of their diameter, whereas pilasters and Attic pillars[44] should not be diminished at all and should rise exactly equal and in plumb.

Sixth, the drip-moulding or corona[45] and the cyma in the cornice must not greatly differ in size; nor should the modillions and dentils differ much in height. The ovolo will always be less high than the dentils and the modillions; just as the cymae reversae will be less high than the cavetti.[46]

Seventh, the sculpted architrave may be between three-quarters and a whole diameter.

Eighth, the bands in the architrave should be in increasing order of size, so the highest one is larger than the others below it.

Ninth, in the capital, the abacus should be one-sixth of the diameter of the column, and the bell[47] should be as wide as a whole diameter, when its presence is required, as in the Corinthian order. In the other orders let it not be higher, together with the abacus, than a semidiameter.

Tenth, the upper torus in the base should be larger than the lower one, and the scotia should be smaller than the first torus.

Eleventh, the cornices in the pedestal should not be more than a semidiameter.

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All these rules must be understood to be valid only so long as the nature of the place and the site do not necessitate some alteration, as will be said below. . . .

Of the Gothic Order and its proportions

The Goths, fierce and naturally more given to razing than to building, as they gradually accustomed themselves to the sweeter air of Italy, Spain and France, eventually became not only Christian but quite religious and pious and changed from destroyers of temples into inventive and even ingenious builders. Either by bringing their own particular manner from their country or else by inventing it anew in the countries they conquered, they covered Europe with their temples and began what continued for a long time even after they themselves had been ruined and reduced to nothing. Thus in Spain, besides other buildings, there is the great church of Seville in Andalusia, the cathedral of Salamanca in Castile, the great Church of the Blessed Virgin of Rheims in Champagne, the principal one of Paris in France, the cathedral of Milan in Lombardy and the Certosa, the church of the city in Bologna, the primary of Siena in Tuscany and many other infinite examples, built with great expense and not without great artifice.[48] But as far as anyone can tell, the precepts or proportions of this architecture have never been given. Invented without a teacher, it has continued to be propagated without one, and the successors simply imitated obsequiously what they saw executed by their ancestors. Now, just as the most charming characteristic of the men of that time was their slim and trim appearance, as the ancient portraits show, so they also liked their churches, which they made very high in relation to the width; and following this style in other things they also made the columns extremely thin, and when excessive weight called for more thickness, they endeavored to preserve the thin appearance by joining many together and making a sort of complex, each of which formed one of the four imposts[49] of a groined vault, the type of vault they preferred. Besides this attempt to achieve a thin appearance they also apparently affected other purposes totally opposed to Roman architecture. Whereas the principal intent of the latter was strength, and the solid construction of its buildings was always greatly in evidence, the principal intent of the Gothic was to give very strong buildings an appearance of weakness, so that they should seem to stand up only by miracle. Often a very great steeple of a bell-tower will be seen poised firmly over very narrow columns; arches will be seen sitting on imposts that stand in mid-air and are not held up by any supporting column. Little towers will be seen pierced through and through, ending in sharply pointed pyramids, windows will be seen to be extremely high, vaults will be seen without ridges. They even dared to place the corner of a very high tower upon an arch, as in the great church of Rheims, or upon a column, as in the church of Notre Dame

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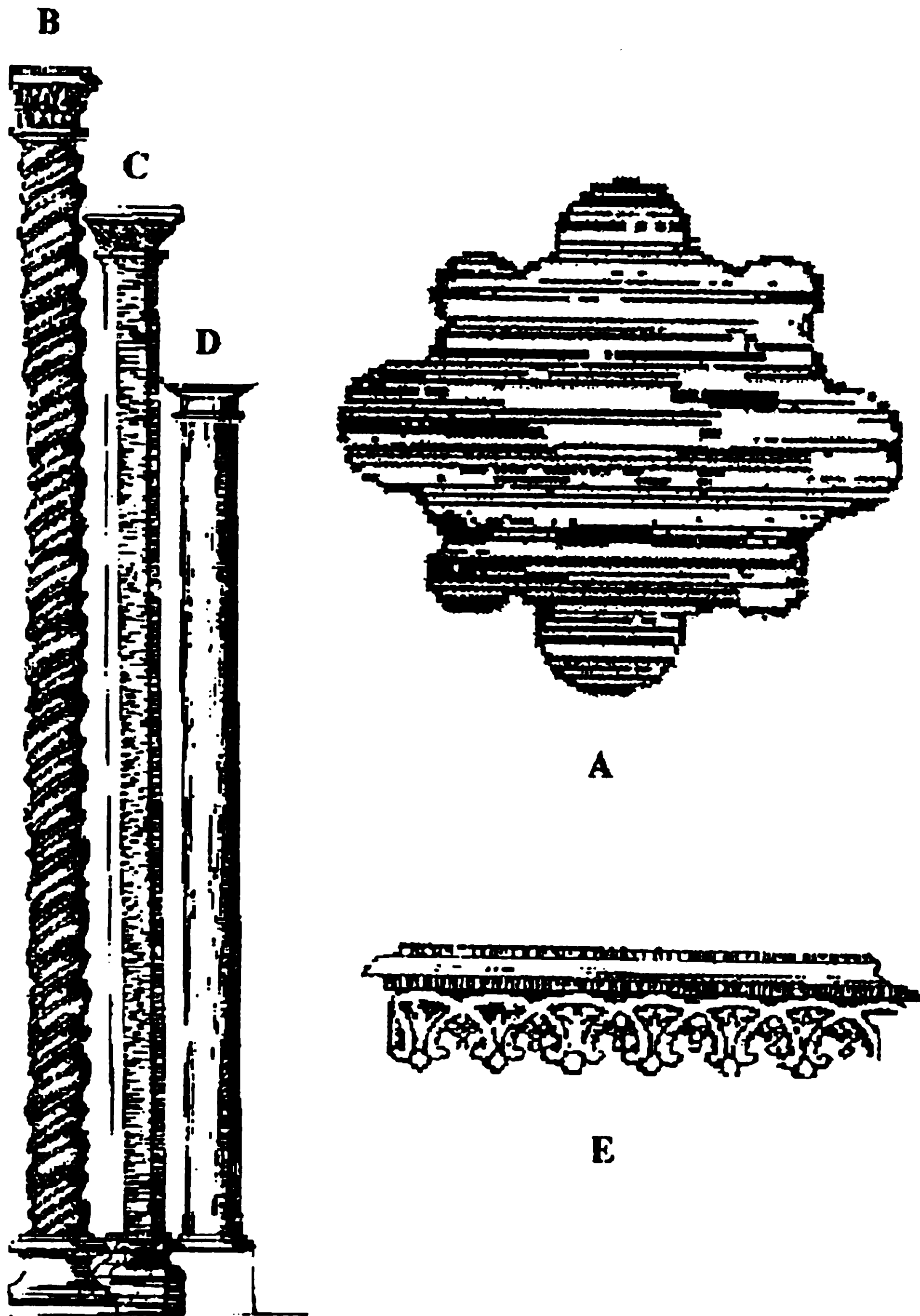

TABLE 3: The Gothic Order

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in Paris, or else to establish it on top of a vault or over four columns, as in St. Paul's in London,[50] which has a very high dome above four columns like that of the cathedral of Milan. From this intent of Gothic architecture there also followed the notion of building leaning towers, such as the Asinelli Tower in Bologna and the Tower of the Cathedral of Pisa, which, though disagreeable to the eye, nonetheless arouse stupor in the mind and terrify the viewer; and which of these two opposing intentions is more glorious is a worthy problem for an academic mind.[51] Incited by these Gothic examples, I believe Roman architecture has been made more daring,[52] so that it now tries to sustain domes on four pilasters, first in Florence,[53] and lately in St. Peter's in Rome, which towers above many others both in Rome and in many cities of Italy.[54]

But to return to the Gothic order, there are columns of three sorts. Some are twenty modules high,[55] like column B [Table 3]; others are eighteen, still others are fifteen. The capitals normally do not exceed one module, and they have no volutes; but starting with a square shape at the top, with some smoothing, they descend to the round or octagonal shape [Table 3, C]. Some others imitated the Doric [Table 3, D]. The leaf ornaments on these capitals were various; entirely in low relief and not bent outward, they ordinarily depicted a cardoon or thistle, which was the most applauded leaf in Gothic works. The abacus ordinarily consisted of a great cordon[56] with a slab above it. The base was a reversed ovolo with a great scotia divided by corresponding fillets or else a scotia ending in a reversed ovolo [Table 3, C]. The flutes were screw-shaped, partly convex and partly concave [Table 3, B], wide and with distinct fillets.

This order has no cornice because the Goths placed their arches immediately upon the columns, and they did not use columns for anything else except to support arches or to serve as imposts of crossings and vaults. They therefore built the pilasters of their churches by putting together as many little columns as there were beginnings of vaults to be placed on top of them; and if one vault was higher than another, without interposing a new cornice and making a new order, and without bringing it down, they made it continue beyond the same capital, extending the same column to where it could support the higher vault. They therefore built cornices under the eaves or wherever they thought they looked better on the façades of churches, decorating them with colonnades or rows of pilasters, which also ended in arches forming windows with three lights, whose frames were interlaced with little arches interposed and superimposed upon each other in various ways, as can be seen in frame E [Table 3], or else they sculpted the bands in various ways, and especially with circles variously connected to one another and adorned with foliage. The variety of these cornices is great and does not follow exact rules; so no certain disposition can be suggested, except that they used few cymae, many astragals, ovoli reversi and fillets. . . .

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Various Ways of Building Façades

Having discussed all the elements, the time has now come to discuss the whole composition; so we will give the ways to decorate any proposed façade and turn it into a well-arranged and agreeable design. Six, therefore, are the principal ways whereby they may be decorated.

The first, by decorating the windows and the doors in various ways, as will be said; secondly, in bands that divide the whole site into various fields; thirdly, in the rustic manner; fourthly, with prominent relief; fifth, with cut-outs sculpted into the wall; and sixthly, by using the orders taught above to divide the façade into various colonnades or arcades carrying their own cornices. . . .

How to Adorn Windows

Vitruvius tells how to make the doors of temples, but since he makes the proportion based on the whole height of the building,[57] the same proportion cannot serve for rooms, which are usually low, so this proportion would make the door too squashed down for anyone to use it. He does not talk about windows at all—either because they were built without ornaments, as in the Temple of Bacchus and the Temple of Peace mentioned by Serlio,[58] or because they did not build windows at all, thinking that the darkness would make the fires of the sacrifices more splendid. Therefore another path must be sought, and more secure and universal rules, flexible enough to serve for every sort of building.

The first rule is that windows must be equal in all the rooms, large or small, following one another on the same floor. The architect must therefore choose a height that can accommodate itself to all the rooms.

The second rule is that they should be arranged properly on both sides of the center—either all equidistant from one another or at the same distance as the corresponding ones on the opposite side of the center.

The third rule is that they should not be too large, as Palladio warns,[59] or too small; for when too large they make the house seem cold and when too small they make it dark. Their width must depend not upon the height or width of the rooms but, as we have said concerning balconies, parapets, balustrades and stairways, upon human convenience; therefore they must be wide enough for at least two persons to look out, i.e., two to three Piedmontese feet wide. The fourth rule is that the height of the light and the opening should be less than two widths in the Doric order, two widths in the Ionic, two and one-half widths in the Corinthian—not strictly, but more or less according to the height of the rooms.

The fifth rule is that the windows must always be surrounded by a cornice, which will constitute the plain or pilastered sides of the window,

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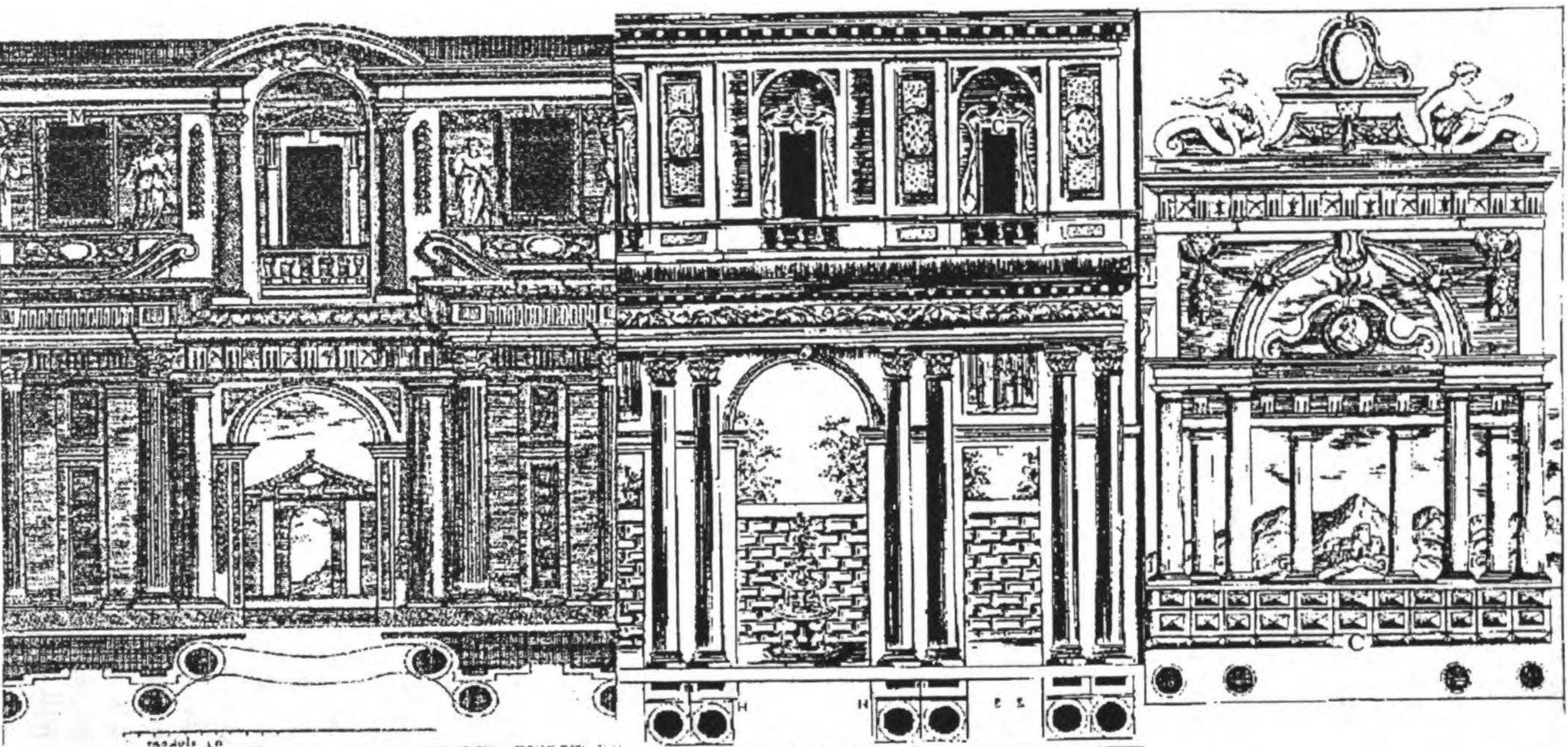

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

TABLE 4

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called *antepagmenta* or *stathmi*, and turning then to pass over the opening it will form the window architrave or lintel, and this, according to Serlio and Palladio, will comprise one-sixth or, at most, one-fifth of the width of the opening. . . .

The sixth rule is that windows may be adorned in various ways—first by the cornices surrounding them [M in Table 4, fig. 1]. Any sort of appropriate cornice may be used, more or less according to the previously mentioned proportion. Secondly, a frontispiece may be added, supported by another cornice above the surrounding cornice. Thirdly, scripts and scrolls may be added, so that instead of being topped by a cornice, the surrounding cornice is adorned with scripts, parchments, scrolls, or leaves [Table 4, fig. 2, window C]. Fourthly, modillions may be used: two bands are joined in front, on both sides, either flat or sculpted, ending in two modillions, that advance outward and project to bear the cornice that forms a pediment over the window [Table 4, fig. 1, window L]. These modillions must not be wider than the surrounding cornice. Fifth, columns and pilasters may be added, as though the windows were really portals, and of this we will speak below. Finally, they may be beautified by termini, observing the same rules as in doors and colonnades. These then are the various ways to adorn windows; and always make sure their width is not so excessive as to make their height seem stunted.

Concerning parapets, called *podia*, make at least one cornice, ordinarily of stone, project outward and carry the entire width of the ornaments, perhaps also surrounding them and going underneath [M, Table 4, fig. 1], or else incorporating a parapet or balustrade [Table 4, fig. 2, windows C], or dividing it into different segments, in which case for the cornices and bands of the windows will not be made very much in relief in order not to commit excess. If the windows are adorned with columns or atlantes or similar decorations of great relief, the inferior wall will have to be much thicker and project far enough to carry at least the weight of the columns themselves. . . .

Band works

Another way of ornamenting façades is to divide them into different perpendicular bands framed by similar bands going in the other direction, so that the last band going straight from one side to the other supports the last cornice under the roof, and the whole is divided into various corresponding fields pierced with windows [wall C in Table 4, fig. 3]. These bands must be no narrower than one-tenth or one-twelfth of the height of the façade before touching the next band running level to them, above which there runs a small cornice, and so on in continuation, so that every time one-tenth or one-twelfth of the width is reached it is interrupted by some other band or cornice or another ornament, and then again repeating up to the same level.

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This was the method followed in the new palace of the Most Serene Duke of Parma,[60] in which the bands are on both sides continually accompanied by cornices. I built the Palace of the Most Serene Prince of Carignano in Racconigi in the same way, where the vertical bands are only crossed by the horizontal ones, without any cornice except for the last, which is in the middle.[61] Here in Turin the bands are not flat, but they have a cornice and are sculpted in a star shape and divided not only by the bands that run across them but also by the cornices that interrupt them, making a most superb view. . . .[62]

Correcting proportions apparently defective due to viewpoint

Two main reasons can cause a well-proportioned architecture to seem deformed and unpleasant to the eye. One is the force of our imagination, which may be distracted by things close by and led to form a sinister judgment. . . . The other main cause is the site, which may demand that objects be observed either from too close or from too far away. The first deception cannot be emended except by good judgment and by knowing how things appear in such circumstances so that the architect can provide some convenient remedy; the other deception can be corrected by a certain rule. Concerning the first deception, we offer the following observations. . . .

PIERCED OBJECTS OFFER A CONFUSED VIEW WHEN OTHER LARGER AND DIFFERENTLY PROPORTIONED AND EVEN SMALLER OBJECTS CAN BE SEEN THROUGH THEM. One example is well known: when Pope Innocent X had the cathedra of St. Peter's built behind the pierced bronze tabernacle[63] previously built by Urban VIII. To those who entered St. Peter's, that tabernacle no longer offers such a pompous and beautiful vista as before when it was isolated and not interrupted and confused by the backdrop of the cathedra's architecture. Also, the internal columns of the great square that Alexander VII had built seem confused if they are not viewed from the center.

TO CORRECT THE FOREGOING DEFECTS. There is no infallible rule, because the defect depends on the imagination, and the great variety of possibilities prevents an easy and effective remedy from being assigned to each one. Nonetheless, whenever the cause of the error can be demonstrated, all that is necessary is to go in the opposite direction. That which seems large must be made smaller so it seems equal; that which is too light must be darkened; that which is too rough must be polished. Discretion and practical judgement, of course, must be used in order not to fall into the opposite defect, as the proverb says, *to avoid Scylla he ran into Charybdis.*[64] Likewise, Vitruvius notes that there can be no certain rule, but the architect must use his acute and discrete judgement: *since, therefore, what is real seems false, and some things are approved by the eyes as other*

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than they really are, I do not think it should be doubtful that we ought to add or subtract, as needed by the nature or requirements of our sites: but this is done by native skill and not by rule alone.[65] Therefore, he calls for designs first of all to be executed according to the rules, and as soon as the plan is finished, to be scrutinized carefully for where the eye might be deceived by the site or by the surrounding features, and when this is established, the predisposed symmetries must be corrected. . . .

30. Giambattista Marino, *How to Steal*

The poet whose florid style took the early seventeenth century literary world by storm was born in Naples in 1569 and sent by his comfortably-placed parents to study law.[1] But as soon as he began at the University of Naples, he found himself reading Tasso, Guarini, Marot, Du Bartas, Ronsard, and current literary theory rather than law books. So, much to his family's chagrin, he gave up law for poetry in 1586 and became a hanger-on in the local academies and courts along with established poets like Giulio Cortese. His sensuous and seductive and yet dazzlingly erudite *Song of Kisses* created a sensation already in 1590, years before being published in several languages, and it established his credentials. Though he was now ripe for the picking, he had to wait many years for a suitable patron. After several false starts, he finally settled into the court of Matteo di Capua, prince of Conca, where he had occasion to meet Tasso. His rakish lifestyle only added to his personal mystique; and after a celebrated escape from a Neapolitan jail he was feted by literary circles in Rome, Siena, Florence, and Padua, before finally arriving in Venice to publish his *Poems* in 1602. Some stability came along finally when Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini employed him as secretary in Rome for four years, and there he met such great literary figures as Gabriello Chiabrera, Alessandro Tassoni and Sforza Pallavicino. Some cleverly directed panegyrics aimed at Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy in 1609 got him a job in Turin. But Marino was not an easy courtier, nor the duke an easy patron; and in 1615 he decided to go to France and try his luck. His success there seems to have surprised even him, after his 300-stanza address to Maria de' Medici, regent of France, and her favorites, basically explaining a temple in which the goddess Maria might suitably be worshipped. Literature was not his only interest. Closely connected in his mind with literature, through the common notion of imitating reality, was also painting. For years he corresponded with painter Bernardo Castello and others, and he assembled a collection of his own as soon as he could afford it. He joined these interests in 1619 in his *Gallery*, a set of poems celebrating some of the great artists and works of painting and sculpture of his day. Finally in 1623 he published his long awaited *Adonis*,

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begun in 1590 and circulated in manuscript; and it became an instant classic of seventeenth-century literature. Consisting of 5,123 octaves on the Adonis myth and dedicated to Louis XIII, the work earned him a royal pension for life; and Marino forthwith returned in triumph to Italy. There, where the relation between painting and poetry was reciprocal, Neapolitan Caravaggio follower Massimo Stanzione painted a picture of his poem ***The Massacre of the Innocents***. Even before his sudden death in 1625, the number of emulators was so large that they acquired the name Marinisti. In January, 1620, he sent one of them, his close associate Claudio Achillini, the following letter from Paris, explaining his basic aesthetic notions; and he published the letter as a preface to his *Sampogna* poems of the same year.

. . . Communion with other writers can occur in two ways: either by chance or by art. By chance it is not only possible, but in fact easily happened to me, not only with Latin and Spanish writers, but also with those of other languages, since whoever writes much cannot avoid using a few commonplaces that have probably been investigated by others. Beautiful things are few, and all acute intellects, when they begin speculating about a subject, seize what is best, so there is no wonder that occasionally they come up with the same result; nor does it seem infrequent in recent times, when most of the most beautiful things have been appropriated, to find something extremely refined among many ordinary things.

This communion can be achieved by art and on purpose in one of the three following ways: by translating, by imitating or by stealing. Translating, when not pedantic, deserves more praise than blame. In fact, there are many examples of famous men who practiced it even if they were extremely fruitful creators of their own things. By "translating" I do not mean literal and word-for-word; but paraphrasing, and changing the details of the hypothesis and altering the episodes without ruining the substance of the original sentiment. Even I have translated to pass the time or to please someone; but my translations were only from Latin or from Greek into Latin and not from any other language and were always under the foregoing conditions. . . . Borrowing like this cannot incur the accusation of stealing, since certain commonplaces are visible to anyone who can see and are available to whoever finds them first, like gems scattered on the beach. And as Virgil was not ashamed to include whole verses by Ennius and Catullus in his *Aeneid*, so other lyric and epic Tuscan poets were not ashamed to use verses by Dante and Petrarch. Therefore, when anyone borrows from them or from others and translates some longer passage into another language, this is supposed to be known by the experts in poetry and he should not be called an usurper. Among the idylls of my *Sampogna* there is something that at first sight might seem translated from a foreign language; but nevertheless the first and most ancient source from which both of our

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rivulets originate is Ovid, and perhaps before Ovid, some Greek author. . . .

I pass now from translating to imitating. I am not alluding to that kind of imitation which Aristotle considers characteristic of poetry—that which represents nature and which produces verisimilitude and consequently delight—but that kind of imitation which teaches us to follow the tracks of the most famous masters who have written before us. All men are naturally inclined to imitate; wherefore fertile imaginations and inventive intellects, absorbing the impressions of a joyous reading like seeds, become desirous to develop the concept they learned and immediately start concocting other fantasies that are often, by chance, more beautiful than those suggested by other people's words because they often draw out from a single and concise poet's phrase something that even the poet himself never thought about, although he creates it and is the first initiator. This imitation can be concerned with the universal or the particular. The universal consists in the invention itself and the ideas; the particular consists in the phrases and words. The former is typical of the heroic mood, the latter belongs more properly to the lyrical mood. The former is more poetical and can be hidden more easily than the latter; the latter is more shameless and less commendable. I omit the innumerable ancient examples and mention only the two most prominent epic poets of our time. Ariosto, according to me, has imitated the Greek and Latin poets and concealed the imitation better than Tasso. . . .

I finally come to the third and last way, which is stealing. . . . And here what can I or must I say? With all ingenuousness I must admit I am sure I have robbed as much as any other poet. The whole world should know that since I began to study letters, I learned to read with a hook, pulling out the things I found good as I read them and noting them down in my notebook and using them when I needed. Indeed, this is really the way one usually uses one's reading. Everyone who writes does this; and whoever never did, according to me, cannot get very far, because our memories are weak and deficient, and without this aid rarely give us the proper things when we need them. It is true that everyone has to make his own repertory according to his fancy, using a method that will allow him to find his material easily when he goes looking for it. All intellects are different; and the humors of men are even more diverse; so that what pleases one displeases another, and one will choose one phrase that someone else will reject. Ancient statues and relics of destroyed marbles, placed in a good location and with care, give a good measure of majesty to a new building. Similarly, according to the precepts and circumstances in the above discourse, I have pecked with my beak and committed a few little robberies, but I accuse and excuse myself at the same time because my poverty is such that I must grab the riches of whoever is richer than me.

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31. Emanuele Tesauro, *The Aristotelian Telescope*

If the promise offered to the cause of religion by the new rhetorical techniques was significant, as Pallavicino believed, the promise offered to the cause of politics was equally great. And it was after a long career as a panegyrist and apologist for Prince Tommaso of Savoy that Emanuele Tesauro (born 1592) conceived the first full theoretical discussion and practical manual of the poetical and rhetorical style epitomized in the work of Giambattista Marino.[1] Younger son of an illustrious noble family of Piedmont, he first sought his fortune in the Church. Soon after joining the Jesuit order he began touring the Jesuit colleges as a professor of rhetoric, finally landing in Milan as a preacher. During this period he composed *An Idea of Perfect Devices*, a manual concerning one of the most widespread intellectual fashions of the time, namely, the invention of fanciful heraldic devices and enigmatic emblems representing people and institutions. This work, much expanded, was to become the basis for the later *Aristotelian Telescope*.[2] So effective was his sacred oratory that it gained him a position as preacher in the court of the new duke of his home country, Victor Amadeus I of Savoy, and duchess Maria Cristina. Soon his talents as an apologist for the regime began to overshadow his talents as an apologist for the faith. Dragged into the struggle between the French and Spanish factions within the court, he left the Jesuit order and followed the duke's brother, prince Tommaso, to the Spanish Netherlands in an act of defiance against Maria Cristina's French leanings. And when the struggle broke out into open civil war on the death of Victor Amadeus in 1637, he served as official apologist in Prince Tommaso's campaign to contest Maria Cristina's sole regency in the minority of Charles Emmanuel I. When the factions were finally reconciled in 1642 by a deal allowing Prince Tommaso to collaborate in the regency, Tesauro too reentered the Savoy states, now as a preceptor in the retinue of the Prince. Thus relieved of his more onerous political duties, he began several historical works, including a history of Piedmont left incomplete at his death in 1675. At the same time, he went back to his treatise on rhetoric and composed the first version of the *Aristotelian Telescope*. Published in 1654 (Turin: Sinibaldo), the treatise was an immediate success, establishing Tesauro's authority in the field. Considerably expanded by Tesauro in his second edition (Venice: Baglioni, 1665), it went through fourteen reprintings before 1702. The book was far more than just a tour de force of erudition. And in spite of its lively and playful style—it was evidently conceived in part as an example of the very rhetorical techniques it advocated—it attempted to make an original contribution to the study of language by bringing the sixteenth-century tradition of neoclassical literary criticism to bear on the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns in literature and on the debate about human reason

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opened up by Descartes' *Discourse on Method* and soon to be developed by the *Logic* of Antoine Arnauld and associates in Port Royal.

On witty expressions and their productions, in general

One of ingenuity's divine products, known more for its outward appearance than for its origin,[3] has always in every century and among all men been held in such great admiration, that when read and heard even when unrecognized, it is always received, like an extraordinary miracle, with the greatest festivity and applause. This is wit[4]—the great mother of every ingenious concept,[5] the most clear illumination of poetical and oratorical elocution, the vital spirit of dead pages, the most pleasant condiment of civil conversation, the last force of the intellect, the vestige of divinity in the human soul. There is no river of eloquence so sweet by itself that it would seem to us anything but bland and unpleasant without wit's sweetener. There is no beautiful flower in Parnassus that was not transplanted from the gardens of wit. There is no people so fierce and inhuman that it does not smile serenely at the appearance of the flattering Sirens of wit. And the angels themselves, Nature and God, when speaking to man, customarily communicate their most abstruse and important secrets through witty expressions, verbal or symbolic.

By virtue of this, the divine Pitho[6] separates not the speech of the ingenious from that of the common people so much as that of the angels from that of men. By wit's miracle, mute things speak, the insensible live, the dead revive, and the tombs, the marbles, the statues, receiving their voice, spirit and movement from this enchanter of souls, ingeniously discourse with ingenious men. So only those things that are not vivified by wit are truly dead.

There is no doubt, O eager reader, that however luminous and vivid the effects of wit may be, nonetheless, many authors consider its origins to be obscure, its essence unknown, and its technique practically impossible. I have read many orations, epics, poems, plays, inscriptions, both ancient and modern, that were prettily adorned with these flowers; yet the same authors who knew how to compose so wittily had no idea what wit was, like blind Homer, whom they say knew what *rosy* was but did not know what a *rose* was. Indeed, many of the ancients tried to write about witty expressions, but in the midst of their many examples of amusing and facetious fruits of wit (which is a small part of the whole subject), they never analyzed the root, which is the highest genus, nor the principal branches that are its separate species. Cicero himself, who only had to open his mouth to speak wittily, finally concludes after much discussion that the master of wit is not art but nature. Although he offered us a good number of witty and ingenious sayings, he never showed us the soil where they were

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germinated, as though witty expressions were a Nile whose waters could be known but not the source. Making fun of those who sought to discover the origins of the art of the ridiculous, he found nothing ridiculous in that art except the folly of those who sought to reduce it to art.

On the other hand, I received great encouragement and hope of finding the source of this art from the divine Aristotle, who sought out every rhetorical secret and taught them all to whoever wished to listen. So his *Rhetoric* can be called a most lucid telescope for examining all the perfections and imperfections of eloquence. . . .

Instrumental[7] *causes of witty expressions*

The vocal witticism is a sensible image of the archetype,[8] and its pictures, which have sound for colors and the tongue for a brush, please the ear too. But these images are sketched rather than finished, so that ingenuity understands more than the tongue speaks, and the concept of the listener supplies what is absent in the voice of the speaker. Indeed, wit loses its insight when a saying is too clear. Stars sparkle in the darkness but become dim in the light. And this causes the double pleasure of one who forms a witty concept and another who hears it. For the first enjoys giving life in another's intellect to a noble product of his own, and the second enjoys grasping by his own ingenuity what the ingenuity of another furtively hides, since interpreting a witty and ingenious emblem requires no less wisdom than composing it.[9]

In this genre therefore are included all the witty expressions articulated by the voice that are mixed together in long orations, in theatrical performances and in private conversations, where many symbolic sayings are heard that could as easily be painted as spoken. Such were the threats of Juno, incensed by the marriage of Lavinia to the pilgrim Aeneas: *Blood of Trojan and Rutulian shall be thy dower, maiden, and Bellona awaits thee as thy bridal matron. Nor did Cisseus' daughter alone conceive a firebrand and give birth to nuptial flames. Nay, Venus has the like in her own child, a second Paris, another funeral torch for reborn Troy.*[10]

Here you see that every concise little clause is a figured and symbolic saying, presaging the future misfortunes of that fatal and disastrous marriage. So the subject of these furious words could be represented beautifully in a great painting, with Aeneas and Lavinia in the middle holding hands to swear marital fidelity, the former accompanied by Paris bleeding and the latter by Helen weeping. Between them are armed Pallas and the child of Venus,[11] the latter putting a torch to his broken bow and arrows, and the former, with a fierce gaze, acting as bridesmaid and putting the hands of the spouses together, while her owl foretells disaster from their fatal feast. On one side appear the ruins of Troy still smoldering, the burned corpses of the Trojans and the Greeks armed with bloody weapons and

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fiery torches. On the other are Hecuba, daughter of Cisseis, and desperate Venus, the latter tearing her blond curls and the former tearing at her shriveled breast with her right hand while in her left holding the torch that in her dream burned country and family.[12] All around there are handmaids and servants along with sumptuous vases full of blood as nuptial gifts and dowry. We may therefore say that on this occasion the poet became a painter and that the threats of Juno are painted words or speaking pictures. . . .

Efficient causes of witty expressions

There remain the human witty expressions,[13] of which we only need to say very little here, since they are discussed throughout this volume. But since we are talking about the efficient causes of these expressions, this is the proper place to ask which men are more apt to form them. Our author,[14] speaking of the metaphor, which (as we already said and will demonstrate later) can be called the great mother of all witty expressions, teaches us that three things, either separate or joined together, cause the mind to be particularly fertile in them: that is, ingenuity, furor and study. The persons best-adapted to forming such expressions are therefore the ingenious, the furious, and the studious.

Natural ingenuity is a marvelous force of the intellect, which comprehends two natural talents: perspicuity and versatility. Perspicuity penetrates the farthest and most minute circumstances of every subject—substance, material, form, accident, properties, causes, effects, ends, sympathies, things similar, contrary, equal, superior, inferior, related signs, proper names, and equivocations: all of which lie wound up and hidden in any subject, as we will say in due course.

Versatility then quickly compares all these circumstances with each other and with the subject: it connects or divides them, increases or diminishes them, deduces one from the other, indicates one by the other, and with marvelous dexterity replaces one with another, as jugglers do with objects. The resulting figure is called the metaphor—mother of poetry, of symbols and of emblems. And whoever can recognize and join together such distant circumstances is more witty, as we will say.

There is no small difference between prudence and ingenuity. However, ingenuity is more perspicacious, and prudence is more sensible: the former is quicker, the latter is more solid; the former considers appearances, the latter considers the truth; and whereas the latter has its own utility as its end, the former desires the admiration and applause of the people. Therefore, witty men were called divine with good reason. Because just as God produces things which exist out of that which does not, so also the wit takes a nonentity and makes it an entity—making Leo [i.e., lion] become a man, and the *aquila* [i.e., eagle] a city.[15] It grafts a woman onto a fish and

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creates a Siren as a symbol of the flatterer. It joins the bust of a goat to the backside of a snake and forms the Chimaera as a hieroglyph for madness. So some of the ancient philosophers called ingenuity a particle of the divine mind, and others called it a gift sent by God to his dearest. Although, to tell the truth, God's friends should offer more ardent prayers for prudence than for ingenuity, because prudence commands fortune, and ingenuity (except by a miracle) brings misfortune; and where the former leads men to dignity and ease, the latter sends them to the poor house. But because many prefer the glory of wit to all the goods of fortune, I say nature has given the more ingenious a greater aptitude for witty expressions; indeed, the word "witty" means the same as "ingenious."

This appears very clearly in painting and sculpture: those who know how to imitate perfectly the symmetry of natural bodies are called learned artisans; but only those who paint wittily are called ingenious. Timanthes was an ingenious painter because (as Pliny the Younger says) ***in all his works more is always implied than depicted***, and see this laconic witticism: ***and whose art, though consummate, is always surpassed by his genius***. . . .[16]

No painting or sculpture merits the glorious title of ingenious, therefore, if it is not witty; and the same can be said of architecture, whose experts are called *ingen*eers[17] for the wit of their ingenious works. This ingenuity is evident in the many grotesque and charmingly facetious ornaments they place on the façades of sumptuous buildings: leafy capitals, arabesques in the friezes, triglyphs,[18] metopes,[19] masks, caryatids,[20] termini,[21] modillions;[22] all of which are stone metaphors and mute symbols that add gracefulness to the work and mystery to the gracefulness. Offensive and defensive weapons in military architecture are constructed with no less wit. Dragons whistling through the air as ensigns unfurl; testudines[23] animated by human bodies covered, scale-like, with shields; rams charging at walls with backward-curving bronze horns; porcupines, scorpions, sea-lilies, storks: all these are ingenious but fierce and homicidal metaphors. And this is nothing in comparison to some witty subtleties of our noble architects vying with envious Nature. For instance, the portal of Olympia, dedicated to the seven liberal arts, was constructed with such ingenuity that if you recited a poem, it was recited back to you seven times by those marble throats, as though by the seven Muses inhabiting that learned school where even the mute stones spoke, raising the hopes of the Muses' disciples. Great ingenuity and a witty metaphor make the marbles speak; and no less a force makes them listen. . . .

We see a thousand other witty productions from the three most beautiful mechanical arts—optics, vectitation[24] and pneumatics[25]—whose rare and metaphorical operations make whoever does not see them incredulous and whoever sees them believe them incredible. . . .

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Most witty, finally, is optics, which uses certain perspective relations with strange and ingenious appearances to make you see what you do not see. Famous in this genre were two images, one of Diana, sculpted by the children of Anthermus,[26] and the other of Pallas, painted by Famulus.[27] The former was placed in such a point of perspective that the face appeared sad to those who entered the temple but glad to those who left, signifying that the anger of the gods is provoked by wrongdoing and placated by sacrifices. The latter was painted with such artfulness that the eyes and body seemed to face the viewer from any direction, signifying that prudence, symbolized by that goddess, must everywhere accompany human actions.

But I do not know whether angelic or human ingenuity inspired that Dutchman who in our own times brought human sight up where birds never fly, using a hollow tube with two optical mirrors, as with two wings of glass.[28] With this it crosses the sea without sails; brings you close to ships, forests and cities that escape the judgment of the eye's pupil; indeed, flying to the sky in an instant, observes the spots on the sun, discovers the horns of Vulcan on the head of Venus, measures the mountains and the seas on the sphere of the moon, enumerates the children of Jupiter, and a little glass reveals what was hidden from us by God. . . .

I will now leave behind ingeniousness and speak of furor. This is an alteration of the mind caused by passion, inspiration or madness.[29] Now, three sorts of persons may have this without being either ingenious or witty: the passionate, the inspired and the mad.

The passions of the soul certainly sharpen the brilliance of the human genius, and as our author says, perturbation adds more power to persuade. For affection ignites the spirits, which are the torchlights of the intellect. And imagination, focused on that single object, minutely observes all the circumstances even remotely related. Then, being itself disturbed, it strangely disturbs these circumstances, multiplying and joining them and creating hyperboles and capriciously figured concepts. . . .

The other witty furor is inspiration, called *enthousiasmós* in Greek. This was clearly seen in the holy prophets, whose marvelous visions were none other than metaphorical symbols and divine witty expressions, suggested to them by the Holy Spirit, as we sufficiently pointed out above.[30] Some of the profane oracles were likewise rendered through inspiration, as in the Delphic and Trophonian caves, where illiterate and rustic persons, inspired through a vaporous and subterranean aura, foretold marvelous things in witty and mysterious verse of proper and most noble style.

Thus, our author distinguishes two sorts of poet: the ingenious and the inspired. The former is brought to versify by nature, the latter is borne away by some spirit. Among the inspired were Orpheus, Hesiod and Homer, who, without having learned to versify, sang high and divine things in allegorical verses without having to suffer the blows of a master. Among

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the ingenious were Sophocles, Aeschylus and Euripides, who acquired poetical talent by brains and art and then bore the Muses away to Parnassus rather than being borne away by them. All, however, affected to show themselves inspired by a sacred furor, both to sell themselves as divine poets to the credulous mob and to be able to blame the Muses for their eccentric behavior. The epic poets implore the inspiration of the Muses in their poems' protases more frequently than the tragic ones, since they must be more ingenious and sublime. Virgil, who worked very hard anyway, said "Tell me O muse, the cause. . . ."[31] But Statius,[32] who was the most abstruse and excessive in his style, from the first beginnings showed himself not so much inspired as bewitched. . . .

Virgil, you might say, went to seek the Muses, whereas Statius was sought by them. But Ennius, Horace and Martial did not implore any other divine furor than the fervor of wine, and they carried their Castalia[33] in a little flask. This doubtlessly helps, because fantasy heated by that vaporous liquor goes about fabricating many metaphors and exalts the style. As in the old and the sick, whenever heat weakens, so does ingenuity; and likewise, where heat abounds, there abounds the vigor of ingenious compositions. This heat can be reawakened by the medical arts, by spirituous elixirs and by generous Greek wines, as long as the quantity does not oppress the ingenuity, as excessive fuel oppresses light. Some of the sacred prophets, such as Joseph,[34] used the cup to awaken the natural forces of their minds for receiving more vividly the ray of prophetic influences, while others, like Elisha,[35] used the lyre.

The third sort of furor is that of the mad, who, strange to say, are better apt than the sane for creating facetious metaphors and witty symbols in their fancies; indeed, madness is nothing but metaphor, which means letting one thing stand for another. The mad are usually most ingenious and have most subtle minds. Poets and mathematicians are therefore more inclined to go mad. For the more powerful the fancy is, so much more is it truly inclined to be impressed by the ideas of the sciences;[36] but a single idea too highly impressed and heated often becomes a reverie, and this, with age, becomes madness. Wisdom's vicinity to insanity shows just how fragile this vessel is which contains so much treasure. Indeed, Galen depicts for us the fancy of one who had so deeply impressed upon him the image of a great earthen jug that he entered into a frenzy of being that jug. To every passer-by he cried, "Stay away, so you don't break me, because I am a jug. . . ." But this madness was nothing but the metaphor of letting one idea stand for another, from which a witty allegory was born. Because whatever he said or did he immediately related back to this jug of his. . . .

These kinds of madness come from jovial and innocent ideas. Other kinds are atrocious and tragicomical metaphors that excite fear and laughter and are caused when a horrible idea is fomented by the black bile.[37] These kinds produce tearful witty expressions and jokes, many times fatal. Such

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was the madness of Alcides,[38] who went insane when his mind became obsessed by the fierce images of vengeance against the tyrant Lycus. He tore off his lion skin, saying it was the celestial lion that would go to hunt the stars. Imagining that the clouds were giant rebels against the sky, he wished to join in the victory against the enemy Juno. Then he beat down the portal of his palace with his hands, thinking it was the palace of Jupiter; and throwing up the fragments of the battered columns, he boasted that he was hurling Pelion and Ossa with their centaurs into the faces of the enemy gods. Finally, he wielded the iron sword against his own children, claiming to extirpate the hated race of Lycus, and he killed Megara, his own dear wife, crying out that he had killed his stepmother Juno and released his father Jupiter from that woman's filthy and unworthy yoke. Most pitiable just when he considered himself most happy, he displayed his own ruins as trophies. These therefore were frightful witty expressions and lamentably ridiculous metaphors, imitated later by modern poets in the madness of Orlando and of Armida,[39] where you hear so many senseless things sensibly said; for, just as with the fancies of painters, nothing is more artificial than sinning against art, and nothing more sane than losing one's sanity.

Among the witty forms of madness must also be included drunkenness, which is a waking dream and a brief furor that increases in violence as it is the more vinolent. However, just as smoke in the stomach disturbs a sleeper's dreams, so the vapor of wine disturbs the drunk's daytime fantasies, putting one image in place of another or confounding the two, and forms very strange, grotesque and ridiculous metaphors. Such was the drunkenness of those sailors from Leghorn in the famous inn of Montefiascone who got so drunk that they almost became shipwrecked. Their imaginations became so heated that they started thinking they were still in the navy. The inn seemed to them to be the vessel in a tempest, the benches became the ribbing, the table was the deck. Then with tumultuous voices crying one to the other, "Haul to port!," "Haul to windward," "Close haul!" "Stand by the main sheet!"—some emptied the barrels thinking to bail out; others, making a compass out of the cutting-board, saw to the direction of the wind; and still others, vomiting all over their companions, cursed the nausea they got from the choppy sea. . . .

The most effective support for this art is study, which is the handmaid of ingenuity in all the human arts. Study without great ingenuity is much more competent and sure than great ingenuity without study. And when the two are combined, the artist succeeds to the point that he does not seem an earthly creature but a celestial god. So our author advocates joining ingenuity with practice for the investigation of abstruse knowledge in philosophical as well as in poetical and witty compositions.[40] An erudite style in this graceful and noble art may therefore be studied in several ways:

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namely, by practice, by reading, by reflection, by topical lists, and by imitation. . . .

The last and most effective and ingenious means of study is by imitation. This was the ancient teacher of all men. For Nature, in her overwhelming rigor, seems to have wished all men to exert themselves exceedingly in learning everything from other men, while giving lessons to the animals herself. Thus, speaking, walking, swimming, singing and writing are all taught only by imitation. Even virtues and civility can be impressed in the tender wax of the soul only by the imitation of the parents and nurturers. Finally, all the arts, both mechanical and liberal, are learned from the example of excellent practitioners who, in their turn, learned them (O iniquitous Nature!) from imitating the animals. Shooting from a bow was taught them by the porcupine, architecture by the bees, navigation by the swans, music by the nightingales and painting by the playing of the shadows. Imitation can thus be called the master of masters. And indeed, as our author wisely says,[41] imitation was also the first teacher of poetry, whose soul consists in imitating. Since metaphor, wit and all symbols are parts and parturitions of poetry, imitation is the most secure and necessary study for learning these. True, imitation does not mean usurping metaphors and witty expressions exactly as you hear or read them; that way you would not be praised as an imitator but blamed as a thief. Imitating Praxiteles' Apollo does not mean transporting it from the Cortile del Belvedere into one's own loggia, but carving another piece of marble to the same proportions, so that Praxiteles on seeing it would marvel and say, "This Apollo is not mine, yet it is mine."[42] Besides, novelty is necessary for every witty production, and without this, marvel is diluted as well as grace and applause. I therefore call imitation a type of wisdom whereby you propose to yourself a metaphor or some other flower of human ingenuity; then you attentively consider its roots; and transplanting it into different categories as though into well-ploughed and fertile soil, you cause other flowers of the same species to be generated, but not the same individuals. One example will suffice.

No one has ever saluted eloquence from so far away as not to have heard frequently that rhetorical figure, "the meadows are laughing," meaning, "the meadows are germinating; they are cheerful." In fact, this is not really a witty expression, but a simple metaphor; though it is indeed a fertile generator of innumerable witty expressions at all. It is a beautiful rhetorical flower, but a flower nowadays deflowered and so trampled under foot by the schools that it has begun to rot. So if, in some academic discourse of yours, you proudly offered this metaphor, just as it is, "the meadows are laughing," you would have men and not meadows laughing at you. Likewise "liquid crystal" and "the rays of Phoebus" make us laugh. It will be rejuvenated however if you go about charmingly varying it, keeping its roots in mind. The first root comes from the fact that the word "laugh" is

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a particle of speech, in this case, a neutral absolute verb. You can therefore subtly and gracefully vary it, bending it into all the other grammatical forms. Use it as a substantive noun: *the very beautiful laughter of the meadows.* The cumulative: *we saw the meadows laughing*. The participle: *the laughing meadows bloom again.* The adverb: *the meadows laughingly flourish*. The gerund: *the meadows welcome us laughing*. The frequentative: *the meadows sweetly laugh and laugh.* The abstract: *meadows' laughter delights the eye*. The superlative: *the laughing-most meadows are blooming.* The diminutive: *the meadows attract us with their laughlet.* And the denominative: *laughworthy meadows*. . . . Thus you see that by changing only the grammatical form, the metaphor is no longer the same and yet it is the same: old in substance and new in manner.[43]

The second root is logical, based on the word "laughter" acting as a signifying term. So you can vary it with other synonymous and affiliated words in this way: *The gladness of the meadows makes men happy. In springtime the glad and festive meadows exult. The meadows sweetly rejoice. The charming happiness of the meadows. The meadows are grinning broadly.* Then the Greek word, *You see what is gelastic to the meadows.* Abstract and mythical words may also serve: *Laughter and the Graces dance in the meadows.*

The third variety will be by way of relative terms, and you can create the correlative metaphor, the reciprocal, the contrary, the privative and the simile. It will be correlative if you say *the meadows laugh upon smiling youth*; reciprocal if, where others have called gladness *the laughter of the meadows*, you call laughter *the gladness of the face.* Contrary if, where others attribute laughter to the pleasant meadow, you, on the contrary, attribute sadness to the sterile ones. *In this solitude you would see the meadows most sad. Below Canopus*[44] *the meadows everywhere weep sorrowfully.* It will be privative if, giving man's laughter to the meadows, you take away some property that ought to be joined with human laughter. *The meadows laugh without mouth. The laughter is without cachinnation.* It will be a simile, finally, if what others say about meadows you say about their parts, such as slopes, grasses, flowers: *the green slopes laugh, the glad grasses exult, the most fragrant flowers laugh.* And likewise, you can affirm of all the parts of the earth: *the fertile earth laughs, the harvests laugh, the vines laugh, the flowering valleys laugh.* Indeed just as the meadows' laughter signifies a perfection of theirs that gladdens the observer, so everything that makes others happy and entertained likewise can be said to laugh: *The sea smiled upon the seafaring sailors. We went beneath a smiling sky.* Even inanimate things: *Fortune smiles upon you.*

See, then, how many metaphors a single metaphor produces, all signifying a single property. And if you join these properties of the meadows' laughter with the things antecedent, concomitant and consequent, you will cause just as many witty propositions and enthymemes[45] to

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germinate as the meadows did the flowers. I call antecedents the causes of this metaphorical laughter—i.e., the return of the sun from the winter tropic to the sign of Aries, the blowing of Zephyr inseminator of the earth, the tepid Austral winds, the rains of springtime, the flight of the snows, the autumn plantings. Jokingly, then, you will say: *The laughing meadows congratulate the sun on its return. Do you wish to know why the meadows are laughing? They scorn the North Wind struck by the horns of the Phryxian ram.*[46] *The meadows are dissolved into laughter, seduced by the blandishments of tepid Zephyr. The meadows laugh, drunk with the most sweet kisses of the Auster. Do you wonder why the meadows laugh? They are drunk with the rains. The meadows breathe as the snows recede. Furrowed by the plowshares, the earth, fertile in its wounds, laughingly gives birth to what it conceived in sorrow.*

I call concomitant those things that happen at the same time as the meadows are laughing. Favonius[47] sighs, the earth opens, the nightingales weep, the birds sing, the dew falls, the streams run, the shepherds rejoice. So, joining one thing to another, these propositions come out as follows: *The meadows laugh at the sighs of Favonius. As the flowers play, the earth opens in laughter. When Procne twitters,*[48] *the meadows laugh. The fields laugh with the warbling of the birds. The meadows laugh with such effusion that they shed dewy tears. The meadows cry tears of joy. The meadows' exuberance competes with the shepherds'.*

Finally, I call consequent the effects of the delightfulness of the meadows—namely, the pasturage of the herds, the hope of the farmers, the falling under the scythe, the drying up under the rays of the sun. You can therefore say, *with sweet laughter the meadows invite the wandering herds. The earth smiles favorably upon the offerings of the peasants. Oh, brief pleasure: the laughter of the meadows is suddenly silenced by the unexpected pallor. The cruel scythe passes through the laughing meadows. The meadows' happy youth hurries toward death and is killed by the same sun that gave it birth.*

See what a rich vein of metaphors a single metaphor opens to you. And they in turn will produce even more richly the deeper you dig. However, if you give meadows human laughter, why not also give them the circumstances accompanying laughter? The subject of laughter being the face, you will say most elegantly, *the most beautiful face of the meadows.* And the face having its own accoutrements, you will also say, *the green curls of the meadows are shaven by the scythe. The meadows grow green, curly-topped with fronds. Flowers are the splendid eyes of the meadows. The meadows open their bosoms to the herds.* And because laughter is a natural passion, you can relate every natural passion to the meadows, saying, *the meadows admire their own riches. The earth languishingly sighs for tarrying Zephyr. It hopes for the return of its friend, the sun. The meadows fear the West Wind, etc.* And having made them capable of

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passions, you must also make them capable of vices and virtues: *the beneficent earth abandons its natural riches to the flocks. The generous fields always render more than they receive. The soil is ungrateful to the tillers. The refractory earth disappoints the hopes of those it nourished. The meadows frolic in the springtime. The wild field will not be tamed. The earth is tame and mild under the plough.* And likewise, you can relate the virtues and intellectual faculties, such as ingenuity, wisdom and skills: *Observe the meadows' talents in the variety of the herbs and flowers. The most wise earth conceived the various virtues of the herbs for the various ills of man. Ingenious craftsman, the earth without a shuttle weaves carpets adorned with flowers, embroiders without a needle, paints without a brush. . . .*

See how fertile a single metaphor can be to human ingenuity by virtue of imitation. You might think no one could proceed any further. But you will find this most ample field leads you on to yet another equally spacious and specious one. And there, just when you think you have done, you will begin again to play with tropes and witty expressions, escorted by analogy alone, that is, by the metaphorical reciprocity mentioned above. Thus, just as you called cheerfulness the "laughter of the meadows," likewise you can call human laughter (as we said) "cheerfulness of the face." And consequently, all the names belonging to meadows, flowers and the earth can be referred with graceful metaphors to persons and what to them is related, correlated, contrary and similar, bent into all the grammatical forms mentioned, molded into witty sayings by joining them with their antecedents, concomitants and consequents, and finally, created into infinite symbols and emblems by applying to men the properties of plants. I could offer you here a new catalogue of examples; but I leave this labor to your own amusement while I go on to more intimate arcana of this ingenious art and discuss the formal cause of witty expressions concerning figures of speech.

Formal Cause of Witty Expressions Concerning Figures of Speech

Every witty expression is a figure of speech, but not every figure of speech is a witty expression. Figures of speech are properly called witty only when they signify something in an ingenious way. And not all ingenious significations deserve to be inscribed in the royal family of witty expressions, but only those whose exalted origins are in the noblest and most illustrious part of the intellect. These distinctions draw me, judicious reader, to reconstruct for you the true genealogy of rhetorical figures—not just because I wish to distinguish the single noble object of this book from the vulgar crowd of other figures, but because that single object must be accompanied and waited upon by all the others as its household servants. In the same way as the art of symbolizing comprises body and soul, that is,

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images and words, likewise words comprise all kinds of witty sayings, quips and inscriptions in metered or free verse. Epigrams or ingenious sayings under statues and paintings are fertile sprouts of this genre; and so are the titles of tombs, arches and trophies; dedications of buildings, temples and altars; jokes concerning gifts, fountains and pleasure palaces; and all are full of every sort of figure. True, the series of rhetorical figures is so difficult to organize that even the ancient Latin rhetoricians made mistakes and often ended up shedding more obscurity on it than clarity. Even the father of Roman eloquence[49] gave us a disorganized heap of figures in *The Orator*, and demonstrated his ignorance of the true definition of the genre as well as of the proper division of its parts, which he only calls endless because he never knew the beginning. Drawing once again from the high font of Aristotelian doctrine, we will discourse thus.

To men alone, and not to animals nor to angels, Nature gave a certain nausea for quotidian things, even helpful ones, whenever utility was not joined with variety and pleasure. For the first navigators, urged on more by fear than by wind, rough but solid boats were enough to fight the waves. . . . Now the greedy sea seems to refuse obedience unless you strike it with the precious whip of gilded oars and to scorn the prow if not embellished with leopards and lions, with the kingdom of the waters usurping the jurisdiction of the forests. In providing habitation, what should architecture seek more than to protect you from the insults of men and the heavens—the former by the solidity of the walls and the latter by the hardness of the roof? But pride, surpassing virtue, disdains to enter a dwelling that does not overflow with ornaments, and considers no building worthy of repulsing the falling rains if the rafters do not pass the clouds with their sculpted cornices. The same can be said about the other things in daily use. Drinking is no good for the delicate except in cut crystal that quenches the thirst even of the eyes. Sleeping is no good except in purples and gems that make sleep sweeter than they make sleep's sister[50] bitter. The pavement is no good to walk upon unless covered with marble inlays, as though ungrateful man scorns to look at his own mother.[51] Clothes are no good unless they show so many flying ribbons and fluttering ruffles and so many glittering golden and silver threads, that nowadays men seem like women and women seem like statues of Cybeles being carried from place to place. The same satiety is experienced in language. Indeed, such delights are sought much more in this than in anything else, since the sense of hearing, into which human discourse does not immediately enter but successively infuses itself drop by drop, is easily bored. Therefore men desire nothing more greedily than knowledge, but nothing do they abhor more than learning; and they yawn and doze off while listening even to exalted and salubrious doctrines if the acuity and novelty of the style does not keep them awake by pricking their ingenuity. Just as all the ornaments that gracefully vary the uniformity of ships, walls and pottery are called, in

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Greek, *schemata*, or ornaments, and in Latin, *figurae*, likewise everything that distinguishes words or sentences or enthymemes from the uniform mass of the common and quotidian style to relieve the boredom of the listener is called ornament or rhetorical figure. Listeners applaud and experience delight from words that are new and rare just as though some strange and foreign dress were presented before their eyes. To prove this our author reminds us of verses by two most noble rivals in the poetic art, one of whom won the palm by changing a single word from its own vulgar sound into a figured and rare sound, to the marvelous acclamations of all. Aeschylus makes the querulous tragic figure Philoctetes, who inflicted an injury upon himself, speak thus: *The cancer is eating the flesh of my foot.*[52] But Euripides said, *The cancer feasts on the flesh of my foot.* With that small but rare variation, Aristotle notes, Euripides seems as elegant as Aeschylus seemed plebeian. . . .

He also offers us the lovely reproach of Laberius, the estranged friend of Caesar. Arriving in the theater rather late, Laberius passed in front of Cicero, who quipped caustically, as was his wont, "I would move over for you if we were not already sitting so close together," alluding to Caesar, who had strangely multiplied the order of the senators. To which Laberius replied: "Yet you used to sit between two seats," figuratively reproving him for his disloyalty during the civil wars, when, following the winds of victory and not the equity of the cause, he had expressed loyalty sometimes to Pompey and sometimes to Caesar. This saying, invented on the spot, was so funny that even the injured party laughed. . . .[53]

Treatise on Metaphors

Finally after all these steps, we arrive at the highest summit of ingenious figures, in comparison with which all the others so far recited seem worthless. For metaphor is the most ingenious and acute, the rarest and most admirable, the most useful and the most amuse-ful, the most forceful and fruitful product of the human intellect. Most ingenious truly, because if genius consists (as we said) in connecting the remote and separate notions of the objects proposed, no other figure but the metaphor has precisely this job. Drawing the mind itself as well as the word from one kind of thing to another, it expresses a concept by means of another very different one, finding similarity in dissimilar things. Our author therefore concludes that making a metaphor is a labor for the most perspicacious and agile genius.[54] Consequently, it is among the most witty figures. For the others are formed almost grammatically, and they stop at the surface of the word; but this figure reflexively penetrates and investigates the most abstruse notions and joins them together; and whereas the other figures merely endow concepts with words, this endows the words themselves with concepts.

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Thus, of all the other figures, metaphor is the rarest for the novelty of its ingenious couplings, without which novelty the ingenuity loses its glory and the metaphor its power. Our author therefore advises that metaphor is the only one which must be produced by us and must never be a spurious progeny borrowed from elsewhere.[55] For marvel arises from this: when the mind of the listener, overcome by the novelty, considers the acuteness of the ingenuity making the representation and the unexpected image of the object represented.

If a metaphor is admirable it ought to be equally jovial and delightful; because delight comes from marvel, as when you experience sudden changes of scene and spectacles never seen before. And if the delight afforded to us by rhetorical figures proceeds, as our author teaches,[56] from the desire of human minds to learn new things effortlessly and many things briefly, certainly metaphor will be more delightful than all the other ingenious figures. As it makes our mind fly from one genre to another, it shows us more of an object in a single word. Because if you say, *cheerful are the meadows*, you do not represent to me anything but the verdant fields; but if you say, *the meadows laugh*, you make me see (as I said) the earth to be a living man, the meadows to be the face, and the cheerfulness to be the joyful laughter. Thus, in a single little word, all these notions of different kinds appear: earth, meadow, cheerfulness, man, soul, laughter, joy. And vice versa, with a rapid reversal, I observe in the human face the notions of the meadows and the likeness between the two, which I never observed before. This is the fast and easy teaching which produces pleasure, for the mind of whoever listens seems to hear an entire theater of marvels in a single word.

Metaphor is no less beneficial to speakers than it is delightful to listeners. For it frequently lends a helping hand to the begging tongue, and when a particular word will not come, it will always supply a trope. Try to say, for example, *a budding poet* and *the sun spreads light*, using unornamented language. You would not be able to do so. Cicero rightly advised that metaphors are like clothes, which were discovered by necessity and also provide finery and ornament.[57] And what other rhetorical instrument is equally effective for praising and blaming, for inflating and belittling, for terrifying minds with seriousness and dissolving them in laughter by ridiculousness? From the same font Simonides drew two contrary metaphors concerning the same subject;[58] with one he formed an invective, and with the other a panegyric, using a single word. Asked to compose for free an ode on the mules who won the Olympic games, he replied, "And what do you want me to say in honor of the daughters of a she-ass?" But asked again, to the pleasing tune of a good sum of silver he heroically sang, *Hail, O daughters of fleet-footed horses*. . . .

And what deep discussion using the simple nouns for things could possibly express inexpressible concepts, make us sense insensible things

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and see the invisible, as metaphor does? Just try to explain these concepts with simple nouns: "He has a suave manner. His spirit is turbulent. He has a hard character, a black soul, muddy thoughts, precipitous deliberations."

Comparing metaphorical terms to all the other ingenious terms that have been mentioned, you will find that the metaphorical ones stick out more and stick you more, express more and impress more. Consider the word *albescent;* and turn it from particular and vulgar term to a rare and ingenious one. You can truly call it by the earliest term, *alpescent*, drawing from ancient Latium. By the foreign term *leucous*, drawing from the Greek. By the derived form *albitude*, drawing from Pliny.[59] By the modified form, *albion*, the old name for England. By the composite form, *albicolored*, and the artificial one *onibla*.[60] Finally, you can call it by the metaphorical *niveous*, a much more witty and ingenious word than all the rest. . . .

The metaphor will be so much rarer as the virtues are rarer which it unites in a single word: but I add that it will be more witty and ingenious the less superficial are the notions represented in it. However, if you say, *money-grabber*, you show me nothing but a superficial and generic notion, that is, the notion of drawing money to oneself. But if you say *money-falcon*, you make me see more inside a special action of the falcon, which holding its prey in its talons, draws it quickly to itself. Since more perspicuity is required for comprehending in an instant so many notions condensed in that single type, the metaphor is more ingenious and witty. If you should say, *to falcon money*, the rarity of the derivation would be joined to the wit of the metaphor, and the glory of your ingenuity and the delight of the listener would be doubled. Likewise, the metaphor is more ingenious and acute when the notions are so distant that one must descend many degrees in an instant to arrive there. For example, if you had called Toxilus a *circle of mills* to signify that he continuously circulated around the grinding of the mills like the circumference of a circle around its center, this would be a truly ingenious metaphor, predicating the action of the person (as the logicians say); and this we call a metaphor from the act to the actor. But more ingenious by a long shot is this most witty one of Plautus, *city of mills*,[61] because from the turning around of the millstone he transports the thought to the circumference of the circle, and from this to the circumference of the walls around the city; and thus, taking the city for the walls, the walls for the circumference of the circle, the circumference for the circuit around the millstone, and the turning around for the person who turns, you see how quickly and through how many degrees in a single moment your thought has to pass to arrive at his concept, and how much perspicuity and velocity of genius is necessary for both the creator of the metaphor and for him who understand it.

Of course, enough is enough. In metaphors as in the other rare words, one must observe the sacred rule of decorum, about which I have already spoken here and there. In general, I mean you must consider the nature of

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the terrain in which you plant your metaphors. The different types of decorum are as many as the different subjects, and each requires different metaphors. If the subject is noble and magnificent, the object represented in the metaphor ought to be likewise. Telephus said *the hilts reign*—that is, the swords reign today, signifying the same thing as the French[62] captain who said to the Romans, *that he carried his right at the point of the sword and that all things belonged to the brave.*[63] Ovid called the fourth sphere *palace of the Sun,*[64] and Seneca called the highest sphere, *temples of the aether.* [65] If the subject is vile and servile, so also will be the metaphors. As, *public dungheap* for the sordid panderer. . . . Now, when the subject is ridiculous, as in jokes and funny stories, decorum lies in moving away slightly from the gates of decorum and expressing things in an absurdly deformed way: as, *kitchen tribunal,* and *dressed-up monkey* for a bride better dressed than beautiful. And Mercury said to Sosia, who carried a little lighted lantern, *Whither dost stroll, thou who conveyest Vulcan pent within your horn?*[66] Here you see how the union of the magnificent with the vile generates the ridiculous. . . .

Sometimes wit consists in alluding to some arcane erudition: as in Plautus' phrase, *I see you are of the race of the Coclytes,*[67] speaking to Curculio, who had one of the windows closed on his face, and alluding to Horatius Cocles[68] as well as to the face of the Arimaspi, called the Coclytes, who were one-eyed. . . . These metaphors are most pleasant, he says, when they seem absurd at first hearing, and then, once explained to us, make us blame our own minds, saying, "Truly, that's what it is." I conclude that there are as many differences in decorum as there are metaphors: magnificent, vile, fierce, affectionate, bombastic, slight, vigorous, beautiful, ridiculous, acute, abstruse, and enigmatic.

You should be able to see now what a wide and pleasant field the metaphor opens up for us and how much licence it permits to the lust of geniuses, who begin to open their eyes and flutter out of their nests of puerile ignorance as soon as they begin to feel the acuity of metaphor and produce some on their own. There is no better sign of an ingenious inclination than the ability to improvise metaphors. Do not be at all dismayed by the strictness of the four laws that our author prescribes for the metaphor[69]—that it should be neither improper nor ridiculous nor bombastic nor abstruse—as though he wanted to clip the wings of ingenuity and bar it up behind these limitations. In that passage he is speaking only about the metaphors proper to the orator, and not to the poet, nor to any other ingenious and witty writers. The perfection of oratory, according to him, is persuasion; and since persuasion is impossible without the verisimilar, and the verisimilar is repulsed by everything that appears unnatural and affected, he therefore demands that not only enthymemes, which are the substance of oratory, but also elocution, figures, voice, gesture and every movement should be so verisimilar and proportionate to

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the orator and so far from affectation that art should seem nature and even falsehood should seem true. He therefore prohibits the orator from using ridiculous and sordid tropes only because these detract from oratorical dignity; from using bold, hyperbolic and bombastic ones only because these depart too much from the verisimilar, exposing the orator's artifice; from using excessively acute, distant and enigmatic ones which becloud rather than illuminate the oration; and from using excessively beautiful and pleasant tropes because they may slow down ingenuity while attracting it, and may divert it from the train of the discourse and toward admiring the novelty of the words. Even the most modest and temperate metaphors, when they are too crowded and continuous, are more proper to the enthusiasm of humorous poets than to the gravity of forensic orators, since for a grave man to reason in such a way would not be verisimilar, and such a man's metaphors must seem to arise from a need to substitute the ordinary word rather than from a desire to display ingenuity. Among the metaphors particularly belonging to oratory, Aristotle therefore includes those which have flat and common words but uncommon meanings, rare but not obscure meaning, and ingenious rarity but not inverisimilitude, in the same way as a perfect painting is not a real thing but similar to the real. . . .

The metaphors of the panegyrist need to be more humorous and more frequent than those of the forensic orator, since he professes greater study and ostentation of his ingenuity. The poet's must be more frequent than the panegyrist's, because his mind is supposed to be highly seized by divine inspiration. In tragedy they must be fiercer and more majestic than in poetry, since more exalted characters are speaking. In comedy, they must be more ridiculous and vile due to the baseness of the subject. In lyric poetry they must be more bombastic; for there is the same proportion between an ode and a poem as between a panegyric and a forensic oration. In epigrams and in sayings, metaphors must be the most witty of all, since the glory of these types consists in the brevity and acuity of the concept. In inscriptions the trope must be sometimes more noble, sometimes more acute, and sometimes more popular, depending on the quality of the place and subject. Though all these faculties generally have persuasion as their end, nonetheless, just as the means of persuasion are all different, so also the decorum and the verisimilitude will be different. Metaphors are more properly oratorical, tragical, comical or lyrical to the extent that they may realistically be spoken by orators, tragedians, comedians or panegyrists.

So much for generalities. But the same orator should not just have a single style; he should be more austere or vehement according as the subject is graver or more ridiculous and the listener more dull or perceptive. He must change his character according to the circumstances, and along with his character he must change the decorum and the verisimilitude, since it is plausible that a heated mind should produce metaphors that would not emerge from a cool and relaxed one. Indeed, just as the friendly Muses

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serve and help each other courteously, likewise the orator may sometimes slip into the confines of the epic and into those of tragedy or comedy, according to the subjects and the personages. Who could ever hold back a genius that shakes off the crownpiece or breaks the curb-chain? Our author, as has been said elsewhere, loosens the bridle on such spirits with these words: *except if one wants to use such expressions with good reason. . . .*[70]

Of the Simple Metaphor and its Specific Differences

. . . And if you want to see a single word go through all these forms, here is the experience of the word "Rome," the most famous of all.

By a metaphor of similitude, you can call it, *the sun of cities*, because Rome is as resplendent among the cities as the sun is among the stars. So you would say, *the brightness of the sun of the Tiber obfuscated the splendor of the other cities.*

By a metaphor of attribution, *Capitoline*, that is, the part for the whole. So you can say, *all the hills bowed to the Capitoline.*

By a metaphor of equivocation, *valiant*, because the Greek word *rome* meant *valiancy*. As a fateful consequence, no barbarian could mention Rome without confessing its valor. So you could say, *who could ever conquer this city? It is valiancy.*

By a metaphor of hypotyposis,[71] *conqueror of peoples*, which places before your eyes the most glorious action the world ever saw, i.e., triumph. So someone might say, *the thrice-blessed conqueror of peoples bent the proud necks of kings under the armored chariot.*

By a metaphor of hyperbole, *other globe*, as though the width of the walls and the multitude of people made it seem like a whole world enclosed within a city. So we could say, *the globe is amazed to be contained inside another globe.*

By a metaphor of laconism,[72] using the single letter *R* instead of the whole word. This letter blazing on the shimmering ensigns made the Sabines tremble more than the ensigns themselves. So you could say, *in vain you contend for hegemony, O Sabines; the R precedes the S.*

By a metaphor of opposition,[73] *Anticarthage*, as though it had been prepared by fate to destroy the competing African empire. Therefore, *Anticarthage thundered from the heights against Carthage.*

By a metaphor of deception, *Romula*. This word begins with the sound of the magnificent name of Rome and ends in a diminutive alluding to the vileness of its founder. In fact, at its origins it was called *Romula* and then *Roma*, so the diminutive *ula* should not diminish its great reputation. You could say, *why be so arrogant about your tremendous power, O Romula?*

One species of these metaphors is very often seen incorporated with another. Indeed, as our author notes, the more metaphorical species you

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cram into a single word, the more ingenious and witty your concept will be. Among the more ignoble metaphors he includes this: *four-square man*, for "constant man." However beautiful the proportional trope may be,[74] it is nonetheless not mixed with any hypotyposis, because *it does not suggest activity*.[75] He finds greater beauty in the expression of Iphicrates, *the path of my words leads through the center of the deeds of Chares*,[76] and in that of Aesion, *the Greeks had drained their state into Sicily*,[77] because of the joining of the metaphor of proportion with hypotyposis. . . .

This mixing of metaphors was the reason why rhetoricians experienced so many difficulties in trying to find categories for all these ingenious figures. Cicero himself, teaching about witty and facetious expressions, after including many very acute ones as they bloomed under his pen, frankly admitted that reducing them to types and definite species was an infinite job and impossible for the human genius.[78] So he not only confuses one ingenious figure with another but he confounds the ingenious ones with the pathetic and harmonious ones.

If you would like to come along with me and receive counsel from our oracle, who knew everything and brought all rhetorical minutiae perfectly into view with his philosophical telescope, saying more in a single word than others in huge volumes, you will first of all see that he has given us the great genus of all ingenious figures; next, you will see how well the eight species he so sparingly indicates divide this greatest genus; and finally, you will see into how many tiny almost individual subspecies each of these eight is subdivided. Then you will never again read a book or produce a metaphor by your fertile thought, without knowing where it comes from and under precisely what general or specific colors it must be enrolled.

Let us, then, return to the philosophical maxim he set out in the beginning of his little discussion concerning lively sayings, which are really nothing but ingenious metaphors, and follow him on to the enumeration of the rules.

The human mind, then, delights in learning new things easily. Clearly, its delight is greater the more abundant these things are, the newer they are and the more quickly learned. Therefore, "although words are the instruments of knowledge," Aristotle infers, "ordinary words that we already knew and superficial ones that represent to us nothing except the object itself are neither lively nor ingenious." On the other hand, "words that quickly represent more things to us, one inside the other, in an unusual fashion, are necessarily more ingenious and delightful." He illuminates this doctrine by example, saying, "Elderliness is not a lively or ingenious word but an ordinary and superficial one, presenting to us nothing but the object itself, already known to us. But if you call it 'stubble,' you will have spoken in a lively and ingenious fashion, because you made me see many objects at a glance with a single word"—that is, withered old age and dry and barren stubble, a sight you produced through this marvelous and new

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comment of your most sagacious ingenuity.[79] This, then, is a metaphor, where you see these three virtues—brevity, novelty and clarity—necessarily joined, for the following reasons.

Brevity, because the single word contains more than a single concept, one of them painted with the colors of the other. Now, if you should say, "just as stubble is the stalk of wheat that has lost its green and vigor and is now dry and barren, likewise age is a failure of vigor in a body once robust and healthy," this would clearly be a good exemplification, or, as our author says, an image, but it would not be a metaphor, because it presents to us all the objects successively with their ordinary words. Metaphor, by contrast, packs the objects tightly together in a single word and almost miraculously allows you to see one inside the other. Your delight is therefore multiplied, since seeing many objects from an unusual angle is more curious and pleasing than seeing the same things passing directly before your eyes. A job (as our author says) not for a dull mind but for a most acute one.

From brevity comes novelty, which must be produced directly by you and not by the Latin dictionaries. Even though the word "stubble" is common and well-known even to peasants, placed there nonetheless to signify "age," it is a fresh word as far as its meaning is concerned. Indeed, this word is more plausible and popular than any we might draw from among the rare words discussed above; because in this word the sound is known and only the meaning is new, whereas in those the meaning is known and the sound is new. Our delight is reflected in our little smile when we hear a good and well-cadenced metaphor.

Brevity and novelty in turn produce a third virtue, namely, clarity. One object rapturously illuminated by another shoots like a lightning bolt into your intellect, and the novelty causes marvel, which is a clear reflection that impresses the concept on the mind. For this reason you feel that metaphorical words, because they are sculpted in greater relief, remain in your memory. A manifest proof (says our author) that your intellect has apprehended and comprehended them better.[80] And even though some metaphors are not easy to penetrate at the first encounter, such as enigmas and laconisms, nonetheless, as soon as you do penetrate them, you see the concept much clearer and you have it more fixed in your mind than if it were recited to you in ordinary words. So metaphors can rightly be called ingenious lively expressions, concepts of the mind, witty insights and bright lights of oratory.

Here you have clearly before you the true and not vulgar definition of metaphor: "a rare word that quickly signifies an object by means of another." This definition is itself the great genus we are seeking. . . .

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The Marvelous

Now I want to show you the most abstruse and secret and the most miraculous and fertile fruit of human fancy, hitherto unnamed by the rhetorical schools, but well known to our author, who expounds in as part of his study of *Poetics*, where it properly belongs. This figure generates many others among the most beautiful that fly through prose or poetry. In Greek it is called *thauma*, that is, "the marvelous," and it consists of two almost incompatible concepts represented together and therefore supermarvelous: such as the one referring to Xerxes that our author so admires, "He sailed on land and walked on the seas. . . ." The positive is joined with the negative or the positive with the positive or the negative with the negative.

Aristotle exemplifies the positive combined with the negative in *Rhetoric* book 3, by calling the bow a "lyre without strings,"[81] and in *Poetics*, by calling the cup a "shield not of war but of Bacchus." He calls this figure a *proportional metaphor involving two relations* because it contains two incompatible and enigmatic terms which therefore cause marvel. But our miraculous teacher customarily allows us to see only the bare tracks of his doctrine. Therefore, just as we show wise greyhounds the tracks of the prey, so we must also use our ingenuity to extend what he says about enigmatic and marvelous metaphors to any proposition that causes marvel by the coupling of two incompatible terms, one positive and the other negative. Thus, speaking of the echo, which repeats our voices from the forests or from the crags, you can say, "she is soulless soul, mute and yet eloquent, who speaks without tongue; an inhuman human who forms words without breath; an image without figure that tints the air with colorless voices. She is not your daughter, but you generated her; you hear her and do not see her; she responds and does not hear you; she is a speaking nothing that speaks without knowing how, or that speaks without knowing what she says. She has studied neither Latin nor Greek, and yet speaks both." All these propositions are marvelous but true.

Joining positive with positive you can say: "She is a nymph of the air, a speaking stone, an animated reef, daughter of the breath; she lives in the forests and speaks all dialects; she is a savage sibyl who answers from the caves. Adulator and contemner, she laughs if you laugh and cries if you cry, she sings if you sing, and she blames you if you blame her and praises you if you praise her. She lives only as long as you speak, breathes with your breath, reasons with your tongue, lives with your life. One is living and two speak. One speaks and responds to himself. She is another you. If you leave she leaves; if you return, she returns; and if you die, she dies too."

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Joining negative to negative, you can say: "She is neither man nor beast. She knows neither how to speak nor how to keep silent. She knows neither how to lie nor how to tell the truth. She is without silence and without speech. She is not closed in and yet cannot leave her dwelling. She does not listen to you and you do not see her; yet she responds and you listen."

From these examples you can see that there are as many differences in these marvelous expressions as there are categories; but all such categories are drawn from physical substance, as, "human, and inhuman"; from metaphysical substance, as, "formless form, she is another you"; from quantity, as, "one is living and two speak"; from quality, as, "adulator and contemner"; from relations, as, "image of the voice, daughter of the breath"; from actions, as, "cries if you cry, laughs if you laugh"; from time, as, "lives only as long as you speak"; from the place, as, "savage sibyl who answers from the caves"; from movement,[82] as, "if you leave, she leaves"; or, finally, from instruments, as, "she speaks without tongue." Many more again are produced by mixing several categories together, such as "lives in the forests and speaks in all dialects," which is a mixture of place and action.

These then are the categories of the forms of the marvelous. Next I will reveal to you four rich mines that yield copious matter for these forms. Now, some things are marvelous by nature, others by art, others by our opinion, and still others by our invention. Marvelous by nature I call, first of all, divine things, including all miracles and the sources of each miracle. How many marvelous propositions, all true, can you create in each category concerning the Lord God? Substance: *the Son is different from the Father but is not a different thing*. Quantity: *three and one, immense and individual, extending throughout everything, and everything in each.* Qualities: *visible and invisible; most clear without light.* Relations: *the Son coeval and coetaneous with the Father, not procreated but generated.* Causality: *Without beginning and without end, beginning and end of all things.* Actions: *With a single gesture creator of everything from nothing.* Site: *The highest and the lowest.* Place: *Everywhere present, not circumscribed in any place.* Movement: *Immobile, yet moving everything.* Time: *always ancient, always new.* Possession:[83] *possessing everything and lacking nothing*. . . .

Equally marvelous are the monsters, which are witty expressions of nature, as I have argued. Such is the Satyr, which Guarini called, without metaphor, "half man, half goat and all beast."[84] Ovid called the Minotaur, *a half-man ox and an half-ox man,*[85] which are propositions marvelous as to substance; and he said of the sea ox, *it is an ox which no peasant works, but which grazes by ploughing the waters of the ocean,* a proposition that is marvelous as to substance and place. . . .

How much material for admirable propositions do some species of animal provide! Take, for example, the phoenix, which, regenerating itself

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while it kills itself, "is reborn as it dies, is always another and yet always the same." And the silkworm, which "builds its own nest inside its own sepulcher, and there it enters a worm and comes out a bird." And the tortoise, which, condemned by nature to remain perpetually confined and to come out and stay in at the same time, "wandering and yet confined, carries around its own prison." And, among stones, the magnet, which "seizes iron without hands, joins it without ties, loves it without sense, embraces it without sight. . . ."

For the marvelous based on qualities, there is Aetna, which, fuelling its flames near the snow, burns and freezes at the same time, so that Claudian quips, *the harmless flame licks the neighboring frost.*[86] To this you may add the earthquake, the tornado, lightning, comets, and all the meteors, all of which are evident effects of hidden causes, and so provide us with enigmatic and marvelous propositions that seem metaphorical and yet are true.

I now come to the marvelous based on art, that ingenious mechanic of strange and most witty works, as I said. Such is the ship, which swims like a fish yet is not a fish, flies like a bird yet is not a bird, is born on earth, walks on the sea, and carries men securely at four inches from death. Such is the wheelwork watch, which always runs but does not move, is not an astrologer yet shows us the time—although it frequently lies. Such are the birds of Archytas:[87] insensible birds that are not alive and yet fly, feed on nothing and yet do not die. Such are books: marvelous discovery of the intellect, which have words and no tongue, discourse without discourse, do not know how to read and yet teach every science. . . .

Of Metaphorical Arguments and True Concepts

An example of what I call a witty concept is Martial's epigram, commended by so many commentators, concerning the bee that chanced to die in the amber: *She hides and shines enclosed in the tear of one of the daughters of Phaethon so this bee seems enclosed in her own nectar. She has brought back the reward of all her efforts: one may believe she desired this kind of death.*[88] Happy little bee, who obtained a more precious tomb in these lines than in her amber, because inside that gem she died, whereas here she lives amid as many gems as there are words—words indeed truly worthy of a bee since they possess honey in the style and sting in the concept.

Witty too was Timaeus' saying, praised by Cicero, an expert judge and creator of concepts, concerning the burning of the Temple of Diana, "that the goddess could not put out the flames of her temple in Ephesus because she was busy in Pella with the birth of the great Alexander."[89] This is based on the ingenious observation that the Temple of Diana, protectress of births, burned on the same night that Alexander was born. . . .

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[Cicero] praised the wit in Vespa Terentius' quip concerning Titius, who played ball in the daytime and went about destroying silver statues at night. Answering his companions who wondered why Titius had not come to play one day, he replied, "do not be too surprised; he has broken an arm." While seeming to speak about the arm of Titius, he was actually speaking about the arm of the statue, excusing and accusing him in the same breath. . . .[90]

Reflecting upon these witty expressions and considering the bases of the whole question from a theoretical point of view, I say witty expressions and ingenious concepts are nothing but elegantly fallacious arguments. Surely you will concede that not every argument is witty, even though ingenious. If you recite to me an argument of Euclid, "that a triangle has three equal sides when all the lines directly drawn from the center to the circumference are equal to each other," this is truly an ingenious mathematical speculation; but it is not witty.[91] Likewise, if I wished to know "why hail falls in the summer and not in the winter" and you were to reply, "because the second region of the air is hot in winter and cold in summer due to antiperistasis,[92] therefore the vapor arriving there freezes in summer but not in winter," this would be a truly beautiful and learned meteorological response; but you could not call it a witty response nor an epigrammatical concept, even if you dressed it up in poetic meter, even if the explanation by itself, without any other invention of the intellect, is true and conclusive. Therefore, a witty argument should have its own force of ingenuity—that is, by some captious invention—so we can truly call it our own concept. Macrobius calls witty expressions *scommata* in Greek; that is, sophistries. Aristotle, in his divine *Ethics*,[93] speaking of the elegant man with a ready mind for witty sayings, called him *euscoptoles*, that is, a good sophist. And Seneca defined these things as "able and subtle little expressions,"[94] that is, fallacies, like the conclusions of epigrams. And to demonstrate this, let us recall to mind those . . . expressions I proposed, each of which, if said in verse, would form a witty epigram; and you will find them all based on one or more of the fallacies our author calls "passages containing apparent enthymemes."[95] On first hearing, they surprise the intellect and seem conclusive; but under examination they resolve into vain fallacies, like apples in the Black Sea, which are beautiful and colorful to behold, but when eaten leave the mouth full of ashes and smoke.

First of all, the concept of Martial concerning the bee in the amber, "one may believe she desired this kind of death," is based on the fallacy our author calls "false generalization,"[96] as when we say *since Dionysius is wicked it can be believed that he is a murderer*.[97] The fallacy of false analogy is also involved, because it assumes animals can speak like men.

The concept of Timaeus concerning the burning of the temple of Diana is based on the fallacy of *representing non-causes as causes*,[98] inferring an event to have been caused by another because it occurs at the same time or

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shortly after. An equivocation about the office of that goddess is also involved.[99]

The . . . concept of Terentius Vespa about the broken arm [is a sophistry] based on equivocation. . . .

I therefore conclude that excellence in witty expressions consists in knowing how to lie well. . . . If you want more proof, try removing the falsehood from these . . . ideal concepts and you will find that whatever you add of truth, so much will you subtract of beauty and pleasure, for the root of wit will be gone. Suppose Martial's bee really could speak and voluntarily chose its tomb in the amber; the saying will be no more witty than if you should say, pointing to Hadrian's tomb, "one may believe the emperor Hadrian desired to be buried there." Suppose Diana had actually gone, just like any female midwife, from Ephesus to Pella when her temple was destroyed by the fire. . . . Suppose Titius had really broken his arm that night. . . . Then these expressions would not be witty; they would be true and common arguments without novelty, acuity, ingenuity or grace.

I hear you say, all the sophistical fallacies of the dialecticians and the much-scorned sophistries of Protagoras and Zeno must therefore be witty sayings and ingenious epigrammatical concepts. And this is truly an important question. But our oracle disposes of it in two words: elegant enthymeme. There is no doubt that to understand such dialectical sophistries the most arcane mysteries of the whole rhetorical art must be brought to bear; and even today there is much debate concerning the difference between dialectic and rhetoric, twin sisters born so alike that many teachers mistake one for the other. I reply that the two concern different things. . . .

Rhetoric, as will be more fully explained elsewhere, concerns civic affairs—i.e., in private dealings, civil conversation, and public oratory—subject to moral persuasion of three sorts: praise and blame, advice and dissuasion, defense and accusation. Dialectic, on the other hand, concerns things that are disputed scholastically among seekers after truth. So if you say "Verres is an individual composed of a body and a rational soul," this is matter for dialectics. But if you say "Verres is a public criminal of Sicily," this is matter for rhetoric. Therefore, a rhetorical sophism is composed of civic matter subject to popular persuasion; and dialectical sophisms are composed of matter that can be disputed in a scholarly fashion. If you said, *thing is a syllable; but thing is a genus; so syllable is a genus,* this would be a dialectical sophism in scholastic material, which offends no one. But if you said, *Ver[min] is a brute animal, but Verres rules Sicily; so a brute animal rules Sicily,*[100] this would be a sophism similar to the syllogism and to the logical topic called equivocation. But it is rhetorical in subject matter because it slanders the praetor of Sicily.

Therefore, the two fields are different in their ends. Rhetoric concerns popular persuasion, while dialectic concerns scholastic instruction. The elegant sophism thus seeks to please the minds of the listeners by its

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geniality, without the encumbrance of truth, whereas the dialectical sophism seeks to infuse falsehood into the minds of the listeners by sleight of hand. Our author says the rhetorician should know how to form and use sophisms to make himself more persuasive, because as long as he persuades honest things, he may use any argument he likes. On the contrary, however well the dialectician knows how to form such sophisms, he may not use them since no one can seek the truth and teach falsehood at the same time.[101] Of this sort was the sophism Zeno called his Achilles, a dialectical hoax whereby he presumed to fool his academicians into thinking nothing could move in the heavens nor on earth in spite of what the eye affirms. *Every continuum is composed of individuals; but nothing moves outside the individual; therefore nothing moves outside the continuum.*[102] Such again were the sophistries of Protagoras, reviled by our author as a rank impostor upon minds and an oppressor of truth by falsehood. And those of Aeschines,[103] whom Demosthenes compared to the cruel Sirens because he used his sophistries to lead minds not to useful things but to dangerous ones.

The elegant enthymeme is also different in form from the dialectical sophism. For the rhetorician's purpose is to persuade by any means likely to please the listener, spicing his expression with little fables, discoveries, and pretty phrases, disturbing their dialectical order, shortening the familiar ones to avoid tediousness, and dressing them all in such a fashion that their falsehood could only be discovered if they were undressed and laid bare. On the contrary, among disputants who scrupulously discriminate in the search for truth, the propositions of the syllogism must be clear and fully laid out, so that the intellect consenting to the antecedent will be forced to accept to the consequent. . . .

The last and most important difference is in the essential elegance. Though every sophism is a fallacy, not every fallacy will be an elegant sophism, but only those which painlessly and jokingly and not perniciously imitate truth, without oppressing it, and imitate falsity so the truth may shine through as though through a veil, allowing what is not said to be quickly understood from what is said. In this immediate comprehension, as we have shown, lies the true essence of metaphor. When I use a simple metaphor and say, "the meadows laugh," I do not intend to make you believe that the meadows giggle like men, but that they are pleasant. Likewise, the metaphorical enthymeme infers one thing so you can understand another. . . . Putting together therefore the four circumstances I have explained, I conclude that the elegant enthymeme is an ingenious sophism in civil matters, jokingly persuasive, without the entire form of a syllogism, and based on a metaphor. And this is the most perfect witty expression of which we speak. . . .

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32. Sforza Pallavicino, *Science and the Dialogue*

As a cautious supporter of the new science of Galileo and a zealous Churchman besides, Sforza Pallavicino[1] (best known for his spirited rebuttal of Paolo Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*) recognized two important challenges for the Church in the early seventeenth century: first, the emergence of new knowledge in collision with widely accepted philosophical and theological principles, and second, the expansion of the arsenal of persuasive techniques to diffuse this knowledge. Rising to these challenges without falling into obscurantism, he believed, could be the secret to the Church's continued intellectual leadership and promised extraordinary benefits for its campaign to get its own message across. Born in Rome to a Parmese family in 1607, a nephew of Virgilio Malvezzi on his mother's side, Pallavicino particularly distinguished himself as a student at the Jesuit Collegio Romano before joining an intellectual circle including Fabio Chigi and Galileo's Roman correspondent, Giovanni Ciampoli. His position as heir of one of the most considerable family fortunes in Italy guaranteed him access to the highest reaches of Roman society even without his impressive talents, and, taking a prelacy, he received appointments to the Congregations of Good Government and of Ecclesiastical Immunities. Friendship with Ciampoli soon involved him in the Galileo affair, and he discreetly left Rome rather than be forced to denounce his friend, taking governorships in Orvieto and Camerino. On his return, he abandoned family concerns entirely, much to his father's displeasure, and, dedicating himself to the Church, he joined the Jesuits in 1637. As theology professor in the Collegio Romano, he was forced to come face to face with the problems of the new scientific discoveries and methods in a pedagogical situation. In 1646 he published a tract on rhetoric analyzing the questions raised by Galileo's campaign to bring scientific knowledge to the masses. Meanwhile, he began what was to be a long career as a Catholic writer and apologist, in such works as *On the Good* (1644), *Vindications of the Society of Jesus* (1649), and *Disputations on St. Thomas* (1649-53). Soon after his pro-Rome rebuttal (1656-57) of Paolo Sarpi, his old friend Fabio Chigi, now pope Alexander VII, made him a cardinal. In his last years (he died in 1667), he completed *The Art of Christian Perfection* and the final version of the 1646 tract on rhetoric, excerpted here.

The Power of Rhetoric

. . . To say that the truth is so beautiful in itself that any slight extraneousness besmirches it and does not adorn its visage, that its honesty forbids all sorts of embellishments, and a thousand similar sayings, is in

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fact nothing other than to embellish a lie by metaphors, making it seem like truth to minds with little discernment. If men could manifest their ideas immediately like the angels, words would be superfluous. But since in order to understand one another it is necessary to paint those ideas with some perceptible colors, why choose the sordid dinginess of coal rather than the more gracious tints of ultramarine? Since some sort of recipient is necessary to transport this liquid from one mind to the other, what good is it if that most salubrious liquid, namely, the teachings of wisdom, is offered for drink in a filthy and stinking bowl that nauseates, rather than in a golden cup, sweet-smelling, that invites others to place their lips upon it? Here certainly the famous comparison used by Lucretius is very apt, of the honey sprinkled around the edges of jars of medicine so children, attracted by that sweet, more willingly go to drink.

I do not want this sweetness to be so infected that it corrupts the power of the medicine, a defect from which the great man who transported this comparison into our language perhaps was not entirely innocent.[2] I object also to a sweet that takes away the original taste of the doctrine, because the intellect should be defended from every fraud and not run the risk of being cheated into drinking wine with tannin, delightful to the taste but harmful to the stomach. For this reason, and with the same simile, Aristotle warns us that an overly florid manner of speaking is not as good for an orator as his listeners might suspect—even though there is considerable difference in the purpose of the orator and the philosopher, as will soon become plain. I want the sweet to be like sugar in foods, which improves but does not change other flavors.

In addition, I want this same sugar, however innocent and savory it may be, spread over the didactic style with a tight fist, according to the precepts of the great masters, who adopt more simplicity of speech in the more discursive and more serious parts of their orations, which in requiring an undiverted mind, resemble those very minute characters that must be written on pure and uncolored paper and without obvious flourishes of the pen so that the eye can discern them more clearly and easily. But this pure paper must be fine and white, these simple characters must be gracious and masterfully proportioned so they can be read not only with ease but even with pleasure. Would to Heaven that naked wisdom invited itself so powerfully into our souls that, just as in the stars or the Sun, every vestment placed upon it should seem like clouds in comparison! But unfortunately it is obvious how much the effort of learning is repudiated by the world if it does not bring, along with the usefulness of the dowry, beauty and a pretty face besides—and not just the grace and loveliness of a child, but that of a grave and venerable matron; and such is the grace and loveliness that we would praise in the philosophical style of Cicero, if he did not abstain from exaggerations and sometimes even from affectation. And such indeed perhaps, in its first and uncorrupted original, would have

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been the style adopted by Aristotle in his esoteric books, if he had not occasionally been too parsimonious in his words. But he who proposed to disperse those words throughout all the most curious and amazing problems that might occur to the intellect of man perhaps could not give too much to each particular problem.

I concede that the teacher of knowledge must seem and be dispassionate toward both of two contrary opinions, not loving anything but the truth wherever he finds it. But he must not be so dispassionate concerning whether his book is read or not, since this is the first purpose of every writing. And yet experience teaches that elegance in writing (I say elegance, not affectation) is a magnet that draws the eyes to the page, and an evergreen that makes books immortal, without which we should hardly be able to name a single one that has been able to defend itself from the moths of time. Indeed, the teacher of knowledge must not only show himself without equivocation to wish to be read, but also to be believed. Nor must he only seek to teach, but, if he can do this as well, to please; and in both of these features he differs from the orator. The orator, in order not to appear too zealous in creating believers, as the previously mentioned Aristotle said, must avoid obvious ornaments. And because he intends only to persuade, he must not seem to speak well on purpose but only accidentally, since the depravity of human intellects will not allow them to be persuaded by explicated reasoning unless this is also embellished. Thus, the orator desiring to move the listeners now to a particular decision or deliberation and later to feel good or bad about something, can clearly always be suspected of having some interest in the affair, which moves his tongue to falsify his heart. But this suspicion increases as the great artifice in his speech appears the more evident, since it is well known that great artifice, being difficult, is rarely used except where the person has great interest and where he needs such artifice in order to draw light away from the truth. But the writer of knowledge treats of universal problems about which he gets nothing from supporting one side or the other, except when he happens to be engaged in a conflict or else writes in favor of his religion. . . .

The Use of the Dialogue

No animal loves imitation more than man: he delights in seeing it, delights in doing it. This for the most part is the origin of the enjoyment of poetry, painting, sculpture and music; and this is the reason why man learns all the arts so easily; and with his ten fingers he participates to some degree in Omnipotent Power. This enjoyment that is particular to man is mentioned by all those who have written about poetry, but the real reason for this delight is not explained by a single one known to me. Declaring it here will serve to defend the imitative professions from the accusations of Plato mentioned elsewhere by me. . . .[3]

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Another very much more instructive means of putting ideas and imitation together has been discovered, and it is the dialogue. Plato used it universally and gloriously; Aristotle shunned it, if we are to believe what is written by some very famous men; so Xenophon is given the second honor among the Greeks whom we now read, and Lucian the third. In Rome, Cicero used it, giving splendor to knowledge by studding it with the gems of eloquence and becoming for this reason no less illustrious in the academy than in the forum. And among the Church Fathers, setting aside the Greeks, there are Augustine, Gregory the Great, Anselm and others whose sanctity equalled their knowledge and who adopted this form of writing. Nor has our idiom shown itself to be less a lover of this form than others. Cardinal Bembo, Sperone Speroni, Cesare Bargagli and many many others,[4] but principally the adventurous pen of Torquato Tasso show by their good examples just how well adapted the dialogue is for communicating the most noble disciplines.

To understand the art and usefulness of this type of composition it is necessary to know that the human actions imitated by poetry are divided into words and facts. Facts are mainly imitated by epic and drama, whose very names indicate this; words on the other hand are imitated in both of these types of poem and especially in drama, and this in two ways. One way is when the words are directed to the representation of facts, and this usually occurs in the imitation of words on stage, where little or nothing of the deeds of the acting personages is shown to us except aided by the imitation of their words. The second way is where the words are imitated by the poet for their own sake, not as a narration but rather as circumstances of the action principally represented and as expressions of internal sentiments. Both of these ways of imitating cannot by their nature teach through doctrine, but only through example.

Another kind of imitation is aimed at representing not facts (except secondarily) but words, and the latter not as signifiers of passions but of concepts, so that Aristotle, whom we quoted elsewhere, distinguished annunciative speaking, proper to the philosopher, from effectual, proper to the poet or to the orator. And the dialogue is endowed with this imitation, so that it is able to infuse doctrine into the mind with whatever power is possessed by the words which it proposes to our thinking. . . .

Compositions in dialogue are often criticized for the difficulty whereby doctrine may be received from them, since they are so much concerned with eloquently propounding many mutually opposed arguments for both sides of a question, ending like a contest between litigants without the judge's verdict. But this reproof blames the art for what is really the fault of the artist, and generally concerns features that belong to a few species. There are indeed some dialogues that leave the reader very dubious about to what view the author inclines. And these are sometimes the result of chance; but they are also sometimes the result of deliberate study, when the author does

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not intend to do anything other than to propose to the student something like a trial of how much the acts of nature and of the intellect declare in favor of both of the opinions, so that the student may play the part of a judge without hearing the vote of others, pronouncing the verdict in his own mind. And this was the intention of Marcus Tullius [Cicero] in some of his. Recently, sometimes the purpose of the dialogue has been to show the weakness of the conventional arguments and the obscurity of the problems that the common people enthusiastically regard as self-evident, exciting in the readers the curiosity and greed of cleverly speculating. And this last I believe was the purpose of Plato in many of his.[5]

All of the indicated manners of dialogue without exception are defective for teaching. Nonetheless, books are like merchandise, which is not taken to the fair to be useful to every rank of common people. Certainly, to some readers, writings of this type are not only more pleasant than the others but more useful, since they prefer to play the judge rather than the schoolboy. Some opinions on the other hand are still such enemies to the multitude that if they ever tried to enter in triumph and become masters, even the ramparts of the ear would be closed to them as to any assailant. In order for writings to liberate minds from the tyranny of incumbent falsehood, it would be better from the beginning for them to introduce themselves modestly and as private persons, so that when their merit should be recognized, intellects would spontaneously accept their lordship. . . .

33. Cristoforo Ivanovich, *A Day at the Theater*

Alongside the continuing traditions of the spoken theater there grew up, in Florence around 1600, an entirely new genre: the opera. Its success throughout Italy was immediate. In Venice it was practically reborn in a new more popular form, as the entrepreneurs running the new public theaters sought the best sorts of productions for showing off the brilliant singers they brought in to please audiences. There it rapidly became a lucrative business with a fixed season that visitors came to attend from far and wide. Cristoforo Ivanovich observed this success, even if he failed, like most contemporary writers, to say much about the actual music performed.[1]

By the second half of the century the opera had come a long way from the days when Florentine Camerata members Ottavio Rinuccini and Jacopo Peri tried to improve existing musical theater, which had only recently become emancipated from intermezzi between the acts of spoken drama, by reference to the new discoveries of Girolamo Mei concerning the monody of the ancient Greeks, and came up with the mixture of aria and recitative that was to become the hallmark of the genre.[2] The sparse staging of their *Euridice* and its immediate successors soon gave way to the most

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sumptuous productions, exploiting every possible application of seventeenth-century aesthetic theory and animated by machines for producing stupendous effects explained in Niccolò Sabbatini's 1638 treatise on the subject.

When the usual season of Carnival was over, the Venetian opera year did not stop. At least for the very wealthy, it picked up in the season of *villeggiatura* when families would leave the fall humidity and frenetic pace of the lagoons for the drier air and leisure of their Terraferma (mainland) villas.

For recording these festivities, Cristoforo Ivanovich had impeccable credentials. Born in Venetian Dalmatia in 1628, he got his first contacts with the Italian theater as a member of the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona in the 1650s. Soon afterwards he sought his fortune in Venice and combined work as a secretary to nobleman Leonardo Pesaro with work as the writer of libretti put to music by Pier Francesco Cavalli and Paolo Andrea Ziani. And he happened to be present in 1680 at the famous performance of Francesco Maria Piccioli's *Amazoni nelle Isole Fortunate* (*Amazons in the Isles of the Blessed*) and G. M. Rapparini's *Berenice vendicativa* (*Bernice the Revenger*) at Villa Contarini in Piazzola, outside Cittadella, a city subject to Venice. The setting was impeccable. Built in 1546 by Andrea Palladio on the ruins of an ancient castle, the villa contained two theaters. Performances had been staged from 1662 onwards in the larger one, which could hold up to a thousand spectators. In the smaller one, called the "Place of the Virgins," Marco Contarini (1633-89), proprietor and artistic director, showed off the young girls for whom he provided instruction in music and dance.[3]

This city, and almost the whole world as well, enjoyed an incredible spectacle, because of the theatrical entertainments described here, when the heroic mind of Procurator Marco Contarini, son of Cavalier Pietro, unexpectedly and with heroic generosity and magnificence, had a very superb and very capacious theater built in Piazzola, situated in the valleys subject to the jurisdiction of Cittadella. This place is ten miles from Padua, ten from Vicenza, seven from Cittadella, fifteen from Bassano and thirty-five from this illustrious country, and because of the chain of so many cities surrounding it that are reachable in a few hours, it can be called a suburb or, better, a townsman's country retreat, ennobled by many different buildings. The palace is of very noble architecture by the famous Palladio, recently enlarged by various noble conveniences. A long street with a very pleasant view leads up to it. The walls of the courtyard are covered outside with double rows of citrus trees and surrounded on all sides by very copious running waters, which serve also as fisheries and flow into a large round pond, with arches and statues, where His Excellency has his musical

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serenades sung in the summer. The palace is full of majesty and convenience in the rooms on the ground floor, in the galleries, and in the great round room, where many statues placed atop little columns encircle those who wish to look up at the second level from the first. I omit a detailed report on the number of large rooms, chambers, halls, corridors, the beauty of the stairways, the gracefulness of the work of the marbles and pictures, since all these things are far from our subject. At a short distance from this [palace], the above mentioned theater has been built, and a long and majestic corridor, adorned with columns of marble and roofed with lead, leads to it. This theater is the same as those in Venice as far as its form is concerned, but it is different in the accompanying details. The stairways are of marble and have statues supporting the floors of every level; the boxes are painted in fresco by a good hand, and the glass of the windows is of crystal. The floor below is paved with stones according to the ancient Persian custom and can hold five hundred persons with a wooden grandstand; and there are openings so water can be made to flow beneath to offer coolness in the summertime. The four orders of boxes can hold another five hundred people and are adorned with stucco of exquisite workmanship, all embellished with gold. The ceiling is entirely covered with mirrors suspended by little gilded ornaments also of stucco. The stage is very vast; suffice it to say that it can hold a procession of carriages, or an open-air hunt, or a Persian triumph, as will be heard in the present account.

In November, 1680, when the nobility take their trip into the countryside, was the first performance of the *Amazoni nelle Isole Fortunate* by Dr. [Francesco Maria] Piccioli, with music by Carlo Pallavicino; and this year 1681 in the same month the performance of this drama was repeated, and there premiered also *La Berenice vendicativa*, a libretto by two unknown but erudite authors, united by the virtuoso music of Domenico Freschi.[4] In the general opinion, its magnificence surpassed all expectations of a theater in the open countryside, and there was no awkwardness at all, but everything proceeded with perfect and admirable punctuality. The proscenium was supported by two great elephants, who in the first opera held up a curtain of crimson velvet laced with gold, and in the second, another of velvet with gold warp pile worked over and over. When this opened, great beauty and wealth appeared on stage, great invention in the [scenic] machines, great vivacity in the characters and great pomp in the supers. In the first opera, these supers consisted of some three hundred persons, including one hundred Amazons, one hundred Moors and fifty horsemen, in a delightful procession, besides pages, grooms, lackeys, and coachmen. In the second, there were a hundred men on horseback, besides the other less numerous supers required by the drama. One saw coaches, triumphal chariots, wagons with prisoners, and carriages for the procession, pulled by horses, and driven by superbly dressed coachmen. There appeared a Hunt involving deer, bears and live boars, which were

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killed by hunters. Amid the variety of the scenes there was one particularly noble one, consisting of a public square with a temple and a stall containing a hundred live horses assisted by many stable boys. There was a chamber all adorned in fine embroidery. There was a procession of carriages, the first of which had its roof and draperies adorned by ribbons, and the doors and horse blankets adorned by the same fine embroidery. Another carriage was all covered with silk flowers; another was covered and adorned with very beautiful feathers; another was covered with diamonds and tiny mirrors; and yet another with gilded stuccos. These five carriages went around and encountered each other in the set, just as in races that are held in cities; and there were many other marvels prescribed by the dramas. On the evening of the performances this theater was illuminated by many white wax candles, which were extinguished just as the curtain rose, while the candles in the boxes remained lit until the end of the drama. The spectators filled the theater to capacity, and among them were the Most Serene Duke of Mantua, the prince of Bozzolo, the prince landgrave of Hesse,[5] and many other princes, as also the entourages of the Imperial, French and Spanish ambassadors, many procurators of St. Mark,[6] Venetian senators, and gentlemen of the Veneto, and foreigners with their ladies. Afterwards, in their generosity, Their Excellencies dispensed equally to everyone printed librettos of the current drama, with little candles, to be able to enjoy them reading along with the observation.

The entertainment of such a great number of spectators in the days between the performances was worthy of note. In the daytime, there was a great concourse or promenade of ladies and gentlemen in their carriages, with over 150 harnesses of six horses on the large avenue before the palace. Then in the evening, there was a very pleasant dance in the round room, where very sumptuous dresses and priceless jewels were seen. This year the performance of the *Berenice* was to be repeated even several times; but fate, which has a part in every great opera, willed that one morning a recently built room, where all the costumes of the supers and the characters were kept, should collapse, also breaking the triumphal chariots and the carriages of the procession, so there was no way to proceed. The accident robbed the enjoyment from many other princes and gentlemen as well, who had come to stay nearby after having travelled all the way from Milan, Turin, Genoa, Rome, Florence, Bologna, and even from Paris; but it did not remove the satisfaction of seeing a great and noble concourse on land and water. For, in the canal constructed by this gentleman, which goes up close to the theater itself, there were more than fifty barges of gentlemen and ladies, who entertained themselves in them in a very sumptuous manner. In conclusion, there remains to consider, among so many expenses, the consumption of melted candles, of food in superabundance, and of magnificence in everything; for on such occasions a noble soul cannot be entertained by ordinary portions of things. All of these marvels have raised

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the universal eyebrows in triumphal arches, above which eternity itself will be transitory, bringing to future centuries the fame of this hero, who has tried and succeeded in bringing praise to his own genius and, to his country, the merit of renewing the glories of Rome in him and in its sons.

34. Andrea Perrucci, *The Art of Representation*

The Neapolitan philosophical renaissance took off just as Italian spoken and musical theater entered a crucial period of transition.[1] And according to one of the most acute observers of the time, Andrea Perrucci, the main changes consisted, on the one hand, of the exhaustion of the current opera tradition inspired by the seventeenth-century aesthetic and the need for new aesthetic to replace it, and, on the other hand, the increasing vitality of the commedia dell'arte and the need to bring it within the literary mainstream. And his observations and suggestions in both these areas anticipated the literary movements that in the subsequent century, with many lesser personages in between, were to lead in two directions: to Pietro Metastasio and to Carlo Goldoni. He spent his entire career in Naples, the entertainment capital of Southern Italy, where he migrated with his family from Palermo as a child. His artistic gifts appeared early, and he published his first poetic work in 1663, aged twelve. Nevertheless, upon graduating from the local university, where presumably he was able to profit from the presence of Francesco D'Andrea, he opened a law practice, and this was to be his main source of income for the rest of his life. Theatrical work in Naples was still almost entirely subject to the vagaries of the viceroyal court, unlike in Venice, where theaters were public and business was very brisk. Perrucci expressed some scorn for those who made theater a paying profession. In any case, his productivity between 1674, the date of his first essay in the new genre of musical comedy (*Stellidaura vindicata*) up to the time of his death in 1704 included compositions in every genre, from tragedy to farce to opera, with music by Francesco Provenzale, Saverio Di Luca, Francesco Mancini and others, along with poetry in Neapolitan dialect and a considerable number of adaptations from his favorite writer, Lope de Vega. Theater did not exhaust his activities outside the forum. Although his cultural interests did not extend as far as the circle of Leonardo Di Capua and the heirs to the Accademia degli Investiganti, he became an officer of another academy, the Società degli Spensierati, devoted to a broad range of humanist subjects. In the 1690s he settled into a government position and practically retired from the theater. But just as the Accademia degli Arcadi began to call for a broadly-based cultural reform, he went back over his

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theatrical experiences and formulated the propositions contained in *The Art of Representation.*

What Is Representation[2]

Before explaining the rules of this art, let us first of all ask, what is it? What other arts belong to it? And what good is it?

The art of representation is distinguished from the poets' art of writing compositions for representation. It consists of live imitation, by voice and by gesture, in a theater, of an entire action, either historical or fabulous, either with song or with discourse, either composed entirely by the poet or else with the subject provided by him and given to be recited in the words of the interlocutors, for the delight and the benefit of an audience.

This type of representation is distinguished from scenic poetry by requiring voice and gesture. It is said to be either historical or fabulous according as it admits true or fictitious things. It is said to be with song or discourse to divide it into melodramas and spoken dramas. When the invention, the disposition and the words are entirely by the poet, the representation is said to be composed entirely by him, or in part by him when the subject is the poet's and the words are improvised by the performers. It is said to be aimed at imparting delight as well as benefit, because this exercise seeks to conquer idleness and to emend corrupt customs.

The art is divided into spoken and musical; the first requires no music except to divide the acts, and the second requires the accompaniment of continuous music. Both of these are further divided into tragedy, comedy, satyric drama and a mixture of all three, as in hilaro-tragedy or tragicomedy.

Spoken representations are further divided into verse and prose, and prose into premeditated or improvised.

Since representation serves for diversion and relief from the cares of human interactions, and is therefore *eutrapelia*, as has been said, it is not bad in itself although it can be either good or bad depending on how it is practiced—either modestly, and therefore acceptably, or immodestly and therefore worthy of abomination. . . .

Of the Stage Setting or Theater, and its Arrangement

For the custom of the ancients in building the stage setting for a performance, I will only refer the reader to Boulenger's *De Theatro*.[3] In our own time, there is no doubt that this has arrived at the ultimate perfection through the inventions of the most noble Venetian geniuses, who can never be praised enough. In ancient times the stage setting presented a view consisting of a palace adorned by columns, of a decorated background, of

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houses (for comedy) or of a forest (for satyric drama). But we do not know whether the ancients had so many changes of scene as the moderns do, and with so much variety that scarcely anything is left to the imagination, since we see the scene transformed in a moment from a palace into a city, from a salon into a forest, from a gallery into a garden, from a meadow into a heaven, and from a heaven into a hell, with so many shapes and with such velocity and artifice that it seems more an enchantment of the eyes than a contrivance by machines.

The Spaniards were the first to introduce such a variety of incidents. According to Cervantes,[4] some of their comedies begin in Europe and have the second act in Asia, the third in Africa, and if there were a fourth (representations in five acts having now been eliminated) it would be in America. They usually divide the stage setting in two, with a forest or a city on one side and, on the other, palaces or rooms or what have you. To tell the truth, I do not like this practice, because to know where the character is performing he must say "now I am in the city," or "in the antechamber," or "in the salon," which is tedious to the audience and imparts implausibility to the speaker. So there is no doubt that changing the scene gives delight to the eye, although this must correspond to the fact.

Musical opera, which has been either introduced or renewed in our times, tends more toward the tragic, so it deserves the prettiest and most beautiful apparatus including columns, rooms, salons, antechambers, very rich galleries, majestic cities, views of the sea and so forth, because emperors, kings, princes and all characters who perform matter rather for the buskin than for the sock must be introduced into these places[5] (we will say more on this in the rule concerning dress), as well as deities who necessarily must be accompanied by ostentation of the most exalted and admirable views. In this case, the more majestic the theater and the more extravagant the view, so much closer will it be to the verisimilar and produce exactly the desired delight. Just look at the entertainments given in Rome, Vienna, Tuscany, Naples and in so many cities of Italy.

In acted works, I recommend the same magnificence when they are tragedies, where possible. In any case, I consider changes of scene to be necessary for diversifying the actions as they take place in the city or in the countryside or in the ports or in the bedrooms; and if Minturno[6] wants the stage setting of a tragedy to be decorated by columns as in ancient times, I would add all the mutations necessary to accommodate the stage setting to the action performed, since chamber actions should not be carried out on the street or in the courtyard, nor sylvan actions carried out in the offices.

I agree with Minturno that in comedies the stage setting must be arranged according to the streets of a city with houses of individuals; and in satyric dramas, there must be caves surrounded with trees, fields and hovels. I do not approve of placing the names of the inhabitants on the houses as the ancients did, because this practice ***has left the scene*** and,

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having gone so far out of practice, would seem a monstrous novelty to the eyes of the world.

There must be a public square for the performers, as wide as possible in order to give them space to walk around; and I recommend diverse entrances, like streets, so they will not bump into each other, a great inconvenience contrary to verisimilitude.

The chorus, which we call orchestra by the ancient word since performing or singing by people of a chorus is no longer in use, I would place according to the present practice—in front of the scene, so the musical director[7] and the musicians can pay attention to the actions of the performers and accompany them, especially since singing is done on stage, and a hidden chorus is not needed to speak for mute characters there.

A curtain goes in front of the scene, covering everything. This was called *oppansum* by the ancients and also *auleium*[8] for tragedy and *siparium*[9] for comedy; which seems to be what we call a *domo*, although some say that the *auleia* are carpets, *which extend to the palace,* but what the curtain of the proscenium, or the *domo*, was, Virgil seems to say in the following passage: *So, when on festival days the curtain in the theater is raised, figures of men rise up, showing first their faces.*[10]

I do not know what Minturno and Aelius Donatus[11] meant by saying a curtain should come down in front of the audience so they can see when the acts change. Perhaps the ancients brought down a curtain at the end of every act, hiding the scene; or else they meant the *domo,* which must be fairly mobile, so that opening it allows some actions to be seen performed in bedrooms, other rooms, on the sea, in grottoes, etc.

Carpets spread out on the ground contribute to decorum; and also, if a character falls down to show fainting, injury, or some other accident, he will not get dirty or hurt, moving the audience to laughter rather than compassion and reducing an admirable action to a joke.

The houses represented in comedies should have windows and doors to accommodate the incidents that may occur during the course of the narrative. Painters ought to make them proportional to the character; although they sometimes depict the houses so small that even ants could not enter, not to say Pygmies. Optics should be kept in mind, for which, however, I refer the reader to the theatrical and architectural arts which are the custodians of those rules, according to Vitruvius and the moderns who have written about the three dramatic genres, including Horace, Valerius Maximus and Pietro Crinito.[12]

I think it acceptable that the façade or prospect should have the title of the work that is being represented, such as for example, "*The Eunuch* of Terence, a Greek story from Menander." But for the names of the characters to be written there also, as Minturno suggests, would be too much, particularly since today a very big tablet would be necessary to write down all the names of the performers, who sometimes amount to fifteen or more.

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The raising of the curtain allows the spectators to experience the amazement of suddenly seeing the characters of the prologue situated in the scene, particularly if this is inventive. Count Guidobaldo Bonarelli[13] used to have the curtain removed long before the prologue came out, so the marvel at the sudden spectacle would not take attention away from the performer, according to Torquato Tasso; although everything must be accommodated to the custom of the place.

The flights and the machines must be organized by the architects, who will try to steal the poet's glory by making them charming, reliable, majestic and admirable, not ridiculous and dangerous, as sometimes happens due to the ineptitude of the engineers and negligence of the artisans who help them.

Trying to present an opera with no ostentation, and with a stage setting painted by coal and hung with kitchen fabrics, is worthy only of mountebanks and other actors who, camping around like Gypsies, grab food from the foolish as well as they can. They bring the most infamy on comedy by having women dressed as men in the public squares, which is strictly prohibited by the Roman law denounced by Garzoni in his *Piazza universale*.[14]

Since the theater itself is an important component of comedy, as Aristotle says in his *Poetics*, and since the comic consists in spectacle, characters, and style, we rightly began our discussion with the theater.

Even public theaters invited charlatans, prestidigitators, jugglers, conjurers and tumblers—whom the Greeks call by diverse names and whom the Latins call *funamboli* and *oscillantes*, meaning tightrope walkers, stilt-walkers who walk with legs of wood, mountebanks, clowns and mimes; and the ancients also brought parasites, mutes, imbeciles and harlequins on the scene, about which see Boulenger.[15]

On the Costumes in Tragedy, Comedy, Satyric Drama, and Etc.

Costumes are also a necessary component part of decorum in the theater, because they cause a man to be respected and considered as something more than what he is, so it is well said: *Men revere him whom clothing adorns*.[16] Costumes make a person seem to be a character he is not; and to persuade others he is a king he must dress that way. Julius Pollux[17] explains how to do this, referring to the authority of the ancients, who, according to the above cited Aelius Donatus, dressed the aged in white, the young in iridescent colors, the servants in tight costumes, the parasites with crumpled cloaks, the happy ones in white costumes, the unfortunate in dark costumes, the wealthy in purple, and the soldiers in reddish or purple military mantles, with capes of different colors, the ruffians in yellow, that is, golden yellow, and the courtesans wore dresses with a train, just as today. Royal clothing was of gold for tragical characters; today however modern dress is appropriate, since Minturno says whatever clothing is in

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use today must be adopted, accommodated to the customs of the particular country.

Therefore also in operas, in other words, musical dramas, that have something of the tragic, as has been said, and in tragedies, royal characters are dressed in purple and in clothing embroidered with gold, such as the imperial vestments described in Roman Law. As far as the theater is concerned, Aeschylus was the inventor of this practice, and he brought in clothing made of rich ankle-length skins. To make costumes more majestic, the ancient usage must be followed of adding armor, crests and crowns, and dressing the happy characters in purple and gold costumes, the unhappy in dark, dark blue, or in soiled white costumes, the hunters and combatants in short and tight costumes of scarlet. The costume of Tiresias was of wool; of Philoctetes and Telephus,[18] vile and torn. Heroes wore clothing of different colors or else embroidered with stars, and wore crowns or miters and carried scepters, lances, swords, quivers and arrows, staffs, rods, and every sort of armament. Queens wore a long purple dress called a *palla* by the ancients, with long white sleeves, or else they dressed according to the current custom, as long as it was majestic and not base. Care must also be taken to dress according to the usage of the country where the opera is pretended to take place, that is, the Romans according to the Roman custom, the Jews according to the Jewish, the Persians according to the Persian, and so on. The Spaniards are particularly accurate in this. Tragic characters must wear buskins on their feet and comics must wear socks; mimes, called *planipedes*, went around in slippers (hence the name). Dante said, "matter rather for the buskin than the sock," signifying tragical material for lamentation and not comical for laughing.[19]

All the other characters must dress according to the person or god they represent and carry their symbols—namely, Jupiter the lightning bolt, Mercury the caduceus, Saturn the scythe, and so on with all of them, just as they are described or painted by the best painters. And one may refer to the *Genealogy of the Gods* of Boccaccio, the *Images of the Gods* of Cartari, and other authors.[20]

Princes must dress like princes, courtiers like courtiers, servants, old women, boys, buffoons, and everyone else must dress in the manner of a well-regulated court.

The ideal characters for hypotyposis or prosopopoeia,[21] introduced either in the prologues or in the opera itself for the resolution,[22] for the machines or for the plot, must also dress in the proper expressive colors—for example, white for faith, green for hope, dark blue for jealousy, iridescent colors for inconstancy—with crowns or hieroglyphics showing the listeners what they represent, as in Cesare Ripa's *Iconology*, Piero Valeriani's *Hieroglyphics*,[23] and elsewhere; and if no standard way can be found of expressing a particular character, one might have an ingenious poet or scholar invent a new way. For example, supposing one wishes to show a

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city not mentioned in any of the iconologies, one might look into ancient medallions for a coat of arms that was used as its emblem, or else one might adopt its most famous activities.

Cross-dressing is necessary to tragedy and frequently necessary in comedy, although this is prohibited in Deuteronomy (*A woman shall not be clothed with man's apparel, neither shall a man use woman's apparel*[24]), as well as in the civil laws and in the canons. But the Gentiles, as Laertius said in Plutarch and as Gesner proves,[25] had no scruples about admitting cross-dressing in theaters, as they thought it was necessary. In any case, especially when women cross dress, decorum and modesty must be observed, and the precepts of Lope de Vega in the above mentioned *Art of Comedy* must be observed: *And if the tragedians change their dress, let it be /As may be pardoned, because. . . .*[26]

Neither men nor women must ever appear nude or seminude, since this is against the laws of modesty, as Samuel Pufendorf says.[27] Although the ancient actors observed the evil custom of showing nude women on stage, they were criticized by pagans such as Seneca and Valerius Maximus no less than by a Christian saint like St. Cyprian.

Religious clothing must not be used in profane actions except where such occur in sacred works, say the laws.

Mute choruses, or as we now say, supernumeraries, must also dress in the livery of the court, whether they are soldiers, pages, maids of honor, guards, or what have you. In other words, everything must express a well-organized court, so the spectators seem to see a prince accompanied and served by his retinue. Otherwise, the fact becomes ridiculous, and the tragedy loses its decorum and reason for being, which is, as Aristotle said, *through pity and fear it effects relief to these and similar emotions.*[28]

I would entirely ban, as the Spanish do with great judiciousness, the clown mask. This was introduced by Aeschylus, before whom acting was done with faces colored by dirt, as Magnes the Athenian[29] did when reciting satyric dramas in order not to be recognized. According to Suidas[30] and as Giraldi attests,[31] however, it was introduced by Lyko Scarpheus, in order to cause laughter by imitating the grotesque faces in nature, with a huge nose, bleary eyes, large mouth, pointed forehead, and hollow temples, demonstrating the stupidity or the cunning of the character they represented, by monstrous physiognomies taken from animals, as Giambattista Della Porta reports,[32] to signify the cunning of the fox, the rapacity of the wolf, the silliness and agility of the bear, the fearsomeness of the lion, the laziness of the ox, and so on.

Ridiculous personages have been introduced in tragedies and even tragicomedies, although against the strictest rules professed by the ancients. Demetrius Phalereus[33] considered laughter to be entirely improper in tragedies, so he forbade it. Yet today one sees it accepted by all, indeed,

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even Plautus sometimes seems to have used comical jokes between tragical characters; and everyone knows laughter belongs in tragicomedies or hilaro-tragedies. I would say that it should not be counterfeited by a mask, but that natural faces should be used, especially in sacred dramas. The exception is when masks are supposed to cause fear, not laughter, such as those of the Furies, Gorgons, or Specters, or to imitate barbarian nations like the Turks, Ethiopians and the like, all of which masks are proper to tragedy and Lucian[34] said they were invented by Aeschylus himself, as Rudolph Hospinian reports.[35] True, Nero[36] sang with the mask, perhaps ashamed to appear on stage with his own face; but then he gave up modesty, and forcing many nobles and magistrates to perform also with the mask, he then made them take it off publicly before the people. Masks that do not cause laughter may therefore be used in tragedy.

In comedy, I consider the comic mask to be not only convenient but necessary, for the same reason that it is to be banned from tragedy—namely, because it causes laughter. Likewise, costumes must be mediocre and follow today's fashion— the lover will dress gallantly, just like our fops, the old man gravely, the servants ridiculously, and if they use a different language, they will dress according to the fashion of the character they represent, such as the Venetian, who will dress, for example, like a toga-noble or a merchant, while Dr. Gratian will dress like a Bolognese doctor, and the Neapolitan will dress like a Neapolitan, taking care to observe this difference, that a merchant or gentleman should dress appropriately and a plebeian should dress like the common people. These are the norms given by Minturno; and according to Lope de Vega, in the *Arte of Comedy*, they should not *Put a Turk in Christian collar /And a Roman in tight breeches*.[37]

Tragicomedy is a mixture created by that most ingenious gentleman, Guarini,[38] and then imitated by many famous geniuses. It is perhaps a renovation of the satyric drama but with more modesty and beauty and with a grafting of comic gravity upon pastoral simplicity. It teaches by the precepts and nobility necessary for tragedy, while at the same time delighting by the intrigue and the happy ending so pleasing in comedy. It reforms behavior by the sincerity of satyric drama, without being malicious or harmful to individuals in the modern version, which reprehends mainly to correct vices, in accord with the only reason why both comedy and tragedy were invented. In this sort of representations one also must observe the usual practice both of the stage setting and of the costumes. Rustics, satyrs, centaurs and Cyclopes will wear the masks allowed by the ridiculous; the clothing of the shepherds and nymphs must take account of whether they are rich shepherds, in which case they are to be dressed with skins of martins, sables, all very fine and pretty and delightful to the eye; nymphs will have veils and flowery dresses and ribbons, although very different from the lace and jewels characteristic of court galas in royal

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tragedies. Tasso describes a nymph precisely thus: "Just as we see on canvas or on stage/ some sylvan goddesses with arms full bare,/ their gowns tucked up, their long hair loose and blown,/ and wearing light cothurni as they go. . . ."[39]

Vile persons are dressed in ridiculous clothing, such as that of wolves and sheep, as in Guarini, who had his Lupino dressed in the wolf's skin that later served as a disguise for Dorinda. Whereas the ancients gave skins of goat or deer decorated with gold to characters in satyric drama, with little colored vests and hairy shirts, still, they gave Bacchus a fine costume of various colors and Pan a deerskin adorned with stars. Satyrs must be dressed as the above author said, "Half man, half goat, and all beast,"[40] and the costume was described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[41]

In the piscatorials, the performers dress like maritime persons; and that such a dress should have remained for so many centuries unaltered in such a changeable kingdom is marvelous indeed.

Therefore, in every sort of tragedy, comedy or tragicomedy, pastoral or sylvan, as some call them, one must adopt the proper costumes. As the Philosopher[42] says, spectacle is one of the substantial parts of drama, and this consists in the construction of the stage setting and the costumes of the performers, as the Romans conceded, calling such dramas *exomides*.[43] And the young Romans had their own representations, called togas, *praetextati*, and *tabernarii*, according to the dress used.[44] The toga dramas concerned private subjects, while the *praetextati* concerned public subjects and the *tabernarii* concerned mixed subjects, all derived from the histories and translated into Latin, as Stephanus Byzantinus and Diomedes relate.[45]

The shows of the *planipedes*,[46] which the said Diomedes places among the toga dramas and confuses with the mime shows, were so called because they were performed on stage without scenes and without socks, or else they took their name from the baseness of the actions imitated; they were inferior to the mime shows and were obscene. The mimes were more dignified than the *planipedes* and the comedians were more dignified than the histrions, as Ausonius says.[47] The mimes imitated vile persons, sometimes ridiculous, sometimes obscene and sometimes serious. Ovid calls them obscene: *Mimes that imitate obscenity*.[48]

Rhinthonica comedies took their name from their actor and principal performer.[49] The Atellanae were named after the place where they were invented, that is Atella, a city near the present city of Aversa in Campania, where obscenities made their last debut, later to be deservedly banned by the Romans themselves, although pagans; so what must the Christians say when they see the immodesties of the Atellanae reintroduced into the theaters? The Atellanae came from jokes and used the Oscan language, a rough and uncultivated tongue in comparison with Latin and as provocative of laughter as the language of the Neapolitan common people is today. . . .[50] Their dissoluteness became such that they could no longer be

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written without offense to chastity, the least of all their indecencies being that of making men and women appear as they come from the uterus and doing the most detestable things. True, according to Livy the licentiousness of these examples was reformed by the Roman youth, who, avoiding the actors' petulant style, combined the ridiculous but not obscene with the joking but not injurious, constituting, so to speak, a third thing, which was no longer worthy of reprehension. . . .[51] See then that this exercise was accepted as virtuous by the ancient Romans just as it is now by the moderns when purged of the actors' filth and exercised by men of honor. In all the courts of the Italian princes, the greatest gentlemen have enjoyed performing with due propriety and decorum, both to demonstrate their own ability and to please, teach and virtuously pass the time, so one can truly say that in comedy, ***he has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure***. . . .[52]

On the Choice of a Tragedy, Comedy, or Pastoral, and First of all, On the Musical Drama

Truly, we seem to have begun where we ought to have ended, having first discussed the construction of the theater and then the costumes; for reason might appear to demand that we begin by choosing a work and teaching the characters their parts before worrying about the other things. But I wanted first to take care of the spectacle, which is only accidental to the representation, although necessary, and then concern myself with the substantial things, one of which will be the choice of a work.

The available stories or performance pieces now comprise a most vast ocean, and although antiquaries, including the deservedly famous Minturno, insist that Italians have not managed to bring a proper drama to perfection according to the precepts of the ancient art of the Greeks and of Aristotle, nonetheless, the inventions, intrigues and embellishments of the modern comedies must be said to surpass by far the dullness of the ancients. Examples are the best proof, and anyone who has tried to translate one of the comedies of Plautus, Terence or Aristophanes and bring them directly to the stage has always produced something cold, dull and insipid and tiring rather than delighting to the listeners, and the same goes for the tragedies of Sophocles and Seneca. On the contrary, when the intrigues and embellishments have been increased, they have been greeted by all possible applause. I do not deny that a comedy made according to all the precepts of the art will please some scholars more, who refuse to move a single foot outside the rules; but such scholars are so few that one can number them on one's fingers, whereas a comedy is supposed to please everyone who listens and not just a few, as Guarini said under the pseudonym of Verrato in his *Defense of the Faithful Shepherd*,[53] and more in this matter than in any other we are *debtors to the silly and the wise*. The great Lope de Vega knew this, so in the cited *Art of Comedy*, he said the rules should not be

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entirely ignored, but one must nevertheless be drawn along by the current of fashion to write for the taste of the people, who make the rules they like and demand obedience, otherwise the performers will have no spectators, and those they have will not be amused and delighted but only put to sleep. Sometimes, disobeying the rules is the best rule of all. I want all those adulators of the *Aminta*,[54] highly praised as a composition in perfect accord with the rules and excellent for study, to tell me what delight anyone can possibly experience from seeing this drama performed on stage, listening to an act divided into no more than two scenes or just one, with a single character or two discoursing at length and then leaving the stage without any action, intrigue and apparent gestures? Horace knew this well when he said: *Either an event is acted on the stage, or the action is narrated. Less vividly is the mind stirred by what finds entrance through the ears than what is brought before the trusty eyes, and what the spectator can see for himself.*[55]

Therefore, since representation aims at giving delight and instruction, it must proffer the lip of the vessel spread with honey, as in Tasso's example of the child, who is thus encouraged to swallow the salubrious and bitter liquid. Experience, which is the master of all things, teaches that modern comedies delight and please more (I am speaking of those of judicious, learned and prudent authors) when performed in the modern fashion, maintaining suspense through the strangeness of the events, the development of the plot, the sustained equivocations, the beautiful metaphors, and the witty repartee. Why try to imitate the tediousness of the ancients and reclothe old skeletons as though the ingenuity of the world were so poor that it was not always able to invent new things and add still others to those already invented? Are there not some very beautiful new tragedies, comedies, tragicomedies and pastorals? And as time goes by, still more beautiful ones will be found, since adding to things already found is easy. Who does not know that the first comedies consisted of no more than two or three characters; and that afterwards the number was gradually increased, so that Guarini arrived at the number of nineteen, besides the choruses? Now, if the ancients themselves said comedy was first imperfect and gradually improved and became more beautiful, why can we not say that it now becomes more and more perfect every hour, as do the other arts and sciences? And if someone tells me it has arrived at a peak of perfection from which it can only decline, can they tell me when it attained this peak? If they say, with the Greeks, I reply, then why did Latins like Terence and Plautus try to emend it and surpass it? If they say, with the Latins, I reply, since the Tuscan comedy has not yet attained perfection, let everyone endeavor all the more; and if the Tuscan is perfect, let someone demonstrate to me in whose work, so he can be imitated. The above mentioned Lope de Vega spoke truly when he said: *Some, though done in the best manner/ Did not maintain the pleasure they once promised/ Because sometimes, what is against the rule/ Delights the taste for that very reason.*[56]

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The composition must therefore be chosen according to the tastes of the country and of the listeners and according to the ability of the performers; because sometimes those who are good for tragedy are not so good for comedy, and those who express the pathetic very well sometimes get confused in the serious or in the comic.

Operas in music are not inventions of our own time but very ancient, because at the beginning of comedy, performances were not like today, but instead, they were sung—among both the Greeks and the Latins, as Lucian says, in the passage reported in the defense of the *Faithful Shepherd* by Savio: *Flaccus kept pace with the flute, moving left and right.*[57] The first actors were therefore musicians. Nero, in fact, was said to have *sung on stage*. Recognizing later that it made no sense for someone to be afflicted while singing, be injured while singing, combat while singing, and like a swan, die while singing, they abandoned singing and began to perform comedies without music, although still in verse, and then, in order to make a more realistic representation, they began to abandon verse and speak in prose. Bernardo Dovizi was the first to write in prose,[58] and his *Calandria* was printed first in Rome in 1524 in duodecimo, and then other times in the same place and repeatedly elsewhere, according to Leone Allacci's *Dramaturgia*.[59] So for the time being, we will leave the question open of whether works ought to be in verse or in prose, while we go on to say something about musical dramas called melodramas, which are entirely sung, according to the custom of the ancients, now with different sorts of arias and without choruses, although there are controversies about this too, as will be said.

The Most Serene and beautiful city of Venice was the first to be flooded by a multitude of these melodramas, and having spent enormous sums to call in the best musicians of Italy to perform there, along with the most judicious musical directors, the most ingenious architects and the most learned dancing masters, that country has attracted the whole world to admire the marvels, the surprising changes of scene, the machines, the flights, not only of men but of live horses, and shown what perhaps could not have been done even by magic itself. Everyone has been astonished at seeing the impossible made possible. Any poetical chimaera that invention could devise has been placed in action by art, not just imitating but surpassing nature. Now let some antiquary go marvelling at how Sophocles could have made Medea fly over a chariot of feathered dragons, when entire armies have been seen to fly in the theaters of the Adriatic.[60] Let anyone who wants to be amazed simply read the numerous musical dramas that have come from those presses, along with the theatrical memoirs, which have allowed these dramas to be imitated in the theaters of all Italy—in Bologna, Milan, Naples, Genoa, Parma, Rome, Palermo and other cities, which now contend with Venice and seem unwilling to concede victory.

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True, the use of machines in tragedies and comedies is ancient and not new. As one can see in Vitruvius, there were some mangonels, as the Latins called them,[61] for catapulting men into the middle of the stage; and there were other machines, called *tegmata* according to Hesychius,[62] with wooden wheels for turning the scenes that were made immediately facing the spectators. Concerning the machines that [bring] the gods and heroes to the Adriatic, called *korema*,[63] Suidas carries the testimony of Euripides; and they had cranes or machines to raise people into the air. Scenes were made changeable by *exostra* and *ekkyklema*,[64] while the exterior curtains were pulled along runners to show the pictures in back. The spirits would come in on these machines at the end to resolve the story, or else in the prologues or else for other effects, and they could be maritime, celestial, or infernal deities, about which anyone can read Julius Pollux as well as the above mentioned Vitruvius and Boulenger. I cannot and dare not say that our machines are better and made with more mastery and beauty than those of the ancients, because of the trite proverb, *it is easy to add to what is already discovered.* Nonetheless, seeing that the ancients hesitated to make chariots fly and were afraid transformations might come out lifeless, whereas we do these things with such art and beauty, I permit myself to believe that we have surpassed them in this, as in many other mechanical arts. The ancients also produced artificial thunder, either by bronze vessels or by actual stones from the sea, as Claudius Pulcher did, and these devices were all called the *bronteion*; and stage blood was also discovered by the ancients according to Festus, the interpreter of Aristophanes, so indeed, *there is nothing new under the sun*, except that inventions are either renewed or else something is added to them.[65]

There is no doubt that all those who came out to perform on the public stage were called actors—whether they were musicians, players of any instrument, speaking performers, tumblers, dancers, mountebanks, or jugglers.

That musicians were the first and most ancient actors appears clear from Suetonius' *Life of Nero* and from Athenaeus. . . .[66] Music today therefore has returned to the role in theater that it had among the ancients. It should also be kept within the limits of decency. The ancients condemned the Lydian mode for being voluptuous, morbid, dissolute and effeminate; and Plato only permits the Dorian mode, honest and grave. In the tragedies themselves, the Hypolydian was banned and the Myxolidian was used instead, tempered by the Dorian to make it more modest. How much more care must we Catholics take to avoid scandalizing the ears of the faithful by impure harmonies; and would to Heaven that the obscenity of the notes did not sometimes leak out from the theaters into the churches, as Pierre Gregoire of Toulouse[67] complained in his time. . . .

Now dramas entirely in music have again been introduced, perhaps like the ancients, and newly accepted by the appreciative people. They first had a

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few arias and much recitative, as in the *Giasone*,[68] the *Dori*,[69] and in the most ancient ones from 1637,[70] as Cristoforo Ivanovich said, but today if an aria is not let loose after every two lines of recitative, no one is pleased, and whether this is proper or improper, let Lope de Vega decide: *The vulgar by its laws must necessarily/ Create the vile semblance of this monster/ Of comedy.*[71] And Demosthenes: *for the most part, the success (power) of the speakers depends on the attitude of the listeners.*[72] Indeed, practices in drama now appear to change as often as changes of clothes, and in Venice, the number of arias has been reduced as before. Writers write according to the caprices of the audience—not because they are ignorant about the rules of the art, for there is perhaps no raw beginner who has not read Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*. According to the current usage, therefore, there have been writers like Melosio, Sbarra, Morando, Moniglia, Aureli, Noris, Bussani, Rusini, Arcoleo, Corradi and so many others in Venice, and in Naples, Sorrentino, Pisani, Gastaldi, Rossi,[73] and some others, for Naples does not lack poets even though foreign things are more valued there, according to man's natural bent, as Fulvio Testi says: *Along with incense in Arabia, or gold in India,/ Go little fame and fortune; not so/ When they cross the sea—they are great treasures.*[74] All the other poets of Italy have followed, and is there any doubt that they are all knowledgeable about and able to follow exactly the rules for a tragedy or comedy, when they want, without giving in to the licentiousness of the century? To reply with Lope de Vega: *The writers get their money from the people, so/ They may talk nonsense just to please them.*[75]

There is no doubt that the principal honor and main glory in these melodramas belongs to the musicians, the architects and the dancers, while the poet has a minor part, since the listeners delight more in seeing a spectacle, as I said in my *Oration*, than in listening to one. And indeed, no small merit belongs to those who have found so many inventions of machines, giving art the opportunity to use them, such a variety of arias, with diversity of meter and verse, and what is more, who have turned the intrigues into song, flattering the ear with harmony while at the same time satisfying the mind with curiosity.

Therefore, the rules concerning memory, gesture and action, and changes of emotions, costumes and scenes, will be the same for the musicians who sing and perform as for performers who speak, although we will leave the art of teaching them notes and harmony in singing, in which we do not want to become involved, to the maestri of music, whom the ancients called *phonaskoi* or preceptors of the choruses, or, according to Apuleius, musical advisors, whom Tertullian called musical artists, and whom Caelius Aurelianus[76] called musical maestri.

We do not intend now to give rules or laws in composing comedies, tragedies and pastorals, since such can be found in the many volumes and published writings on this by so many masterful pens—in Aristotle's

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Poetics, in Girolamo Micillo's annotations on Euripides, in Orazio Toscanella's *Compendium of the Poetic Art*, in Celio Rodigino, Pietro Vettori, Robortello, in Angelo Poliziano's *Panèpistemon*, in Giraldi [Cintio], in Mazzoni on Dante, in Castelvetro,[77] Minturno, and numberless others. Here I only wish to show how to represent, through movements, actions, voice, gestures and verisimilitude, what the poets have composed, tracing the path to success in any sort of representation and away from the defects that usually plague the stage because of the ineptitude of those who teach and those who apply themselves. We observe today that no one of poor ability, lacking in knowledge, scarce in ingenuity and entirely devoid of literature, has any reluctance to come on stage. The lowest of the common people think to merit the applause of everyone by coming on stage, and not knowing how to measure their own being nor wishing to be corrected by the more knowledgeable, they are truly worthy of catcalls, indeed, of stoning by the audience. But *each is led by his liking*;[78] and these unfortunates do not know that artists of the stage are, according to Seneca, *those who imitate the emotions, who portray fear and nervousness, who depict sorrow, imitate bashfulness*.[79] Let us therefore leave the choice of a drama to the caprice of princes or impresarios, called contractors in Naples, and by the Latins, *theatrones*. . . . But since they are very often persuaded by those who are blinded by passion to leave aside the best dramas and put on the worst, even though the success of these will be, as the previously cited Cristoforo Ivanovich says in his *Minerva al tavolino*,[80] from pure chance and from popular applause, which blindly accepts what has no art or ingenuity and scorns what is made with proper intelligence and judgment. . . .

On the Gestures Proper for Representation

Gestures must accompany the voice not just of the orator but also of the performer, who differs little in this from the orator, and since gesture is a mute speech, it sometimes expresses more by a silent action than speech itself. Aristotle therefore said, *gestures are the mirrors of the soul*,[81] and a person making gestures can express so much without uttering a sound that Lucian's orator exclaimed, *I hear the story that you are acting, man, I do not just see it*.[82] Gestures must follow the voice and be so united with and obedient to it that nothing will be superfluous. Accordingly, Caesar Augustus warned Tiberius to use his voice rather than his hands in speaking—not leaving his hands at rest, but using them just enough to interpret the concepts and authenticate what the voice expressed. True, Chilon[83] said the use of the hands in speaking is only for idiots; but this means they ought to be used with moderation, that is, they should not move too much. And because every part of the body has rules, each part must be

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taken in turn. As Aelius Donatus says of actors, *They are called actors because they do more through gestures than through words.*[84]

Let us begin with the head. The hat must be removed with grace and nobility, while bowing according to the usage of the country of the character represented. The Spaniard, for example, will bring his hat to his chest with the hollow part inwards to avoid the appearance of asking for alms. Meanwhile he makes a bow with the feet, crossing the legs—when bowing to the heavens, he moves the right foot in a circle around the left heel, whereas when bowing to men, he moves it from the left to the right—and inclining at the chest with the head remaining straight. According to the French manner, one keeps one's feet planted or draws them back one after the other, while removing the hat, bringing it to the chest, and curving oneself with the head and waist toward the person to whom one bows. According to the Italian manner, one mixes the two customs, according to one's inclination. According to the Asian manner, one bows without removing the turban, bringing the hand to the chest, inclining oneself with the head, as Tasso said: "Alete, his right hand placed on his heart,/ bowed with his head and looked upon the floor,/ and greeted him with utmost gentleness,/ such as the custom of his people was."[85]

The warrior wearing a helmet salutes by inclining his head and giving a sign of kissing the staff, spear or sword in his hand. The performer must be able to imitate every custom of greeting, since signs and gestures are so many words without sound, and all the parts of the body can speak with wordless signs—the head, the eyes, the hands, the eyebrows, and so forth.

The face changes with the affections, and so do the eyes the eyelids, the cheeks, and the mouth, but the greatest expression comes from the eyes. Eyebrows are improper when they remain always immobile, and improper when they move too much, so a middle way is necessary. Curved and with the forehead wrinkled they accompany acts of marvel, but without exceeding the limits so as to appear either stupid or clownish; contracted they signify mourning, dilated they signify happiness, withdrawn they signify shame, and the eyebrow of the Capuan decemvir demonstrated his severity and arrogance, as the Roman Orator noted.[86]

The eyes are windows on the heart, mirrors of the soul, and as Demosthenes said, manifestations of character. Giambattista Della Porta finds in them a very effective means for knowing the inclination of men.[87] They are the guides of love, as the Maestro says, *know, if thou knowest it not, that in love the eyes are guides,*[88] and a glance expresses the ardent affections much better than the tongue, so that Tasso's Erminia said: "And ah, if not my tongue, my very eyes/ betrayed the flame of love that never dies."[89] The eyes display what is hidden inside by showing themselves glad, mournful, benign, severe, stupid, lascivious. When slightly swollen they show signs of love, as Celio Rodigino said. . . .[90] The mouth expresses all things, and yet it is subject to the eyes. For the soul

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demonstrates itself by action, and the face is its image, while the eyes are its judges; therefore, all its movements are manifested in the eyes, and an intense or humble or withdrawn or happy look demonstrates its interior. Action is bodily speech congruent with the mind. Let the eyes therefore be serious in serious characters, modest in women, brilliant in lovers, witty in wily servants, humble in silly servants. Let them express love by caresses, let them ask pity by tears. The cries of someone can scarcely fail to move others to tears, as Horace says: *As men's faces smile on those who smile/ So they respond to those who weep./ If you would have me weep, you must first feel grief yourself.*[91] The cry of a woman especially moves to tears, because, "what cannot a pretty woman do with tears."[92]

How much can be expressed in just a sign with the eyes or a fierce gaze any courtier knows well, who by a single fierce glance of his king was sent to the tomb. An inclination of the eyes to the earth, a raising of them, O how much it says! The Sicilians are such masters of the eyes that they speak with them, understanding each other as though they were conversing, and particularly the lovers, so he spoke well who said, *what great things four eyes do with each other.*

The actor must also pay attention to his ears and listen to what is being suggested to him while paying attention not to forget his action; because the player who diverts his attention gives a bad show to the audience, suggesting he does not know the part by heart and must strain to hear what is whispered out of earshot of the spectators.

The nose must not be twisted and the lips must not be twisted, licked nor bitten, but kept straight and moved in the proper time and place. The nose must not be wiped, and in case of necessity let it be discreetly in the handkerchief and without noise, according to the rules of Monsignor Della Casa.[93] For the audience represents a congress of grand personages, toward which one must behave with every respect and honor, even if composed of common people, because every guild must be honored with titles and reverences, and all impoliteness that is forbidden before princes, magistrates and gentlemen is forbidden in the presence of the spectators. Spitting is therefore not permitted except in the handkerchief. There is no burping, there is no yawning. Someone was condemned by the Roman praetor for having yawned irreverently before the Senate, and when there is no way out, cover the mouth with the hand so the loosening of the mouth and the indecent sound should not be seen. The same goes for other immodest and illicit actions, although buffoons may be allowed some moderate licence that is not permitted to serious persons.

Let the spine be straight, and let the neck not be distended, because the pressure on the throat from closing the passage to the chest makes the voice thicker and less clear.

Let not the shoulders rise and fall, because this is a servile action and a gesture of clowns.

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Let the chest be straight and not curved, except when performing an old man, who necessarily must bend to demonstrate his old age, as Cicero says of them, *reading the gravestones.*

But because the art of gesture consists above all in the movements of the hands and fingers, these must now be discussed more at length. First of all, movements of the arms should be with a more violent movement in disputes and more relaxed in familiarity. Domitius Afer seeing Manlius in the act of moving his whole body, throwing up his hands and trying to straighten his clothes, quipped, *he does not act, he agitates.*[94] Action is natural; but agitation is the vain attempt to act. The hands must not rise higher than the eyes nor descend lower than the chest; and when they cross, the right hand should not pass the left shoulder. Do not let the left hand gesticulate without the right, but it must always be a companion and servant to the other, and when gesticulating, it should not rest frequently on the waist or on the chest or be impeded by any handkerchief, baton of command, support, gloves, nor by the modern use of the snuff-box. Nor should the left hand gesticulate alone, because this is improper. Improper are those who use the left hand, and the Spaniards so hate them that they refer to them saying a crude *hombre* can never be good. Let the left often be accommodated to the right when the argument is brought to the fingers, or when something abominable is being detested and rejected, or when rejecting contrary things, and in acts of satisfaction or supplication, bringing them from one side to the other.

A baton, arrow, or other weapon must be held with grace—leaning upon it, passing it from one hand to another—and indeed, the most beautiful actions can be done with it, as long as they are majestic and grave. Shepherds, hunters and nymphs can lean on the arrow, place it under their arm, and the men can put a leg over it, imitating the actions most proper to shepherds and nymphs, while making sure to leave the right hand mostly free.

Gestures are done with both hands when they are raised to adore Heaven or when they are lowered in supplication. Gestures in the middle area are demonstrations, and when the hands are extended they are invocations.

Clapping the hands and striking the breast are proper to women and not men, particularly wise ones; poking the chest and the belly out belongs to fools; as the *Braggart Warrior* of Plautus,[95] and Captain Bravo, Buffone, and the Parasite.[96]

When the personage speaks with himself alone to exhort himself, commiserate with himself or blame himself, he holds his hand curved lightly touching the chest with the fingers. Hand gestures are as powerful as words, so the Carthaginian ambassador who knew no Greek spoke with his hand to Andromachus, turning it upside down to signify he wanted the city

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of Taormina overthrown, and Andromachus replied to him with the same gesture to say that he would turn the Carthaginian ships upside down.

Fingers are to be moved in this manner: the middle one must incline toward the thumb with the other three extended at the beginning of a discussion, with a slight movement from one side to the other, taking care to keep the two middle fingers from coming together above the thumb to make the horns, which is a great defect. The three fingers contracted toward the thumb with the index extended serve to blame and judge; the index pointed at the hand with the shoulder somewhat inclined affirms, and when pointing straight toward the ground, commands. The face can be hidden with the fingers moving gradually toward the mouth or chest in a gesture of shame, then after carrying it a little inclined or a little extended, it is let go.

Let the whole movement of the hand go from left to right, beginning from below and then raising it above, and finally letting it be thrown down as though ending up on the left side. The hand begins the period by indicating the sense and ends the same way.

Let gesture be accompanied by the verisimilar, and in pointing things out, such as these eyes, this head and so forth, indicate them by a simple movement of the finger without touching them. To signify I am in trouble, I am forced, I am blind, likewise do this in passing, because affectation must be shunned, like any fistula or madness. Thus, when indicating Heaven, hell, the sea, the land, the trees and what have you, let the actor give the proper gesture so as to avoid the misfortune of the performer in that tragedy who indicated the earth instead of Jupiter and the Heavens instead of the earth, prompting Polemo the sophist, prefect of the Olympic Games, to refuse him the prize, saying, *the fellow has committed a solecism with his hand.*[97]

Let the waist be kept straight and modestly grave, without boastfulness. Let the speech begin with the right foot forward and the left foot back, exactly as one places oneself in fencing—not, however, with the legs apart, but properly united. Only the Furies, characters introduced in our times in sacred tragedies, are allowed to place themselves on guard, contending with the angel, ready for flight. Likewise, they are allowed to perform certain actions of desperation, twisting the waist, stretching the arms, moving furiously in vivid demonstration of a spirit agitated by continuous torments and insufferable passions, raising the voice to show anger and imitate the possessed, whom one sees make similar gestures and actions. The same must be done to represent a soul damned to hell.

The feet will move according to the occasion and should not remain frozen in the same position.

Many dispensations are given to the buffoons, such as remaining with the face or the nose twisted, grinding the teeth, wrinkling the forehead, twisting the fingers. And since everything is allowed to buffoons, they are permitted many things entirely prohibited to serious persons. They must not

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however go so far from the rules as to annihilate them. They must not depart from the verisimilar, nor must they behave discourteously toward the audience, turning their behinds to them filthily, making certain revolting actions, such as killing disgusting animals and eating them, appearing to relieve themselves or doing obscene and impure acts. Besides offending modesty and disgusting the audience, they might thus place their souls in great jeopardy, for which they must give strict account to God.

In sum, modesty must be observed in everything; and those, of whom Rossi spoke,[98] who perform while agitating their heads, moving or rolling their eyes, gesticulating with their whole bodies as if they had been bitten by the tarantula with all their shaking and twisting, should not be imitated. The masters of the good art have suggested that the reason for such improper and reprehensible conduct lies in the necessity to perform things written by others and learn them by memory. I say the worst comes from those who do not know how to pronounce the words. Others say drunkenness is at fault, and still others say a vain and total self-satisfaction displeasing to the audience is the culprit. Some performers try to abolish the voice entirely and are all gestures and movements, twisting and mumbling the words in their mouths, to whom Caesar might say what Penatius said to Testio, *say what you want when your head cools off*, because he made gestures like someone trying to crack nuts.[99]

Remain stationary in the scene and do not waddle nor go about leaping all over the stage acting like a madman; and let the gestures be neither superfluous nor too few. Augustus judged two mimes in competition, saying, "the first was too much of a tumbler in his excessive gestures and the other was not enough of one."

Placing the hands behind the back is a vicious and stupid action; for everything be expressed as though it had truly happened. When Marcus Tullius heard Callidius accuse a certain Gallus of having prepared a poison for him, recounting such an atrocious thing with a subdued face, languid voice but agitated gestures, he commented, *M. Callidius, if you are not faking you act like it.* But Demosthenes, refusing to believe someone who said he received an injury, when the injured one became incensed and broke out into agitated words, said to him then, *I hear the voice of one who is wronged and hurt,* knowing that *it is so important in winning credence to consider tone and action.*[100]

In dialogues, the one listening must remain immobile and attentive and not appear to divert his attention—just as though the audience were speaking to him instead, to give more verisimilitude. Nor must one ever turn one's shoulders to the audience, but the chest must always remain entirely in view, with the head and chest turned away slightly to the companion in speaking.

Entrances must be done, if possible, sideways; and the Spaniards' women (let them excuse me) are to be condemned, along with others who,

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in order to give more show to the train of their dresses, enter the proscenium with shoulders turned from the audience and so give the onlookers, for some time, the analytics of Aristotle's posterior.[101]

In walking one should not hurry, nor proceed with such slowness as to measure one's steps.

The Furies are allowed to go around the stage agitated, and so also the desperate man and woman.

In kneeling, one goes down with the right knee when on the right side and on the left knee when on the left, so one's chest will always remain toward the audience.

When the woman leaves the public square, she should not go far from the house, but just one step, speaking with others, to observe decorum. When she is alone, she is ruler of the stage.

Performing in a bedchamber, let her move as she wishes, but remember she is a woman; likewise in the woods, let her enjoy her rustic liberty.

Live representation, with voice and gestures, moves the affections so powerfully that when Polus performed the *Electra* of Sophocles, appearing on the stage with the urn of the ashes of Orestes and using the same urn in which reposed the ashes of her own son, expressed the fact in such a vivid manner that he moved the listeners to floods of tears.[102] Aesopus became so involved in playing Atreus in *Thyestes*[103] that he later killed one of the servants in the tragedy with his scepter. Pilade, a comic very dear to Nerva Cocceius and favored by Augustus, while performing the *Hercules furens* transformed himself in such a fashion that he fired the arrows at the people, while the emperor scarcely moved.[104] Nicostratus performed actions so well that he occasioned the proverb, *let us do everything in the fashion of Nicostratus.*[105]

The expressions of a devious mind are admirably described by Plautus in his *Braggart Warrior*, where the companion is seen to strike his breast with his fingers and then stretch them apart, move around, and lean against the columns—all of which movements show a mind thinking about great things.

The gestures of sovereigns must be grave, of women modest, of old men, temperate, of youth gracious and pretty, of servants licentious but regular, of both servants and astute persons vivacious, of fools, thoughtless, of Captain Bravos exaggerated but within bounds, of the Furies violent but forced. In the roles of saints or pious persons, gestures must be devout, humble, and circumspect. Even though buffoons cannot be regulated by definite rules, let us repeat that their gestures must not be indecent, lascivious or irreverent; for the spectator of a comedy must, as Cervantes said, be *amused by the jokes, taught by the truths, surprised by the events, made discreet by the reasonings, warned by the frauds, made wise by the examples, angered against vice and enamored of virtue.*[106] Thus the performance will never fall under the censure of Petrarch against

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things which are not honestly done nor honestly discerned, and it is not easy to say whether the player is more shameful than the spectator, and whether the stage is more wicked than the rest of the theater; except that the former brings poverty with it and the latter vanity. . . .[107]

Improvised Representation

The improvised representation of comedies was unknown to the ancients, and it is an invention of our times, for I have not been able to find any ancient writer who said a word about them. Indeed, our beautiful Italy seems to be the only place where they are performed. A famous Spanish comic called Adriano came with others to perform comedies in Naples, and he did not understand how anyone could make up a comedy just by the collaboration of diverse characters and put it on all in under an hour. This enterprise is at once most beautiful, most difficult and most dangerous; and no one should try to embark on it who is not adept and skilled and who does not know the rules of language, the rhetorical figures, the tropes and the entire rhetorical art, in order to improvise what the poet does with premeditation. Premeditated representation appears to deserve priority and to be esteemed and prized for its reasonable probability of success. But this is only because the poet studies to compose it and he alone regulates all things, along with the assistance, labor and sweat of so many engagements and rehearsals, making success almost inevitable; and if all blemishes do not disappear after all this, the poet and the players deserve, after this long labor, to bring forth a defective embryo full of errors and disproportion instead of a perfect child. Not so with the improvised comedies, where the variety of so many characters, perforce including those who are less perfect and less able, necessarily produces some irregularity; and having to say *whatever comes into the mouth,* there cannot but be some occasional deficiency. By good performers, however, an improvised comedy may be so good that as to cede nothing to the premeditated. . . . I laugh at those who, accustomed to premeditated representations, insist that those who perform the improvised ones are no good; because anyone who can perfectly perform the improvised, which are more difficult, will easily be able to perform the premeditated ones, which are less difficult; and indeed, the improviser will always have a trick up his sleeve, so that when his memory fails or when there is some mistake on stage, he can recover himself without the audience noticing, whereas he who performs like a parrot will be hard put in any emergency.

The bad thing is that everyone today thinks himself able to embark on improvised comedy, and the vilest dregs of the common people employ themselves in it, taking it for something simple, while not understanding the danger that comes from ignorance and ambition. The meanest street hawkers and mountebanks now try to amuse the people and keep them

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entranced with words like so many Gallic Herculeses with golden chains, by performing improvised comedies in the public squares, twisting the subjects, speaking stupidly, gesticulating like madmen, and what is worse, exhibiting obscenity and filth in order to draw their sordid earnings out of those purses by selling their cooked oil impostures, their poisonous antidotes, and their remedies fit to cause illnesses that were not there before. They are like ignorant painters who try to copy the most famous and illustrious and celebrated canvasses, but make more scrawls than they do brush strokes—with this difference: that the first emulated Apelles and Titian, whereas these feckless artisans emulate Agatharchus[108] or Giovanni da Capugnano.[109] But let us leave this vile people, infamous and worthy of all vituperation, to their misfortunes. A group of virtuosi joined to perform an improvised comedy may be able to produce, for pure delight, something regular and good, imitating the excellent comedians who do this impeccably for money. Many academies have arisen for this virtuous exercise in Naples, in Bologna and in many cities of Italy; indeed in Palermo years ago there was one called the Squinternati [the Unbound], which had as its emblem an unbound book, with the motto, "not confined here," whose laws were that whoever went to listen had to improvise whenever called upon. Nice discovery of Sicilian ingenuity!

To perform these sorts of comedies elegantly all the rules for premeditated presentation must be followed, since there is no difference between the two in theater, costumes, voices, pronunciation, memory, gestures and actions. Only a few preparations are necessary for doing it with great facility and flair and making sure it should succeed as nearly as possible like a well-ordered representation. And when it does not come out as expected, this is more excusable than when premeditated ones do not please. . . .

Having finished giving the rules of premeditated and improvised representation, I cannot deny that practice is more important than theory. However, in all the sciences and arts, when both are put together, they light the way with much greater clarity and illumination. Whereas practice without theory means proceeding blindly with some possibility of finding the true path again after much effort, theory is a light that makes the steps certain and shortens the way. . . .

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5
Spirituality

Few were the aspects of seventeenth-century culture in which spirituality was not in some way mixed in. Previous selections have shown how governments sought to take the initiative of providing a safe religious environment for their subjects; how cities sought readjustment of their relation with divine power in war, pestilence and revolt; how scholars conceived of natural knowledge as an avenue of access to divine power or, at the very least, a form of meditation upon it, and how they tried to reconcile their religious beliefs with their moral and political ideas; how artists gave concrete form to spiritual meditations in religious art; and how the faithful rebelled against local religious institutions which had become secular institutions. In this section, selections by Achille Gagliardi and Caterina Paluzzi show the persistent attractiveness of Spanish-style mysticism in local communities as the faithful demanded more contact with God and less distance between themselves and the clergy. The selection by Degli Albizzi shows how similar trends culminated in the Quietist controversy and the new forms of association demanded by believers toward the end of the century. Finally, the selection by Magalotti shows the spread of religious skepticism.

If the task of the Church in all this was to provide leadership and guidance, it hardly offered a unified institutional front. In many cases it could not control its own personnel, especially in locales where deeply rooted privileges put control over parochial appointments in the hands of the laity. And even where the diocesan hierarchy controlled appointments, clerical ignorance was rampant and absenteeism was rife. Disagreement within the Church about how to confront problems was compounded by inter-order rivalry. What was more, the highest offices were still pursued as lucrative careers and even the holiest popes had to double as political authorities in some of the worst fighting in a hundred years.

While the effort to reform the church from the inside continued and culminated in the pontificate of Benedict XIII and the Roman diocesan synod of 1725, two possible solutions seemed to offer some hope of success against challenges from outside. The first was repression. Apart from the careers of Campanella and Galileo recorded in the section on Science and that of Gagliardi recorded below, Degli Albizzi shows the Church in direct confrontation with lay religious expression, correcting

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what ecclesiastical officials regarded to be dangerous deviations from orthodoxy. The second solution was to harness local enthusiasm. Bishops like Federico Borromeo encouraged lay activism, especially when sufficient religious personnel was available for consultation. Spiritual advisors like Alessandro Migliacci (in the selection by Paluzzi) tried to direct the spontaneous forces of religious illumination down paths acceptable to the hierarchy. Jesuits like Segneri, in the selections below, counselled, cajoled and inspired generations of lay people, holding out the value of the sacraments to anyone discouraged by ecclesiastical institutions. Finally, scientific colloquia within the Church, as exemplified by the selection from the late seventeenth-century Roman *Giornale de' letterati*, relaxed the stand against contemporary developments in science and philosophy, showing how Galileism and even Cartesianism could be introduced into educational programs without the damage to faith earlier foreseen by the enemies to both.

Neither of these solutions was entirely satisfactory to everyone; and the selection by Magalotti shows that basic problems of belief had to be confronted at a personal level. And all the selections in this section reflect some of the wide varieties of religious experience and its changes throughout the century.

35. Achille Gagliardi, *Brief Compendium of Christian Perfection*

While teaching and studying at the prestigious Collegio Romano in Rome throughout the 1560s, young Paduan Jesuit Achille Gagliardi (born in 1538) began to form ideas about a profound spiritual, intellectual and institutional reform of his order.[1] And on return to the Collegio Romano to teach theology after a short stint as rector of the college in Turin, he forthwith began to attack brethren who strayed from the Thomist line and to wage an impassioned campaign for a stricter and more austere interpretation of the *Ratio studiorum* or Jesuit educational institutes, calling for the enforcement of intellectual uniformity by the adoption of a single philosophy textbook. The Jesuit leadership, not ready to abandon its relatively more permissive policy, soon transferred him back to his native Padua. His single-minded dedication was more appreciated by archbishop Carlo Borromeo, who called for his aid in turning Milan into the model Counter Reformation city in 1580. There he remained until 1595, teaching and providing spiritual direction to devout young people; and there he met Milanese noblewoman Isabella Cristina Berinzaga (born in 1551), a lay visionary with a reputation for personal austerity far in excess of what was practiced in local convents. Isabella's intense mystical experiences had led

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to imputations of demoniacal possession and attempted exorcism before the Jesuits finally became interested in her case. And when they put her in the charge of Gagliardi in 1583, he found in her exactly what he sought to form the basis of the spiritual reform he so earnestly desired. For five years the two of them experimented with methods of annihilation, that is, unification with God through meditation, drawing upon the ideas of Catherine of Genoa, fifteenth-century mystic, and Jesuit founder Ignatius of Loyola as well as Isabella's own abilities. Finally, suspicions about possible misbehavior between them led Gagliardi back into confrontation with the Jesuit authorities, who forbid their further association. The *Brief Compendium of Christian Perfection*, composed and distributed by Gagliardi around 1588, printed for the first time in French in 1599 and in Italian in Brescia in 1611, was the product of their joint efforts. It quickly gathered admirers throughout Europe, and to the growing body of mystical literature currently being enriched by Theresa of Avila and John of the Cross, it added an insistence on the total annihilation of the will later associated with the movement known as Quietism.[2] And it established Gagliardi's authority over the so-called "zealous" reforming faction among the Jesuits, an authority that reached its apex when he served as messenger for the Venetian Jesuits to Pope Paul V in the Interdict controversy (see the selection by Paolo Sarpi under Preservation of the Past) and only began to wane when he resumed his itinerary among the major colleges of Italy, ending in Modena, where he died in 1607. Isabella lived on in obscurity until her death in 1624.

What this perfection presupposes in a soul

This perfection presupposes that the soul is directed, in all its actions, by a powerful and decisive wish to do everything necessary.

And also that the strength and effectiveness of its desire have induced it to submit to the mortification of its feelings and passions, whose repugnance it seeks to conquer so it can acquire complete dominion over them, and especially, have induced it to submit to the mortification and annihilation of the will and independent judgment by making them entirely obedient to its superior so that the soul's interior will be entirely under his direction.[3]

Besides, the soul should devote itself to acquiring the virtues as occasions arise or otherwise, especially charity to God and one's neighbor, wherein it should take care to make sufficient progress after the first rudimentary beginnings.

It should at least arrive at a firm resolution to die rather than offend God even venially or commit the tiniest sin against perfection: so that its defects and sins will be only what frailty makes entirely inescapable.

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All of the above is necessary because perfection can only be achieved by the common consent of all the feelings and passions, and never by the soul's lapsing into tepidity and neglectfulness and concerning itself with its convenience and interests, living carelessly and freely, desiring to remain mired in the defects without emending itself, all of which prevent any progress toward any sort of perfection, and especially this highest one of all.[4]

Two principles that make up perfection

This edifice of such high perfection is founded on two principles, both concerned with practice.[5] And the observance of these in the daily actions of your vocation and [religious] rule lead inevitably to the finishing off and completion of the whole edifice.

The first is a very low esteem for all creation, but especially for oneself, leading in practice to an expropriation and renunciation of oneself and of all created things, both in affection—with a resolute will—and in actions, in the appropriate time and manner. From this there must also derive a knowledge of the withdrawal that comes from God, and when he strips us of himself or of any other thing we must admit this, accept it with all our heart, and receive from it the greatest happiness.

The second is a most exalted esteem of God—not attained by penetrating divinity through the concepts of theology or other similar things, which is for the few and is not necessary, but by being ready to submit the will and the entire being to His Divine Majesty, adoring him and carrying out everything he wants from us, to his greater glory, without any interest on our part, however holy. And to attain this esteem, what the soul has to learn from God, by the light of faith, according to the concepts of the Creed, is the existence of the Omnipotent, who is our greatest good and our end, who by his great love for us he became man, suffered, etc., who is always there for us and governs us in everything pertaining to our nature and to grace, and particularly, calls us and leads by a singular calling to such high perfections, and the like, to each according to ability and grace.

From this most exalted esteem there must derive a full conformity with the divine will as the practical measure of all decisions, affections and daily actions.

The soul's union with and transformation into God, called deification, comes about through this practice of acting in the said way by these two principles. It is not mystical, by way of a rapture and elevation of the mind and the resulting vehement affections, because this is subject to many illusions, requires great effort, exposes the body to the danger of infirmities and the mind to ruin, and the effort rarely succeeds except for very few. Rather, it is solid, real, common and occurs by way of a will supremely in conformity with and solidly transformed into the divine will, through

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perfect love, whereby one acts without any illumination—all in God and for God. Everyone is capable of this and infallibly achieves it with perfect clarity, but not without having to carry a difficult cross.

Many other gifts of illuminations and divine affections usually follow; but these are totally gratuitous and must be viewed that way, not sought after or relied upon. And they vary according to the varieties of souls—more for some, less for others, without any obvious rule, but depending on the divine will, to which one must submit in everything.

Of the First State
The first step of annihilation

The said principles, when applied to our actions and to various matters concerning us, cause the soul to progress continuously from the beginning towards perfection. And everything reduces to three states, each, and especially the first, containing various steps, which all together form a sort of ladder from one state to another until the last.

In the first state, the soul must proceed by a knowledge and consideration of its own baseness, attained in many ways and especially in four:

First, by knowing and esteeming itself to be nothing because it was created of nothing and will return to nothing, etc. Comparing itself to the world is helpful here—to all men, to the heavens, to the blessed, to God; then, like a drop in the ocean, it will indeed seem like nothing.

Second, by considering itself to be the vilest and most useless of all creatures, since even the very vile—dust, mud, abscesses, etc.—are all somewhat useful, but not me, except to offend God.

Third, holding itself to be the greatest sinner of all, including the demons, and worthy of greater punishment, attributing to itself all the sins that are committed and thinking that it deserves all the punishments for these sins. And this supposes great knowledge and insight into sin as an offense to God, etc.

Fourth, it must descend to the cognition of its sins, vices and particular defects, increasing every day in this illumination and wondering at the mercy of God who tolerates them.

While continuously progressing in this evaluation of its lowliness, it must then come to practice, which consists in the following:

First, it must abhor every honor and dignity. And when they present themselves, it must flee them immediately, because there is no reason why such a nullity and such a vile and evil creature should receive any honor, etc. And the soul that feels itself sufficiently low will seem unable to raise itself by the praise it receives and will laugh at itself and be all the more confounded to observe its great distance from every goodness, virtue and worthiness of praise and honor.

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Second, it must embrace every opportunity for scorn, confusion, affronts, persecutions, infamies and other things; it must encounter them with gladness and accept them affectionately as its appropriate rewards, thanking the Lord for treating it the way it deserves. Indeed, it must consider itself unworthy of being visited by God even in this manner, and it must thank the Lord for deigning to exercise his justice upon it. It should especially enjoy and rejoice in this because its ignominy gives great glory to God—especially to the goodness of him who has deigned to create, govern, redeem and save such a vile thing that dares to rebel against him.

Third, it must always choose for itself the basest and vilest things possible—of place, clothes and the rest—while avoiding any affectation of singularity, considering that the most vile sort of house, place, office or what have you far exceeds its merits, so it is unworthy of them and worse.

The above practice brings the man to a true annihilation of himself even though he might not have concepts in his intellect to represent this baseness as clearly as he would like, because anyone who voluntarily abases himself and places himself below every vile creature must feel basely about himself, not just those who know how to meditate on this, although this is good too.

God exercises his expropriation, annihilation and withdrawal upon the soul thus founded upon nothing, whereby it conforms to the divine will and the man is transformed into God, and these have various objects and therefore various steps, according to the following order.

The first step of expropriation, withdrawal and conformity

From debasement and annihilation of itself [i.e., the soul] must come, before all else, a full and perfect renunciation of all created things, which are indifferent[6]—such as life, death, health, sickness, every comfort and pleasure, and interest in any particular state,[7] place, position, profession, and the rest. And this must be done first of all with the affections, by renouncing entirely every desire and will one may have for these, detaching oneself from every project, affection and intention concerning them and depriving oneself entirely of all comfort and pleasure deriving from them, as though one were dead.

Secondly, this must be done with actions, by setting aside everything that goes beyond what is proper to one's [religious] rule and submitting entirely to the direction of one's superior.

This [renunciation of all created things] is answered by God's gift of withdrawal of all these things: of life when he gives us death, of health when he gives us illness, of comfort when he sends us troubles, and all the other changes divine providence makes us experience almost every day in human things. Not a single day passes in which the Lord does not remove, by various providential means, many objects and comforts concerning all these things. And whoever is truly stripped of every affection for them most

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happily accepts every withdrawal of them and so acquires discipline for scorning them even more.

This expropriation and withdrawal bring an admirable conformity to the divine will, so that we want nothing except what the Lord wants and what he grants us from all created things, and we enjoy being continuously stripped by his paternal goodness through various daily occurrences. So we want the things he leaves us only because he wants them for us—not for our comfort, interest or will, but only for his glory—and we take and use them only as his divine will commands through our institute or through the will and order of the superiors.[8]

The practice of all this consists first of all in a total indifference to all created things.

Secondly, in electing a state[9] that conforms to the divine will, and if we already have it, in making the same choice about the manner of living, praying and acting within it.

Third, in daily things, and in all our continuous actions, exercising the necessary virtues of temperance, patience and the like, with the abnegation, withdrawal and election already mentioned, which become more exalted than before, especially because they conform to the divine will and we are doing them only for his glory.

Fourth, it consists in a total dependence upon divine providence and will in everything that he concedes or removes of created things.

Fifth, in frequently and fully offering ourselves to the Lord, in prayer and everything else.

From all this there arises, through total conformity with the divine will, a perfect love of God; because all previous impediments from created things are removed between God and the soul, so the soul comes to unite perfectly with God and transform itself into him. Great insights, affections and feelings of God usually follow. But rather than being concerned about this, one must desire above all to separate oneself from every will for created things and to pass entirely into the divine, experiencing an ecstasy of will, which is much higher than the ecstasy of the intellect, and deifies the soul much more.

The second step

One must then proceed to expropriation and withdrawal, not only of indifferent created things and the love of them, as has been said, but also of holy and spiritual ones that are the means for uniting the spirit with God—not because of what they are, but because self-love and interest can be and frequently are hidden in them under a guise of sanctity. There are many steps.

First, and lowest of all, and commonly understood by spiritual people, are spiritual consolations and pleasures that bring with them sensible

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affections of the heart through tenderness, fervor, tears, sweetness in every action, and the ease whereby this abundant pleasure overcomes us, etc. One must deprive oneself of all these just when one feels them most.

The privation consists in not basing oneself on these at all and not considering them to be of any significance, and noticing that the great ease they bring about in actions is due not to firmness and habit and the gift of great grace or, especially, to charity, but to a sort of sweetness and tenderness furnishing satisfaction and delight to our self-love or interest and bringing about a spiritual gluttony which, if we rely on it too much, amounts to nothing other than converting holy objects into our pleasure, which is abusing holy things for our interest—a dangerous though hidden vice, from which there frequently arise vain complacency, pride and a thousand other evils, calamities, and illusions.

Secondly, one must therefore not imagine that virtue depends on or consists in these things, which would be childish: and any little virtue and effort we put in them suffices.

Third, one must therefore deprive oneself of them for their baseness. Furthermore, through the said annihilation, one must know oneself to be most unworthy of them and become totally indifferent to having them, wishing only virtue and perfection.

Fourth, one must use them for the purpose for which God sends them, recognizing with great submissiveness that they come from God and directing them toward stability and growth through the true and real virtues. One must pay attention, however, to avoid being so transported by the sweetness of their tastes as to rush into the performance of acts or the exercise of virtues that are beyond one's powers and that, once the taste ceases, will seem all the more difficult and impossible, for which the said submission is extremely helpful.

Fifth, one must admit with great promptness of soul the withdrawal granted by God of such consolations; indeed, paying more attention than ever before to God and to virtue, behaving according to the latter with a new-found will power, not for the satisfaction of self-love but only for virtue itself and for divine glory.

Conformity with God is unmistakable and very important here. Because to unite oneself to the divine will, one must deprive oneself of such personal consolations and be content with any spiritual cross. The more one deprives oneself of these tastes, however much they exceed all created things and the pleasures thereof, the more one transforms oneself into God and, through him, increases in perfect love and deification.

The third step

After the previous degree the soul usually experiences illuminations, desires and affections of real virtues incomparably greater than the tastes already

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mentioned, since they are pure principles and means of such virtues, residing in the superior part of the man. Then the soul must rise to a higher degree of expropriation, withdrawal and conformity, with the aid of the annihilation and the already-mentioned low esteem of itself.

Be assured, however, that even though such illuminations and affections come directly from God and are immediately received in the soul, where they produce the excellent effect of pushing it to unite with God through the real virtues, nonetheless, if one is inattentive and immediately allows oneself to be transported by one's nature, one's will may embrace these illuminations with considerable personal satisfaction and one may derive a hidden pleasure in oneself because of them. One may then begin to concentrate on them with the natural forces both of the intellect and of the will and its affections, whereby the first internal illuminations seem greatly to increase and spread. However, their increase then is not divine and through God but through a pure reflection of the soul and of the great pleasure in their first beginnings; and gradually the divine infusion of illuminations ceases, while the natural force of the unreasoning soul, which is usually self-love, finds its own pleasure in exaggerating and overestimating what is really a small divine illumination. One thus falls into a swoon of pride and vain presumption of great virtue, from which a thousand deceptions and illusions arise; whereupon the Lord removes his aid because of the impediment constituted by one's self-love. Those who thought they had been infused with great virtue and great illumination really thus received it all (except at the very beginning) from their own concentration and their own efforts. And at the end, bereft of the solidity of the divine influence, they fall into serious errors.

Though the beginning was good, very dangerous illusions frequently result from these things.

So as soon as the soul receives these feelings, it must annihilate itself with great submissiveness, as though it were nothing. . . .

The fourth step

After the soul has purged and stripped itself of the divine feelings and desires for real virtues in the said manner, a higher step follows, which is this. Frequently, when the soul still has these desires, it fails to achieve its object because of human impediments. For example, when obedience or charity requires us to turn to actions distracting to us but helpful to our neighbors, we may have to stop the prayers whereby the soul felt inclined and called to unite itself with God. In fact, we may be called upon more than once to abandon the quiet and contemplative life in which the soul felt highly charged by vivid desires for real virtue, and to attend to the affairs of the active life, for which it may feel repugnance because of the many distractions; and yet it clearly sees that it is called by God to leave the former

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for the latter. Or else there may be divine impediments—that is, when the Lord does not permit us to attain (or at least not so soon as we would like) the virtue and perfection to which we aspire.

Such impediments afflict the soul with pain, anxiety and vexation. However, it must strive to understand that these may arise from a very hidden and obscure self-interest, and that it must entirely strip itself by a new and remarkable expropriation.

In the midst of these desires, the vexation, anxiety and unhappiness the soul experiences are usually from self-love, which, though sinless, prevents the union of the soul with God. Self-love, a mere created thing, thus prevents the soul's perfection or refinement, because there is something of possession here, although of something holy. The man seems to want to give orders to God, however indirectly; for the disquiet afflicting the intimate part of the soul is not from God, whose spirit is mild and full of peace and quiet. And to remove this disquiet, one must strip oneself of such desires, and of the virtues themselves, in the following way.

First, one must accept desire as a gift of God without pausing for complacency and self-satisfaction, as was said in the previous step. Second, one must try to carry it out with every due diligence, omitting no way or means to arrive at such virtue and perfection, thus securing oneself from any tepidity and negligence. Third, when one encounters the above impediment, one must clearly understand that divine goodness does not want to fulfill one's desire immediately. One must therefore entirely renounce the desire and profess to want only such virtue or perfection and in such a manner as God wishes, and no more. Fourth, one must then remove every vexation and anxiety, so the interest and self-love lying hidden even in such a holy desire are clearly revealed, and so we are taught to lower even our previously very high esteem for the desire of martyrdom, when accompanied by such anxiety, because this is self-interest, which constitutes an impediment between God and the soul. And once this impediment is removed, the desire remains greater than ever, but rather than by anxiety, it is accompanied by an unspeakable quiet in God and in his Divine Will.

Let the soul be aware that, possessing such a desire accompanied by quiet, but not by the desired virtue and perfection, it is more pleasing to God than a soul that possesses the desired virtue but would experience intense vexation and disquiet without it; because whoever is satisfied with what God wants possesses every perfection, and transforms created virtue into his eternal will, which is infinitely greater.

Fifth, the desire will then remain, but the human torment afflicting and assaulting the soul will be replaced by a divine one, like any torment coming from a desire for something one does not have and persisting until the thing is had, but accompanied by an admirable contentment and resignation in God, knowing he is exceedingly pleased with this torment of a soul that is

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quiet in the fulfillment of his will and willing to deprive itself of any good it desires because it loves him more than any sort of perfection and virtue.

Sixth. Such a soul then experiences a divine revelation that the man must never rely on his own efforts, however great and incessant, because they can never fulfill his desires except if the divine will so decides, which it may be pleased to do or not. So having lost all esteem for one's efforts, one acquires a certain faith and filial certainty that God, who has given the desire, will also give the perfection when he wants. Like an infant, one throws oneself entirely into his arms; and utterly content, one thinks no more except with a sincere and candid prostration in God and, acting automatically and, so to speak, at random, just like a child, one leaves every care for oneself to the Lord with a truly divine quiet.

This sublime expropriation is accompanied by the said withdrawal of the Lord, when he does not give the virtues we want, and so forth. But one must admit this with great joy and cooperate in the manner already mentioned.

Similarly, a very well-hidden and rare conformity with the divine will is clearly discovered. Because the man leaves God for God—that is, he leaves God and renounces him insofar as his having God comes from an interest in virtue and perfection; and he does so in order to have God disinterestedly. From which there follows a very exalted transformation and deification, followed in turn by gifts and unusual illuminations worthy of such an extraordinary love of God. . . .

Moreover, let whoever aspires to high perfection be aware that this does not consist, as many think, in continuously filling our thoughts and affections with the greatest crosses and afflictions we can find; because however great our fervor may be, nature eventually rebels, the soul is afflicted and this sadness causes continuous violence making any action difficult. And the great merit and sanctity that there could be in this fervor are actually an impediment because even the tiniest thing seems difficult to the unhappy soul, whereas happiness makes every great effort easier.

So the supreme act of virtue is not the desire to suffer, for even in this there must be moderation, but in the perfect contentment arising from an exact conformity with the divine will, which brings about the soul's most ready disposition to submit in all things and through all things to whatever God wants to do in it, for it and concerning it, according to his divine pleasure. The soul must therefore remove any excessively vehement desire to suffer that spoils this contentment and makes perfect actions impossible, and it must direct thoughts away from crosses and torments when they are out of place, converting all into this happiness of conformity with God, by the aid of happy though holy thoughts, which are therefore in conformity with perfection.

Such happiness produces readiness to do every act, fortitude in overcoming difficulties, jubilation and cheerfulness of mind—as the Apostle

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says, *Rejoice in the Lord always; again I say rejoice*, and so forth[10]—as well as readiness for and facility in executing work, and sweetness in everything, even in the very cross, when picked up only to please God. And one must at least yearn for and desire to have this happiness, when absent, resisting all impediments the devil may put in the way.

Our Lord Jesus Christ was singularly endowed with this happiness, which radiated in his face, making him supremely loveable. So he was not always thinking about his passion and cross, but diverted his soul (except when he knew his Father desired him not to) and thought happy things, remaining serene and cheerful of countenance as well as grave and serious in speech, so that the souls of all were strongly attracted, and discovered in him grace and great authority; and later the Lord suffered the withdrawal of this cheerfulness at the time of his passion.

The fifth step

After the soul has achieved the said conformity, quiet and happiness, made progress in real virtues, and achieved dominance of the superior over the inferior part by an easy and habitual practice of taming the flesh and the passions, the Lord then, or whenever he wishes, may allow it to go back to feeling serious temptations, similar to and greater than those it used to suffer in the beginning of its conversion, both of the flesh and of impatience, fear, difficulty and the like. It may then begin once again to feel a great rebellion of the inferior part against the superior part; and the devil may sorely tempt it, forcing it to go back into hard combat, with great difficulty, although the superior part usually wins.

This strange change resembles the imperfect or novitiate state.[11] The ugliness of the rebellion and of the devil's messages, the sensuous feelings and the unusual novelty seem almost the opposite of the accustomed manner of grace, whereby after the first temptations have been overcome and after the real virtues have been acquired, sensuality is usually so well tamed that its recalcitrance all or mostly disappears. All these things together put the soul in great danger of thinking it will go backwards, that it has offended, that it is in a bad state, from which arise disquiet, desperation and great ruin, whereas it should instead remain very much above itself.

And before one begins to worry, let one understand that God's grace makes the will more determined than ever to die a thousand times rather than offend God in the slightest. And since this is one's great desire, namely, not to offend God, one must be aware that one is far from committing sin, because this must be willed, and one has not occasioned such temptations, which one greatly abhors.

Secondly, one must be aware that one performs many acts of virtue with the superior part, especially acts of conformity with the divine will, expropriation of all created things and the like, because in this part the spirit

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is more quickly invigorated by the grace of God even though the flesh is stimulated. One thus has so much more certainty that there is no offense to God. And if this alone is not enough to extricate one from the fear of a guilty conscience, one must confide in the judgment of whoever is providing spiritual direction.

Third, one must be aware, moreover, that such temptations, although apparently the same as the ones usually felt at the beginning, are nonetheless very different in origin. Because in the beginning, when the superior part is without good habits, virtues and grace, and the inferior is full of bad habits and very powerful, there is no wonder that, aided by the devil's art, the flesh fights against the spirit until the superior part is invigorated and the Lord gives it great power to resist and win by taming and beating the other until the battle ends in submission and quiet between them.

All of which the Lord permits so that the gifts and virtues can be acquired through struggle, in imitation of him, while at the same time being infused by him.

But when the temptations later return, the soul, already strong and not knowingly having given any occasion to them, must hold for certain that they come from an obvious design of God, who wants such temptations to come not from an intrinsic principle within the man but very mysteriously from outside.

Fourth, knowing why the Lord causes or permits this is very helpful—first, so one should not become very complacent and interested in the quiet previously experienced, receiving great satisfaction and incurring the danger of pride. Secondly, so self-love, which may enter more subtly now, is extinguished. Third, so one should continue to gain ever greater understanding of one's own baseness and submission. Fourth, so one may know that perfection does not consist in absence of temptation or of struggle between sense and reason; indeed perfection can be greater than before, in spite of powerful temptations, wherein one must be assured that the Lord uses this means for promoting one to greater virtue.

When one begins to experience such torments, therefore, one must first of all prostrate oneself in one's nothingness and know oneself very worthy of all temptations, seeking complete resignation so the Lord might cast one down to be tormented by the devil, and remaining ready, as usual, to accept with jubilation all scorns and torments coming from outside.

Secondly, one must strip oneself of the quiet and peace one felt because of the absence of temptations, as well as of any resulting satisfaction, which deprivation is a much higher good, requiring a greater sacrifice for the love of God.

Third, one must with the same affection and readiness accept the withdrawal granted by the Lord, which here consists in not allowing the power of the superior part to affect the inferior part in such a way as not to

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feel temptation. It would do this, if God intervened as he did before; but God withdraws his help, and torment results.

Fourth, one must try not to use great penitence and mortification of nature to chase away temptations, as during the novitiate. Because by doing this, as one reads about some saints, temptations may increase rather than decrease. But one must suffer them willingly, caring nothing about and scorning them, and subordinating oneself with total submission to the Lord.

A greater conformity than ever with the divine will then ensues; for one is glad to be afflicted and suffer such travails and confusions, and this is very pleasing to God. This also conforms very much with Christ in the Garden, when he wanted the inferior part to feel how difficult the suffering would be to accept, and said, however, ***not my will but thine be done***.[12] From this conformity there thus arises in the soul not only a unitary love, whereby it is transformed more highly into God, but a love of the cross conforming with Christ's, a love of fulfilling the divine will, and acquiescence in suffering temptations, etc. Herein one not only offers oneself and dedicates oneself but also sacrifices oneself to God.

The sixth step

Besides everything that has already been said, the effort usually goes much beyond and arrives even at the superior part, where the virtues and the spirit reside. One thus begins to feel that the intellect lacks illumination and the affections lack resolutions, desire and readiness to do good, strength, and patience. So that whereas at first one fought with great vigor, now one feels lack of force and resistance and every effort seems immense. And thus one feels obscurity, blindness and great darkness, aridity, weariness, difficulty, rebellion, great cowardice, confusion and great oppression, apparently without the possibility of returning to one's first good intentions.

And if one does not try hard enough to remedy these things, there is a great danger that the soul feeling so abandoned might run into many disorders. First, there is the disorder of taking the experience of all the above as a great disaster, and therefore suffering great vexation and affliction. Secondly, there is the disorder of thinking about why all the above things occur and blaming one's defects, whose nature and origins one may then try hard to discover. Thirdly, there is the disorder of applying great diligence to seeking the remedies for those defects, in order to emerge from the present miserable state and return to the original one. However, this effort is useless because the defects are not the cause, so their eradication is no remedy and the annoyance redoubles. Fourth, there is the disorder of becoming impatient, since nothing seems to help and things appear to be going from bad to worse. Fifth, there is the disorder of giving oneself over to fear, cowardice, and the danger of total despair.

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Having gone through the preceding steps, one must then, either by oneself or, preferably, by the aid of the spiritual director, discover the occult and amazing mysteries that are hidden therein.

First, one must know that the true origin of all the above is divine providence, which, in order to test and refine the soul, after having furnished it with vigor in its superior part along with the virtues, withdraws the collaboration these virtues need to operate. Even though the graces and virtues are there, they have no force and seem non-existent, so the soul experiences darkness, aridity and the other said miseries.

Secondly, the divine withdrawal here is not of the virtues and gifts, nor of the acts of those virtues and gifts; for the soul is not entirely deprived of these.

Be aware that our internal and spiritual acts comprise first of all direct acts aimed at a particular object. As for example practical knowledge and choice or will to suffer and love God, to be temperate, chaste and obedient, to avoid sin, etc. Then there are the reflective acts, that is, acts of noticing and judging that one has done the first sort of act and deriving satisfaction and enjoyment from it for the glory of God, and consequently feeling strong and victorious over temptation, with great quiet of the soul.

Of these two, the first are pure acts of virtue, the second are the fruit we reap through the enjoyment of this virtue. Clearly, acts of temperance, for example, do not consist in feeling the results of the acts, enjoying them, thinking about them and being satisfied, but in willing and doing them. Now the Lord contributes to the first, causing us to perform acts of virtue; but he withdraws the second, that is, our cognition, reflection, judgment, and satisfaction in what we have done, so we almost feel as though we had done nothing. Darkness and blindness take the place of cognition, now withdrawn; aridity takes the place of the affection one enjoyed, and so forth. Likewise, suppose someone who was very hungry ate some food. He would clearly have eaten even if the food entered into his stomach without his ever feeling or tasting it; however he would feel as though he had not eaten and derive no satisfaction at all.

Third, virtue does not necessarily mean feeling our internal acts, and acting virtuously does not consist in that feeling, which is nothing but self-satisfaction. Therefore the Lord, to strip us of all interests and pleasures that come between him and us, leaves us the purity of virtue, in other words, to want and do it, taking away the part of virtuous action consisting in a certain self-love, more subtle than before, and an interest that the soul enjoyed while being diverted from a greater union with God. And if this is the case, clearly there is no evil or ruin here, and indeed, by this divine artifice the soul becomes purified in virtue, purged of its properties and interests, even though occult, and raised to a very high degree and disposition of greater grace and of much greater union with God than before.

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Fourth, to achieve greater clarity concerning all of this, let the soul reduced to this state recognize two points. First, it should be able to perceive the purity of virtue in its acts more than ever before. Because if someone should ask it in the midst of such weariness, obscurity and rebellion, whether it might wish to offend God, it would immediately claim to prefer a thousand deaths to committing a single fault; if someone should ask whether it wishes to conform to the divine will, it would say yes, very greatly and more than ever. Asked whether it wants to suffer for his love, it would say yes, that it would die for glory of the Lord. The same would go for the desire to emend itself, to know its own defects and change its life, and for self-hatred and the love of perfection. In spite of all these travails, it ceases to devote its attention to external acts of virtue, fulfilling more than ever, and as much as it can, and giving itself over entirely to an exact observance of its rule.[13] All of which are very evident signs that pure virtue, far from being relaxed, is in fact greater, because it remains strong in spite of the absence of the incitement that came from the pleasure of virtue contemplating itself. The second point is to discern the difference between this and the state of someone who feels the same tedium and darkness but only because of his own negligence. Such a person loses all acts of virtue and desires for perfection; or if he feels them they are entirely ineffective in his actions, so he leaves off much of the good he previously did and becomes obviously worse, with great danger of ruin.

Fifth, the soul must be more aware of the stupendous exaltation of this state beyond the one already mentioned. First, because an active and exalted imitation of Christ our Lord is involved, who in the beginning of his most bitter Passion, *began to grow sorrowful and to be sad, etc.*[14] And where he said, *my soul is sorrowful, even unto death, etc.*,[15] three points must be considered: first, the gravity of the pains and torments he was about to undergo; second, the removal of the aids of fortitude, patience, magnanimity and the rest, at least inasmuch as these are ordinarily felt, so he immediately experienced fear and weariness and such sadness that the slightest one of the very same pains in which he had once rejoiced (*and I have a baptism, wherewith I am to be baptized, etc.*[16]) now seemed intolerable; and third, in spite of all this his virtue was firmer than ever, because in those words, *rise, let us go, etc.*,[17] there appears a stupendous readiness to suffer, and the strength, patience, generosity of a victorious soul. . . .

This state, then, is God's supreme test of his elect, a vivid imitation of Christ, a martyrdom more noble than the external one, founded on the most profound humility and much more secure and of greater merit than any other, making many greater graces and gifts available and chasing self-love away more effectively. Because it also removes the man's satisfaction in the virtues, which is a possession that can stand as an impediment between God and man. It thus arises from a greater conformity with the divine will and

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from a greater love of God than the other ones mentioned. To satisfy God, one deprives oneself of such a great good and retains the acts of pure virtue, stripped of every other ornament and pleasure coming from them. One's behavior in this state must be as follows.

First of all, the devil usually terrifies souls into thinking that the above state results from some great defect of theirs and thereby afflicts them greatly; so to liberate oneself from this, one must immediately repent of any defect and fault, thus freeing oneself from any further worry and resigning oneself entirely to the Lord. And if one continues to think about one's faults, one must simply resign oneself entirely, believe what one's superior says, and be quiet. The main point one must remember particularly in this sixth step is that one must not judge oneself by one's own feelings, because the withdrawal prevents one from having any reflexive insight into or full judgment of one's actions, forcing one to submit to and humiliate oneself before others.

Second, one must annihilate oneself; and when one's self-esteem is truly at its lowest, one must be content and rejoice in the darkness, aridity, etc., that one feels, knowing one deserves even worse than this and is unworthy of any illumination, while giving glory to the Lord in the midst of this baseness.

Third, even though natural feelings of impatience and the like are great and make one melancholic so one complains without any sign of respite, let one know and try to feel that these feelings are accompanied by the said submission and total resignation to God. Likewise, a sick person may cry because of the intensity of the pain, but as far as his will is concerned he may at the same time submit entirely to God and be content to suffer fully.

Fourth, one must not admit nor think about nor consent to any greater fear or cowardice than are natural, for these are not bad in themselves; but one must devote oneself entirely to performing acts of submission, confidence in God, familiarity, and the like.

Fifth, if while performing all of the above—stripping oneself and conforming to God and desiring nothing but what he wants—one sometimes feels still more weariness and darkness, let one not be lost or led astray. Let one know that God very often gives these feelings in return for complete submission. Let one therefore redouble one's conforming and quieting, thanking God for them and reassuring oneself that the Lord *will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able*,[18] and that the effort to be used here consists not in resisting, because the withdrawal makes this impossible, but in suffering and enduring. This suffering is divine and is more certain than any involving ecstasy or the like; and it is the highest love of God.[19] It means not only sacrificing oneself to God, but immolating oneself.

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Of the Second State

. . . From the soul, which has arrived at the said sixth step, in which it no longer possesses anything but the power to perform acts in the way explained, little by little the Lord usually withdraws the power to do such acts, taking now one and now the other, until he entirely removes everything except the conformity to his divine will.

And experience shows that the soul sometimes finds itself so oppressed by weariness and affliction and assaulted by so many distractions and miseries that it cannot even force itself to thank God nor perform any act of fortitude or patience or of any other sort except to want what pleases God, remaining thus, suffering and being transfixed through its very center by the arrows of a thousand temptations. Just as the martyrs who suffered in their bodies could only receive the blows of pain with no possibility of shelter, in conformity with God, likewise the soul receives the said blows, with no possibility of recourse to any other active force except to suffer everything for the love of God, resting content with that.

Indeed, God later strips the soul to such an extent that it not only does not feel the act of conforming to God, but cannot do it. And it retains only a passive quiet, wherein like a lamb before the shearer, it simply lets God do what he will.

This is the withdrawal of the entire active part of the soul, when God withdraws his divine help so the superior part cannot actively perform any operation, however exalted and holy, but can only continue to suffer willingly what God permits.

The soul must answer this withdrawal by annihilation—in other words, by knowing itself to be nothing, most vile, and especially, sinful, and therefore unworthy of any act of virtue at all, rejoicing in the abasement given by God that prevents one from even raising one's mind to him.

Secondly, the soul must freely renounce and strip itself of the entire active part and of all the acts of virtue, which, the purer they are, so much the greater is the gift given to God.

Third, as a result of this, the weariness and afflictions will often be not the same as before but much greater for the impossibility of recourse to acts of virtue. And furthermore, the wellspring and the inferior part of the soul will experience new violent and disordered feelings unlike any experienced before, so that it will seem to be in hell. The only armament recommended here is submission and the passive quiet of suffering everything to satisfy God who so wishes. One ought to know that this submission and quiet confer the greatest power—not active power, but the power to expose oneself and leave oneself prey to God, just as the little lamb which is most patient in its utter weakness of suffering everything.

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Fourth, after this quiet there follows a conformity to the divine will that, though passive, is unquestionably greater than the one before; and this is accompanied by an inexplicable deification, likewise a passive act—not an oblation, gift, or immolation, as above, but much greater, more like a giving of oneself in prey to God.

In this state several important things must be kept in mind: first, that all the acts of virtue commanded by others, far from being lost, are performed more actively than ever. In other words, one keeps the power to use one's limbs and one's reason, thinking and acting all day long in everything necessary to one's rank, performing acts of temperance, patience, etc., when appropriate, helping one's neighbor in the usual friendly fashion, etc. The will also keeps the act and power of decision—that is, of ordering and then directing all the commanded acts. The withdrawal of the active part refers only to the intellect and will as far as one's own internal acts of will, intention, enjoyment, choice, pleasure, satisfaction and the like are concerned, all of which are entirely removed.

Secondly, remember that the Lord does not remove the gifts and habits but only the said acts, by removing his help and collaboration from them. Furthermore, he does this at his pleasure and not regularly, sometimes leaving the soul free to operate in this state and sometimes not. Nonetheless, the soul must always be most resigned in depriving itself of every action when and however the Lord pleases, with its renunciation and its amazing new indifference ever ready.

Third, when the active state is thus removed, the mind remains in the passive state in two ways. First, because even though it feels the soul transfixed, it submits to all the said weariness, affliction and miseries, suffering them willingly without hesitation and very great quiet, ready to suffer a thousand deaths rather than offend God, and ready to endure, only for love of God, so many unpleasant afflictions without being able to do anything about them.

Secondly, in this state, wherein the soul is restricted at the *apex animae* or basis and center as the mystics say, and wherein action has been removed, it offers itself and submits with the greatest promptness to God, who then initiates within it, with its free and passive consent, much more sublime acts of thanks, love, union with him, election of every virtue, without the soul feeling them expressly, but only admitting them and cooperating heartily and freely and in such a fashion that the intellect, abstracted from the senses and in ecstasy, unable to use any of the accustomed natural forces and active powers to understand, must simply receive the divine light that brings about within it the highest illuminations and understandings; and this the mystics call *divine suffering*. And however much the Lord brings this about in the intellect raised above all its natural powers, much more does he do so in the will that strips itself of the intellect and renounces all action. Raising the soul into a practical and most virtuous

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ecstasy, the Lord does whatever he wants with it. And this is *divine suffering* in the highest sense. Intellective ecstasies are dangerous, limited to the very few and full of occasions for curiosity and the sense of personal possession. But in the present case the will strips itself, humbles itself and safely proceeds to submit itself to God. And anyone can achieve such ecstasy, even though it is much higher than the other kind and makes the soul very pleasing to God.

On the Third and Last State

Finally the Lord removes not only the active part but also the said passive part, so that the will remains entirely and totally naked and impotent, unable to resist or to offer any opposition, while allowing itself to be entirely stripped.

To understand this last and most sublime of all states, note that the efficacy of the will's freedom in this is so great that it can spontaneously, freely and entirely renounce and strip itself of its own willfulness and freedom as though they did not exist. And once it has renounced them, the will makes itself non-will, and gives up *all its rights* and then hands itself over to the will of another, just as St. Paulinus made himself a slave in order to liberate another. This the soul can do with its own internal free will.[20]

Then the Lord removes from the soul, by withdrawal, both the active and the passive parts and all acts of any kind, as though the soul did not exist. Not resisting, and indeed, concurring with a full show of renunciation, it becomes in practice non-will. In other words, all the acts it performs and causes to be performed it does not will by itself and does not perform because it wants to do them—not even by a will in perfect conformity to the divine—but by entirely renouncing all this and knowing that the divine will wills it to do them, so it does them as though immediately willed by the divine will without any collaboration of its own, replacing its own will with God's. Just as the master of a palace full of every magnificence might depart, leaving a friend of his inside as an absolute master, and everything that was customarily done is still done, but by the friend's power and not the master's. Thus the will, renouncing entirely both the active and the pure and holy passive as has been said, resolves no longer to operate as it wills, even though it wills nothing but what God wills; and so it renounces this satisfaction, which it no longer wills. It does everything as before, but as though willed and ordered by God and not by itself, leaving full and immediate authority to the divine will over its entire body, soul and actions, as though it no longer had a will. And God answers this, as has already been said, by the withdrawal of every act.

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And even though God lets the will perform similar acts, it wills and performs them not by its own will, but because it sees God wills it to perform them.

Christ experienced this withdrawal and union in the Garden when he said: *Not my will, but thine be done* (Lk. 22: 42) meaning my will wanted to suffer the cross, in conformity to you, Eternal Father, with truly stupendous purity and sanctity, but I renounce this too. And I suffer not because my will, though most holy, so wills, but only because yours so wills, and I entirely renounce mine. His will thus freely became non-will. And so he said *not my will, but thine be done*— that is, let my will not be mine, so it can give place to yours.

This annihilation, expropriation and withdrawal shine with the most exalted light. There is not just conformity, but something much greater. Because the will, with this renunciation, joins with, is absorbed into and is plunged into God, remaining entirely lost in God's will and identical to it, deified to the heights. And all this can be achieved by the practical method outlined here.

36. Caterina Paluzzi, *Autobiography*

Like many women of her time, Caterina Paluzzi sought holiness by reading the classics of spiritual literature and experimented with fasting and corporal penance. Unlike most of them, however, she left us her story. One of eight children of a modest family of weavers, she was christened Francesca in 1573 in Morlupo, a small town outside Rome in feud to the Orsini family. Secular life held no attraction for her, even though her parents needed her work and could afford neither to send her to a convent nor to provide her with a suitable marriage. She thereupon sought other possibilities and achieved literacy virtually on her own. Just when she began to have her first mystical experiences, the archpriest of Morlupo, Alessandro Migliacci, acquainted her with the possibility of a different kind of life. To his direction of Francesca's early spiritual search, Migliacci brought the insights he had received from his own spiritual director, Filippo Neri, the "Apostle of Rome," who founded the Congregation of the Oratory to revive faith among the laity in Italy. And as soon as he could be sure of her inclination toward regular religious training he had her enrolled at age nineteen as a Dominican tertiary, with the new name "Caterina" in honor of her favorite saint, Catherine of Siena. However, she had to put off her serious efforts to attain perfection over the next three years because of the deaths of her father and mother. Saddled with supporting her six younger siblings, she continued working for a time in the paternal house, to which she was allowed access while the inheritance went to her brothers. Her future

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prospects were uncertain until Migliacci brought her to Rome in 1599, initiating a series of contacts that changed her life for good. She collaborated so successfully in the search for the body of St. Cecilia, recounted below, that she won a lifetime pension from Cardinal Camillo Sfondrati, settling her financial worries. To certify her authenticity and shield her from suspicious officials, Migliacci had her write her *Autobiography* in 1608. Her fame gradually spread. A vision of hers was used as evidence in the canonization proceedings for Filippo Neri. Then, when Federico Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, came to Rome for the canonization of his saintly cousin Carlo, she became his protegée, a relation that was to persist through correspondence when Borromeo returned to Milan. Taking contributions from Sfondrati, Borromeo, and numerous wealthy Roman families, she finally returned to Morlupo to realize her dream: turning the self-sufficient group of spiritually inclined women she had formed in 1602, dedicated to prayer and work, into the Dominican convent of Santa Caterina. Of this she served as prioress from 1621, when the foundation was completed, until her death in 1645, after which the long debate concerning her sainthood began.[1]

In her primitive Italian, where punctuation was rare and misspellings frequent (necessitating, in fact, considerable modification in translation to render the sense even while preserving as much as possible the flavor of the original) Paluzzi offered a rich testimony concerning the social experience of lower class women and the spiritual opportunities open to them in the period.

When I was little, I remember feeling a continuous inspiration inside telling me I had to become a nun, and I believed I was born for that, even though I understood the condition neither of a nun nor of marriage. At the age of around four or five I found myself in the company of other girls, although I preferred to be alone; and suddenly the thought of looking at the variety of creatures came to me, and I didn't know why. I saw some were little and some were big, some were beautiful and others were ugly, all with their own natures and unable to change. Considering that I didn't know how to do anything, I thought about the maker of all this, whom I didn't know, and I wanted to know him so he could teach me something. The same thing happened to me another day while I was outside looking at the variety of the countryside. I felt a constant desire to know what I had to do to avoid hell and enter paradise; and although I understand neither the good of paradise nor the evil of hell, I wondered whether it was sufficient not to say the bad things I didn't want to say anyway, but I felt that was not enough. When I asked those at home, tired of my importunity and of my questions, they made fun of me and slapped me. So I went into a corner of the house before some image and cried about having nobody to teach me, because in that time

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doctrine[2] wasn't recited in our church and the girls never went there anyway. When I saw people say the rosary, I went to them so they could teach me.

And one day I had the idea of crying for Christ's passion, though I didn't know what it was. When people were crying because my uncle died, I remember I wanted to cry for Christ's passion so they'd think I was crying for my uncle. But not understanding what it was, when I withdrew into a room away from the body and tried to cry, I couldn't; and then I seemed[3] to see a man with his hands tied and whipped all over, and I understood internally that this was Christ, and he was of an infinite beauty; and so I began to cry.

And another day a girl I knew happened to have a fainting spell, and I thought she'd gone into paradise. When she came to herself, I took her into a secret place to avoid being seen, and then I tempted her, and I don't remember whether with an apple or a ciambella,[4] and I asked her where she'd been and if she'd been in paradise and what she'd seen and whether she would take me there if she went again. When she didn't know what to tell me, I thought she didn't want to, because I believed everyone was looking for what I sought.

Another day I was asking myself about what I could do to get to paradise, and I felt I was ready to suffer any great torment and even be glad to die by fire or sword or be thrown off a cliff. Then a thought suddenly came to me that I could do this on my own and go there. I replied [to him[5]] that I didn't want to on my own because I'd burn in hell and still not know how to go there, but if Christ threw me off I would be happy because he would lead me to paradise, since he knows and can do everything. These and other similar things are what I did up to around age ten.

After what I've said happened to me, I began to feel great inner and external torment; and the inner one was this: that he cursed and scorned the Christ I sought, and said paradise didn't really exist and I was mistaken, and paradise was to be enjoyed in this life. He showed me some pleasures of vanity saying these were paradise. God only knows how much I suffered from this, without anyone to tell me a single word, because at that time I had no regular confessor, and I wouldn't even have known how to confess. How many awful shapes appeared in my imagination—sometimes at night he seemed to slap me and pick me up and carry me away. And in the daytime, how many times he came to scare me, calling me by name! One time I happened to have my head down while working and I looked up to see who called, and I saw a black bull. I could not think what this bull could be, but it was so dark I was scared to death. However, inside I felt a living faith that I could find what I sought, and this was a great help and comfort for me, while he was doing this to deceive me and then make me regret having believed him. He bothered me especially when I was learning to weave, by coming to scare me with various and diverse monstrous shapes.

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I came down with a long illness, and the doctors could never figure out what sort of fever I had. But those imaginings gave me such annoyance that I remained agitated day and night, covering my eyes sometimes so as not to see them. They lasted three years and then left me with certain titillations of the flesh and some things of faith, even though I did not understand what they were or how insignificant. At night I seemed to walk on serpents and found an infinite number of them when I went out into the countryside during the daytime, but I wasn't afraid.

And another day I happened to meet a young man who'd studied in Siena and was discussing St. Catherine of Siena with certain people. I stopped to listen and understood she was a maiden and a saint. This was new to me because I'd never heard it before, and that time was not like now, when you always hear something spiritual in church and only those who don't wish to don't learn. After hearing about this glorious St. Catherine I began thinking she was still alive and might put me on the path to serving God. I really believed she was still alive and I hoped that if she happened to pass by she would want to speak to me and teach me something. When I saw some foreign woman come along I wondered if it was her, and every day I had more feelings and devotion toward her.

And God, who never stops helping me, though I am unworthy, gave me what he gave the Magi who looked for him, to whom he gave not just the first sign, but, when they were lost, sent the star again to guide them to what they were looking for. And all the direction he gave me was still not enough, since I left the right path anyway, so he gave me a new star to guide me on the occasion of the death of the archpriest of our church with whom I had confessed. By divine help there came along the present archpriest, and I took him as my reverend father confessor, and he was for me the new star who has guided me ever since.[6] When I went to him for the first time, I was amazed at his interest in the health of my soul. With some advice that I'd never before received, he gave me the Most Holy Sacrament, even though I was unworthy to take it now as before. I made a resolution to abandon myself entirely to his will and take everything he said to me as the word of the Holy Spirit, obeying without question. And from him I heard St. Catherine was dead and, having lost the hope of being able to speak to her, I wanted to learn to read in order to read about her life. But for my sins, I never had anyone to teach me. At night I held the holy cross in my hand and cried and called her to help me, because in the daytime I didn't have time. So I began to call on the boys to teach me to know the letters.[7]

After what I've said happened to me, I began to wish for some sort of austerity, like wearing a hair shirt or a chain belt and sleeping on boards and the like. But my reverend father, who knew me to be of little spirit, decided I was weak and without strength and wouldn't let me do too much. When I asked permission, he told me to pray and then report to him what I'd heard

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in the prayer and what prayer I'd done and what I'd talked about. This way he kept me occupied.

The glorious St. Catherine didn't fail to help me with new aids and favors to flee the vices and acquire the virtues to the perfect degree. I felt her inside myself—it seemed to me that it was she, even though I couldn't see her—who told me to obey whatever my reverend father commanded me, saying this was the will of God and there would be more occasions to mortify myself internally by a mortification even more pleasing to him. And any time I had some occasion either of resentment or of impatience or of any other sort, I remembered this was the hair shirt I had to wear, like St. Catherine. Everything I had to do for my body's necessities, particularly eating and drinking, not being able to avoid satisfying the senses, I tried to do not for pleasure but as a punishment for my sins, as God intended. Thus I began to leave off drinking wine, and I would have preferred food to be bitter in order not to take pleasure in it since I ate it only by necessity. I worked much more, even at night, to make sure the alms I gave were the fruit of my labor although I never skipped my prayers. When I worked, I wished for glory to God, merit to those in mortal sin and labor to myself. This way, I didn't feel the labor. Since my reverend father confessor said that I should meditate on some mystery of prayer while I worked, I seemed to sin when I didn't do that, so when I didn't know what else to meditate on I started saying the Our Father and the Hail Mary.

Afterwards I received many different types of temptations, so sometimes one temptation troubled me and sometimes another, finally fixing on the temptation of daring to judge my neighbor. Therefore when I went out, especially to church, I had to close my eyes not to see, my ears not to hear and my mouth not to speak. This was very helpful for quieting me, for in this way I began to concentrate on my prayers.[8]

The devotion I felt towards this glorious St. Catherine made me want to become a nun of her order. I went to my reverend father confessor so if he thought this was a good idea, he might help me enter a convent as a *conversa*[9] because I believed nuns were always praying. I told my father and mother not to hold me back, for the love of God, and instead, to give me what little help they could. They, moved at this because of their love for me, but quite upset, replied that they never thought I would ever give them such displeasure. Indeed, they would have thought if I had already entered a convent I'd try to get out to help them in their old age and in their family's needs. I, who had no prudence or charity, replied that Martha's role was good but Magdalen's was best, and since I was determined to serve God even if I found myself in Turkey, I insisted that they help me, saying that if I didn't take care of myself there was no one else to do it for me. When I recall responding this way I feel badly because I should have been quiet for charity's sake. Thus my reverend father tried to get me the habit of the Third Order of St. Catherine. But the reverend fathers of the Minerva,[10] because

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of my sins and because there was no convent of their order, did not want to give it to me. Nevertheless, they allowed me to wear the scapular[11] along with many other girls, and I wore it to show devotion to that glorious saint.

One evening after the ringing of the Ave Maria I was working at the loom and meditating on the life and virtues of this glorious saint, and I thought that however much I tried to imitate her in some things, I could never do so with her spirit nor attain perfection. Then I seemed to see there appear above and in front of me a moon and over this the rising sun, whose rays seemed to shine on me, particularly on my heart. The fear and the new vision overwhelmed me. It seemed to speak to me and tell me that I had to be a nun like St. Catherine but without leaving Morlupo. And it seemed to show me I'd stay in a house with other companions and would have to care for them. Then it disappeared and I was consoled but afraid the devil was deceiving and trying to lead me astray. Then I laughed at such foolishness, considering the obstacles to realizing this, and reminding myself that my father and my mother and their family would have to die first, I did not mention it even to my reverend father confessor.[12]

A short time after this my mother died, and a little later my father too, so I was left to care for the house and the eight children, including four males, of which one was older than me, and four females, of which I was the oldest. God knows I had plenty to do, but nothing made me lose my desire to serve God. I always said: Lord, it's better for me to suffer for their family than for my own,[13] because I can do so as an act of charity.

One evening while I was praying I seemed to be lifted up and raised over the earth, and I felt a little afraid that the devil might be trying this to deceive me. Later I felt great consolation and seemed to feel sure inside that this was St. Catherine. Later that night, I dreamed about two persons flying, and I didn't see their wings, but I saw they came from the sky and wanted to pick me up, and I was trying to think who they were, and I seemed to hear that both had come to teach me to fly and that they were St. Catherine of Siena and St. Mary Magdalen. I told them not to take me with them because I was afraid they might drop me on the way, and then grabbing onto them I would bring them down. They put me between them and took me flying, and when I was in mid-air, they wanted to let me go, and I held on to them, and laughing, they embraced me and led me into a place of great sweetness. This was not just once but an infinite number of times. And they led me to some churches, and particularly to St. Peter's in Rome and the Holy House of Loreto[14] and other similar places that I later went to see and found to be just as I'd seen them. Many times they took me flying until they finally taught me to fly by myself. They put me down and I flew back up to the sky from the earth and called the other companions to teach them to fly because it was so nice.

After what I've just described, I felt a great quiet and sweetness when I prayed, and because of that quiet, at times I felt myself faint. On the day of

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this glorious St. Catherine I was in church having communicated and I seemed to feel this quiet of the other times. I fainted and seemed to see her leading me into a place where I seemed to feel much sweetness and see beautiful things and hear her say this was paradise and this was her place. She seemed to show me Our Lord and the Most Glorious Virgin his mother with St. Dominic and many other saints, particularly those of her order, and afterwards she seemed to lead me back into the church from which she'd taken me. When I recovered, I felt very consoled but somehow stupefied and outside myself because of what had happened. I felt a great abomination for the things of the world, for which from that day on I've been continuously afraid of having too much affection. And this glorious St. Catherine always seemed to teach and advise me in all my works and actions that if I paid attention to her, I wouldn't fail to reach true perfection.

And on the day of St. Michael the Archangel in May,[15] my father died. I was very afflicted during the eight days of his sickness, not so much because of losing him as because of the care of the house I was left with and because this would pose a great obstacle to my attaining perfection. Thus, seeing my father on his deathbed, I fell to the ground on my knees with great faith before an image of the Virgin Mary. First I commended my father's soul to her, then myself and his family, with these words: "My Lord and Queen of heaven, to you I commend this poor soul about to pass from this life; have mercy on it; and to you I resign myself and his family, which is now without mother or father or means of support, since you, having given them to me, have taken them away, and I have no other refuge but you, so do with me what you please and I want nothing but to serve and please you." After I said these and other similar words, there came over me a great warmth along with the ordinary quiet I usually felt when I prayed. I seemed to see the Virgin Mary with her son in her arms telling me not to doubt that she wanted to be my mother and guardian, and the son to be my father and spouse, and that I should think about him and he'd take care of me. Then she disappeared. I remained so certain of her promise that I was hardly bothered by the death of my father. I can't forget his last words, that for all my love of God I shouldn't abandon my siblings, particularly the youngest daughter, who he was afraid would end badly if I left her, and who now is continually with me and wears the same habit. In time, God took care of all of them: he took the two girls to himself and the boys each have their own families. On the eighth day after the funeral I was in church, and after taking communion and saying a special prayer for my father's soul, I felt the usual quiet with that warmth and I seemed to see Our Lord and St. Catherine. When I commended his soul to them they seemed to take me where he was, and this appeared to be purgatory, and then they left me. I seemed to see my father with great torments, and he seemed to commend himself to me as though I could have freed him from those punishments. I seemed to turn to where those two were standing aloof and call out loudly,

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crying for them to free my father from those torments and put me in his place; and He seemed to look at my father and draw him toward Himself. Then I found myself in church, so tired from crying that this seemed to have truly happened.

Another morning, I was kneeling before the main altar after receiving the Most Holy Sacrament, when the sweetness and the pleasure seemed to make me faint, and snow seemed to be falling in the space between the main altar and me, and then this snow fell on me and instead of cold I felt warmth and a great sweetness and pleasure.

After telling my reverend father what had happened to me, he said if I wished, I could go to a father called Friar Sante [da Ripatransone] of the Reformed Order of St. Francis who led a holy life, was clearly a spiritual man, and had preached in our church. I did what my reverend father counselled me, but when I was before the friar I was so embarassed and ashamed to tell him what had happened to me that I was speechless and said nothing. Nonetheless, he spoke about what had happened to me and told me there would be more, and if I didn't want to be disturbed by fainting in church I should find some distraction. This, though very difficult, sometimes helped me. He died [1595] before I could go back to see him, and I wasn't aware that he had died, because he was in a convent a short distance from Morlupo and I was weaving at the loom. But while I was considering his perfection, I suddenly felt overcome by the warmth and quiet I usually felt when praying and I seemed to meet him coming out of the convent with great sounds and music, dressed in sun as he went up toward the sky. I seemed to ask him what he was wearing, not knowing the name, and he told me it was a white purple.[16] I seemed to see him in a priest's clothing prepared to say Mass; and as he continued on his journey, I seemed to see the glorious father St. Francis come with many others as in a solemn procession to receive him. As soon as they received him with great solemnity and pomp, they seemed to give him a place where they honored him with much festivity.

One Holy Thursday morning I went to my reverend father for Confession and the Most Holy Sacrament. He agreed to give them to me and asked if I felt ill. Even though I felt a little indisposed, I decided not to say so for fear he might make me desist from some of the austerities I practiced; so I said I didn't feel badly. He said he knew I did and I shouldn't deny it, and he said he'd only give me communion because it was Holy Week, and he wouldn't have done so any other time, and I should omit the hair shirt and the chain I wore as a belt and the bed of boards and the fasting on bread and water and the discipline I practiced, and, in fact, I should stop doing whatever I did. He said in any other week besides Holy Week he would have made me eat meat. I said to myself: I deserved no better response than this, and the Holy Spirit makes him speak, because I should have told him truthfully how I felt. Thus I went home crying to do

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what my reverend father had commanded. When I had taken off the hair shirt and everything else he mentioned, I wanted to make something to eat, and having nothing, I said to myself: how will I obey; if I tell him I've nothing to make soup he'll tell me this is an excuse for disobedience. Then a woman arrived with certain herbs for making soup, which seemed to be a miracle enabling me to obey; and not having any oil, I cooked them with salt and ate this as a soup. As I ate and cried because I didn't want to eat any soup, I began to say to myself: "O accursed sensuality, always fighting with me and never giving in to reason, I don't eat to give you pleasure but to give pleasure to God and to obey. God, I can't deny that only you give me mortification,[17] and I do not have a good spirit, since it doesn't obey with quiet but only with sensuality. You know mortification heals both soul and body, and this morning I felt ill and now I feel well." When I went to bed that evening I did the same, and I seemed to see the bed as a garden of flowers. When I fell asleep, I dreamed I saw my dead mother come to bring me certain pieces of gold and when she showed them to me I looked at them without picking them up until she told me to pick them up because she brought them for me. Then when I picked them up they pricked me. I was afraid they would hurt me, but their beauty made me want to pick them up, and as soon as I had them in my hand they became so many live angels. My mother asked me if I knew what this meant, and I said I didn't, and she said these were the mortifications: they would not be mortifications if they didn't prick, because they are directed against the senses, but afterwards they'll be so many angels for your soul; and she disappeared and I awoke feeling all consoled. . . .

After I told my reverend father confessor what had happened to me, he said if these things still bothered me I should resort to exorcisms[18] and then come back and tell him whether they worked. I did what he said and still had the same effects and told him so, and he said I should have even more exorcisms and this would help me find out if the devil was trying to deceive me. He had me stop praying and doing the other things; and I was afraid the devil would lead me to perdition, and I began to do what he said again, and I said to myself: "O Lord, how hard is my lot; after trying to quiet myself for years and years, I was just beginning to succeed, and now I have to go in the other direction. How many holy men and women are there in the Holy Church today whom you do not torment with these things? Do you want to ruin me by this path? You well know, Lord, that I've asked for perfection, but by any other path except this one, since I never even liked to read the books about these things."[19] I seemed to see Our Lord at the age of around twelve years old come into the room, and with tears of fear in my eyes I began to drive him away. He didn't seem to leave, and I asked him, if you are the devil, why not go tell my reverend father, who'll believe you. He seemed to reply that he believed me and I only had to go myself. I seemed to see a confessional highly adorned and beautified by different

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colors, where he was sitting as a judge in priestly clothing, teaching me. Then he disappeared and my confidence in my reverend father confessor suddenly increased.[20]

Because of my sins, these blessed imaginings didn't cease even though I didn't pray and I tried everything to distract myself. They assailed me on the street while I was speaking with people, leaving me stunned and speechless and so far out of myself that I seemed to be in paradise even though I was on the street. After this my reverend father confessor allowed me to keep praying as long as I ignored them. Then they stopped bothering me on the street, and I observed this rule for seven years. Later, with his permission, I went to a good father prior of the Discalced Carmelites at the Madonna della Scala in Rome,[21] and he told me to be quiet and God would not permit the devil to deceive me, since I didn't look for these things that happened. So I was quieted, and even though I avoided praying for certain particular needs, I never missed doing so in general except when forced to by obedience. When forced, I complied with many tears and sighs, because these imaginings made me seem to see and feel so many things that would take too long to tell about; but I will mention one example.

Before the body of St. Cecilia was found, I had been in the convent[22] for three months, and God knows how much the nuns urged me to make a special prayer asking St. Cecilia if her body was in that church and if so, where. I told them I didn't hear such things in prayer and they should try on their own, and then I left. But afterwards my reverend father confessor commanded me to obey, and when I did, St. Cecilia seemed to come with St. Catherine to take me to her church and show me how she was with other holy bodies, just as she was later found to be;[23] and an infinite number of similar things happened to me. . . .

More than once, certain spiritual persons[24] in whom I had great faith and confidence asked me to pray for them. When they told me they were in danger and in great need, I thought they said this out of humility, and I didn't think they were in danger of mortal sin, because in this life we're always in danger of sin and there's no one who can be sure of not sinning, even though we don't want to, because our nature is so weak and miserable. I myself feel I do the sin and the evil that I do not want and I don't do the good that I want in order to give glory to God unless he himself helps me.[25] But then, praying for these persons, I felt very strongly that I had to recommend them to God and this feeling came with a certain inspiration about what advice to give them. When I told them what I thought, I put my arguments together in such a way as to avoid letting them know where I got the inspiration. Later, during prayer, I wondered if this had been a temptation, because I still had the same faith and confidence as before in those persons, so telling them what I felt seemed to do them an injury, and thus I resolved not to speak to them and to consider this a temptation. But when I was off my guard and discussing other affairs with

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these same persons, I happened to say what I had tried to avoid. However, I said I'd heard somehow from third parties about such matters, concerning which I knew nothing, and that we can't trust ourselves even after practicing mortification and [training the] spirit for many years, nor trust our maturity nor presume anything about ourselves, because God could permit us to be deceived by our pride and self-conceit, whereas we're nothing and can do nothing; and after these and other similar words and discussions, we stopped talking and each went about her business. But after a few days, they told me they had begun to think that I'd received unfavorable information concerning them and thought ill of them. I replied: "Let it please God that you're indeed what I think, because then you'd be saints, for I've only heard the best possible things about you and I wouldn't believe anyone who spoke the contrary, and God knows why he made me speak to you about those things, which I never wanted to do myself. But you behave contrary to my custom since I'm heedless of the opinions of others when I know I'm innocent; and I only worry when the bad things thought about me are true." And those persons said to me: "This is like telling us we are in sin." I replied: "I'm not saying this; God and you know the truth." Later I was sorry, because I seemed to have insulted them; and I had new feelings that I ought to pray to God to give true light to those persons so they could see whether they were being deceived. Months and years later the same persons came to find me and confessed voluntarily, without my prompting, that from the time of our first discussions two years previously they had constantly been taking communion under suspicion of mortal sin, particularly regarding sensual and other similar matters connected with this vice. I said: "Didn't you confess?" They replied, yes, but God knew they didn't believe their own confession because even if they had confessed every day, they would have embraced, sometimes seeking out deliberately, whatever occasion for sin arose every day, and they were tempted to think I did the same. I replied: "God knew the truth, and if he had allowed me, I would have done worse than you, but the thought of doing such things or even believing them of you never came to me even in a dream; but did you know you and others were committing mortal sin?" They responded, yes, they knew, but because one of higher status who knew more than them about the things of the spirit did it,[26] they thought it wasn't such a serious sin. I replied to them: ". . . What charity moved you to come to tell me about the defects of others while you were committing mortal sins?" They responded that their charity was really malice because it was only for hiding their own defects from me. They'd suspected I knew, not by human means, and to keep me from believing some revelation I'd received in prayer, they tried to disguise their own actions by speaking about those of others. Now they recognized this was uncharitable and made a good confession with much contrition and tears, and afterwards lived very well. . . .

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And the next year, on the same day of the Assumption of the most glorious Virgin Mary, after I received the most holy communion, a sort of ray of sun seemed to come down on me from the sky and make me faint with a certain sweet warmth. Then I seemed to find myself in paradise just as the mother of God arrived in the first chorus of angels; and as she went higher, the angels seemed to be amazed by this novelty. They all seemed to be trying to honor her with as much solemnity as they could, with music and singing. We looked at each other and I seemed to hear one of them say: "We would think she's God if we didn't otherwise know and enjoy God, because we're nothing compared to her." It seems to me that the angels and souls in paradise, those who are lower because they only have as much glory as suits their capacity, don't have any cause to envy the others who are higher, for perfect charity is observed there; and all souls appear to me to be happy and to enjoy the glory of the other souls as though it were theirs because there isn't any envy there, even though the higher they are the more they gain the vision of God and his glory. Thus, perfect charity appears to be observed.

After the most glorious Virgin arrived before the Most Holy Trinity, the company of angels leading her seemed to me to install her with great solemnity and pomp, and the mother and the son looking at each other seemed to say these and other similar words: "Blessed are you, my son, for your grace and virtue, which you have given me and infused in my soul and thereby greatly exalted." The son seemed to me to reply: "Blessed are you, my mother, in eternity because you have obeyed your calling, and I thank you for receiving me inside your most chaste body and for nourishing me with your most pure blood, because without having taken this mortal flesh I would not have been able to suffer and bring glory to my eternal Father, benefit to the Holy Church and victory to myself." Then they seemed to embrace. Then God seemed to take her into paradise, where there seemed to be twelve doors, and he seemed to take her through all of them as though she had to take possession, and I seemed to have a thought that there were twelve doors in paradise and to hear they signified the twelve Apostles. Since she'd shared in the labor, thus she shared in the glory of the souls who came in through those doors. Then he seemed to lead her to a seat at the right hand of his firstborn Son, and there she seemed to be crowned by the Most Holy Trinity, and the crown seemed to me to be made like a tiara,[27] with more crowns inside this one, but three in particular. The first seemed to have written on it, Mother of the Son of God; the second, Virgin and Mother; and the third, Queen of the Angels. They gave her many other titles that would be too long to tell you. When she was crowned, the glory of the angels and all the souls seemed to me to increase, with harmony and music and songs, to the highest possible capacity for enjoying and delighting in God. I don't have words to say what the crown and the dress and the seat with its ornaments were made of, because if I say the base was

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of gold and the ornaments of an embroidery of pearl and precious stones, these words do them injustice, because there seems to me to be as much distance between these things and my words as between the heavens and the earth. Therefore, I shall say nothing now and discuss it again at a later time, if God will give me grace enabling me to do so.

The effects this had upon me were a feeling of great abomination for the things of the world and much more for myself. If charity didn't require me to care for this miserable body so that I can serve God, which otherwise I can't do, I believe I'd have let it die as it deserves, because it's never satisfied. Compared to a blessed soul, the whole world, along with its vanities and pomp, seems to me like a grain of corn thrown down in the mud. Here I see our foolishness and idiocy, for we only seem to be something because we don't see ourselves, for God has created us for one single purpose, that is, to love him. It seems to me that we try to do everything but this, allowing ourselves to be surpassed by inanimate creatures like trees and plants, which never stop their natural motion until they reach their end of giving leaves and flowers and fruit, and achieve their purpose of praising their creator. And we, whom he has not only created and provided with so many benefits but has redeemed with his most precious blood, not only don't recognize him but offend him; and these things stupefy me and place me outside myself.

Let it please His Divine Majesty that when these crazy ideas, I mean, crazy not in so far as the content is concerned but in so far as they happen to an instrument made of filth like me, pass through my mind, they serve me more as a punishment than as a glory, because I'm unworthy of the calling. And just writing what I feel, I blush and lose heart from the shame; but obedience makes us do great things, even against our will. . . .

And to say something about the good and bad signs and portents in the visions and imaginary revelations,[28] I can't fail to tell about the information and directions I received in the first years that I practiced prayer, even though I don't pretend to understand them nor to have obeyed. But I'll speak about them to give glory to God and benefit to my neighbor and to humble myself all the more, since my cowardice and ingratitude in not having obeyed make me feel such repugnance for writing.[29] Let his Divine Majesty be pleased to give me light, and where I've failed and am failing, let others, whom God calls and will call along this and along every other path whereby he calls souls to himself, compensate for my weakness and laziness by doing what I've been unable to do.

I never stopped praying, in spite of the difficulty and temptation I felt at that time, because if I wanted to obtain some virtue from God, this seemed to me the best way to get it. The austerities I practiced, wearing a hair shirt and a chain belt and sleeping on boards and practicing discipline and fasting on bread and water and other similar things, didn't seem sufficient to get what I desired but only to help me avoid sin and mortify the external more

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than the internal passions, and doing these things without prayer seemed to me hypocritical and more apt to make me lose virtues, if I had any, than give me more. But prayer did and does give me the light to help me recognize and mortify my inner passions, without mortifying which we can't know, enjoy and love God. When my reverend father confessor made me take off my hair shirt or some other austerity, I used this to mortify myself, saying to myself that the Holy Spirit had made him know that this was as good as any other sort of mortification he had given me, for I couldn't and didn't know how to pray, and I told myself I'd try all the harder even though I had many temptations and difficulties.

And when I was there,[30] I didn't want to leave, and I told myself, I don't want to leave even if I have to die. When I had to go to work or obey anyone who called me, I went, but I also forced myself as much as I could to remain occupied in some spiritual thing not to waste time. Even though I experienced great difficulty, I didn't give up. At times I was so exhausted from this struggle to send away temptations and other thoughts that came into my mind, chasing them away and occupying myself in some mystery of the Passion of Our Lord or in something else, that I broke out in a sweat and fainted away, but I didn't give up. I remember that months and years went by in which I was never quiet day or night and felt sad to think I might never be quieted. I tried to avoid thinking about the past because the past didn't bother me any more, and I thought, God knows whether I'll have any future, so I tried just to think about and live well the present hour. Thus I consoled and encouraged myself and I began to prepare so that if death came unexpectedly I'd be ready and go gladly and willingly at any hour, because I didn't believe myself able to do anything pleasing to God [while living] but only to offend him, as I ordinarily do, and I wanted to die rather than sin. And after around three years, from age fifteen to eighteen, if I remember correctly, of aridity[31] and temptations of every sort, His Divine Majesty was pleased to console me even though I didn't deserve it.

What I've said above seems out of place here and unrelated to what comes afterward, but I said it for several reasons: first, because from the beginning one can predict the ending; and second, because I've greatly desired to know how others to whom the same things happened internally have started out and what sentiments they had before coming to quiet and spiritual pleasures, which I could never find out even though this would indeed have been a help and consolation to me. This is why I'm telling what I've been through.

The first quiet I felt in prayer came to me in this way. On the road to church I raised my mind and said: "O Lord, when will I be quiet just for the duration of a Hail Mary, because this would be enough." Making the sign of the cross, I raised my mind to God and said the Our Father; and as soon as I said these two words, I felt a certain inner light like a kind of warmth and quiet in my heart, which stunned me and kept me outside myself for a

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short time, and the great pleasure and lightness it gave made me faint. It seemed to take a great weight off me. A certain sweetness and softness seemed to come down on me from the sky that I can only call heavenly manna. All this seemed to fortify me so I forgot how many temptations I'd felt and how many things I'd suffered and could think of nothing but the present, and I said to myself: how could I ever have doubted in a Father as good as God, and if I so trust the father who bred me, how much more must I trust the Father who created and redeemed me with his most precious blood, has freed me from so many dangers, maintains me and cares for me, and can and wants to give me every aid. If I don't fail to trust him, he won't fail to help me, so I don't want to know any other spouse nor any other good except His Divine Majesty. Thus I promise to give up myself and whatever I have to go and serve and love only my eternal good, which is my Lord Jesus Christ, crucified for my sins. As soon as I said these and other similar words, I had such trust in God that from then on, in any struggles, adversities, persecutions or other experiences, I only had to think that God knows, and I was quiet.

And this was much different from that fervor I used to feel when I prayed, promising great things and then being unchanged and even worse. But this time I was left completely resigned.[32] If I had obeyed, lucky me! Because I received more inner directions in this situation than I ever received from outside. No injury or vituperation seems enough punishment for my ingratitude and for my failure to obey God as he justly deserves. Even though I show nothing on the outside, for many reasons and particularly so as not to show the world the mortification I fail to observe, still, I believe and consider all this to be true because every hour I see more clearly.

To return to where I left off, after having my crazy ideas many times, one day while I was working alone in the house I was sad and I believe I was also crying, thinking about the danger that the devil was using these imaginings to lead me to perdition. I said to myself: Lord, you know well that I haven't desired to serve you for my own consolation nor for the curiosity of knowing and feeling extraordinary things, because what Mother Church tells me to believe is enough, and I envy those who bear a cross for your sake, serving you out of pure love and with generous and constant souls, as I wish I could. But how am I to know, Lord? Liberate me, if this is a trick of the devil. I don't have and don't want other aid besides you, and I know you won't let me down. Then I got down on my knees to make my usual ejaculatory[33] rather than a mental prayer, and on the left I seemed to see Our Lord at twelve years of age, and he gave me his right hand and put his arm around my neck and seemed to place his head on my own and told me these and other similar words, if I remember well: "do not doubt, my spouse, that when you walk in my footsteps, I'll always be with you and I won't permit you to be deceived by the evil spirit, because I give the

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proper grace to all creatures and elect and call them all along that path that is more expedient for their welfare, even though all souls seem to feel that if they were in another state from the one in which they find themselves they'd be able to do great things; but they're deceived, because my call can be heeded in every state, and whoever doesn't heed it the first time rarely heeds it the second without my omnipotent aid. Therefore, try to obey to me according to your calling, because I'm pleased to call you along this path. Do your part, for I won't fail to do mine. The signs you'll have of my visit, never vain or pointless, are these: I'll always leave some pledge of my virtues, in particular, the kind you most desire, the ones you practice more internally than externally, just as I did to give glory to my eternal Father. And I'll point out to you the path whereby you will be able to follow me more easily. In the beginning you'll be afraid of being deceived, and I'll give you enlightenment and knowledge about my highness and your lowliness, so you'll be ashamed of being seen by me and you'll want to hide yourself so as not to give me stench and nausea. But you'll want the whole world to see and know how you see and know yourself, so that everyone can consider you as you consider yourself. You'll not only see and feel this truth the instant you have the vision, but this knowledge, more internal than external, will stay with you, and every day you'll feel it more. The more you do to purify yourself, the less you'll seem to have done so and to be purified. Thus you'll always feel a new desire to purge and purify your soul in order to be able to love me. Then I'll leave you very quiet and entirely consoled and abandoned to my divine will and pleasure. Although others will tell you this is a deception, you'll ignore this warning and not be disquieted, and you will continue to acquire the virtues and remove the vices I hate. When the evil spirit is deceiving you, if you don't have an external sign, you'll have an inner one, and the signs will be these and other similar ones: at first you'll sense a certain happiness and brightness, but not quiet, and you'll be curious to hear and know new things so that you can tell about them later, and you'll see yourself to be worthy of many graces because of your practice in the acquisition of virtue. Then you'll be left with fear and disquiet because your confusion will prevent you from explaining what happened, and with a certain subtle esteem of yourself and secret complacence that you'll seem unable to fend off. None of your acts of external humility will make you feel and see internally, as I make you feel and see. When you receive some advice you'll feel internally, without showing so in words, that others must not have heard or understood what you say, because if they did they'd esteem you. You'll go about seeking anyone who'll believe you; and though you say you hide your virtues, you'll want everyone to know about them and to consider you virtuous. You'll no longer seem to need so many internal and external mortifications but only the ones you already practice. You'll find yourself always in the

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same state; and you'll go backward rather than forward. You will grow in the shadows, not in the light, trying to know me more clearly."

This left me with the usual quiet and abandonment[34] and with a constant inner desire to see if I found myself in the same state or if I felt a difference, and I went about examining myself. Day by day, month by month, year by year, I'm still observing the effects I feel. When I examine myself in this way to assure myself that I'm not deceived and to prepare myself now that there's time, I imagine dying immediately with no time to confess, just to see if I fear death and for what reason, so that I can attend to it while there is still time. When I think I'll die, every hour seems like a thousand years, because this miserable life in which I can't unite to and enjoy my Eternal Spouse and Lord is death for me. . . .

When I trust entirely in him and not at all in myself, I am much consoled and quiet, and every day now the things I feel are newer and newer, and the past ones seem to be nothing compared to the enlightenment I receive from the present ones, particularly concerning the greatness and goodness of God and my baseness and vileness. They leave me continually aware of his presence and of my ingratitude and vileness in not obeying His Divine Majesty; and when I want to pray, seeing myself as a statue formed of the worthless filth that I am, I'm ashamed to stand in his presence, and when he's pleased to work miracles through this instrument, I feel no elation because I know I contribute nothing of my own.

When these imaginary visions are first experienced, they seem in my modest judgment to bring some possibility of deception and much danger; so the penitent who feels them must be very careful to report everything to her father confessor. If he's ill-prepared or doesn't understand her, he must find someone else who does. He mustn't send his female penitents to just any confessor who suits their humors, for they'll attach themselves to the one they like best without knowing what's good or bad for them. You confessors must always keep them humble and suspicious about the visions, even if they're good, so they are always fearful of them. If your penitents are prepared to believe what you tell them and obey without question, take this as a good sign, because those who have the truth inside themselves care little if others believe them. But when they talk too much, even without malice or bad intentions, then the visions they defend as being not deceptions are dangerous. . . .

In imaginary visions, whoever experiences the good ones first will soon know when the bad ones come, because there's as much difference between the two as between day and night. But those who receive the bad ones and haven't tried the good ones, I believe, are in danger of being deceived because these visions stick like pitch and are hard to pull off and are secret. Such people, satisfied in just keeping up appearances, behave like the gall in the middle of the pluck,[35] which is ugly to look at and tastes bad but nevertheless appears to be something [good] because it doesn't show its

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qualities while it's hidden there inside where it can't be seen. But when the bad visions come, those who have received the good ones will easily recognize them because they don't leave the honey of mildness and quiet characteristic of the good ones, nor the spices of the different virtues that [good visions] leave, nor the sugar of the clarity and knowledge of celestial things the good ones usually impart. Likewise, whoever has had the bad visions and then experiences the good will be aware of having been deceived without recognizing it. When they [i.e., the visions] come contorted and all confused, the best path is not to pay attention to them nor to lean on them any more than on the passing breeze, but to rely on humility and the acquisition of the virtues, which if they're bad, will become good if we persevere.

Many times, and particularly on the feast days of the Holy Apostles, this particular effect happens to me: that when I want to commend the needs of the Holy Mother Church to the care of Our Lord and then to that of the holy Apostle whose feast is being celebrated, first I commend the Holy Pontiff and all the Christian princes and cardinals and bishops and heads of the holy orders and all the other needs that would be too long to mention; and discussing these things with myself, I say: "Lord, you know what's needed without my telling you, and yet you behave as if you didn't." My sins are great enough to cause many evils, because it seems to me that if I'd obeyed God according to the calling he's given me, I'd be heard because I'd be in his grace. I say to myself: "Lord, whoever has committed a crime must be punished and the just shouldn't pay for the sinner; if I've failed, there's no justice in others having to do penance for me; if you called them only once in the way you've called me so many times, they'd all be saints; and you seem to enjoy being vexed by and pursuing one who flees you, as though you had no one but me to deal with. Don't permit the others to be punished for my ingratitude, Lord, but turn your anger and just indignation against me and let the others be saved. I'd be contented not just with one hell, but with a thousand if such there are and I could have them all, whereby you'd be so glorified that there was no longer anyone to offend you or damn himself." Then it seems to me that I turn for assistance to the holy Apostle whose feast is being celebrated, who won't fail me that day; he knows the needs of the Holy Church and what he has suffered for it.

While I ponder these and other similar things, my heart seems to me to fill up so much that it keeps me outside myself and I'm so overcome by a certain warmth and sweetness that I seem to faint. I seem to see Our Lord showing me the glory of that holy Apostle, how he gained it and how much he's been rewarded. Then he seems to show me all the needs of the Holy Church and in particular of the religious orders, and all the sins that are committed. I seem to see the particular assistance God gives them and the callings he distributes. Everything else seems to me to be more heeded and taken into account than God. Scarcely one person in a thousand seems to

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me to love and serve him truly; and he seems to show me how many different kinds of assistance he gives them and with how much patience and forbearance he waits for them and with how much love he tolerates them, watches over them, takes account of and protects them, and how charitably he governs and maintains them. On the other hand I seem to see that among public and private persons—although I don't know many private persons—the ones who make a profession of living spiritually are most insolent and do most injury to God, both inside and outside the religious orders, and particularly the priests, whom he holds in high esteem and to whom he has given the grace of being his ministers and gaining universal respect in the world. Let it please God that the things I seem to see are not true, that is, the small esteem in which his honor is held; and everyone seems to me to love himself in place of God, for one reason or another, as though God weren't there, or if he were, as though he believed everything we say without seeing or knowing what we know. God seems to me to be treated just like a kitchen rag, kept hidden in some corner to use in case of need. People who are higher in degree and dignity seem to me to disrespect him more and hold him in smaller account. . . . Because of my failure before God, I seem to participate in all the evils and sins that are committed in the Holy Church. . . .

Sometimes I feel my heart torn between two extremes—namely, God's love for us and the ingratitude whereby we offend him, and the greater is this sentiment and knowledge, the more pain I feel. Sometimes [this sensation] seizes me with such impetus and force that it affects my body, making me faint, with sensations of pain and sweat and desire to suffer not only in this life but in the next, if this would glorify him and ensure no one would offend him any more in the future. I would rather go to hell for love of him, so that he wouldn't be scorned any more, than for the offenses I myself committed against him by my own will. I'd be glad to go not just to one hell but to a thousand, if such there were and I could have them, to bring more glory to His Divine Majesty and benefit and welfare to my neighbor. When I feel that I can't stand it any more and I'm about to expire, I seem to see Our Lord present, comforting my heart and restoring my body's forces by his presence. The physicians who visited me at the time, who were called in by those who saw me, thinking I had some bodily illness that would kill me, told me that they thought I couldn't possibly survive and that I had no pulse unless they gave me fire and medicines and other necessary things. Because these things haven't helped me other times, I no longer use them. . . .

Those who offend God don't seem to me to know him, for if they knew him as I do, they wouldn't mistreat him as I do; and I'd like to be able to go through the cities, the palaces, the public squares, the holy orders and everywhere to tell people that they should love and serve him. . . .

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37. Paolo Segneri, *Lenten Sermon*

While fellow Jesuits sought to bring the natives of the Indies into the fold of the Church, Paolo Segneri sought to bring in a sometimes even more intractable audience: the citizens of the various cities of Italy.[1] In a career that spanned the entire century, Segneri fashioned a message calculated to appeal not to mystical adepts or to theologians but to audiences of ordinary people of average intelligence and modest education. The challenge was immense. To compensate the inadequacies of established ecclesiastical structures, vast, unwieldy and torn between spiritual and secular purposes, for confronting the growing demand for spiritual edification, Segneri offered the powerful example of his own vocation. Born in 1624 to a noble family in a town outside Rome, after a humanist training in the Roman noble college, and against his parents' wishes, he became a Jesuit novice in 1637. He sought a missionary position in the Indies and certain martyrdom, but his superiors within the Church had other things in mind. First of all, he taught rhetoric in his home college while learning theology under Sforza Pallavicino. Having begun preaching in Pistoia as rector of the Jesuit college there, his reputation began to spread and he put together the first version of his *Lenten Sermons* toward the end of the 1650s. In response to a spiritual crisis in the mid 1660s and an additional vow of poverty, he decided to do for the rural areas of Italy what St. Filippo Neri had done by his missions as the "Apostle of Rome"—namely, to bring the message of Christianity all over Italy. He thereupon embarked on a twenty-seven-year tour of the area between Mantua and Ascoli Piceno, often travelling from place to place on foot, before finally receiving a position as palace preacher to Pope Innocent XII in 1692, two years before his death. The core of his activity was the sermon; and to reach his audience he brought to bear all the pyrotechnics of seventeenth-century rhetorical technique. In the meantime, he complemented his missionary work with edifying tracts addressed to the faithful as well as at the lower clergy and aiming to reinforce the relation between both, becoming one of the best-known Catholic authors of the age.

Sermon 5: The Sinner Put to Shame on the Last Day

When the Son of Man shall come in his glory . . . before him shall be gathered all nations. Matt. 25: 31, 32.

And to what extremities will men dare to proceed in their abuse of all the loving kindness, which God has condescended thus far to show us? Has he

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kept hitherto silence, as if he was quite insensible of every outrage? But what then? Do we not hereby well know that patience, after long provocation turns into fury? Arise, then, O you Angels, you destined heralds of the last tremendous day; sound aloud your trumpets, and prove to sinners whether what I say be true. O Heavens, shroud yourselves in darkness and refuse them in their consternation every light, but the flash of the thunderbolt! Rain down, O flames, upon them, and greedily turn their possessions into ashes! Open your jaws, O earth, and like one famished swallow up their dwellings! Scour the land, you beasts of the field and meeting these wretches at the cavern's mouth, the refuge they fly to, let none be able to boast that he has escaped your indignation! But what am I doing? All these are judgments, which over and over again have been sounded in the ears of sinners without producing any effect: and I myself am conscious of having in my early days described them with all the terrifying eloquence I could; and yet they never to my knowledge made one face turn pale, nor one heart feel cold. But now for once it has occurred to me (since I have to speak on the Universal Judgment) that, setting aside every other kind of punishment, I should confine myself to the exhibition of one alone, which is not so much regarded; but which, because of its peculiarly affecting the nature of man, ought to terrify anyone who has any humanity left in him. I said, it peculiarly belonged to man. For what is that punishment, which, among all others, we can only inflict upon man? Is it hunger? or whippings? or the flame? or wounds? or death? No; says the pious archbishop of Valenza: of all these kinds of correction the brute beasts are capable. The punishment proper to man is shame. "The beasts can be beaten, or slain, or burnt; they cannot be put to shame." And then he shrewdly proceeds to remark, "When man for his offences is put to public shame; it is then that, as man, he is chiefly punished. . . ."[2]

If ever there was a most notable indignity in the world, it certainly was that one, which Hanun, king of the Ammonites, did to the ambassadors of David, in utter contempt of all common propriety. He ordered the heads of every one of them to be shaven close, just as if they had been so many slaves. He had their beards clipped in the most ludicrous manner, as if they were so many buffoons; and their lower garments cut away in the middle, so as to render the exposure of their persons most disgraceful. In this state he compelled them to appear before his nobles at court. In this state they had to parade the streets before his subjects. And, lastly, having thus turned them into the utmost ridicule, he sent them off, just as they were, and quite overwhelmed with shame, to their own country. I leave you to consider how deep must have been the sense of indignity in the minds of these unhappy men. I am content with the simple record of Scripture: *the men were sadly put to confusion* (2 Sam. [2 Kings in Douai] 10: 5). I can imagine the poor wretches not daring to lift up their eyes, or to utter a word; and that, sooner than submit to such a degradation, they would have

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preferred leaving their heads on the hard and fatal block. But, if this be true, how, how will it fare with those reprobate sinners, who will have to endure a much more scandalous and cruel usage—not in one single city, nor in one single court, but in the presence of the entire human race? They will see the Eternal Judge sitting upon the clouds of heaven on the most majestic throne of his power; then the countless orders of his assessors: apostles, patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, arranged according to their respective ranks on their elevated seats; companies of confessors, of anchorites and of virgins; and together with them not so much companies, as vast regiments of angels clad in complete armor, who, while they cover the plains of the firmament on every side, will swell the number, and much more heighten the splendor, the gorgeousness, and the magnificence of this immense assemblage. And before such an assemblage, a very congress of kings, more brilliant each of them than the sun, the miserable condemned will be forced (while they still retain the feelings of our common nature) to appear in all their filth, in all their deformity, in all their brutishness, without the vilest rag to cover them, blazing, as they will be, with their shame. What shame will they experience, do you think, on beholding themselves exposed to the gaze of so vast a world, especially when they see themselves furiously thrust, like convicts, into its presence by a savage set of devils, who, as if proud to show off before heaven the prey they had captured from it, shall lash and torment them, as they move forward, with every kind and degree of insult and cruelty? . . .

I said still more grievous: for, if their mere appearance only before this Tribunal shall cause them such intolerable shame, how will they feel, when *the Lord shall bring to light the hidden things of darkness* (1 Cor. 4: 5), when, in other words, the Court will proceed to read aloud the indictments against them, to publish their most hidden acts of meanness, and to expose their most secret infamies? I can devise no better method of helping you to conceive what their shame will then be, than by the following illustration. Suppose me to be miraculously gifted with a perfect insight into the characters of every individual among you; and that I were now to stand up and begin to say, "Do you observe that female over there, who is so modest in her appearance? She is living in adultery; and that young man, who seems to be all absorbed in his devotions, is her pararamour. Do you see such a one? It was he, who committed that felony. Do you see such a one? It was she who committed that theft. And that man further down—do you know who he is? He is a devil in disguise, who, in order to assassinate secretly a certain enemy of his, is now at the present time plotting some mischief against him." Supposing, I say, that I were enabled to communicate to you in this manner whatsoever I pleased, and beyond the possibility of any man's contradicting me; who can describe the glowing blush of shame, which would here lighten up every countenance? You would all of you instantaneously rise up in a tumult against me. One would

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try even from a distance to stop my mouth with his menacing gesticulations; another to shut me up with his looks; another to stifle my voice with his loud cries; nor would others fail, as their wisest course, to make their escape, getting at once out of my reach, lest I should put them to shame. And yet where are we now ? We are in a town, we are in a church. Is it then so serious a matter for us to lose a little credit in the sight of a few individuals? I leave you to judge for yourselves, what it must be in the sight of the assembled Universe? Deceive your confessors now, as much as you like, in the particular confession of your sins; keep in the background your worst offences; gild and gloss them over: do you really think that you will be able to do this at the Last Day? Alas! how will you be then compelled to make a full, undisguised, and public confession, and with your own mouth to disclose what you would not want to hear from me now. Some will disclose acts of theft; some will disclose acts of felony; some will disclose acts of adultery. Do you doubt what I say? Then hear the words of the prophet Hosea: *The iniquity of Ephraim is bound up* (Hos. 13: 12). The sinner now hides his sin as easily as a mother hides a small creature in her womb. He hides it from his superior; he hides it from his parents; he hides it from the person, who is in Christ's stead. *His sin is hid:* but what comes next? *The sorrows of a travailing woman shall come upon him* (Hos. 13: 13). Have you observed a female very near her confinement? She can no longer conceal her condition; she is forced by her own cries and groans to publish it. So it will be, according to Hosea, with every sinner. *The sorrows of a travailing woman shall come upon him:* in other words, he must, however reluctantly, discover himself. But what overpowering shame will it give him to do so! . . .

And do not tell me that in spite of my emphasis on shame you cannot see the reason for it since many people will share it. I positively deny your conclusion. It involves a fundamental error. Do you know why sinners are now so little ashamed of their misdeeds when they know they have many companions? Because they estimate the evil of sin not by its intrinsic malignity, but by the common opinion of the world about it, which often regards it as being a credit to a man, or a mere trifle, or something not worth noticing. But on that day they will not so regard it. On that day they will judge of sin, as it really is in the sight of God. *Then,* Thomas Aquinas, in his *Summa*, remarks, *our shame will have respect to that estimate of God, which is according to Truth.*[3] By means of a light, so true and so terrible, what shame will a man feel in detecting himself to be the parent of such a monster! Imagine the confusion of that illustrious lady, who, if I remember right, in the time of Pope Martin IV,[4] brought forth in Rome a child covered all over with hair, like a bear, with a rough shaggy fleece upon it, with sharp crooked talons, and with the ferocious look of a wild beast. Those mothers among you, who sigh for beautiful children, or who, having them, are so proud of them, will readily enter into the wretched feelings of this

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unhappy woman on her giving birth to such a frightful creature. What then will the reprobate sinner have to suffer, when he is made conscious of being the parent of sin, an offspring so much more disgusting? Sin is that monster, horrid beyond all imagination, to which no equal was ever generated in the pools of Lerna, or the lakes of Asphaltites, or the muddy sloughs of Cocytus.[5] This is that monster, which the Gorgons, the Scyllas, the Cerberuses, the Sphinxes, the Hydras, the Geryons, the Minotaurs, the Pythons, all own to be their superior: indeed; this is that monster, from which all these misbegotten beings were born into the world. . . .

This, however, in my view of the matter, will sink into insignificance, when compared with the far deeper shame they must experience, when they shall hear Christ with an awful look of majesty reprove their ingratitude, shown towards his own person and his own precious blood. My brethren, in our present state we cannot understand the full import of the words, Christ died for us! But, when brought before his Divine Presence, we shall understand it: and then, finding ourselves to have been, in return, so unmannerly, not to say so stubborn and so brutish in our dealing with Him, as to have declined to help put up a poor person in his home, and to have neglected his churches and cloisters and made it our chief boast to dishonor him, what shame, then, will cover our faces?. . .

Will you not be completely confounded, Christian, when born, as you are, in the bosom of the Church, in the midst of so many oracles of Scriptures, so many doctrines of Fathers, so many examples of saints, you shall yet see many heathens outstripping you in goodness, so that, excepting only your faith, which, being without works, shall only serve to increase your disgrace, instead of adding to your glory, you shall find yourself, on the stage of these momentous proceedings, placed in other respects below an Aristides, in justice; below a Seleucus, in rectitude; below a Polemon, in chastity; below a Socrates, in patience; below a Pericles, in truthfulness; below an Antigonus, in meekness; below an Epaminondas, in disinterestedness;[6] men, all born in the deep darkness of heathenism, and who therefore unfortunately were never favoured, as you have been, with any knowledge of Eternal Life, with any Gospel, with any traditions, with any creed, with any prophecies, with any miracles, with any sacraments; nor had ever seen a God dying for their sakes in his exceeding love toward them, and in such dreadful agonies, as you have seen? Wretched man! What do you say to this? . . .

Boleslav I, king of Poland,[7] observing that one of his Counts Palatine showed great cowardice in a battle, was content with sending to him in his name a beautiful golden distaff, a present for him to spin with. The nobleman with a kind of look, such as you may easily imagine, received the present; and thereupon, quite unable to bear up against the shame of being thus by this significant act compared to a woman, in a fit of despair tied a halter round his neck and strangled himself. How then will it fare with the

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Christian on his seeing himself confronted with a heathen? And not only confronted, but even placed beneath one, which is tantamount to preferring the weak to the strong, the defenseless to the armed, the low-born slave to the illustrious royal heir? Will not this be a keen cutting disgrace, quite a match for every other? Ah, I can well understand how every such Christian hiding his face with his hands, as quite ashamed that any should recognize him, will then renew his lamentations and pour forth his fresh complaints. And "Oh, wretch that I am," he must cry out in the words of the Psalm, "Oh, my misery! Oh, my affliction!" *The confusion of my face hath covered me at the voice of him that reproacheth and detracteth me: at the face of the enemy and persecutor* (44 [43 in Douai] 16, 17). . . .

Onwards, then, my hearers to our conclusion. Is there a single person here, who does not tremble at the thought of his being liable one day to incur such an infinite degradation? Alas in your notions of worldly honor you are so exquisitely sensitive, that a mere trifle hurts you, a chance word goes to your quick, and, on any affront done, however trifling, off you fly in a hurry for your satisfaction to the sword, to blood, to destruction, and to death. And shall it be possible that you, high-minded gentlemen as you are, can thus undervalue so boundless a disgrace as that, which awaits you at the Last Day? A continual disgrace? A disgrace of the very worst kind? A disgrace which will serve to exasperate you through all the ages of Eternity, *which shall never be forgotten* (Jer. 23: 40)? Why, after all, an affront, shown you in this life, does not last long; but that disgrace lasts for ever. Do you understand what I say? It lasts for ever. For it is most certain that the damned will for ever have in constant view before them that same horrible disgrace, which was inflicted upon them at the Last Day in the sight of the Universe. And that shame, if we at all credit St. Basil, that shame will be enough by itself to enrage them for ever, to madden them for ever, and to goad them on for ever to the most inhuman and frantic acts of desperation. *The shame which they will retain through Eternity shall torment them more than the penal fire.*[8] If then a lesser affront offends you to such a degree, Oh! what folly, Oh! what blindness, Oh! what, insanity, must it be in you daringly to expose yourselves to an affront so incomparably greater!

Just now tell me, in truth, my brethren, does not what I have narrated this morning seem to you a mighty pretty fable? O Father, and what an unexpected strange question is this, that you put to us? Are you speaking seriously or in play? Am I serious? So you told me. Do not be ashamed, be sincere and admit it. Was this not a pretty fable? A pretty fable? A fable? But you really want to make us angry. How could it be a fable? How could it be? We regard it as being Evangelical history and truth eternal: and, if you have given it any high coloring from your own imagination, which we are not sure of, *that* must be your affair. For certainly, we do not regard the future Universal Judgment of the world to be a fable. We hold it to be an article of our Faith. Ah, is it so? What good news to me, if only it were

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true! For, to speak plainly, my opinion was, that if not all, yet that many among you regarded it as fabulous, just as the majority of people everywhere else do. —Ay, but not of Christians. —Yes, I say, of Christians. —Well then, not of Catholics. —Yes, sirs, of Catholics. Of what use then in the world are our houses of Inquisition? —Think for yourselves. If all those, who look upon the Judgment Day as nothing but a fable, were to be cast into the Inquisition, alas, my dear ******,[9] all your prisons would be found far too narrow for the purpose of receiving them! . . .

I perceive that, if you are called upon to take your trial in any important cause at some earthly tribunal, you look for an attorney, you employ counsel, you wait upon officials, you stoop to men in authority. I observe that you allow yourself no rest by night or day. Today you are seen in one antechamber; tomorrow in another: today you have a conference with one lawyer; tomorrow with another: you read, you study, you write; you get covered with dust in rooting out old long-forgotten family papers. I observe that you are ready to incur great expense: to this person you send a present; and to that you offer a bribe. You procure at any cost the favor of persons of high station. You fail not to employ all the means that occur to your mind, so as to secure beforehand, if not a triumphant decision in your favour, at least the fair hope of it. Now tell me. Do you take any such great pains to procure a verdict in your favour at the Heavenly Tribunal where the cause to be solemnly decided is an affair of Eternity? Answer me at once. It is no use for you to wince. It is no use for you to attempt to duck this question of mine. Do you take any such great pains? O God, why only to hint at such a thing is itself the deepest shame! Do we exhort you to receive the Holy Communion once a month? You say that it is too often. Do we prescribe to you some wholesome act of repentance? You say it is too difficult. Do we propose to you some regular plan of devotion? You say it is too wearisome. Well then, we try again. We ask you to give up certain company. "I cannot." Frequent no more that place of amusement. "I will not." But surely you might spare a short quarter of an hour every night to examine and settle your conscience? "It affects my head." Surely you might attend Mass in the morning? "I have no time for it." Give then, at least, some trifle in alms to those wretched objects, that crawl about the streets, so that they may put in a word for you at the Day of Judgment. *Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness* (Luke 16: 9). You think, "how can I? I am burdened with debts; I have my own family to provide for; I am eaten up by lawyers." And do you really then believe that you will have to be judged by God, while you refuse to make even half the exertion, which you readily submit to, when you believe that you have to be judged by a man? . . .

But why not believe it, my dear Christians? Why not believe it? Do we not know with certainty that none among us shall be exempted from this

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judgment? *We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ* (2 Cor. 5: 10), exclaims the Apostle—all, all. What then are you doing? Do you hope that by some special favour you may absent yourselves? Do you hope by some clever trick to get out of the court? Do you hope to escape altogether by flight?. . .

My God! Enlighten the minds of this people! Soften their hearts: for I quite despair of being able to do so, even if I were to spend my last breath in suppliant entreaties at their feet. I despair of it; I despair of it. But why ? Is it because they are hardened? Is it because they are perverse? Is it because they are stubborn? Ah no, my God: it is rather, because I myself am a sinner. And how can you expect me to convert any of my listeners, when it may be that I am myself worse than any of them? Mercifully make up for my inadequacy; and grant me this favour that I ask of you. Give me at the least one soul in this congregation! One single soul, I beg of you, O Lord, out of this vast assembly; and choose that soul for yourself, as it seems good to you. I demand it of you by that most holy Blood, which you have poured out on the Cross, by those stripes, by those purple wounds, by those pains, by those cruel and intense agonies, which you endured for us! Oh, unhappy me, if only I were worthy of so bright a conquest this morning! How should I thank you! how should I praise you! How should I bless your goodness from the bottom of my heart? Yes, yes; one soul at least I will hope for at your hands. But then? Whose soul shall it be? Take courage, O woman, for that single soul may be yours; you, who have been so long rotting in your lust that your deliverance from it seems to be quite impossible. Or, that single soul may be yours, O man, you, who have become a devil in your furious passion; or yours, you gambler; or yours, you adulterer; or yours, you assassin; or yours, whosoever you are, who, in spite of the sharp goading of your conscience, have so long refused to confess your sins properly. A soul is what I desire: and I desire too that it be the soul of the most lost transgressor. Lord, what do you answer? Are you unwilling to give it to me? Ah, yes; I see why it is. I have done you a wrong by limiting my request to one single soul. Many, many souls I would now earnestly hope from you: indeed, I would even hope to gain them all. Have we not every one of us hereafter to assemble together in the valley of Jehoshaphat? Suffer not, O Lord, in that Day me and this people to be separated from each other; but so order it by your grace, that we may all of us be found at your right hand, all of us in peace, all of us in safety, all of us invited with great triumph to your Glory, none of us excluded from it with so much shame!

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38. Paolo Segneri, *A Good Confession*

At the level of the laity, the most difficult challenge for the Church in the seventeenth century was to fulfill the Council of Trent vision of Catholic Christianity as a primarily sacramental religion, and to do this while responding more fully to religious needs than other unorthodox forms of devotion.[1] Jesuit, Piarist and Lazarist missionaries all reminded the faithful to seek grace through participation in the sacraments administered by the clergy, and where local priests were in scarce supply or continuously out of residence, the missionaries did the administering themselves. As a continuous reminder, they furnished, to the most popular form of lay association of the time—namely, confraternities and lay brotherhoods dedicated to charitable works and devotion—encouragement, leadership and specific rules enjoining the taking of the sacraments. The transition was not easy. For some believers, the new religious behavior meant turning attention away from the more impressive and spectacular outward forms—processions, ceremonies, images—and toward a more introspective faith. For others, it meant additional annoyance and inconvenience. In the case of the confession of sins, Carlo Borromeo, bishop of Milan from the 1560s, removed some of the most insistent objections by introducing the use of the wooden confessional with a grille to make the practice less threatening to young girls and more anonymous for everyone. And Segneri, in the selection below, explained in simple terms, to his popular reading audience, how if taken properly, confession could provide all the spiritual solace anyone might need.

An invitation to the sinner to approach confession

A poor prisoner with the rope around his neck, expecting every minute to be led to execution, could hardly ask for better luck than to have his life spared. And if he should receive the news that the prince had not only pardoned him, but also adopted him as his son and made him heir of his throne, he would hardly believe it. If he did, on the other hand, he would be in danger of losing, out of excessive joy, the life he had not lost to the executioner.

Now if we may compare lesser things with those of a higher nature, and transient things with eternal ones, this is the change that takes place in a miserable sinner by a holy confession: from the state of guilt, of servitude, of slavery, of condemnation to serving as Satan's eternal laughing stock, he is raised in a moment to the dignity of a true son of God. This is far greater than what happened to Joseph, who was taken out of a dark dungeon to be placed on the throne of Egypt.[2] Here we may indeed say with astonishment:

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The king sent, and he released him,[3] and not being satisfied with that, *He made him master of his house, and ruler of all his possession.*[4] Perhaps you have not yet understood how wrong it is to live in mortal sin, and therefore I will not fail to give you a full view of this condition at the right time and in the right place. In the meantime this may suffice: mortal sin is the greatest evil, the highest disgrace, the worst misfortune that can befall our soul. A man with a single mortal sin on his conscience is more miserable than if he were tormented by all the devils that burn in hell, even if they were to haunt him for his whole life. Being turned into a monster would be a small evil compared with the condition of mortal sin. You are amazed when you hear of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, transformed into an ox, or of Tiridates, king of Armenia, turned into a hog. Yet this is nothing in comparison with what happens to the soul of a sinner. He becomes so much like a devil that our Lord could say of such a man: *And one of you is a devil.*[5] In fact, as St. Thomas explains, to be a devil means to be a rational creature guilty of mortal sin. If it were possible to have the choice of either tumbling down headlong into hell without the guilt of sin or flying into Heaven with the stain of mortal sin, every one ought to side with courageous St. Anselm in saying, I would rather go to hell with innocence than go to Heaven with the blemish of sin. But why did I name St. Anselm? Did not Ecclesiasticus, when he spoke of sin, clearly say: *Hell is preferable to it?*[6] And it is no wonder, because the ill of the punishment is opposed to the will of the creature, whereas the malice of sin is opposed to the will of the Creator. Now you judge whether there can be any comparison between the two.

On the other hand, who can ever measure the excellence of grace, by means of which we are made adopted sons of God? Divine grace is such a great treasure that the least degree of it is worth more than all the nobility, wisdom, beauty, power, health, riches and everything good men have ever possessed and even than what the angels themselves possess by their nature. Therefore, if to obtain some of this grace it were necessary to sink the earth, to collapse the heavens and to dissolve in a moment all of nature, such a ruin would be well justified for such a gain. To say yet more, justification, which is that whereby grace is infused into our souls, exceeds all the works of nature which flow from the divine omnipotence. And Almighty God does more when he converts even one sinner than he did when he framed the sun and created the universe. Even if he created a new one every century, *no price is worthy of a continent soul* (as the Lord says in the Book of Wisdom).[7] Nothing is worth as much as a righteous soul. What do you think now of the happiness of the person who passes from so great a misery to such a state? Take the aforesaid term, sin; ponder it attentively; and then compare it with its opposite, grace, and consider the difference. After you understand this, you will immediately realize what benefit we get from the sacrament of confession, by means of which this

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great justification is effected. And you will be amazed, even stupefied, to see that, in spite of this, there are sinners who rarely confess and who are satisfied to repose in their greatest misery, like animals that would rather lie in their own excrement than in beds of gold. God certainly had plenty of reason to exclaim against these through the prophet Sophonias: ***And I will visit upon the men that are settled on their lees!***[8] But suppose there has already been this justification. This does not mean that holy confession remains fruitless, because grace is worth so much that the small degree you have already experienced keeps multiplying, strengthening and increasing: *He that is just, let him be justified still.*[9]

If this be so, let me take you by the hand and introduce you to this profitable sacrament. What do you think, that by inviting you to confession, I invite you to a most horrible torture? On the contrary, I lead you into the richest treasury of the divine beneficence in order to enrich your soul greatly. Do not be frightened by the words examination, repentance, resolution to amend, penance, as a child would be at the sight of silly shadows. Read on and you will understand. If you follow your guide, you will realize that this promised land does not devour its inhabitants but, on the contrary, gives them life, or even better, it makes the very stones run with honey for them. What I mean is that their very sorrow brings about such delight as all the lovers of the world never found in their Egypt.

Of the examination whereby the penitent ought to prepare himself for confession

Almighty God is offended by sinners in three ways: by thoughts, by words and by deeds. And his divine justice is appeased in three ways by those who are converted: by contrition of heart, by confession and by the satisfaction of good deeds. These are the three lovely witnesses which are registered in the tribunal of Heaven before the repentance of a sinner is recognized as genuine, and they must all agree. It is true that the first two, that is, contrition and confession, are essential requisites, while the third, satisfaction, only finishes the job. Therefore these are the three parts you must attend to as a penitent, and for this reason I will explain them to you as I proceed in the present instruction. For simplicity's sake, I will divide them into what ought to be done before confession, during confession and after confession.

Now, let us begin with what ought to precede confession. First of all you must give attention to the examination of your conscience, which is most necessary to enable you to give all the due information in this tribunal. For here the penitent, who is the defendant, must play the role both of the accuser and of the witness. Therefore the examination of conscience is a detailed search into our actions, undertaken to discover our sins, loathe them and blot them out by the sacrament of confession. In this examination

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we may err by two extremes: scrupulous consciences may do so by showing too much diligence and lax consciences by not showing enough. There are in fact some souls that are more timorous than they ought to be, who never feel satisfied with their confessions. They live in perpetual anxiety, by their vain fears making this sacrament of the Church, which is so useful, odious, and the law of Christ, which is so light, unbearable. These people should know that the Lord does not oblige us to confess all the sins we have committed, but only those which come to our mind after a diligent examination of conscience. Having done this with diligence, if some sin should remain unconfessed through mere forgetfulness, it will be remitted along with those that were confessed; all we have to do is to confess it on another occasion if we happen to remember it.

But those who are too timorous are very few. More numerous by far are those who sin through negligence by going to confession without the necessary preparation. These people should know that confessions which are not preceded by a diligent examination of conscience are null. In this case if sins are left out, they are as though omitted on purpose, because forgetfulness here is the consequence of carelessness of the will, not of a defect of nature, and as such it is culpable. This is why the holy Council of Trent requires this diligence in the examination of conscience, which, as the theologians explain it, consists in giving this matter the same kind of attention that prudent men are accustomed to devote to weighty matters. Indeed, what is required is that diligence should be appropriate to the work at hand; so that where this work is important, application should be great, to ensure the success of the enterprise. True, the same amount of diligence is not required of all people. Those who often confess need less than those who seldom confess; those who commit a few light sins need less than those who run headlong into many evil actions. Less will suffice for those who are involved in fewer affairs than those who are entangled in many; less will suffice for those who are ignorant and have a duller mind than those who are learned and have a quick intelligence. In fact, this diligence, especially in unsophisticated people, can be supplied in great measure by the confessor himself. For such people as these, approaching confession with the intention of faithfully answering the questions the priest will ask them may be sufficient, after they have examined their conscience in some manner, and this intention may make them sufficiently disposed. Of course, I am only talking about unsophisticated people, because those who have any capacity must reveal their sins by themselves, without expecting their confessors to draw them out of their mouths. Some would like their confessor to be a fortune-teller, and they would like to be able to say to him, as Nebuchadnezzar said to his famous diviners: *I saw a dream: and being troubled in mind I know not what I saw.*[10] These people would almost like someone to guess at their dreams. The answer to them is the same as the diviners' answer to the king: *tell thy dream and we will declare the*

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interpretation thereof.[11] First you have to do your part and examine yourself so you can inform me, and then I will readily comply with my duty.

There remains now for me to show you how you should proceed in this examination to be sure that you have been diligent enough. Before you begin, adore the Lord with profound reverence, acknowledging, as one who is guilty, that majesty which shall judge you. Thank him for all those benefits he has bestowed upon you by creating and preserving you. Thank him for so humbling himself for you as to suffer an ignominious death on the Cross, for calling you to faith in him, for admitting you to his sacraments and for receiving you so many times as a penitent. Now he is inviting and awaiting you again and this is a favor not granted to innumerable others, who are burning in hell for lesser sins than yours and would be extremely happy just to be allowed, as you are, to kneel in front of a confessor and melt away in tears. Then pray the Lord that by brightening your darkness, he might grant you a full knowledge of your sins, of their number and of their seriousness. This being done, run through in your mind the places where you have been, the persons with whom you have conversed, and all the various situations in which you have been involved since your last confession, noting with attention for each of the categories each sin you have committed against God, against your neighbor and against yourself, in thought, word or deed.

But if all our sins were so easily discovered, the Lord would never have said that on the last day he would light lamps to search for them: *I will search Jerusalem with lamps.*[12] Therefore you will allow me to dwell upon this examination a little longer, pointing out to you those faults which often escape your investigation. How much better that we should be the ones to use these lamps to make a thorough search inside ourselves, than that our Lord should have to use them later! And indeed what the Apostle writes is well known: *But if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged. . . .*[13]

The advantages of frequent confession

The prophet Elisha was not satisfied just to send Naaman[14] to the river Jordan, but he told him to wash himself in it seven times. Likewise, I must not be satisfied with having brought you to confession, but I must at least entreat you for your advantage, if not command you, to wash in the purifying waters of this Jordan not only once but seven times—that is, most often, receiving this sacrament as frequently as you can. Certainly you will never lack excellent motives to allure you to it. I will indicate them briefly as I proceed.

If for no other reason, by confessing frequently you will ensure that more and more of those sins will be remitted for which you would otherwise have to answer in Purgatory, where you will expiate by fire what

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you have not expiated here by penance. Tell me the truth: if you were condemned to be burnt alive in the marketplace, what would you do to avoid the sentence? Would you not use all your resources? Would you not engage all your friends? Would you not try to exchange it for a sentence of perpetual slavery in a galley, and consider yourself lucky if you succeeded? And do you think asking you to confess frequently is an extravagant demand if it means avoiding a fire so much more terrible, where you will probably not be for just a few hours but for many years, perhaps ages? You can hardly allow laziness to get the better of you in this.

Apart from what has been said so far, confessing frequently makes sure that our bad habits, like often transplanted trees, do not put any deep roots into our hearts; and if by misfortune they have already done so, it pulls them up, and extirpates them bit by bit. I said bit by bit because generally speaking a single act does not remove a habit, and the sorrow we ordinarily experience in confession, being very imperfect, does not have the strength to destroy in one blow what has taken root. Therefore the best remedy for one long accustomed to a great evil, who has, for example, some persistent habits, is doubtlessly to continue for a certain period of time to confess every eight days, and even more frequently, as experience has shown.

Similarly, frequent confession makes the devil less daring, blunts his darts and weakens his temptations. Just as spiders stay away from those places where their webs are often broken and vultures do not return to rocks from which their nests were stolen, likewise the devil cannot take root in the soul that is constantly undermining his schemes by frequent confession. One such devil confessed as much when he was forced by powerful exorcisms to uncover the truth. Nothing in the Church, he said, displeases us so much and nothing is more ruinous for our machinations than frequent confession. And when a man is in sin, it is as if all his limbs were bound, so that he cannot do anything good; but as soon as he confesses, they become untied. This is what he said; and it must be so. Traitors typically fear being discovered; nothing is so much recommended to the accomplices of a conspiracy as secrecy.

Besides, he who often confesses finds his conscience easier to examine and is more certain of employing the necessary diligence. When the hour of his death comes, the devil will not easily be able to upbraid him with unconfessed sins, since he has always kept his accounts clear and his books in order. On the contrary, he who confesses only once a year or only a little more frequently is very likely to leave out, even through negligence, many grave sins. . . . But what will be the confusion of that miserable man who, at the end, will have the devil to remind him of things which will torment him, distress him, and make him trickle down with a cold sweat of death? Then indeed he will begin to detest his folly—but perhaps too late. How little effort would have been required, he will say, to receive the sacraments more often! How little was demanded of me, and I neglected to perform it!

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If I had done it, I would not find myself in this agony now. This is what the unfortunate man will say; and at this point, even if he had the chance to confess, he would not know where to begin. A soldier who has kept his sword in its sheath a long time, if a sudden necessity arises, cannot draw it readily because it has gotten rusty.

Take also into account that he who confesses often, although he might commit some great sins, spends more time in a state of grace, and by that means performs more actions deserving everlasting life. Whereas he who has committed such sins, but has not confessed, is like the dead trunk of a tree, which cannot yield fruit if it does not first grow green. In fact, if such a man continues to say his prayers, to fast and to perform other good deeds, he might avert those punishments that the Lord would otherwise impose with a fury; nevertheless all these actions performed in such a state will be of no avail for the attainment of Paradise, because they are dead works. The doctors teach us that there can be no improvement as long as the sword remains in the wound: first it has to be drawn out. In the same way, nothing helps to acquire eternal life as long as the sin remains in the soul, like a poisoned dart in its wound. If you remember what has been said above concerning the inestimable treasures of grace, you cannot help feeling sorry for those whom blindness has deprived of these treasures and who have therefore lost the merit of many Masses, alms, and prayers; for these, as we have said, only count as temporal blessings and as a remote disposition to penance, but by no means merit grace or glory.

Finally, he who confesses quite often is more likely to be caught by death in a state of grace and thus be saved. On the contrary, he who confesses very seldom is more prone to relapse, so he is most likely to be overtaken by death in the bad situation to which he is accustomed, whereupon he will be lost for eternity. If you always remain on land and seldom or never set to sea, or only briefly, you can easily hope to die in your bed; but the same cannot be said of seamen who are always sailing in stormy weather and, on the rare occasion when they happen to come to shore, seem restless and very soon start thinking of going back to sea. The same thing happens to sinners who always live in mortal sin and confess only once a year, in God knows what manner: they always live at sea and die at sea. They always live amid tempests. How easy for them to perish in one of them: *Their soul shall die in a storm,*[15] we read in Job. Do these dangers seem to you small enough to ignore? What greater madness than to be able to secure a business of great importance, and secure it easily, but to neglect to do do? It is in your power to fasten the anchor of your hope to a strong cable, and instead you tie it to a thread, you rely on a perhaps. Perhaps you will succeed, and in the meantime, as an enemy of God, you continue to laugh, joke and sleep soundly, every day adding sins upon sins. How is this possible? *Can you sleep under this uncertainty*?[16] Have mercy on your soul; *have pity on thy soul, pleasing God.*[17] St. Thomas Aquinas

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wondered how a Christian could ever commit a mortal sin; but much more ought we to be astonished to see that, after he has committed it, he does not take any care to remove its stain from his soul by such an easy remedy as holy confession is, *and that he grows rotten, as a beast in its own filth.*[18]

39. Cardinal Francesco Degli Albizzi, *Report on Quietism*

As the contemplative methods of the mystics gradually spread out from the confines of the cloisters toward the beginning of the seventeenth century, popular enthusiasm welcomed the appearance of a new source of spiritual justification.[1] In some of their extreme forms, these methods called for the achievement of "quiet"—the opening of the soul to God described by St. John of the Cross—through a total abandonment of the person's will to God's. And occasionally they placed so much stress on the justification attainable in this fashion that they left no room for sacraments or clergy. Before these trends became associated with the names of Miguel de Molinos (1628-96), Spanish cleric who lived and worked in Rome, and with Cardinal Pier Matteo Petrucci (1636-1701), whose voluminous works sustained similar propositions, they were discussed in the widely published works of dozens of lesser-known figures. For obvious reasons, some ecclesiastical officials viewed these trends, which they called "quietism," as posing the same threat to hierarchy as did the Protestant reform and as inviting a dangerous loosening of the bonds of conscience. Their development into a veritable popular movement in the Valcamonica area outside Brescia in the 1650s came about in an unexpected fashion. And the illiterate Milanese beggar named Giacomo Casolo who took the middle name Filippo in honor of Filippo Neri, the urban missionary, and formed a confraternity in the church of Santa Pelagia called the "Pelagians" to teach youths and others the practice of piety and mental prayer with full approval of local Jesuits, had no intention of breaking with the Church. When he went to Venice to offer his services there, he did so on invitation from the friends of the Jesuits; when he subsequently went to Brescia and paid a visit to the Valcamonica, leaving lively little groups of "Pelagians" in his wake wherever he went, he did so with the support of the local Oratorian Fathers. The Valcamonica "Pelagians," however, left to the local leadership of a zealous Padua-trained theologian named Marco Antonio Recaldini, soon began to depart from the simple methods of their founder and to adopt the more extreme spiritual methods of the "quietists." The persistence of the movement baffled the authorities. Official suppression of the Valcamonica "Pelagian" groups and even the death of Casolo in the midst of an

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Inquisition inquiry had no effect. By 1682, the Church hierarchy was still divided over what to do. Ranged on one side were Molinos, Petrucci and even pope Innocent XI (1676-89); and on the other side, Jesuits Paolo Segneri and Gottardo Belluomo along with Cardinal Francesco Degli Albizzi, whose views are recorded here. In the following document, Degli Albizzi attempted to draw a rather hopeful portrait of coherent policy within the Congregation of the Holy Office in spite of sharp divisions among members. Indeed, in the first attempt to condemn the writings of Molinos and Petrucci a few years later, the Congregation opted to condemn those of Segneri and Belluomo on the same subject instead. For the moment, however, the repressive solution was chosen as the best for deflecting a questioning of spiritual leadership that would have to be confronted head-on in the following century. Degli Albizzi won, and the Congregation condemned sixty-eight propositions ascribed to Molinos—and three generations of popular mystical writers—in 1687. The document is also one of the few testimonies to the religious temper of the communities in the Italian countryside, often deducible only from reports by ecclesiastical authorities who feared its uncontrollable vivacity.

The new way of practicing mental prayer, called the prayer of quiet, has divided the city of Rome into two factions. One consists of those who approve of it. This new way of praying or contemplating has gained the favor of many persons of great authority; and several works have recently been printed concerning it, and among others an instruction given to a godly woman by François Malaval, a blind cleric, who not having physical eyes has tried to fix those of the mind into the impenetrable essence of God by a simple look of faith. This blind man was followed by another blind man of little education and mediocre character called Dr. Miguel de Molinos. I call him another blind man because even though he does not lack physical eyes, those of his mind are obfuscated. Furthermore, to prove the validity of this said way of praying or of contemplating, a book by Monsignor Petrucci, bishop of Jesi, has come out. And again, there are diffused throughout the [papal] court some manuscript writings, which essentially attempt to reply to some objections and arguments made by the other faction. That other faction is composed of the Jesuit fathers and other learned and knowledgeable regular clergy. And to prove their contentions, a book by Padre Paolo Segneri,[2] a very learned Jesuit, has appeared in Rome, which the adversaries tried to have prohibited until corrected, as if it were full of acrimony and insults, and they succeeded; however, in defense of the said book three others came out in the city of Venice. . . .

When this dispute came to the notice of His Holiness, Our Lord, and he heard the opinions of the cardinals of the Holy Office, His Holiness is said to have deputed a particular congregation to know whether such a way of

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prayer or contemplation is to be permitted or tolerated, or whether some remedy should be found for the abuses introduced not only in Rome but in other cities of Italy from ignorance about how to exercise this mystic contemplation, which can degenerate into various errors anciently practiced. . . .

I have decided to make a brief account of everything that the Holy Congregation [of the Holy Office] has deliberated concerning this.

In 1655, the nuncio in Venice, who in that time was Monsignor Carlo Carafa, later cardinal, wrote to the Holy Congregation of the Holy Office the following letter:

"Giacomo Filippo [Casolo], a Milanese layman who has never taken even the first tonsure, after being considered by many here in Venice for two years to be a spiritual person and a great man of goodwill, when he returned to his country, stopped for some months in a valley of the diocese of Brescia, called Valcamonica. There he erected an oratory dedicated to St. Pelagia, leaving with those brethren, as far as I have been told, many rules and instructions, either poisonous in themselves or badly understood, which have introduced, as far I have been able to discover, dogmas very pernicious to the welfare of souls. The followers of this devotion, grown to the number of 600 and today called Pelagians, abhor association with others, asserting that those who do not follow them are in a state of damnation; they flee association even with their own wives, believing they can justifiably divorce them when they do not embrace their doctrine; they forbid listening to Mass, going to Confession and Communion and going to sermons by others; and they disseminate the notion that to be saved mental prayer is enough without the sacraments. . . ."

When the Holy Congregation received this letter, it followed its usual procedure to discover the truth of the fact and gave precise orders to the Inquisitor of Brescia and to Signor Cardinal Ottoboni, bishop of that city,[3] so they should take exact information concerning what was said. When it gave notice of all this to His Holiness Our Lord, he ordered the assessor to draw up a report concerning the matter in order to be able to speak to the Venetian ambassador. This shows how concerned His Holiness was that this wholly Catholic valley of the Venetian dominion, by its vicinity to the Valtellina, which was infected with heresy in some places, might receive bad doctrines and perverse and erroneous opinions.

From the information of Cardinal Ottoboni, who sent the canon penitentiary of the cathedral of Brescia into the valley to have a full and complete report, and from other information sent to the Holy Congregation by the Inquisitor, notice was received that although at first the few oratories instituted by Giacomo Filippo in Valcamonica were attended by a small number of lay men and women, once they subsequently fell under the direction of Marco Antonio Recaldini, archpriest of Pisogne, a city of that valley, the attendance increased so that sometimes there were six hundred

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persons and more. Although at the beginning they exercised some spiritual functions, these functions increased in the course of time so that the lay persons arrogated to themselves the practice of preaching, and the women began to assemble in some private houses to make discourses too, concerning material of religion, asserting that the apostles were also poor and ignorant fishermen but nonetheless were allowed to preach. There was also the report of some depraved opinions reigning among that multitude of the inhabitants of Valcamonica, which, from the fact that Giacomo Filippo, the Milanese, worked at converting whores and assembled them in the rooms of the oratory of St. Pelagia in Milan, took the name of Pelagians. . . .

Finally, after all this was reported to His Holiness, the following resolution was passed on March 1, 1657: that the oratories of the Pelagians erected in Valcamonica by Giacomo Filippo, rector of the Oratory of St. Pelagia in Milan, should be destroyed; that Marco Antonio Recaldini, archpriest of Pisogne, with seven other accomplices, should be perpetually banned from Valcamonica and held in places far from the said valley; and that some of the latter would have to abjure with the imposition of salutary penances. All this was promptly executed by the great zeal and prudence of Signor Cardinal Ottoboni, bishop of Brescia and by the Inquisitor of that city. . . .

Then in the year 1671 there was information from the Inquisitor of Casale that a certain Antonio Gigardi, French physician, had been denounced to that Inquisition. He had taught a new way of making mental prayer, which he called the prayer of silence and quiet, in the city of Cortemilia, diocese of Alba in Montferrat, a feudal property of the counts Scarampi. He taught it first to Count Maurizio Scarampi, who when examined, deposed and confessed that he exercised and practiced this prayer in the way taught by the said physician, with much profit to his soul. The same French physician, when arraigned, freely confessed to practicing and teaching the said mental prayer, which he called of the affections of silence and quiet and union with God, saying he had learned it from a writing composed by a certain Ursuline nun named Mother [Maria] Bon dell'Incarnazione of St. Marcellin in France, from the diocese of Vienne.[4]

The same information was obtained from Monsignor the bishop of Alba with his letter of 20 February 1671, as follows:

"In Cortemilia, a place in my diocese of Alba, in the state of His Royal Highness of Savoy at the borders with Montferrat and with the Genoese territory, a French physician living there called Ghigioni Delfinengo [sic!] has taught a manner of praying to God for human needs, calling it the prayer of the affections. To practice it, he says, one must first confess and communicate, and then, at particular times, go to church, kneel down with great apprehension in the heart, and utter only the words, 'God I love you not, God I adore you not, Lord have mercy,' and utter them alternately,

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with no need for any other vocal prayer. In this manner this physician has attracted many persons of the place, both men and women, and almost all the secular ecclesiastics, and he has formed them into a congregation in the oratory of the Disciplinants there, in which he himself eventually began making sermons or discourses, and sometimes the said ecclesiastics did so too, citing and interpreting passages of the Holy Scriptures to make more eager followers. The Franciscans, who have a convent there, were opposed, and when one of them wrote a denunciation, the people almost rose in open rebellion against them and threatened them. I was advised of all this at the end of last month, and to fulfill my office I immediately sent for information so as to provide a remedy before this novelty spread too far, and at the same time I have prohibited any further assembly of this group until the matter has been examined; and to correct the priests for their haste to join that congregation without giving me notice, I suspended their permission to hear sacramental confessions, put other confessors in their places, and by this means it seems I have silenced them. In substance, the information I received, although unusual, mainly consists of the above. Furthermore, the physician had said that the sign of the cross, the Our Father, etc., and other prayers were to be omitted when making the prayer of the affections, as things which distracted the mind away from unifying with God. This gave me great apprehension, first of all, because he was a physician of a Transalpine country where we know they do not make the sign of the cross on entering into a church, furthermore, because when the Most Holy Sacrament was raised by the priest, he did not bother to look at it . . . and above all, because this new way of praying was said to be sufficient alone, with the apparent consequence that vocal prayer, always practiced in the Church, was superfluous. To examine the facts more accurately, I had this physician come before me in Alba, and in his deposition, he said he learned this manner of praying from a sister of his who was a nun in France, that St. Augustine and other saints had practiced and taught it, that he had done likewise because of the great benefit he felt and that others had received, saying that the opponents were motivated by envy and persecuted him wrongly. Otherwise, his aspect and social station and his manner of behaving did not connote a man of great spirit, but rather one troubled in mind and melancholy. He was around forty years old and had always been single. . . ."

The letter was referred to the Holy Congregation, which, after comparing it with the report from the Inquisitor of Casale, ordered that Inquisitor to transmit to Rome the manuscript instruction which the physician said he had received from the French nun and wanted to print. When the manuscript writing came, it was given to review by a consultant and evaluator of the Holy Congregation so a report could be drawn up concerning its contents, and this was done; but the consultant and evaluator said the doctrine contained in the manuscript was Catholic and could be

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allowed to circulate and even be printed, with a few declarations appended by himself. Nonetheless, the Holy Congregation made the following decree on 3 June 1671: *Having read the letters of the bishop of Alba and the remarks made by His Reverence, the Most Eminent cardinals decreed that the Inquisitor of Casale should order Antonio Grigiono* [i.e., Gigardi], *physician, no longer to discuss by voice or in writing this way of praying because it is repugnant to the rites of Holy Mother Church, and instead, to concern himself with things appropriate to his station and medical profession.*

The Inquisitor of Casale wrote that he would execute the decree of the Holy Congregation and that the French physician would no longer practice the way of praying he had taught, and that his assemblies were extinct. Nonetheless some of his followers, and particularly Count Maurizio Scarampi, lord of Cortemilia, practiced the manner of the said prayer and also taught it to others, particularly in one of his towns; and through him it had also spread to the town of Spigno in the diocese of Savona and into other places of the Western Riviera of Genoa, as we hear from the information given by the Inquisitor of Genoa [Tommaso Mazza], now a Commissioner of this Holy Congregation. . . . Later, a [manuscript] book sent by the Father Inquisitor of Genoa entitled, *The Shulamite of the Canticle of Canticles*, was found to contain errors, viz., on p. 4, that the desire to kiss God on the mouth, i.e., to achieve the sublime passive and ecstatic union, without passing through the purgative and illuminative stages,[5] is not presumption or pride but the effect of a magnanimous and generous faith, and infinite other similar errors; and these errors are listed in a separate writing in the trial records.

The Inquisitor of Genoa, having been ordered on 30 December 1675 by the Holy Congregation to proceed in the imputation against Maurizio Scarampi, went to Spigno to receive exact information about what happened. After putting the case together, he sent it to the Holy Congregation. The said Maurizio Scarampi was not heavily punished by the Congregation. However, some letters of his written to Monsignor the bishop of Savona [Stefano Spinola] revealed that he was still most obstinate in his desire to teach the prayer of the affections and of silence, as he called it, which he believed was taught by God to the Prophets, by Christ to the Apostles and to the Samaritan, and to many Holy Doctors of the Holy Church. There he complained and marvelled that Monsignor the bishop of Savona had on the same day, 30 December, by order of the Holy Congregation, suspended the exercise of the said prayer of quiet by the following edict. . . .[6]

Now, this edict caused some commotion in Spigno, which however was sedated by the efforts of the Inquisitor of Genoa, who thereupon wrote to the Holy Congregation saying that even though the edict had upset some, in any case he had satisfied them by saying that the Holy Congregation did

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not disapprove of mental prayer itself but only the abuses that had been introduced by it. And he published the following decree:

April 29 1676.

Their Eminences decree, as was signified to the bishop of Savona, that the Holy Congregation does not condemn the mental prayer, which is called of the affections and of quiet, but the assertion of those who reprove vocal prayer and other spiritual exercises used by the Holy Roman Church and say that by using the said prayer they are certain of salvation and do not need penitence, and that those who omit this form of prayer are in mortal sin. . . .

Again in 1672 this practice of mental prayer emerged in the cities of Osimo and Spoleto. A certain Giacomo Lambardi, priest of the city of Trevi since the year 1642, was punished by the Holy Office in Perugia because of some erroneous and insalubrious propositions proffered and taught by him to some of his disciples. Then he assembled a certain confraternity in the Church of San Giovanni de' Fiorentini in Rome to direct members to the perfection of the spiritual life. His good reputation having spread, he was called by the Signor Cardinal [Antonio] Bichi bishop of Osimo to direct some priests who had instituted a congregation of the Oratory of St. Filippo Neri. But when he began the work, he very quickly showed signs of an affected sanctity. He not only taught some of his disciples, both men and women, many erroneous opinions, saying in particular that following the precepts of God was enough to arrive at perfection, that no external acts were necessary nor other similar operations—like fasting, wearing hair shirts, sleeping without a bed and so forth—exercised by holy men, that praying at home was better than in Church, and that the confessor and spiritual father had to be obeyed even when he commanded something against the divine precepts, and particularly if he commanded that his penitents should eat meat on Friday and Saturday even when not necessary. He also had some rules for practicing mental prayer, which he said could be done even in bed, whereas he discouraged vocal prayer. But Lambardi died, having been jailed by the Holy Office of Spoleto and assigned his own house as a jail because of his illness; and after his death those congregations of his dissipated, his disciples were put back on the good path, and every occasion of scandal was removed by the extreme vigilance of Cardinals Bichi and Facchinetti. Therefore, the Holy Congregation decided not to pursue the case against the memory of the deceased, but instead, by a particular edict of the Holy Congregation of the Holy Office in Rome, it condemned and disapproved of all the erroneous, misleading and scandalous opinions taught by Lambardi and prohibited all his pamphlets, treatises, manuscripts, rules and documents, ordering that they could not be kept by anyone but must be presented to the ordinaries and the inquisitors of wherever they were found, as appears from the edict published and printed in Rome on the 28th of March, 1675.

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This Holy Congregation of the Holy Office in Rome, although it has not condemned mystical contemplation, has nevertheless always disapproved of the method introduced by the modern [spiritual] directors and supporters of this contemplative prayer because of the disorders that it causes, as can be seen in the letter below from Cardinal [Innico] Caracciolo.

This ought to be [forwarded] to the deputed congregation so it may apply the proper and necessary remedy, which in my view might be to suspend permission for all the books on this matter printed in the vernacular languages—French, Spanish and Italian—and to write to the ordinaries to advise the confessors and especially the directors of nuns not to admit to this contemplation anyone except perfect souls, totally separated from the ways of the world, and those who, by special grace of Blessed God, show that Our Lord has conceded to them the infused grace which can only be acquired with difficulty.

Letter of Signor Cardinal Caracciolo, Naples, 30 January 1682:

"Holy Father. I should console myself and render thanks to God for learning that many souls committed to my care are dedicated to the celestial nourishment of holy mental prayer, which is the channel of divine benedictions. However, I should also regret to see one of these little sheep run heedlessly into poisonous pastures. For some time, Holy Father, here in Naples and, from what I understand, in other parts of this Kingdom, there has been widely disseminated among many people the frequent practice of the passive prayer which is called "of pure faith and of quiet." These people, who are acquiring the name of "quietists," place themselves in a supplicant attitude of prayer, yes, but they do not recite vocal prayers, nor do they meditate; they remain in total quiet, mute and in silence, like the dead. And because they think they are making mental passive prayer, they try to cast out of their minds and even from their eyes every matter for meditation, exposing themselves, as they say, to the lights and to the divine influences they expect to receive from Heaven. Without observing rules or methods and without the preliminary preparation of points[7] and spiritual lessons that spiritual masters usually assign to beginners for meditation, and without using the light of meditation to see their own defects, passions and imperfections in order to emend them, they presume to ascend by themselves to that sublime degree of passive prayer of contemplation that God by his free gift concedes to whom he wants, when he wants. They vainly deceive themselves into believing that they can, by their own forces and without purgation, enter into the contemplative stage, not realizing that the ancient and modern authors who treat of this subject teach that the passive prayers of quiet are only for persons who have mortified the passions and have made progress in prayer. I should now like to have the great honor of reporting to Your Holiness what the devil, who frequently transfigures himself into an angel of light, gains from this unregulated manner of praying.

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"Some of these quietists have entirely renounced vocal prayer, and some, after receiving instruction in this prayer of pure faith and quiet from those who promote it and then going to instruction by another spiritual director, cannot be induced by the latter to recite the Most Holy Rosary or even to make the sign of the cross; they say they cannot and do not want to do this or to recite vocal prayers because they are dead in the presence of God and these external things do them no good. A woman dedicated to this way of praying says nothing but 'I am nothing, God is everything, and I am thus abandoned, because so it pleases God.' And she does not want to confess, although she wants to take Communion continuously; and she does not want to obey or to recite vocal prayers.

"Others who perform this prayer of quiet are accustomed to shaking their head to chase away any sacred images their imaginations propose to them, even of Christ our Lord, saying that these images separate them from God; and they practice this shaking of the head, which provokes laughter and scandalizes whoever sees it, even in the act of publicly taking Communion, saying even in this time they must abstract themselves from Christ in order to think purely about God. And such is their blindness that some have turned the image of the Crucifix upside down, saying it impeded their union with God.

"Others live in such a delusion that they believe all the thoughts their minds suggest to them during that act of mute and quiet prayer are illuminations and inspirations from God and, as such, are not subject to the laws; therefore they think they are permitted to execute with no permission whatever comes to them in prayer.

"I, as a worker assigned, however unworthy, to labor in this vineyard, come urgently to give all this information reverently to Your Holiness, as to a great Father of a Family, so by your holy wisdom you should know that these seedlings come from some pestiferous root, and so you might by your most potent Apostolic Arm, cut them off. . . ."

It is hoped that orders will be given to Cardinal Caracciolo by the high prudence and wisdom of His Holiness Our Lord so the abuses and perverse opinions introduced can be eradicated.

40. *Science Journalism and the Eucharist*

Literary and scientific journalism did not emerge abruptly. Broadsheets providing lengthy reviews of books date at least to the early seventeenth century; the printed newspapers that began to circulate with some regularity in the 1640s often carried cultural news.[1] But periodical journals providing book reviews in the disciplines along with original articles and observations emerged first in the 1660s, as the scholarly world became so large that the

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usual means of communication via letter grew increasingly inconvenient. Just when the occasional correspondence of isolated individuals had begun to give way to vast letter systems like that of Cassiano dal Pozzo, secretary to Francesco Barberini in Rome, and Antonio Magliabechi, grand ducal librarian in Florence, Paris lawyer Denis de Sallo began publishing his *Journal des sçavans* in monthly issues from 1665. The formula immediately caught on. Henry Oldenburg immediately took it up in his *Philosophical Transactions*, which actually contained more original observations and eventually became the official organ of the Royal Society in London. And in Rome, Michelangelo Ricci (1619-82), Giovanni Giusto Ciampini (1633-98) and Francesco Nazari (1634-1714) formed the *Giornale de' letterati*, in 1668. The journal began under the best auspices. Ricci, a papal bureaucrat, was a mathematician trained by Galileian disciple Benedetto Castelli and had served as Roman correspondent to the Accademia del Cimento. Ciampini, also a papal bureaucrat, dabbled in the growing field of ecclesiastical antiquities on the side, turning his palace into a salon for learned discussion. Nazari was a philosophy professor at the university. Success was immediate; and a pirate edition popped up in Bologna. After the journal's first five years of providing information and commentary on most of the intellectual issues of the day, as well as translations of important articles from the sister journals of London and Paris, Ricci handed control over to his younger colleagues, and the journal became not one but two. Nazari turned his short-lived version into a pure translation of the Northern journals (1675-9). Ciampini turned his, at least part of the time, into an organ for the new Accademia Fisico-Matematica he had just started in his house, and kept it going until 1683. In the 1670s, the question of the nature of matter was currently being debated between Aristotelians and their adversaries—both Galileian and Cartesian. Some of the scruples raised had to do with theological issues of the sort that emerged during the Galileo affair. In a review of a philosophy textbook by a professor at Padua named Serafino Piccinardi the *Giornale de' letterati* tackled the question squarely on.

Among those concerned today with philosophical studies, some are so attached to Aristotle that they consider everything he says to be an oracle and no other doctrine to be satisfactory or sufficiently in line with the dogmas of our religion. Others, defending themselves by the authority and example of the Holy Fathers, who left Aristotle for other philosophies, find other ancient philosophies to be more satisfactory than the Peripatetic principles, which they regard as being too metaphysical and too ill-adapted for explaining material and sensible things; and they cannot understand why Plato, Empedocles and Democritus must be slighted in favor of Aristotle. Democritus proposed atoms that are nothing but a different prime matter

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from the Aristotelian, which is corporeal substance shaped and in motion. And if Democritus made the atoms eternal and uncreated, Aristotle considered his matter that way too. Indeed, this view of Aristotle is accepted by the modern Aristotelians [i.e., Peripatetics] with the only difference that they say matter is produced by God. Therefore, these other thinkers of today [i.e., followers of Democritus et al.] hold that the atoms could be accepted with the same proviso, that they should be created. And what would be wrong, they point out to their opponents, if the generation and corruption of things should be caused only by local movements of the atoms and there would be no substantial forms in the world, even though this is what the rational soul must be?[2] The Peripatetics except the soul from the general rule of the dependent forms, or, as they say, those educible out of matter.[3] Why could one not use a similar exception also for the doctrine of the accidental forms of the atoms,[4] saying that the rational soul should properly be a spiritual substance created by God and subsisting in a different way from the other forms? And if they [i.e., the Peripatetics] reply that these accidental forms are never found separate from the atoms and consequently cannot subsist alone in the Eucharist where those atoms are lacking,[5] they [i.e., the followers of Democritus et al.] will respond that the same objection applies to the Aristotelian accidents, whose existence and separability from every substance is naturally impossible. If this separability can only be conceded by divine power, the followers of Democritus suggest that one could likewise admit a similar effect of divine power in the accidental forms, like that of the bread, according to the view of Innocent III, who in the fourth book of the *Sacrifice of the Mass* said of the consecrated bread, *the form of the bread is broken and destroyed, but the body of Christ is assumed and eaten; and there the form of the bread is seen, but the substance of bread is not there* (the same words used by Bede, as Thomas of Walden says)[6] as though he believed those who thought bread was an artificial composition whose form remains artificial and accidental, while the matter converts into the substance of the body of Christ; so he also said, *the matter of bread and wine is changed into the substance of body and blood*. . . .

41. Lorenzo Magalotti, *Letters against Atheism*

Frustration with assembling the *Essays on Natural Experiments* amid the bickering of the few remaining members of the declining Accademia del Cimento led Magalotti to begin casting about for another occupation.[1] Meanwhile, in 1667, he took off with boyhood friend Paolo Falconieri to visit the courts of Northern Europe. There, he rubbed shoulders with the most famous figures of the time, including Charles II and Colbert, scientists

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Robert Boyle and Robert Hooke, mathematician Adrien Auzout, orientalist Melchisédech Thévenot, classicist Isaac Vossius and antiquaries Nicholas Heinsius and Jacob Gronovius. It was on this visit that he may have made his first acquaintance with the libertine ideas of the likes of Gabriel Naudé and François de La Mothe le Vayer that he had in mind when he later wrote the *Letters against Atheism.* The favorable impression he made upon his hosts by his presence and upon Prince Leopoldo and the grand duke by his official memoranda led to several diplomatic appointments, including the Tuscan ambassadorship to Vienna. But playing the diplomat for a relatively weak protagonist in European affairs did not flatter his pride any more than politics suited his intellectual inclinations (as exemplified in his failed treatise on *The Concord of Religion and Principality*). And after an unannounced return to Florence, he was relieved of his post and allowed a small pension, whereupon he retired to his estates at Belmonte and Lonchio. Here it was that Magalotti began to dedicate himself more and more to writing, as he became more and more serious about his religious commitment; and in the midst of a stream of prose fiction and poetry, he undertook the *Letters against Atheism.* Adopting the device of a collection of familiar letters addressed from one or the other of his country homes, he invented an imaginary German "count" who "reads chapters from [Spinoza's] *Theologico-Political Treatise* or [Thomas Hobbes'] *Leviathan* to help him get to sleep at night." His own acquaintance with both works as well as with the contemporary school of biblical criticism represented by Richard Simon showed up in his creative and penetrating interpretations of scriptural passages. A six-month period as an Oratorian of the Congregation of St. Filippo Neri produced no improvements in his spiritual state, as his acquaintance, Jesuit preacher and theologian Paolo Segneri testified to the grand duke. After a brief return to court, he preferred to spend the rest of his life, until his death in 1712, meditating, translating religious works, and dabbling with the manuscript of the *Letters against Atheism.* Even though he only finished nine of the letters in a projected second volume, and even though he threatened to destroy them all, they nonetheless survived him, circulated widely in manuscript before their first printing in 1719 (Venice: Coleti), and became one of his most enduring works.

Book 1
Letter 19: Belmonte, 24 March, 1682

The more I go on thinking about this notion that matter could become soul and human spirit, the stranger I find it. Have you ever reflected on that passage from St. Paul: *For I am delighted with the law of God, according to the inward man: but I see another law in my members fighting against the*

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law of my mind, and captivating me in the law of sin, that is in my members?[2]

Do not be alarmed. I am not trying to sway you by the authority of St. Paul. I am trying to sway you by the experience St. Paul tries to relate by these words, which is nothing other than the contrasting motions we feel every day in ourselves—of willing and not willing the same thing at the same time. When he says the law of the members he is not talking about a mob riot of the members, without any connection to the spirit that governs them. He means an over-hasty obedience by the members to the first spark of inclination, intention or will, followed by an express command from the spirit which, if pleased with that first obedience, accepts it, enjoys it and happily adheres to it. Then the law of the members is said to win, even though in reality the first legislator was the spirit itself and the members were nothing other than tributary subjects lending their partial and unreasoning obedience. All sensuous imperfections and disorders, says Blessed John of the Cross, have their force and root in the spirit. If, on the contrary, the spirit resists and diverts the course of that obedience or else, if it fails to do so, at least condemns and decries what has already been done, then the law of the mind is said to win.

Let me make myself clear. I am not speaking now of those motions of the members and the humors of the body that are purely animal, independent of all of the soul's sinful appetites, and wherein the soul is entirely apathetic and indifferent, so they do not conflict with it at all. I speak of those motions that are excited, so to speak, at the first unreasonable wishes of the spirit and before it decides whether or not to follow them. However much these motions manifest themselves in the members, they nonetheless have their root in the spirit, which remains unsullied and innocent of them until it decides to help them ripen and enjoy their fruits. For example:

I find myself in an angry passion for a bad turn done to me, and the reasonableness, the pleasure and the glory of revenge represent themselves to me. I am still not guilty. And my members do not wait for me to be so before putting themselves into such a state as to reassure me that I want to be. My blood boils, my bile bubbles up, my face is on fire, I cannot keep my hands in place, my whole body trembles, even my voice wavers. I speak in fractured tones, my eyes go dim. See the law of sin screaming out loudly from all my members. But the first draft of this law is conceived by the desire of my spirit, which, if it had not thought, then the members, as members, would not have moved. For the physical motions of anger are not like the purely animal motions of lust, which are excited even out of the presence of the object, and very often independently, by fantasies, and especially by thought, even during sleep. Those of anger need the preceding, however innocent, operation of the spirit, which must have at least a first apprehension; and they are like courtiers who hear the Prince

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mutter a single word through his teeth and immediately go off to execute something he is later ashamed of and perhaps did not even intend to put into action, so he rebukes and punishes the over-zealous executors.

The first law of anger, then, comes from the spirit. The members obey, but with such efficiency that they lend more power to the legislator by their obedience than he himself exerted over his subjects by the law that he only conceived but never promulgated. In this state of violence, however, the spirit occasionally resists, and not only resists but disarms the subject by conceiving, proclaiming, and making him observe the law of charity.

I now ask: is this spirit one or many? Do not misunderstand me: the many I am referring to are not the animal spirits that move the different members and the different humors. I mean the spirit, the mind, the will, the *I*, in other words, depending on the operation of which, the animal spirits put themselves in motion. If they are many, the minds, the wills, and the man himself would have to be multiplied in the same man, causing considerable inconvenience. It must then be one alone, or at most an aggregate of spirits, all in agreement to form the same government. And since this spirit is, as you say, matter, the same parts of the continuum must make two opposite motions at once, like a teetotum that spins with two contrary revolutions. Otherwise I cannot for the life of me explain this fact.

But no, you will say, it is really matter, and it does not move with two contrary motions. It changes direction so quickly, with first one motion and then the other, that the various periods of this very fast alternation are indistinguishable and it appears to move by one at a time. Thus when a burning torch turns in a circle, you seem to see a circle of fire, because the rapidity of the movement makes the fire appear in all the points of the circle it describes.

Excuse me, but this cannot be. Because when I resist and positively decide to perform an act of charity, the movement of anger does not cease, nor does the appetite for revenge. And the members want revenge not so much because they are flesh and blood, but because from the beginning they are moved by the apprehension of my mind, and finally kept in that state of agitation by the enjoyment my mind receives, which, torn and divided, continues more than ever before to want the same thing really and actually, while at the same time acting as though it did not and doing everything contrary to what it wants through an imperceptible and unintelligible operation. If my mind truly, effectively and actually gave up what it wanted, the conflict would cease and the effort would end, whereas since the latter persists, almost like the troubled sea after a naval victory, the victor must therefore be the same as the one who continues to fight, and in the act of fighting has already won. These contrary actions, or, if you will, passions, my good count, could not exist in matter; or at least, no such capacity in it has yet been found, and I believe that if not for the desire to turn it into human spirit, no such capacity would have been suggested for a long time.

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But to please you, I will agree to have my soul divided in me; and against everything my senses tell me and against the apparent absolute unity of this *I* and this *Me* that always represents itself as one alone and speaks to me of itself as one, I will agree to have it opened in two, like a peach, with one half warm and the other cold. In other words, while one of the divided parts of this supposedly material will desires revenge, the other part does not. This, I believe, is the most advantageous way to argue, and the most favorable hypothesis you could demand from me under the terms of our agreement.

So here are two material wills. I believe you understand very well that this game of wanting in two different ways with these two portions of matter, according to your principles, can only be played by motions. Now, since the soul does not constantly will things, some new disposition apparently must be introduced into it to make it start and finish willing what it did not will before. But I cannot understand, imagine, or explain this new disposition in any other way except by motion; nor can I explain motion otherwise than by heaviness—in other words, by saying that the greater weight should move the lesser one, gradually obliging it to change place. This is the only way we can get to the root of the whole question of the supposed material soul.

But let us imagine these two portions of the soul, one wanting revenge and the other not, as though they were two weights, each placed in one of the two pans of a balance. Now, were these two weights equal or not? I know that at first you will say equal; but do not expect me to fall for this so quickly. What proportion can there be between the soul that wants revenge and the one that does not? Get some idea from what you feel inside yourself. The part that wants revenge shakes the man from head to foot by its vehemence, whips up his blood and his humors and befogs, disturbs and subverts everything reasonable in him. The part that does not want it appears so weak and timid that it scarcely dares to show itself when he becomes aware of it. So you see, this supposed equality escapes through our fingers; and because the momentum of one seems to have so much greater energy than the other, it must be said either that the weights or else the momentums are not equal. Now, can you possibly explain to me how the greater would not always carry away the smaller, and how the smaller not only occasionally balances the first but even prevails? Often you see charity—or, let us say, the evangelical prejudice prohibiting revenge, to use an expression you may prefer—prevail and triumph over the contrary passion in a Christian.

You will reply, at least for a time they will be equal; and even though the weight of charity or of cowardice appears less than that of anger, it will be like an ounce of lead against an ounce of flax. The latter occupies greater space and is more unwieldy on the balance, but the weight is the same and they will remain in perfect equilibrium.

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Equilibrium? But once the equilibrium ends, some new weight apparently must come in, either on the lead side or the flax side. What will it be, and from where will this tiny floating grain detach itself, which now throws itself on the balance to weigh down whatever side it wants?

Will you perhaps say that it detaches itself from some material species of fear or hope, or indeed, that it is not anything except this species itself? But all such species are already supposed from the start to have been in the pan with the lead. Indeed, the equilibrium originated only from their weight, because the lead that balanced so much flax in spite of its small size was nothing other than all these species put together. If they are now heavier than the lead, but not before, one of two things must have happened. Either these species are being weighed by another more accurate balance, but you will not understand this; or else one of the two dead weights in equilibrium can, without any addition or external impulse, begin to exert a greater momentum and preponderate over the other one, and I cannot understand this. How can I conceive of a weight that rises and falls at will, independently of the greater or lesser weight of the other bodies that it moves or by which it is moved? If I did that, I would have to stop considering this liberty as a natural talent of matter, and I would have to start considering it as an incomprehensible prerogative of the immaterial—and if this name does not please you, then let me say, of something not having any resemblance to matter. Now, of this sort of free weights that make the soul weigh down on the side where they themselves weigh down, I am acquainted with only one—the weight that the language of faith calls the inclination or consent determining us to do anything it wants.

You might have imagined what a mess you would get into by wanting to introduce this third weight that rises and falls as it likes and pleases and not as it is formed and determined. I guess you think it is to your greater advantage to say that those two contrary wills beat each other accordingly as they acquire or lose weight by gaining or losing matter, which approaches or retreats from one side or the other to make one or the other of the two wills more or less heavy, so that the heavier one pulls up the lighter one by necessity and not by choice.

This would work if only the argument were valid, and, if it were valid, it would cause the total ruin of that pleasant experience and glorious sense of liberty, whereby we believe ourselves able to want and not want the same thing, a prerogative we call *free will.* How is this necessity of motions conceivable in the face of a continuous experience of the contrary? I feel myself torn between the love of revenge and the fear of offending God while wreaking it. I really feel in myself the freedom to tip the balance toward revenge whenever I want and like. No one can dispute this with me, because I feel that I do not have to do anything else except give a tacit assent and the balance will go down immediately. Nevertheless, in this state I continue to feel in myself a force capable of opposing this downward

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pressing weight of my passion and keeping it in equilibrium with the tiny grain of charity; and I often succeed.

Now, you must explain to me what is this liberty and what it consists of— or, if you prefer, this secret of balancing weights so obviously and sensibly unequal by another weight that makes the balance go down on whichever side it wants. But I doubt that with all your weights, springs, pendulums, spirals and mechanical gadgets you will ever succeed in introducing any other motions into matter except the necessary ones. And I cannot see how the necessary motions can go up and down independently of their respective heaviness and lightness. Therefore I say: think and think again as much as you want, but you will never find a balance that goes up and down according to any other principle except that of the respective proportion of weights that are on top of it. This balance exists in man; but it does not go by force. Figure out the consequences for yourself.

I do not want now to annoy you with the things said and repeated so many times about the great difference between the internal operations of men and of animals. I know that you and your colleagues reply that perhaps animals have the same low esteem of us as we have of them; that my dog might not laugh any less at me for not understanding her than I do at her for not understanding me; that everything we take for an argument of our greatness is perhaps an argument for our inferiority; that animals are perhaps wiser and happier than we are; and that we do not know what goes through their brains whereas perhaps they know and think great things.

Nevertheless, I cannot avoid mentioning this in passing. Suppose matter is what operates in men and animals, the only difference being the greater or lesser refinement received from the greater or lesser perfection of the organs wherein it is given aptitude or in which it circulates in performing its operations. And if there is nothing particular in man, unconnected with the corporeal organs, that makes those same organs operate under that thing's influences (especially where the operations of the mind are concerned—at least according to common knowledge and belief), then I am amazed that this same common material spirit should not find in any of the innumerable types of animal organs a structure that could give it aptitude for performing operations of a little more similar sort to those it is able to perform uniquely in human brains.

Moreover, the matter of man's organs, as far as the eye can judge, is not, after all, so different from that of many other animals, and if the difference lay only in the structure of the clay container, man would always have a treasure to put in it, and the animals, pure garbage. So much the more, since we see that as far as the vital functions are concerned, such as nourishment, generation, and even love and hatred, and indeed knowing and remembering, the animals are even with us, neck and neck, probably because of that apparent resemblance of the organs. But seeing man in certain other operations surpass the animals by a long shot, and raise

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himself over every possibility of imitation, indicates to me that man was made according to a principle very different from that which makes him equal to animals in all the other operations. . . .

Letter 22: Lonchio, July 14, 1682

Here is my response to your statement that for all we know there might be some place in the universe where every rock cropping out of a mountain is sculpted like Trajan's column. In the first place, Galileo wanted to say something along these lines regarding another matter in his *Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems*. There he says that since it is harder for us to form irregular shapes like those of pebbles in a river than regular ones like a sphere, then, if nature can give shape to so many exceedingly irregular stones, why could it not give it to others, which are as much easier as they are regular?

But, my dear Count, don't forget that Galileo tries to persuade us about the most difficult cases to prove his points concerning the simplest ones, whereas you are trying to persuade us about the easiest cases in order to prove your point about the most difficult ones.

You will say that for this same reason it is easier to get the shape of a horse out of a stone than the shape of a sponge or of a stalactite deposited by drippings from a vein of rock, because the latter is more irregular than the former.

It is true: but whoever made the model for the bronze horse of Marcus Aurelius intended, I am sure, to cast a horse. Are you just as certain that the water which made the stalactite intended to make just that shape? And if you are not certain, at least do you believe it? Even the painter who supposedly threw a sponge at a drawing of a horse's head managed to represent the freshness of its mouth much better than when he had tried with his paintbrush, if indeed this story is not simply an embellishment as flattering to Chance as painters normally are to the faces of the persons they depict.[3] But supposing that Titian had been able to make a perfect copy of that fortunate stroke, and supposing in addition that he had been unable to add the naturalness, if we set aside the work for the moment and consider just the craftsmen, which would you esteem more? The one who made originals or the one who copied? I know one thing: that Bernini out of marble and Padovanino[4] out of wax would have been much better able to reproduce that stalactite made by nature than nature would ever be able to reproduce the Daphne of Bernini or a portrait by Padovanino in the most casual protuberance of a rock. Whatever might have been lacking to one and the other for arriving at the ultimate perfect semblance of a stalactite would have been the fault of the material or of the instruments rather than of the mind or the hand, faults which they would have been able to compensate to some extent by using a cast to mold the image. And furthermore let me suggest

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this: let us take some of the things that we all agree are done by Chance— for example, gravel in a river, or a deal of cards in one of our games after shuffling the whole deck of ninety-seven. The first, any apprentice sculptor could imitate; and the second any peasant will put back in the same order not once but any time he wants. On the other hand, I do not know whether Chance, in all eternity, would be able to replicate the works of the apprentice sculptor or the card order shuffled by a peasant on a whim. I know that in our own time we will never see it imitate the first in the breaking of a rock, nor the second in the natural unpremeditated reshuffling of a deck of cards. The art of the beginning laborer and the mind of the peasant thus have an advantage over Chance.

Here you will now respond that this is all very well, but that not seeing Chance ever repeat the effort of producing the structure of the Universe in producing a city, nor the shape of a man in producing a statue of marble, nor the great timepiece of the planets in producing a metal watch, does not mean that it could not have produced these great things the first time as originals. Copying things is one thing, you will say, while making originals is quite another; and usually whoever has the greater talent either scorns or does not put up with the lesser.

What can I tell you? It is nevertheless amazing that whoever was able to get such order out of such a chaos of disordered material was never able to get anything out of such order but the sorts of chaotic things which are commonly, indeed, uniquely attributed to Chance. Here I confess that my intellect is lost. Good God! Chance either produced wolves in England or else brought them there, but ever since men exterminated them, this same Chance has never again been able to produce or bring back a single one. Chance produced men in some places in this world but has never produced them in the island to which Antonio Serrano swam to safety and where another man was brought a few years later by a similar shipwreck.[5] If one of them had been a woman, that island would have been populated; and because both of these survivors were men, the island did not become populated, nor will it ever become so unless both women and men go there. On the other hand, if all the men leave one of those countries where Chance produced men, it will not be able to produce them any more.

Here, I know that your response must be that I pretend in vain today to see men born from the earth like mushrooms or fall from the clouds like frogs in the month of May in the popular fable. Chance, having found for itself in this [present] order of things, by a fortunate error, a way out of the shadow of chaos wherein it wandered about for innumerable centuries, became Necessity. Since it is now Necessity, being no longer a great thing, it can no longer bring about any variation in the world by its natural irregularity and go back to creating its productions by those first means whereby it created them in the beginning, like the blind man we recently saw make such marvellous portraits in clay without any knowledge of

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draftsmanship and guided by touch alone.[6] Doubtlessly he must have begun with some crazy caricatures; but once he learned the practice of finding out the lines of faces after many mistakes, he could not help doing them always with the same perfect likeness, without ever making the face of a monkey instead of a human.

Still, be it as you wish. Chance nonetheless has been most unfortunate. It once made an original as marvellous as the Universe; but today it cannot even make a miserable copy. This would be the same as supposing that while Bernini made the plan for the palace of the Louvre, he was unable to make a plan for this hovel of mine. You will say, Necessity is the reason why not. Have it your way; but if it is Necessity now, I will say to you clearly that I believe it was Necessity from the beginning. I say almost the same about Necessity that I say about Chance: it is a great pity that this Necessity, having once made men from seeds [i.e., spontaneously], can no longer make them except by copulation, and having once made the Universe with the very vast and very beautiful bodies that adorn it, no longer has the energy or inventiveness to make a house, but men must make it for themselves.

But you will tell me: what else do men do when they build a house except obey this same Necessity? Therefore, it is the same Necessity that builds houses even today.

Very well; but you will not deny that it no longer builds them by the same means whereby it made these great mansions of the Universe, the stars and the planets, because men did not have to be involved in making those. This is enough for me to draw the conclusion that the present productions of Chance or of Necessity have greatly degenerated from the nobility of the first ones. When a queen goes in her second marriage to a prince of inferior condition, the fact that she retains her title and prerogatives as a queen is not enough for the children of her second bed not to decline very greatly from the quality of those of the first. And then could you suggest a reason why once men began to multiply the way they do now, they could no longer be made in the same way as the first? I see no other way out than to say that since they are no longer born in that fashion, Necessity must be the reason. And you call this a reason? I call it pure experience; and since words are arbitrary I must be satisfied.

I do not believe that you will now ask why God, having made the first men in the way in which it is supposed that he made Adam and Eve, from that time on no longer made them in that fashion. Because I should respond that this is a very different affair. You may say Chance and Necessity, too, after having made their Adams and their Eves, left off creating them in that first way. But you could only argue *a posteriori*, and you could not assert positively that they could do it no longer, because Chance and Necessity are principles that do what they can according to the occasion and not what they wish. But I can tell you *a priori* that God did not multiply [men] in that

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fashion because he wanted them to multiply in another, and this is the advantage a wise, free thinking agent has over a chance-bound or necessary agent. When Callot etched his deformed creatures on the varnish, did it ever occur to him that he might be creating hundreds of portraits of men presently existing in the world whom he had never seen or known?[7] No. Since his intent was not to depict particular monsters, but simply to do them on a whim, he did not stop etching others with the same needle whereby he had etched the first ones simply because some printer used the press to multiply to infinity the ones already made. On the other hand, Nanteuil, after having etched a portrait with the precise intention of doing a portrait, certainly would never again in his life have put a hand to his burin unless he had to do another one, knowing from that one etched copper plate any child able to turn a wheel would have been able to print copies by the thousands.[8] The conclusion is so obvious that I will leave it up to you.[9]

But let us leave aside these questions that are beginning to bore me, and since we cannot find out what Chance is unable to do today, let us see if we can find out what it did in the beginning. I very well remember your opinion about the beginning of the world: that it has not always been *ab eterno*, as we see it today, but various accidental, irregular, and impetuous movements of parts of matter caused various extremely vast lagoons little by little to form, which, when a less irregular movement began in them, ever more regular in the course of time, served as the foundations of various systems. The shape of the parts, their particular movements and the external circumstances of their nearest surroundings particularly favored certain productions in these systems, and in this one of ours, for these reasons, the sun and the planets revolving around it, our earth among them, were formed. And when the earth was prepared in such a way as to produce what was produced, certain seeds, so to speak, of the various species of the things came to be ordered, stabilized and to connect together, one of which, developed to that ultimate perfect consummate maturity sufficient to make it deliver its progeny, burst into that species of living animal that was called man. Is that not how you understand it?

Now I ask you: Was there a single one among these seeds or conglomerations of parts that matured first, or were there many at once? If there was one, was it male or female? If it was male, it had to await the female, and if female it had to await the male. And while they were waiting, did others go on maturing of the same sex as the first one that idly waited, or was the second mature individual of precisely the right sex necessary for the two together to begin multiplying by a different means from that whereby the first two had come about? From both of these hypotheses it follows that this Chance, having produced the first man, did not immediately have to disguise itself as Necessity and thereby lose the right to produce by the same means, so different from the present-day ones, whereby it had produced that first. In this case, let us start by supposing

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Chance produced other males before going on to produce the female that was to generate the next individuals by the male's help. Then, since it could still produce both a female and a male by the conglomeration of parts, one of those that came out as a male could just as well come out as a female. Supposing that there had to be another female to begin the new custom of making men the way they are made nowadays, still there would already have been the male and the female without Chance having lost its right to make men from seeds by becoming Necessity, even though there was a way to make them by copulation. But why did it later have to lose this right?

Let it next be supposed that the second individual to be produced was of a different sex from the first. In this supposition, Chance would be exceedingly fortunate to have produced exactly what was necessary so that one could immediately embrace the other. Yet in addition, the second individual would have to be produced close to the first. If one was produced in the Canary Islands and the other in the Philippines, they would have had to spend a considerable time looking for each other. Even more amazing, according to this supposition, as soon as Chance produced the first two individuals it lost all that knowledge and Necessity demanded that it stop printing them out because the colors had been found wherewith to paint them.[10] Most amazing of all (as I know you will also tell me), the men and women Chance produced simultaneously from those first seeds were not one nor two but innumerable, dispersed in all the known parts of the earth and even in unknown ones inhabited by man from time immemorial. And if the first-produced ones had not begun to mix together just as soon as the pinwheel exploded, there would have been no way or means whereby the species could have been saved. For according to this order of things and this particular beginning, Chance broke the mold of those first seeds, like an alchemist who chanced upon the secret for making gold and then broke the alembic to pieces after making the first test. For him, the time is up, the invention is lost, and so is the hope of ever again making gold for the rest of his days. Surely, I confine myself to a far too narrow field if I consider only the generation of men; nonetheless, to pull the matter out by its root, I prefer to argue this way.

Either Chance organized the world all at once as it is or else gradually during the course of time. Let us suppose all at once. Try to think about the source of an impulse diffused throughout the whole extent of matter and great enough to order such innumerable combinations, formed also of contraries whose very opposition serves to establish between them a tight and indissoluble tie, and all this by way of a gamble so precise or a precision so fortunate that these same combinations should adapt themselves subsequently to serve the order and exigencies of the universe even after the first operation of Chance had given way to the subsequent administration of Necessity, which next took up the reins of this government. I firmly believe you will either go crazy trying to think about it or you will have to confess

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that your mind is just as far from understanding this as it is from understanding God. So everything you think you gain by discussing Chance and Matter rather than God will slip through your fingers. Indeed, this order, this continuous returning of the same things, this constant operation in order and disorder alike, in a word, this necessity of operating always in the same way, certainly gives a clear impression that if the operator had had a definite desire to do this thing, in other words, if he had had the wisdom to do so, he could not have performed a more determined operation. . . .

Book 2
Letter 5: Lonchio, 27 July 1683

Even before reading your letter of June 24th, I understood from its brevity that I was not amusing you. I might also truthfully say I guessed this even before you wrote, knowing your taste for our correspondence could last only as long as your hope or perhaps even your pleasure in being able to use your reason to find God, and as soon as you found it useless you would get bored. Not knowing your heart, I am not sure what to tell you; but I will say that if this was only a pleasure, then not being able to go through with it can do no harm, because you will find others; but if it was truly a hope, console yourself, because having excluded reason, we will now find God first by faith and then by reason. And I truly believe that reasoning about God after believing in him is the best way, whereas reasoning beforehand is a sure way not to find him at all, since (so to speak) no horse in existence could finish that race. . . .

Since you cannot bring yourself to suspend even for a moment your doubt about whether God exists, then your experience of being unpersuaded about his existence by my weak arguments as well as by those of everyone else, and of being unpersuaded about his non-existence by all the unbelievers' weak arguments, including your own, seems to leave you no other option except to believe on faith and then see what might follow. What harm can there possibly be in running the risk of abandoning oneself to such a great hope. . . ?

Console yourself by accepting this just, reasonable and perceptive command of St. Paul: *For he that cometh to God must believe that he is.*[11] Now, St. Paul might have studied philosophy or he might not. If he studied it, this statement suggests he must have known that if it was useless in this case, at least it neither proved nor disproved the existence of God. If he did not study it, he must have studied something that was worth at least as much, because he managed to state what someone with philosophy in his breast and in his mouth could hardly come to know and confess. And even if we consider St. Paul to have been nothing but a very simple philosopher who, like others, set out to philosophize about God by the natural light of

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reason, we must admit that he saw much clearer than many who have squinted their eyes to see though this darkness—Parmenides, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, or Seneca—and who with all their philosophy managed only to fool themselves into thinking they had arrived by their arguments at a glimmer of God that they really had already. If they had reflected before arguing, they would have realized they had this glimmer by the natural light of reason. St. Paul, on the other hand, depicting this same glimmer as a gift of nature rather than as a discovery of science, realized that all our ships have very little ballast to offset the great sails needed for moving ahead in this sea. Thus the first explorers, believing themselves to have gone very far ahead in this discovery, have given us followers in their wake the impression that they were unable, with all the miracles of their seamanship, to go a hair's breadth beyond where any mediocre and dispassionate intellect could easily have swum. And St. Paul, who knew these waters were not only impracticable but impossible to set one's foot in, has saved us the trouble and the risk of proving it, teaching us in the same time that the only way to cross them is to fall asleep on the shore of faith, since just the bare belief in a region that can neither be discovered nor navigated and the bare desire to land there serve as a sure ticket for landing there without knowing how or when. Do not misunderstand me. I am not saying St. Paul believed in this God because of a good guess. I am saying—indeed, insisting—that St. Paul, with just these words, *For he that cometh to God must believe that he is,* showed he understood the nature of the God he sought much better than all the pagan philosophers with their chatter. Setting aside the question of whether God exists, St. Paul certainly did not try to imagine what he might be like if he existed or teach how to know him by his traces since his face could not be seen.

Now what shall you do? If God cannot be known except by believing in him, belief will be equally necessary for saying he does not exist and for saying he does. Before attempting the experiment of belief, you will be in the same position as those jealous proponents of the incorruptibility of the heavens when Galileo proclaimed the existence of the Medicean Stars:[12] as soon as he announced his discovery, they denied the possibility with a spectacular show of reasonings and texts; but for all their vaunted certainty that the planets did not exist, they never agreed to put their eye to the only instrument capable of justifying their certitude or proving his mistake. God is like the Milky Way. If we look at him by the free eye of simple natural reason, we may well wonder whether or not he is a trick of the mind produced by the refraction of vision through a mass of luminous fog, like the splendor of the rainbow or the tail of a comet. Faith is the only telescope that can bring clarity—why not use it just once? If he is an illusion, it will make him disappear; but if he is not, he will appear joyously as a vast sea of light.

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No need to get upset; I understand what you are thinking. "I know too," you are muttering between your teeth, "that if I believe and believe sincerely, God will not disappear on me and I will seem to see something; but his not disappearing and my seeming to see something will come from my believing rather than from his being here."

Not so fast. First, let me tell you frankly that the manner in which you must believe entirely precludes your suspecting that your belief itself could make something appear, and before I finish this letter I think I will have set your mind entirely at rest on this point. Before proceeding, however, let me point out that even if the situation you suggest were possible, you would still have to take the risk, because another situation might be equally possible: that your seeming to see something indeed came from your believing and that the thing you seemed to see, even though you really did not see it, really exists, there being no necessary connection between someone seeming to see something he only imagines and the actual existence of the thing. Here is a relevant example. Last October, I was up here shooting snipe, and I thought I saw a partridge lying on the ground. When I told someone who was with me, he said it couldn't be; and even if it was, I could not possibly tell at that distance—I especially, who can scarcely see a hare in a burrow at ten paces, much less a partridge. Yet when we finally reached the spot, a dog picked it up. I agree that I could not have seen it; nonetheless, I thought I did and there it was. So? So I repeat: this is a risk we have to take, and no one is exempt except those who have full, complete, undoubted certainty—of a kind available only to those who once believed—that God does not exist. Whatever may be the case with others, I know you do not have this certainty. Knowing, after this discussion, that the only way left to find God, if he exists, is by faith, you are obliged to seek him that way. And if someone comes along and says that placing a glass lens in the shutter of a window so the sun's rays pass through it while the room remains dark will cause all the external objects to be traced on the opposite wall in all their natural colors, you can clearly believe or disbelieve; but supposing you are not sure about the impossibility and want more information, you would be extremely unreasonable to call for more light in the room to see an image that, if possible at all, can only be seen in the dark.

You might also say, as I think I suggested before, "Let God exist or not, as he wishes, but I shall not worry about the difference." The question is simply whether that satisfies you or not. I myself would find such a position to be too dangerous. We are not talking (as I pointed out earlier) about one of those lazy deities of Epicurus, with nothing better to do than enjoy himself. We are talking about a Creator, Preserver, Ruler God, Master of the universe. So before deciding not to pay attention to him it seems to me a good idea to be more certain—very certain, in fact, without any doubt at all—that he does not care. Before, I said, just suspecting the

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existence of the world soul imagined by many philosophers ought to oblige us to give at least some thought to putting ourselves right with it, if for nothing else than to make sure it did us the least harm possible. Let me add that if ever this God should exist (I mean this creator God, lord of the universe), the fact that he seems to have created us with an instinct to recognize him as our master would be, in my mind, very persuasive evidence that he was not as totally indifferent as people imply when they say, "let him exist or not, as he wishes; what can he do to me?" Let us assume he does not exist. You know there are some deserts in the world (very few) where they live without God, without king and without law. If, sailing on the way to Brazil, you ran into a storm and were cast upon one of those tiny islets in the Straits of Magellan, do you believe you would immediately be confirmed in your supposition that this was one of those places where they live without those things, only because you read somewhere such places exist? Obviously not. And give me a single reason, I beseech you, why you can believe about this great island in the ocean of the universe what you cannot believe about that tiny one in the South Seas? Can you possibly tell me where you started from to come into this world? What road did you take? Are you better informed about the system of this world than you would be about the system of that reef? Even though you would have at least some doubts about the system of the latter, you pretend to know there is neither legislator nor law in the former. I like to hear you always spouting, "reason tells me this, reason tells me that." Does reason tell you that you ought to know more about the invisible order of the universe than about how a bunch of savages comport themselves? Do you defer more to your senses, your passions and your desire than to all the motives—from reason, love, fear, and admiration—that have made the great decree that God exists emanate from the supreme council of the human race? Since you do not understand any of the things you have before your eyes, absolutely none, and none of those you have inside yourself, and indeed, not even yourself, how can you be so sure in asserting that you are not mistaken when judging those things so remote from your senses, from your understanding, from your reason? What sort of reason can lead you to such unreasonable conclusions? If this is reason, I fully subscribe to the sentiment of Lord Rochester in his satire against man: *I'd be a dog, a monkey or a bear/ Or any thing, but that vain animal/* [*Who*] *is so proud of being rational.*[13] Of one thing at least I am sure: if you—what am I saying, "you"? if everyone in this world put all the proper and improper things they did to each other on opposite sides of a balance, the improper things would far outweigh the proper ones. Of a hundred things a person does in his life, if he could do them again he would redo at least ninety differently—the unsuccessful things so they came out well, the successful ones so they came out better. What a great proof of our clear understanding and sound judgment! . . .

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Do you know when you would give the response I gave provisionally in your name—"I know, too, that if I believe, and believe sincerely, God will not disappear on me, and I will seem to see something; but his not disappearing and my seeming to see something will come from my believing rather than from his being here"? You would give it when your belief began or else when it was subsequently nourished by a real or imaginary cause, sufficient to convince your intellect. Have you ever found yourself in the position of hating and, what in these cases is worse than hatred, despising, or indeed scorning a woman and later, after a very short time, falling in love and finding in her, as we might say, the Indies of beauty, grace, wisdom and even spirit? If you never found yourself in such a position, I can assure you that there are some who did, and once fallen into the net, they found the greatest enchantment in the very defects they once detested most in the same woman. Leaving apart now the presence or absence of true beauty, which is the artillery that has always made the smallest breach in my own inclinations, silliness converts immediately into modesty, recklessness into vivacity, impertinence into eccentricity, haughtiness into majesty, flirtatiousness into self-possession, so that even the worst blunders are interpreted as oracles full of the most profound sentiment. *Whatever she has done, whatever she has said, from absolutely nothing is born a grand legend.*[14] Now just as a lover, deluded by his passion, sees all these things where he noticed none before and where none in fact existed, thus I concede that an intellect, charmed little by little by its own subtleties in speculating about God, could seem to imagine the necessity for him and believe in him without his existing.

But my dear count, this is not the kind of faith you must have when you believe in God. This is not faith. This is necessity. The intellect, having begun to reason, is pulled along willy-nilly by its own forces and ends up concluding by necessity, unable to cast off the fetters that it first put on as a joke by its own arguments and, after having argued, suffers in anger. This is like the stories of the elves who taught the necromancer the words to the incantation out of pure courtesy and can do nothing but obey him when he recites it. All the philosophers possessed such a faith; yet, in spite of this, they never were and never will be called truly faithful, because they failed to believe in revelation and were simply persuaded by reason, and when reason speaks, really or even seemingly, who ever contradicts it—indeed, who possibly can? And where there is no contradiction there is no sacrifice.

Human—or let us say natural—faith is of two sorts. The first is when you tell me something I believe might be true or suppose is not naturally impossible, and I believe it. This can be called true faith, because however much it has for its object a thing I believe possible, nonetheless, I gratuitously believe that this possible thing is or has been. The second is when, discussing something unknown to me, I decide according to the most possible appearances shown by reason to believe in one way rather than in

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another. This, strictly speaking, is not faith; it is persuasion, or at most it is faith I lend to myself, that I have considered so carefully as to be prevented from believing otherwise.

However, I say that of these two kinds of faith, the first is the most generous or rather the most courteous, because it concedes something to the advocate, whereas the second, coming as it does in the form of a tribute, gives nothing, or if it gives anything at all, it does so to the same intellect by whose own reasoning it produced the tribute. Likewise a mason, building on an open site, who first builds a wall around himself and then covers it over with a vault without leaving any aperture, would be free just up to the point of finishing the construction and afterwards would necessarily be a prisoner of himself.

God save me from wanting to take one or the other of these very obscure and murky kinds of faith as an eyepiece for sighting divinity, which requires a purely supernatural faith called by the apostle, *the substance of things to be hoped for,*[15] deriving neither from human conviction nor from intellectual persuasion, but from the revealed object itself, just because it is revealed. The most perfect kind of faith, I believe, is the one where our reason remains entirely at rest, and, abstaining from all activity of apprehension, of judgment or of reasoning, is entirely satisfied, tranquilized and subordinated to the truth and will of God by a simple sign from our intellect and a simple acquiescence of our will. Now, if you think you begin to see something by using a faith like this as your telescope, you will no longer doubt whether what you see is an effect of your belief and not of the real and true existence of the thing. For if your belief is prior to your discourse and simultaneous to your will, you will be astonished at how the simple and delicate light of this faith will snuff out the brilliant and fiery one of your reason, and without giving reasons to this same reason of yours, will take away all its defenses and all its resistances, and having rendered it entirely satisfied and content without its knowing why, you will never have the feeling that the peace of your intellect is rather a servitude imposed on it by an illusory divinity taking body and vigor from the annihilation of its opposition. There is yet another less perfect kind of faith. This faith seems to enjoy, indeed, seems to make a profession of overcoming, without first harming or disarming, our reason. It seems determined to make our spirit believe, while holding down our reluctant reason that is continuously squirming to get away. *Fire hath fallen on them, and they shall not see the sun,*[16] says the Psalmist. Is it not strange that the fire is said to eclipse the sun and not vice versa? This is incomprehensible if the fire or the sun we know are meant, because with these just the opposite would occur. However, *fire hath fallen on them, and they shall not see the sun,* because every time our natural reason catches fire and lights the torch of our reasoning powers, it does indeed make the sun of faith disappear from view. But this sun, however clear, transparent and luminous, will never

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prevent us from seeing the pale and dim flames of the fire, which we also feel as well as see, whereas with the sun's rays never descending beyond the highest peak of our spirit, whoever finds himself on the sides might well complain of being made to close his eyes to the only light that he feels capable of seeing.

Please suppose for me now that the miracles performed by Christ in the presence of the apostles were true. To you it will seem that the apostles were then compelled to believe, and I say no. What indeed did the Apostles see? Things such that without faith, rather than being made to believe, they ought to have gone mad. Do we believe that St. Thomas, simply because he placed his finger in the side of Christ, necessarily and naturally had to understand the mystery of the incarnation and of Christ's divinity? Not me, I do not believe it. At most, he might have remained a little more consoled. But understand, be gratified, heavens no! And I am willing to bet that after receiving that unequivocal testimony of the truth of his faith, he still experienced the same difficulty that his lower self or even, if you will, his own natural reason, may from the start have experienced in believing. But you remind me that I asked you to suppose—not to believe—the episode of St. Thomas. I remember very well; but without using this as a basis, let me go on to say that if a similar thing happened to you, perhaps you would believe, but it is entirely certain that if you wanted to restrict yourself to counsel from the dictates of your reason and go on cavilling with your tongue, then, continuing to believe would cost you no less effort than you now think would cost you to begin believing. After some time, in the same measure as you calmed your soul from the first bewilderment produced by the miracle, you would begin to cool off your faith and, before suffering the annoyance of having to be always with your weapon in your hand to keep your mind at bay, you would be telling yourself that you either dreamt it or were mistaken. So, saying these things could not be true because they are incomprehensible is not a valid argument, because in all probability they would still be incomprehensible in any case even if their truth made possible the formulation of arguments that would otherwise be impossible. Thus I repeat, you ought never to be suspicious about what faith will show you, as though it might be a trick of your mind, because where there is a trick, the mind's opposition ceases immediately, whereas against the things shown by faith the mind's opposition often continues.

That ought to prove (you will say) these things are not true. But even if they could be considered false for some other reason, the bare fact that the mind's opposition persists is no sign that they are false, because even if they were true there would in any case be opposition. The truth of faith is one thing. Understanding the truth of faith is another thing. With regard to the truth of faith, insofar as it can be demonstrated, our repugnance to it ceases. Not so with understanding the truth of faith. In this case the finite mind must open up to a thing beyond its capacity. As St. Francis of Sales

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says, if ever there were a mind that could comprehend or perfectly explain what God is, that mind would have to be God himself, infinitely perfect. Nonetheless, the human mind's images of something that it cannot understand are themselves a sign that such a thing must exist to produce them, since it is not likely that the mind alone would imagine the being of something if it has no imaginable image to imagine either what or how that thing is.

If you ask me why we cannot deduce that this thing does not exist, from the very fact that the mind cannot conceive it, I ask you in return: why then, do we not rather derive the argument that it does exist from this tendency that every intellect, unspoiled by arrogance and sensuality, has to believe that such a thing exists?

We now have two of the propositions that the mind requires to make a decision about the concept of God, of which one appears to be in your favor and the other is undoubtedly in mine. What is in your favor is the absence of an immediately evident reason to believe there should be a God. What is undoubtedly in mine is the apparent tendency of every sound mind to believe that there is God. So far, we are tied. But I will soon have the advantage, because my proposition does not and will never go in your favor, whereas your proposition will go in mine, returning us exactly to the question of what would happen if God indeed existed, taking into account that he cannot be understood. Because I said to you before that this same inability of your mind not only to understand God but even to discover him behind the mysteries of nature is the most powerful reason why God can extract from our reason, indeed, from our faith, the confession of his existence.

I cannot tolerate some members of your group who make fun of anyone trying to form an opinion in favor of God based on the natural dictates of reason, while basing themselves on the dictates of unreason to disprove him. Woe to whoever says to one of them, "do you not hear someone telling your heart to act wisely because something exists?" They would send him to do spinning with the housemaids. Immediately thereafter, you would hear one of them say, "if someone tells your heart, act wisely, they are putting you on and there is nothing." O God! Why is the second babbler more believable than the first? Please do not tell me that the first is really the devil speaking by way of the habit we are nursed with of fearing divine vengeance, because I will ask you, then what about the second? Is he perhaps an angel, speaking out of love and an immense zeal to encourage temperance and virtuous moderation? I see more objectivity in the one who tells my heart that something exists than in the one who tells it that there is nothing. Of the second, I immediately understand the motive of the counsel; of the first, not quite so easily. The original imaginers or inventors of God were not nursed in fear. What they brought from their mothers' wombs was instead their sensuality, the state minister that dictates instructions to

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whoever says, "oh there is nothing"; and lacking the rein of fear but not the spur of lust, they clearly had no reason to put a cavezon on themselves, guaranteed to deliver some violent wrenching now and then. If you tell me that this search for the first or the second imaginer of God leads nowhere because all men eventually succumbed to the foolish concoction of an imaginary master who would really chain them down, I reply: this concept of divinity, so obviously innate in creatures capable at most of believing in it, though never of understanding it, seems to me significant of something else. However, my dear count, do not think to profit from what a certain natural instinct does or does not dictate, because it will never work. If ever you find a piece of evidence in your favor, I will always find ten more in mine. And let me warn you: once you begin to investigate these internal phenomena, enough material will turn up in my favor to oblige us to confess immediately what I have always said: that atheism is an unnatural graft upon the human understanding, and try as you might, the plant will always revert, either a little or a lot, to its natural state by way of a sort of natural faith.

Of this I will give you a single proof that I think is worth many. Which do you consider more capable of the truth? An intellect refined by civil experience, study, observation, and experience or an intellect buried in brutality and barbarism? You might want to be malicious and tell me, the second; but if you respond as your heart dictates, you will say, the first. Now if this rule is true, how strange that it should fail only in regard to the question of deciding whether God exists or not, for nothing is more obvious than the greater attachment to religion always present wherever minds are more cultivated. Among the Peruvians, the most susceptible to the Gospel were those who had the good luck to be civilized by the Incas. On the contrary, the barbarians who never submitted to that very fortunate power, after seventy years of instruction in the Gospel, were still at the beginning as far as faith is concerned. Will you tell me that the refinement of reason itself leads to atheism? Certainly, says [Francis] Bacon, a superficial progress in philosophy may incline the mind to atheism, but further penetration brings it to religion. Because when the human mind ponders all the many scattered secondary causes, very often it stops at these; but when it observes them all brought together and united, it goes on to ponder divinity and providence. And, if the Gospel is a lie, by what deplorable fatality should the reasonable man be more susceptible to this deception than the brutish one? Do you know what should be done to find out whether the natural tendency of reason points toward religion or to atheism? Make two colonies on two desert islands, one composed of religious people, the other entirely of atheists. If you came back in two hundred years what do you imagine you would be most likely to find? That in the first atheism prevailed or in the second religion? True, the experiment is a little long, but

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nevertheless I think it is enough to have thought of it to call it performed, and I leave you to judge the result.

Now I see that I said too little before, when I said there was good evidence for my argument in the fact that all men at all times have apparently had this innate proclivity to believe in God, though they could do no more than believe in him and never understand him. I should have added: and love him, because this too men can do besides believing in God. There is no more beautiful proof that what these same men imagined to be God, either fortuitously, or, as you say, by mistake, truly is God and exists, than the perfect correspondence of the qualities of God to the qualities our mind thinks God would have if he existed—in particular, his ability to be believed and loved and no more. And Peter the Apostle, who closely observed both of these two attitudes of the human will, recorded them thus: *whom having not seen, you love: in whom also now, though you see him not, you believe.*[17] Say what you will, if you cannot yourself believe, there are those who can; and if you cannot love him yourself, there are those who can love him, not just with a sort of faith and love that go from the bottom up, but with a faith that breaks down all the defenses of the intellect and then makes its way through to a higher and more noble region. There we argue not by reason but by a kind of love which, though our senses are insensible to it, nonetheless finds a way to be felt in a less sensitive and at the same time more delicate part than our heart.

Remember, count, the first article of your creed, *fear first created gods in the world;*[18] this is the victory whereby your frankness concerning the intrinsically religious world and your faith reign triumphant. But what will you reply if I demonstrate to you that this imaginary realm of divinity is now alienated by the fragmentation, if not in the total transformation, of the maxims that supposedly founded it and conserved it for so many centuries? Many of the people who, according to you, once sacrificed bulls and sheep with the knife of fear, today make a holocaust of themselves consumed on the coals of love. Love of whom? An object of their faith, of whom the mind is capable neither of forming nor of receiving any idea. An object whom neither the chisel of sense nor the brush of reason manages to depict. An object who, rather, oppresses the reason, embitters the sense, escapes the intellect, powerfully aids but does not entirely remove the will, does not give memory even his shadow. Of an object who truly promises much but does not want those who love him to keep his promises in mind; who gives himself entirely, but keeps us always in the uncertainty of possessing anything; who makes a profession of despoiling us of everything including ourselves, and not content with taking us from ourselves, commands that we hate ourselves; who, having given us infinite possessions, makes us understand, without any express command, that he would like to see us renounce the privileges he has allowed us to enjoy, and then leaves us only the usufruct of evils, of adversities, of punishments, and in a word,

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everything nature most abhors; who permits us to take solace and delight in these alone, with this caveat, however, that if we find a little sweetness in our mouths, we must spit out the stone we are sucking, so that nothing ever remains in our mouths except bitterness;[19] who having made himself known to us as a first infallible truth, and as such having taught us various means for obtaining what we desire, wants us for our part to allow him to treat us as he wishes and be particularly grateful if he allows us to agree that he should dispense himself from fulfilling his promises, while never entirely desisting from his faithfulness to us; and who after we sacrifice to him all our possessions, our health, our pleasures, our life, our honor, commands us to admit we are useless servants, unworthy not just to love him and possess him but even to serve him, and commands us also to desire eternal unhappiness, in the very marrow of our spirit, if this should be for his greater glory; who, not content to keep us always uncertain about ourselves in loving him, and after having received everything from us, afflicts us with the belief that we have still given him nothing, and yes, torments us by inflaming us with the desire to be able to give him even what we cannot, and even with the desire to be him and him us, just so we might change this poverty of ours, this misery, and so give him back his riches and his beatitude. And what object could this possibly be, and who could possibly love him? Who would be foolish enough to let a love like this take root in his soul, if someone else did not ignite it all of a sudden? What enemy to himself allows his natural inclinations to become entirely charmed by such a tyrannical love? What idiot would not think of taking flight before completely losing his liberty, as soon as he familiarized himself with such a severe beauty and began to experience charms so destructive to sense? If the object we love did not exist and we did not get from him some secret favor not manifest to sense, who would keep us faithful, who could possibly flatter with hope a nature as inimical as ours to suffering, so mad after enjoyment? If everything in us is sense and yet sense is always martyred; if there is no other light in us but natural reason and natural reason is always contradicted, who could keep this sense at bay? Who could strengthen the will so as to resist the dictates of reason? A God believed in and nothing else? And is it possible that men could come to love, and to love with such ardor, a God execrated by sense and denied by reason, to the point where men are willing to strip themselves of themselves and transform themselves into him? And this transcends all reason, all belief, all marvel: how could a God purely imagined bring men to lead such innocent lives, with such sweet behavior, to which morals and philosophy were never able to come within thousands and thousands of leagues?

So there is no God. Yet it is certain that those who conceive of him manage on occasion to become Gods themselves. Look at the souls of Paul, of Augustine, of Francis Xavier, of Filippo Neri, of Francis of Sales, of Teresa, of Catherine of Siena, of Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi; read about

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their deeds, study their writings, and then ask yourself: if all these had not committed this mistake of imagining a God and then given in to this frenzy of loving him, they would never have become what they were. If they could not be such except because of this deceit and this frenzy, I for one declare that I prostrate myself on the earth and, cast down in the most profound humility of my spirit, venerate this very fortunate mistake, adore this very wise madness, and I turn it into a God. Oh God, what are you, if you are, since even if you are not, just the illusion conceived of you by men has such power that it makes them resemble your original dream! Your faithful were amazed that the shadow cast by an apostle could do such things that we do not read of having ever been done by the shadow of him who appeared in the flesh saying he was your son.[20] Thank goodness that people honor you today. For your shadow (which cannot even be said to be yours, because it does not even come from you, who according to them, are a nothing), whenever it chances to fall upon the infirm human spirit, not only cures it of all ills but infuses it with admirable and divine virtues, rendering it such among men as you yourself would be if you were there.

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6
Beyond the Baroque

Italy's diversity and polycentrism could offer obstacles as well as benefits. The lack of a single cultural capital made communication difficult. Seeking epistolary contacts with colleagues all over the peninsula and Sicily was a chore for those interested in exchange outside their own cities. No one could deny, however, that a common Italian culture existed. Toward the end of the century, the notion of an informal union to coordinate cultural experiences all over Italy, the better to encourage and improve them, seemed more and more attractive. The task first fell to poet Giovan Mario Crescimbeni and jurist-poet Gian Vincenzo Gravina, who decided to form a single institutional structure for the best of all the other academies. Along with a group of other intellectuals, they first met in the palace of Christina, ex-queen of Sweden, who had come to Rome to convert to Catholicism and stayed as a central figure in the patronage network. After her death in 1689, the group moved to the garden of the monastery of San Pietro in Montorio, and on 5 October, 1690, they adopted the name, Accademia degli Arcadi. And their new program came so close to achieving cultural unity that it provided the name by which the entire period later became known to historians of Italian literature.

Like most of its predecessors in the Renaissance and earlier seventeenth century, the chief aim of Arcadia was to motivate the amateurs. And again, like them, it had a theme, though a relatively innovative one: cultural reform. While advocating the relaxed conversational atmosphere of Virgil's *Eclogues*, where mythical shepherds and shepherdesses exchanged views in an idealized pastoral landscape, they hoped to diffuse to a far larger public their enthusiasm for cultural accomplishment. And the timeliness of the Arcadians' innovation was proved by their success. Within three years of the academy's inauguration in Rome, they established successful colonies in Arezzo and Macerata. Before long colonies spread to most of the main cities of Italy and as far as Venetian Dalmatia, with total membership topping the one thousand mark.

Unlike the theorists of the Baroque, the first Arcadians saw aesthetics as a reference point for general political and cultural improvement—not as an end in itself. They called for the widest changes in literature, the field they believed was most in need. They planned to put Petrarch in the place of Marino as a model and introduce a simpler kind of poetic diction

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characterized by naturalness, sincerity, and logical consistency. They hoped to remove what they saw as a main source for the corruption of the past, namely, the hopeless search for new subjects to write about in the old genres. The real way to innovate, they noted, was to find not new subjects but new treatments of the ones that had well served the best poets of all times. Both halves of the Horatian—and humanist—aesthetic credo of "usefulness and pleasure" were essential, they insisted; not just the last half. To accomplish this, the Renaissance combination of literature with public life ought to be reinstated.

The good intentions of Arcadia collided with the misfortunes of Italy during the Spanish Succession War. Prince Eugene of Savoy, on behalf of emperor Joseph I, liberated Turin in 1706 from the French siege and thereupon decided the question of sovereignty in Spanish Italy, left open when Charles, Archduke of Austria, replaced Philip of Anjou two years before on the Spanish throne: with the French out of the way, he added Milan to the list of imperial conquests at the end of September; and in July of the following year, Naples. Austria, unknown and deeply mistrusted, was now the arbiter of Italian politics after two hundred years of relatively benign Spanish presence. The shift from Spain to Austria seemed so likely to affect the territorial integrity of the various subdivisions of the peninsula on which the cultural projects of the seventeenth century had been based that Italians began to debate the very possibility of cultural continuity. Symptomatic of attempts to keep things going were the comments of papal nephew Annibale Albani in the Roman Accademia di San Luca.

And for the first time, Italian scholars and writers began to unite around cultural programs that openly repudiated the Italy of the previous century. One of the most successful, at least in attracting the attention of contemporaries, was the Literary Republic of Ludovico Antonio Muratori. Rather than a union of amateurs, like Arcadia, he called for a union of experts along the lines long ago proposed by Federico Cesi. But unlike Cesi, who simply sent letters around to the best in every field, he pulled off a remarkable publicity stunt that succeeded brilliantly. Pretending that the academy already existed, he published anonymous lists of members, exciting envy among those who thought they should be included and goading them on to compete for appearance on the next list. The struggle for excellence that was one of the Literary Republic's main goals became an established fact even before Muratori's identity and the hoax became known. Though the Literary Republic was never a real institution except in the minds of those whose curiosity it had excited, it helped establish the climate of agitation for cultural change that eventually extended to political reform in the Italian Enlightenment.

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42. Benedetto Menzini, *Arcadia Returned to Arcadia*

Menzini himself was an example of the discovery of hidden talent that he claimed, in the following discourse, would be a chief function of the newly-founded Accademia degli Arcadi. Born in Florence to what his biographer called "poor but honest" parents in 1646, he would have gone to work as an artisan like his father.[1] But his earliest attempts at prosody chanced to catch the attention of Marquis Giovanni Vincenzo Salviati, who agreed to serve as his benefactor and put him through school. He quickly rose to the highest levels of Florentine society, acquiring honorable mention by Francesco Redi in an encyclopedic poem on current literary culture, *Bacchus in Tuscany*, and eventually, praise from Muratori (in *On Perfect Poetry*), who rarely recognized the achievements of seventeenth-century writers. Failing to gain more regular patronage by a professorship at the University of Pisa, he sought his fortune in Rome with recommendations by Lorenzo Magalotti. There he published so many occasional pieces and odes and eulogies to flatter this or that dignitary or official that he scarcely had time for what was supposed to be his masterpiece, the *Paradise on Earth*, although he managed to finish the *Art of Poetry* in rhyme, which consolidated his reputation. After various periods in the service of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni and Christina of Sweden, during which time he became among the first members of the Accademia degli Arcadi, he finally received the steady income of a canonry and an assistant professorship at the University of Rome, so that he died in relatively comfortable circumstances in 1704.

Discourse by Euganio Libade[2] at the Meeting in the Parrhasian Woods in the Year 1692

Even the single solitary name of Arcadia would be extinct by now if the sonorous swans of the Eurotas,[3] withdrawing it from the injury of time, had not consecrated it to immortal fame. And all of Greece might have suffered a similar outrage if the sacred minds, inspired by a noble genius, had not liberally praised, along with the most illustrious cities, also every tiny place, every shore, every weed, and every stone of such a glorious province. And if that province, feared in war and venerated in the arts of peace, gradually declined later from its most sublime degree, this occurred for the same reason that human bodies do likewise: when they arrive at the peak of a truly perfect health, being able neither to improve upon this nor to remain long in this state, they must naturally decline. Or else, the reason may have been that once a desire to rule was enkindled, and all the cities of Greece competed for power at the same time, all of them lost both their liberty and their strength. But even if Greece is no longer populous and

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Arcadia is reduced to solitary desert sand, nonetheless there is a very numerous crowd of poets and orators who can again return the royal crown to its brow, rebuilding what was destroyed, reviving what was extinct, and bringing back to Arcadia its happy pastures, its sweet forests, its fruitful earth. In their works there once again resounds in our ears what I would call the symbol of Greek productivity, that is, the natural musical and harmonic concert produced by the waves of the Aegean breaking upon its shores. On the hills that dominate that same sea, and wherein there now stand only a few wretched dwellings, there was Athens; and even though travellers now pass obliviously by it, we however, because of the Greek Parnassus, know it to have been powerful without measure in its wealth, strong in counsels, fertile mother of love, and equally famous in arms and letters. And further inland, crowned all around by all the cities of the Peloponnesus, like guards to its happiness, there sits ancient Arcadia, also celebrated both for its writers and for its military might, because Aristarchus[4] was from Tegea, and the Lacedaemonians were beaten in war and their pride was humbled by the Arcadians. But the triumphs of Greece and the wealth of Athens and the strength of the Arcadians no longer exist for us. And since we admire some human things for their superiority and excellence while trying to imitate others that are not too far from our own abilities, we, feeling our minds warmed and enthralled by our studies and our arts, seek with all our might to recover the unique and singular merit of which our forebears transmitted to us such an illustrious memory. Thus, by the name Arcadia, we mean to signify an honorable and civil assembly that, bearing us away occasionally from the popular bustle, turns the wooded groves into an academy and puts their innocent pleasures to good use by exercising our minds. Man by his nature cannot remain for long away from pleasure, and whoever does not find pleasure in the Good ends up crossing over to the opposite side, deluded by false affections. Let us therefore be permitted to follow what we recognize as highly honest and highly useful, showing this to others not with subtlety of sophisms but with the simple and sincere speech dictated to us by natural reason. And if the purpose of orators concerns both the speaker and the listener, let us make others free to consent or refuse what on our part has made us fully and sufficiently persuaded.

But since a good discourse must be like a strong plant that truly extends its spacious and diverse branches while connecting them by a single trunk, I will begin by first considering the Arcadians' humble name. And what promise could they possibly have, if the mountainous country where they live, the pastoral exercise they practice, and their scarce ability to versify did not permit them to rise above mediocrity? They can scarcely hope to change their sylvan bagpipes into sonorous trumpets or to leave their flocks and pass to military standards; nor can they expect that the songs perhaps applauded by the nymphs in the horrible silence of the woods should be worthy of the ears of princes. Their very name is their reproof, so let them

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be satisfied with their baseness, and seeing themselves never able to rise to where so many egregious spirits, on the golden wings of their most sublime minds, easily arrived, let them never desire to do so. Whoever speaks this way shows his inability to understand the power of effort and industry, which reduces well-intentioned intellects in every rough and uncultivated country under the inclement sky to smoothness, decorousness and the most remarkable perfection, just as the fervid wheel polishes and files the diamond. So let Arcadia not be reduced to a vile proverb and let delicate youths not be embarassed, as they usually are, by fear of being dishonored even by the slightest reproof. Because even if we were neither citizens of a noble country nor long-time inhabitants of this Metropolis of the Universe, Most August Rome, and even if we had really been born over there where we pretend to have been, who can possibly use this against us? I cannot see how the brow of the philosopher Plutarch was crowned with any less glory for his having been born in Boeotia rather than in Rhodes or Corinth or any other place pullulating with acute minds. And if, as we do not indeed deny, our birthplace contributes some force to the liveliness of our spirit, nonetheless, a continuous exercise contributes more and can not just correct but completely overcome the deficiencies of nature. What? Is not the memory still fresh, and do we not even now have in our hands the writings of those authors from the frozen North who challenged the glory of the most famous Italian pens? They too might have complained about the rigors of their sky and the roughness of their land, but they were so far from regretting these that they rather turned them into advantages obliging them to rely on their own efforts to make a virtue of what nature had so pitilessly denied them. From which it follows that Arcadia can easily be changed into Athens and make a clear testimony of how the name of Arcadians was dictated by modesty and comprises under the roughness of its costume the most honest and refined behavior. Had we taken the ambitious names of University or Lyceum, we should have encumbered ourselves with a great obligation. But is it not better in matters of letters and ideas to boast less and prove ourselves by our productions? I have allowed myself to say this because now I see the soil of Arcadia full of such robust and happy plants that not only bring delight by the comfort of their shade but also bring usefulness by the abundance of their fruit. I see that the sun of glory looks upon them with a benevolent eye and that the reverberations of its eternal light illuminate and gild their emerald fronds. I see that the River Ladon,[5] once full of neither fame nor water, fills the Sorgue,[6] Tiber and Arno with envy, so that these can no longer believe the first glory belongs to them, since it can be challenged or borne away by even the humblest torrent of Arcadia. And this is not simply an artful exaggeration or pure flattery borrowed from the school of the rhetoricians, who while receiving praise for their eloquence should never shun praise for their truthfulness. What do I mean? In this same place where I am speaking now, have you not

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frequently heard compositions so beautiful and so choice that they bring honor to the present century, which only a short time ago was thrown into the depths of corruption; compositions which deserve, if I am not mistaken, no ordinary benevolent thanks from the future? This is to say that the Arcadians know their true source and the most clear waters where they must bring their lips, detesting the murky shores and muddy swamps that occasionally dare to mix with the pure and crystalline liquor from which Phoebus creates a beverage only for those he elects for his own. The venerable name of the poet laureate Petrarch resounds throughout these groves, and issuing forth from this tranquil air, swirls around and back to it in an eternal round of applause. And truly, whoever wishes to steer his boat through the most dangerous river of Aonia[7] must direct his gaze to these luminous stars. To remain solidly at anchor, to furnish himself with oars, and to raise his sails and shrouds and everything else necessary in such a risky enterprise, one can have no more sublime a hero than this, whom I propose to the youth of Arcadia and to all the academies of Italy as a mirror for imitation, considering that already many of his egregious imitators have been great in eloquence, greater in doctrine, and even greater in judgment. The least they possessed was the art of versifying; whereas they were also largely rich in moral discipline, inquirers after the truth through philosophical demonstrations, made prudent through the knowledge of history, religious through a piety informed by the Fathers and the sacred books. There is no wonder that their poetry, even where they tenderly recount amorous stories, is full of the most bashful modesty and joins gracefulness with holy prudence in an indissoluble tie, so a truly Platonic love shines out from everywhere. At this name of Platonic love I feel myself obliged to summon the ranks of my arguments together, to demonstrate to others what I mean by Platonic love and how it naturally occurs, how it is holy and honest, and how those who thought evil of it were so long deceived. . . .

Leaving the philosophers to their rigorous dissertations, omitting what Plato and his interpreters or adversaries say, and basing myself entirely on what is being practiced today and what we mean by Platonic love, I declare this to be a well-regulated demeanor, obedient to good breeding, wherein a sweet flame may awaken us and tacitly delight us, but we nonetheless treat the beloved person with consummate and reverent modesty. Indeed, this seems difficult to those who are not imbued with the severest dictates of justice, piety and religion; yet this Platonic love is true and practicable whenever it attaches to and fills up a gentle heart, making that heart satisfied with this form of love and inducing it to desire nothing else that could be repugnant to its internal and sincere joy. And just because the occult movements of the human heart look for and drive us to find pleasure at every turn, must we say that the very chaste love we are talking about does not exist? Even anger, so praised by Homer in his Achilles, as being

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generous and magnanimous, naturally pushes us to bloodshed, vendettas and homicide; yet the angry one does not reach such excesses unless he adds to that iniquitous impulse an even more iniquitous desire. Therefore the Platonic lovers wish to be modest, desire to be so, can indeed be so and must necessarily be so in order not to extinguish such a happy flame. Let them not dry up such a blessed font; let them not obscure this beautiful sun; and hey! let's speak without allegory—let them not turn pleasure into pain or delight into sadness. So if nothing must be a cause of greater pain to a steady and innocent soul than what is opposed to the sanctity of laws and good breeding, who does not see that going beyond the limits of modesty would be to take away the good and the beautiful that is found in the rich and wealthy mine that is Platonic love? And not to take this away (even though our internal impulses might force us to do so) has already above been proven, in spite of what others might too philosophically aver, to be well within our free will to choose. Not loving, of course, is no easy thing; because wherever there is similarity, necessity demands that there should issue a marvellous amorous effect, and if ever such a tenacious chain is dissolved, this happens because of dissimilarity. I love in someone else not only the beauty of the face, but also the gracefulness of the gestures, the goodness of the behavior, the vivacity of the mind, because all are proportionate and correspond to the beauty that I in my understanding consider worthy of loving; and, in sum, I recognize in someone else what I am in myself. Thus, whoever I love today for nobility of spirit I may perhaps cease to love tomorrow for falling into some vileness; because a dissimilarity has arisen between the baseness I hate and the superiority I admire. And therefore again not without reason love could be defined as being nothing other than a proportion and correspondence resulting in delight. These few things are all I need to say about Platonic love. And since I have demonstrated it to you just as it is, sincere and modest, those who therefore form their love poems with like modesty should be considered worthy not of blame or scorn but of the highest praise and honor.

And truly I do not believe that there is a more certain and surer proof of a mind's vivacity than its ability to devise and express an amorous argument. The multitude of those occupied with such things is now so great that finding a way to acquire a reputation for novelty, which is what every wise writer ought to do, may seem difficult. As far as I can tell, however, the truth is that such novelty is not supposed to consist in saying something that has never been said before by anyone, but by saying it in a particular way. Consider for a moment: how long the series of writers is from Homer to our day. Yet the Greeks, Latins and Tuscans have always written about love, hate, battles and festivities. Are these all new things? So let the novelty not consist in the things said but in the greater number of additions, the more graceful thoughts, the more effective expressions of the poet's

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eloquent manner. And to do this requires a nobility of talent that reawakens and ignites when considering how famous in letters were those who versified about love and that seeks to increase rather than to diminish the heredity left to us, unlike some writers of a short time ago.[8] Let the hearts of the youth of Arcadia hearken to these words of mine, and scorning base things, let them rise to the heights where the temple of Glory opens to them, and let them also know this: that whoever nobly thinks and writes about love will then be able to write decorously about any other matter he seeks to pursue in verse. On the contrary, whoever lacks in this will also be lacking in the rest. For how can someone express what is outside him if he is unable to express on the spur of the moment what is inside him? If an innate sentiment of ours that exceedingly excites and moves us finds in the mind a bare field full of sterile sand rather than ripe fruit, what can be said about more remote and distant sentiments? And certainly, when we hear that a particular poet is lacking in beauty, expression and grace, do you know why he lacks them? Because he did not learn these things from love. If he had first stepped inside the school where love is the instructor, he would have little difficulty representing those many and varied so-called images of poetry, of the astute man in the attainment of his ends, or of the one generous in affairs of honor, constant in labors, artful in prayers, or steadfast in adversity. And if someone should say to me that treating of the things of love is for the young, I would have to agree; because even poetry itself is for the young. Would you not laugh if I asked a painter to depict an Apollo and he made one with a beard? The truth is that those who begin to write poetry when they are overcome by years most of the time come up with cold and tedious narratives, unless they are more than men. Let the Arcadians therefore have modest Love for their guide; let them write about it, let them speak about it, without worrying about the reproofs of the silly crowd, which disesteems in others whatever it is unable to do itself.

And how could anyone blame what was most praised in Bembo, Guidiccioni and Della Casa, who composed graceful verses as a recreation from their employments in governments, in the most important affairs, in assemblies, and in councils involving kings and monarchs, thus meriting the title of the three Graces?[9] Certainly I could never fully approve giving oneself entirely to poetry; but when someone combines many different worthy occupations, I regard poetry—not the plebeian or abject type but only the generous and sublime—as a noble vestment for an even nobler personage. I therefore commend not being only that, and I believe one must behave like our body, which does not shift its entire weight whenever we move, but only a part. And for these reasons I have dared occasionally to compete with the Muses, and addressing myself to the tuneful Anacreon,[10] I can with a fearless voice tell him: "The Tuscan brides have seen me quite a lot/ Going about in toga, garlanded/ By that example which from you I got."[11] And if I believed some dishonor might come from this, I would do

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grave injury to so many minds of preeminent fame who were expert both in the most noble arts and in the most serious sciences yet wished to demonstrate their true or false flame in verse, either by their inclination for it or to flee graver preoccupations or just to leave posterity some beautiful and living testimony of their terse and robust eloquence.

So far I have discussed modesty. As for usefulness, would it not be a worthy prize for Arcadia if this noble and erudite assembly, by so frequently reciting what it does in prose and verse in both languages, enabled truly extraordinary minds that have hitherto remained hidden and unknown to come to light and show themselves and receive the glory their merit deserves? Then the world would owe to Arcadia what the Heavens owe to the new discoverers of its stars. There would be a marvellous conjunction of nature and art; and what is more, once those new planets were discovered, youth would begin to feel a new spirit of veneration, and this veneration would generate in them a great desire to imitate the same glow produced by such a lovely light.

This should make clear just how useful famous men can be to others, as well as how rare they are even in the most populous cities. These diamonds are not found on every shore; and these shells do not make pearls in every sea. Indeed, even where the former are found and the latter are made, there is still not enough to lower the value. Nature seemed somewhat stingy in giving to the world men eminent in letters, as though she never wanted to distribute a large quantity of what she recognized to be a precious treasure. Draw for yourself the conclusion from the above observations. After Latin letters were entirely lost in the barbarian invasions, Nature gave only one Petrarch as the single star in that darkness. He was the father and founder of the glorious Tuscan language and fertile restorer of the Latin one. But how few similar to him, particularly in that purity of style, which is that natural vigor whereby writings live eternally, do we find in the following ages? I do not deny that the age of the magnanimous Leo[12] was particularly abundant in literary men, nor that there is a considerable number in our present age: but here you can see that I am speaking about those who, like precursors, saw a numerous family collect around themselves. And if I am not mistaken, you too will agree that these were very rare, and given by the particular plan of Nature, as though just one were enough illumination for each century. However, famous men do not owe to Nature everything they possess. They may receive from her a more perfect formation, a manner of expressing themselves that is freer from delusions, a fervid and generous spirit instead of a slow and parsimonious one. Nonetheless, they owe a great deal also to exercise and the passage of time. A few months suffice to form a crystal; but to harden a diamond the space of a century is hardly enough. A few moments suffice to work the most malleable clay; but to draw from marble, as the Poet said, a living and breathing image, every famous new Daedalus will require repeated daily efforts. And should

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everything that nature, art and time produce with so much effort and indeed such obstinate toil remain either unknown or neglected? Now here is the primary usefulness of the assembly of the Arcadians, which gives virtue its due by recognizing it, manifesting it, venerating it.

Furthermore, we should say that there is yet another very considerable and worthwhile gain: namely, the cultivation of eloquence, which can make one capable of achieving every most sublime honor, when properly learned. And where is this learned? More than anywhere else, it is learned from poetical compositions; because the good poet manages all emotions with due elegance, chooses the most appropriate and most noble words, adapts his phrases, making them now grave and robust, now soft and pliable, according to the argument, and enlivens and inspires everything with his new creations. And from this you can see how Arcadia extends its very spacious borders, as its youth, well-exercised in poetical studies, supply secretaries to courts, orators to princes, and historians to the republic. And let no one reply that excellent prose writers have been no good in poetry, because it is one thing to say that they were no good in poetry, and it is another thing to say that they did not make use of the lesson of the noblest poets to enrich their eloquence. Even if they were not good poets, they certainly wished to be, as can easily be seen by what they left behind, though badly written, in testimony to their lively and earnest desire. And if they sought the favor of the Muses in order to become more eloquent, the youth of Arcadia, whose brow is already crowned by the poetic faculty, will be well able to perform everything proper to a noble and graceful orator. Does this seem to you to be an advantage to be derided? And you can be sure that acquiring a modest facility by continuous public recitations, correcting defects of gesture or voice by seeing and hearing the best practitioners, learning how to behave like a speaking gentleman rather than like a cursing Satyr, are at least to some degree the fruit of their finding themselves from time to time among these groves, forming their own compositions, listening to others, and showing, finally, that the shepherds of Arcadia do indeed compose verses now and then, but at the same time they do not neglect other studies: they speak of love, but never overstepping the bounds of modesty; they speak of happy and pleasant matters, but only in order to cultivate eloquence. Let others therefore keep their uncultivated and savage tastes; I myself, when listening to amorous poetry, consider artifice, beauty, and grace in composition to be demonstrations of a lively mind rather than dangerous sparks capable of starting a fire.

Let the shepherds of Arcadia inscribe the names of their nymphs in the new and growing bark of the trees, and I will praise their desire that their verses might grow with the growing plants and serve as eternal testaments to their most innocent affections. Let them describe the beloved shepherdess as she leads her flock to pasture; and full of ardent spirits let them exclaim that she deserves not that humble station but ought to lead the stars in a

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dance with a golden staff. And if she should be a tiller of the soil, let them represent her laurel-covered plowshare and her furrows sowed in gems in any way that suits their fancy. And if she wets her golden locks and then, letting them fall down upon her face, exposes them to the sun's rays, let them confess that fortune is bursting with new love and that "Fortune's wheel turns with her lovely eyes." Let them even say that the waves, rivers and fountains of Arcadia, raised to the heights by the worthy task of reflecting her native beauty, are proud of their blessed and happy lot. These are arguments that the chastest pens cannot avoid; and they are the kind heard in these groves, which, through a sense of courteous gratitude, extend their triumphal fronds to crown not only the grace but also the modesty of the shepherds. From this it is clearly seen that the youth of Arcadia do not have lethargic hearts or slothful minds, but lively and fiery ones; and they gaze after the noblest authors as after faithful cynosures, without letting themselves even cast their eyes upon those whose baseness of style and ugliness of argument cause the virgin Tuscan Muses to blush.

The Arcadians have proposed to themselves our greatest lyricist for imitation, and those also who in previous times, never losing from view such a noble light, shone by reflection of him, as from a beautiful new planet. Thus, "between the style of the moderns and the earliest one," a third species resulted, which shows judgment in choosing the best from the ancients and earns praise from a cultivated discretion in prudently adapting to the current fashion. And this is certainly a good policy, whereby the past poets are loved and the present ones are not despised. And even if others were as successful at imitation as were Di Costanzo, Venier, and Tansillo,[13] in whom the imitator could be scarcely distinguished from the imitated, I would be far from encouraging the youth of Arcadia from undertaking such a task; indeed, I would rather encourage them, and address them thus: "Do not let the insane opinions of the vulgar frighten you, since they do not see the best things and their bad habits lead them to cling to the worst. Do not be distracted by those of mediocre erudition who cannot keep silent because they wish to demonstrate whatever they can without proper judgment, not possessing a full knowledge. Do not spare any efforts, do not neglect any enterprise. For at least in honorable and great things, daring is always good. Still, there is a sort of constellation that produces the great poets; and its beneficent influence appears for the moment to be almost, if not entirely, dried up, or at least slowed down and repressed. So let us pay attention to the fashion, let us accommodate ourselves to the times, but always let us show that our vein proceeds from deep inside a rich and wealthy poetical mine."

My Arcadians, I now address my final statement to you. You must take the cue from the humility of your name to do all that in you lies to make it ever more glorious and illustrious. And if the citharas of Greece had power enough to lend greatness to things previously invisible because of their

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minuteness, you, who received the same gift from the sky, would do yourselves a dishonor if you ignored or neglected it. Whoever in the age to come shall hear that Arcadia was transported to the shores of the Tiber, will understand how many most sublime minds filled the city of Rome when such an erudite assembly undertook its studious enterprises and won over even the most famous Lyceums to its sonorous groves. They will read your rhymes and will not fail to applaud, seeing how they abound in modesty and grace, honesty and beauty, in the fervor of the spirit, in prudence and in wisdom.

And if any of you leave behind the bucolic bagpipes and pass from love to arms, others will expect you to excel in this second worthy practice because you were so proficient in the first. They will admire your eloquence, and they will give you an honorable place among the famous because you too in your time venerated the famous and proposed them to yourself as a mirror for imitation and example. Now, praise is nothing other than a tribute of esteem for truly meritorious conduct; and who does not see that the best way to be well and reasonably praised is to act conspicuously well? If perchance virtue lacks this external tribute because of ingratitude or jealousy, it may well lack praise but it will never lack honor; because honor is an adornment that results from virtuous and praiseworthy acts and is their inseparable companion, just as light, motion and heat are to the great body of the sun. Thus, if no one praised the sun for its beauty, its velocity, or its beneficence, it would by no means cease to be the sun; likewise virtue, even when not praised, shines alone and asserts itself, shooting out its very potent rays to offend whoever unwillingly observes it and to delight those who enjoy it.

43. Annibale Albani, *Art in Wartime*

Annibale Albani was only twenty-two years old when in 1704 he addressed the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, dedicated to the fine arts.[1] He had not yet become papal secretary and president of the Apostolic Chamber under his uncle Pope Clement XI; nor had he yet become a cardinal. He also had not yet become a diplomat, which he was to do as the Spanish Succession war led to an imperial challenge to papal possession of Comacchio and a literary and juridical show-down between Lodovico Antonio Muratori and Giusto Fontanini, two of the most powerful intellects of the time. He also had not yet become a missionary, which he was to do when the parlement of Paris refused to accept publication in France of the papal bull *Unigenitus* condemning Jansenism, prompting his uncle to send him on an expedition to enforce the papal position. Furthermore, he had not yet become the top cultural figure in Rome, as chancellor of the Sapienza University. But

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already in 1704, he was learning fast. He knew about patronage first hand from his uncle, who insisted on sending him to the Collegio Romano before completing a doctoral degree at the university of his birthplace, Urbino. He was rapidly acquiring the influence that would one day make him a key figure in the curia. So the cardinals and artists assembled in the century-old academy did well to listen to the following pep talk. And following his own advice, in the next few decades he became a formidable patron in his own right, especially in Urbino, where, among other projects, he had a shop built for printing Greek books, donated a chair of humanities to the local university and found a job for musician Alessandro Scarlatti's son Pietro.

Recited in the Campidoglio for the Accademia del Disegno, 1704

O Most Eminent Princes, the unhappy condition, not to say, as some might, the hard destiny, of the actions of princes, however just and magnanimous those princes may be, is to be always subject to the mordant minds of the critics. Even the grand and triumphal food for glory bestowed today by a munificent hand in the Campidoglio, so powerful for awakening a noble love of the most honest studies in ingenuous souls, has been subjected, believe it or not, to the licence of critics and the reproofs of the malevolent. Listen to the censure that I myself have heard many times and now faithfully repeat to you. Who can deny, it is asked, what you have heard more eloquent speakers say in this place, that the liberal arts are not only permissible in the civil republic, but also necessary and worthy of the high and generous care of rulers? Who can deny that they deserve not only patronage but also guidance particularly from the supreme and royal priest? But we can never agree that those flowers which draw their life only from the soft breezes of the gentlest Zephyrs must be exposed to the horrible breath of the most furious North Wind. The cultivation of the arts, which are children of peace, requires gladder days than these, which are threatened by dark clouds. The attention of rulers is called to other cares in the chaotic times. The fine arts should be cultivated, protected, benefitted in a more tranquil time, a more serene season, when the sky is no longer filled with thunder and lightning. These, O academicians, are the accusations that come to mortally wound your great pomp. Today my task is to mount a defense. A cause so just as to be discussed in the uncorrupted august tribunal of the many cardinals who surround me has no need of a great defender. The argument of my discourse and the defense of your institute will be: "The fine arts cannot be promoted in any more opportune time than the present," although threatened by such bitter and public calamities.

And because it is obvious that I did not propose this subject merely to embroider the truth or to use fallacious arguments, you will see me draw my proofs from the highest and clearest fount. God wished to create the world

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not because he needed to make his monarchy happy by a base retinue of numerous creatures, but only to spread generously the inexhaustible riches of his omnipotent goodness. In the infinite abyss of possible worlds he chose such a beautiful one that the charmed pagans of antiquity could not distinguish it from the divine essence, and because they could not imagine God as lacking in anything, they affirmed that God was the world enriched by all perfections. This was a delusion of raving intellects, I know well; but I also know that the beautiful order of the universe was the innocent cause. But tell me, if you wish, from what confused disorder could there come such a beautiful orderliness? What dense and dark night preceded such a luminous day? What bitter war of discordant elements opened the path to the stupendous work of such concordant harmony?

> If we can say that earth and fire were there
> In that tremendous mix at once confused;
> There was no fire nor earth, and air and wave
> Destroyed themselves by natures contrary;
> And each of them in dubious victory
> Itself was lost and death alone, so fierce
> Was its remuneration; and heights to depths
> Ill-fitted and confounded did conjoin.
> This mass, then, raw and unrefined
> Neither all nor nothing was, and nothing seemed.[2]

On the basis of this nothing, among the uncertainties of the chaos, the Divine Maker made this admirable theater of the celestial spheres; and it was then, O ingenious architects, that your great art of stupendous construction was born at the same time as the Heavens. From the horrible shadows of confused darkness covering the face of the darkest abysses the sovereign artificer extracted the beautiful colors he used to paint the clouds by the rays of the sun and the earth by many pretty flowers. It was then, O noble painters, that your fine art had its first exemplar from the teaching of God. In the midst of that great contest, greater than which there never was, the eternal creator combined in man all the merits of the created world; and then, by impressing his sublime image in a little bit of earthly clay, God became, O illustrious sculptors, the first professor of the art of forming statuary. Indeed, he wished for there to be a statue of clay in the world before a man of flesh. Go forth, then, O fine arts, in the happy knowledge of your ancient and noble origin. Say, as is your right, that the author of nature from the beginning of time was the first to paint, the first to sculpt, the first to build. But while you are boasting of these great qualities, remember also that you were born in confusion and that a rough and unformed mass, spinning without order, was the cradle of your infancy. So let me suggest to you that if it is true, as it is true, that the causes of the conservation of things

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conform to the causes of their production,[3] no time could be more propitious for your progress than the present one, which is agitated by such fierce tempests and disturbed by such grave misfortunes. This is the constant truth, O sirs, and to render it more splendid to our eyes we even adopt those clouds themselves that arose to obscure it. Some have insisted, as I said, that the liberal arts are fruits and seedlings of peace, so they ought to be cultivated in a more tranquil season. But I will use this argument itself for my proof. The fine arts are indeed studies of peace; and therefore we can never be more inclined to furnish ourselves with them than when the noise of arms resounds close to our ears. In fact, we can flatter ourselves into believing that, by trying to grow off-season those fruits that only grow in quiet times, we might be able to bring back sooner the peace we so avidly desire. And what better incentive for seeking good than the sight of evil? The wandering pilgrim never feels the sweet love of his country so much as when he lives far away from it in hard and bitter exile. The struggling sailor never so much desires the quiet of the port as when he sees himself close to shipwreck in the high and tempestuous seas. The thirsty wayfarer never sighs for the fresh waters of the spring as when he feels himself burn from the fiery rays of the sun. The provident farmer never spreads seed so copiously on the field as when he draws the scarcest harvest from the avaricious soil. Therefore, if the sovereign care of the prince must be more applied to giving vigor and sustenance to the honest disciplines when minds seem the most anxious to learn them, the fine arts, which entirely depend on the good order and well-regulated disposition of things, cannot be better cultivated by the industrious attention of him who governs than in times so troubled and full of confusion. But what did I say, the industrious attention of him who governs? I should have said the indispensable duty of him who governs is to rush to defend and succor all goods that make the republic happy when their loss seems more imminent. And when can the deplorable fall of the fine arts be more feared than when the anger of the Heavens and the discords on the Earth seem to collaborate in the destruction of their most beautiful works? And how could I not conclude that there is no more opportune time than the present for promoting the fine arts? Here, a more seasoned orator would have an excellent chance to use his eloquence to weave together effectively the most lively force of experience into his speculations. He could show how much of the life and glory of the fine arts is owed to the most warlike nations, and how much these, on the other hand, owe to the splendor and fame of those arts that never had a safer sojourn than amid the tumult of military bivouacs. He could easily show how propitious for the study of our arts were those very times that seemed the most unpropitious because threatened by the flames of war. Then there would be no doubt about which centuries gave to painting an Apelles, to sculpture a Phidias, to architecture an Archimedes. At the end one would discover clearly that the peaceful and the warlike disciplines flourished

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together both among the Greeks and among the Romans; either because the same causes mold the human mind to the generous profession of arms and ignite it to the noble love of the fine arts, or because eternal Providence that governs us does not, so to speak, inflict us with any disasters without giving us at the same time the way of tempering their severity. But what could be told to you, O erudite listeners, that has not been repeated many times by the mute voices of every stone of ancient Rome, and especially by each of the triumphant statues kept on the famous hill where we are, as glorious memorials to the best century? Let us speak no longer, because even the stones themselves have already spoken too much; but imposing silence on the tongue, let only the hands of the glorious professors of the finest arts put themselves to work. Arise, and pick up your brushes, o painters, and tempering your colors with the public tears, begin to paint. Paint a gloomy Europe covering its face with black and bloody crepe to avoid looking at the desolation of its once-beautiful provinces. Paint the Church, afflicted and squalid, with the lamentable trains of its grieving priests directing their supplicating recourse to Heaven, so it should finally end the long and bitter contests of its most illustrious sons. Paint the Catholic religion aggrieved as well as indignant, which in the midst of the surrounding fears, nonetheless courageously reminds the Christian rulers that their diadems have no more splendid gems than those it gave to them itself when gloriously defended by them either against the insults of the infidels or against the traps of heresy. Paint thus, and when you have painted thus, let your canvasses fly to where the fires of war are burning highest and incinerating the Christian regions; and when they have gone through vast fields of unburied corpses and proud rivers red with the blood of the baptized, let them finally arrive at the royal tents where the greatest leaders of the field are assembled by the warring princes. Then perhaps some of them, turning their thoughtful glance toward these canvasses, will hold back their warlike anger for once, just as Demetrius the besieger held himself back from burning Rhodes because of a painting by Protogenes,[4] and will generously offer, to the tears of Europe, to the prayers of the Church, to the laments of religion, either their conquests or their hopes. But while the industrious hands and most noble minds of the painters are occupied in this great work, do not think to remain at leisure, O excellent sculptors and worthy architects. Let the first prepare statues and equestrian colossi, glorious and illustrious images, triumphal columns sculpted with depictions of egregious deeds. Let the second make famous and superb monuments, excellent and magnificent obelisks, immortal arches inscribed with magnanimous actions, so the public gratitude will be immortalized in honor of those heroes who with admirable sacrifice will have given peace to Europe, repose to the Church and security to religion. And then one day let these same proud slopes of the Latin Campidoglio, made more august by such beautiful trophies, will demonstrate better than my rough discourse

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"that the fine arts cannot be promoted at any more opportune time and at the present."

44. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Against Academies*

Historian, antiquary, political and moral philosopher, theologian, literary theorist and priest, Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750) stood like a giant across the threshold of the eighteenth century.[1] But his main interest was in reform; and his efforts so profoundly marked the early Italian Enlightenment that the first four decades of the century have been dubbed the "Age of Muratori." At first, he pursued erudition and cultural reform as separate areas. Following his doctorate in civil and canon law from the local university of Modena in 1692-4, he became involved in the Arcadian movement to redeem literature from the supposed decadence of the seventeenth century. Meanwhile, he learned Greek and Latin paleography from Benedetto Bacchini, the most promising ecclesiastical historian of his day and a disciple of Jean Mabillon, pioneer medievalist of the school of St. Maur in France. Soon after the turn of the century he began to think effective reform of civil life could only come from a reinforced Christianity and an accurate understanding of the emergence of modern institutions from those of the past—the ancient past, and even more pertinently, the medieval past in which they were really rooted. He thus repudiated the Arcadians and began his own movement, whose major tenets are explained in the document below. Following an appointment as librarian at the Ambrosiana in Milan, he became ducal librarian and archivist for the Este family in Modena. In this position, where he remained for the rest of his life, he published a remarkable corpus of works aimed at excavating the unknown medieval roots of the societies all over the Italian peninsula, culminating in the twenty-seven volume *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, still today a main reference work on those ages. Meanwhile, drawing upon this and other scholarly foundations, he published a series of influential polemics on contemporary civil society designed to provide guides for the enlightened monarch and for the enlightened citizen alike. To the monarchs, he directed a searing attack on current legal systems, advocating simplification and codification of law and reform of procedure. He argued for better systems of public health. He denounced economic differences and called for more equitable systems of taxation. He called for removal of practices like mainmort to allow more land to be put on the market. He advocated a reduction in the number of feast days so the poor would be able to earn more money working in the fields; and he summoned governments to sponsor agricultural improvements. To both the monarch and the citizen, he tried to show that Christianity properly understood—informed by sacred

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and profane learning, supportive of creativity, constructively encouraging the duties of all, responsive to human needs, and freed from distracting and irrelevant practices—could lead to both spiritual and material well-being. True, not all contemporary reformers concurred with Muratori's respect for Church traditions—for example, Pietro Giannone. But his ideas nonetheless provided a solid basis from which more radical figures like Pietro Verri and Cesare Beccaria were to build.

. . . This 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. 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 now in good conscience 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; and in a word, only certain sonorous bagatelles are the great product of our academies. . . .

We may frankly affirm, with the agreement of our Transalpine neighbors, that Italy was the seat and realm of letters when the fortune of Greece passed to the Roman Republic. It regained that position when Greece itself in the fifteenth century was prey to the cruelty and ignorance of the Turks. Then again, the other provinces of Europe drew the true flavor of the sciences from our Italy, and the sun of our letters, spreading across the mountains, has not set for more than two centuries, with great credit to the most recent times, which are in no way inferior, and indeed, are superior in many things, to ancient times. But in the last century I do not know how Italy allowed other peoples to steal away not just letters but the great prestige of preeminence in some aspect of letters, and heedlessly permitted other nations, more fortunate but certainly not more ingenious, to precede it on the path of glory that it had previously taught to others. There is no wonder that sciences, like empires, circulate around and are transplanted in various provinces with various fortunes. 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. Strangely enough, the reason why Italy forgot its prowess in studies during the last century was not civil wars, not invasions of barbarians, not the absence of schools or minds, not the tyranny of princes, but nothing other than pure laziness. Laziness was the monster that little by little poisoned minds and distracted them from the difficult road of virtue, leaving no place for that noble shame, that generous envy that should have

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affected our ancestors upon seeing their own campaigns won in great abundance by our neighbors.

We must nonetheless be pleased that for the last thirty years such a pernicious influence has in part ceased, and not a few Italian minds have awakened from their slumber and their excellent taste and love of effort is increasing day by day. . . .

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 object would be to perfect the arts and sciences by teaching their true use and by showing and correcting the abuses. . . .

And first of all, the advantages of grammar will be promoted—that is, the art of speaking, under which name we include the study of languages. There are four main ones, as far as we are concerned: Italian, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. The first is highly recommended by nature, the second by necessity, the third by erudition, the fourth by holiness. We are born in Italy, and every day we speak Italian: therefore gratitude and necessity require that we not only learn this language but bring honor to it with all our effort. Since we are ourselves children of the Latin Church, which makes us hear the sacred mysteries by its language, and since there are so many holy Fathers and so many sacred and profane writers who explained their doctrine and concepts to us in this language, besides which, there is still no language in Europe as common and as widely practiced as Latin in the tribunals and in the schools and among the scholars, we obviously have to learn it. Furthermore, the number of sacred and profane books written in Greek in all the arts and sciences and in every genre of literature clearly shows the usefulness of knowing this too. The obsequiousness and the study that we owe to the Sacred Scriptures, most of which were handed down to us in Hebrew, plainly indicate how important and holy that language is and how useful is its knowledge. . . .

Such is the number of scholars of humane letters, poetry, and eloquence, that there will be no trouble finding persons of excellent taste to put in our league, and so we will be able to correct the bad taste of others. Therefore, our colleagues must arm their voices and pens, both in public and private, against the bagatelles, the defects and the vices to which this sort of letters is subject. All colleagues will dedicate themselves to fighting the traces of bad taste that are not yet destroyed, and by their compositions and their criticism they will try to resuscitate completely the true and pure art of speaking well and versifying. Italian poetry still seems to us to have some entirely untouched fields, by the cultivation of which, particularly in compositions for the theater, poets may acquire great praise. Let also the histories, the panegyrics, the sacred and profane orations expect new aid, that is, new exquisite compositions of the best eloquence. . . .

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Solemn criticisms and wars against the doctrines of the old and new schools have already been made. The upshot at least in Italy demonstrates that they have not had enough effect, and many abuses, errors, and superfluities continue to exist in the philosophical professorships. Our republic must therefore pay serious attention to purifying these, especially by discrediting and persecuting sophistry and making the Italian schools no longer battles of words as they were in the barbarous centuries, but modest lyceums of knowledge and truth. . . . Medicine follows natural philosophy as a daughter behind a mother; and in the last two centuries this has increased much of its knowledge and almost everywhere reformed the abuses that had been introduced into it either from insufficiently erudite antiquity or from excessively ignorant barbarous centuries. . . . Our colleagues should be vigilant in illustrating this art to an ever greater degree. . . .

We will admit pure jurists into our republic only very rarely, since their knowledge properly serves not for letters or erudition but only for the forum. Nonetheless, to those who distinguish themselves from the crowd of lawyers by joining erudition to legal doctrine, and who know how to make their writings useful to their own science, we will willingly offer our union and our honors. In truth, the job of eliminating a thousand defects which this science encounters in the practice of the tribunals, in spite of its purity within the schools, belongs not to us but to politics. Nonetheless, let us say that we will be much obliged, and the civil republic even more obliged, to those good men who will try to eliminate so many abuses, so many contradictory opinions, so many texts that are more apt to confuse than to decide questions, and in sum, so many obstacles that make causes eternal and litigation infinite. However difficult this may seem, men of acute mind and mature prudence could find a remedy to the bad use of a science so necessary and important. They might compile into a single corpus all the most authoritative sentences that, not decided clearly by the laws but approved by the consent of the wisest jurists or by the most famous tribunals, are spread about in a thousand different books, to which legal corpus our princes could give their authority. Or else they might teach how to apply the general maxims to particular cases where for the most part one of the litigating parties is at fault and the judges are confused. Or else they might demonstrate how much the present use of the forum differs from the statutes judiciously composed to expedite causes quickly. Or else, in fine, they might find some other expedient that does not now occur to us, that perhaps may appear impossible to some shortsighted person, that, once found, may displease others, but that the greatest minds not beguiled by vile earnings might discover, teach and publish to liberate jurisprudence from sophistry and from all those abuses that currently contaminate it.

Mathematics has a rare merit: that is, of being always full of wonderful findings and the possibility of discovering new territories in it every day and

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new treasures never before observed, as long as the mind of the practitioner is capable of great flights. The progress that it has made in recent times from the work of its practitioners is illustrious and manifest. We hope for even greater progress from the efforts of our colleagues, whenever they immerse themselves in it with energy and courage. But we must also confess freely that although we highly appreciate purely speculative and metaphysical mathematics, nonetheless, the profit this brings seems scarce compared to that which descends to practice. We would therefore be much more pleased by those who, using mathematics in philosophy, medicine and other arguments, were able to penetrate into hitherto unknown areas by its aid. . . .

We are greatly displeased that moral philosophy has now become an unknown term in some cities of Italy. And yet this is the science which was the first object and merit of the ancient philosophers and which ought to serve us as a guide for life. We do not believe that many new insights can be added to it; but we wish simply to suggest that its use and study in Italy ought to be increased. We want another part of this philosophy, much less known, also to be carefully explicated and promoted: namely, the practice of this philosophy in the civil commerce of men, where it serves to note the different characters of men—their defects, the ridiculousness of their inclinations and actions—so we might avoid them, where it teaches us the most attentive, kind and honest ways of associating with others, where it teaches the ways to make ourselves loved and the ways of regulating our families well and other similar things that are most useful to know and practice. Rather than learning such things by long experience and many errors, we would do better to learn them in a short time through written texts, so we do not have to find out how to live when it is time to stop living. According to our opinion and desire, these alone ought to be the arguments of our many academies in Italy; and these assemblies would become most useful if both the science and the practice of manners were discussed in competition and explained eloquently. We recommend this single profit to the zeal of our colleagues for now and we hope that they pursue it eagerly until some other better use should be found for those assemblies.

We pass on to theology, and dividing it into dogmatic, scholastic, polemical and moral, we say first of all that the scholastic and moral theologians would be wrong to rail against us when we say their schools need purging. Truly, the many useless questions of the scholastic theologians, the barbarousness of their terms and the strangeness of their opinions, their violation of the gravity of this divine science by the profane philosophy of the pagans, and their formation of a convoluted and inseparable metaphysics, all seem worthy of little praise and much correction according to the clearest view of the wisest. Furthermore, even the wisest Christians confess that the intemperance of the opinions spread

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throughout the writings of some professors of moral theology are also in need of a remedy. Let us therefore hope that our republic will undertake the job of reforming both of these sciences, indicating the abuses with modest criticism and making every effort to propose a more excellent system. . . .

The world of what we precisely call erudition, both sacred and profane, is most vast, and its confines are immense. We will be saying very little if we include knowledge of the ancient histories with their chronology and geography among the subjects of profane erudition, as well as study of so many and different rites, sentiments, and mysteries of the idolatrous peoples and of the coins and medals, inscriptions, buildings, statues, bas reliefs and other objects and relics of antiquity, information about the governments, empires and republics, laws, militias, wars and customs of the ancient centuries, knowledge of their poetry, philosophy and other arts or sciences and of their writers and heroes, both true and fabulous, emendation and explication of ancient books and knowledge of the dead and Oriental languages. All these and other arguments, divided into the most minute species, form the study of profane erudition and are esteemed and praised, more or less, by those who profess and treat of rare doctrines and discoveries. How much this study flourished in Italy in the sixteenth century is known to every man of letters and it derived its greatest glory from the Italians. Our republic should justly take it up again with vigor, warmly recommend it to others, and attempt new discoveries in the faraway countries of antiquity and also in the barbarous centuries, helping scholars in the understanding of the ancient writings and leading them to see the ancient world easily and with their own eyes. . . .

There is no one who does not recognize the usefulness of literary journals. Italy has been satisfying the need for this enterprise slowly and poorly. One or more persons with great erudition and no less taste ought to be deputed to this task; and they will have the labor and the glory of indicating, month by month or year by year, all the new books, written in our country and abroad, that they see as truly worthy of mention. Recourse could be made to the munificence of the patrons the more easily to have a great quantity of these books, and to the laws of good taste for writing judicious and dispassionate reviews. We would also desire to enrich libraries, both public and private, by choice books in exquisite editions, and collections by more medals and other antiquities. We would also like to see the greatest effort possible to enrich the collection of manuscript codices in various languages, not leaving them prey to dust but making them useful to the good inclinations of the erudite.

But more than anything else, consideration must be given to the great utility that might be gained by reestablishing good taste in the schools of all the religious orders dedicated to study. If the minds of so many persons who have renounced the world to serve God were turned, as honesty and their rule require, to cultivate the sciences and the arts, or if those who

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already cultivate them should choose better ways, would not the fruits increase in great measure and the designs of our republic be accomplished? Therefore, we must decide the most appropriate means for awakening the lazy, inciting the reluctant and conduct the wayward along the most glorious path; and in doing this, we will rely, if necessary, upon the sovereign authority and rare prudence of the reigning pontiff,[2] to whom we hope that our reverent supplication will not be displeasing. Finally, that the religious should be no less fervent in piety than dedicated in their study of the best letters is very important also to the Church of God.

We are greatly displeased to see the once most famous universities of Italy fallen considerably from the glorious position they occupied; so we will dedicate our thoughts to discovering the reasons for this metamorphosis and suggesting the ways to make them, if possible, flourish again. We will also apply ourselves to correcting some abuses in the public schools, where students are allowed to pass from one discipline to another too quickly or at too early an age, saluting rather than learning the sciences; where the liberal arts are not taught with the best method and time in study is spent uselessly; where the doctoral degree, now too devalued, is given not only as a prize for knowledge but commonly in exchange for bribes. We will try, as much as we can, to show the best ways to teach young students, to restore honor to the schools and to distinguish real merit from the empty title of learned and cultured man. . . .

Let criticism, censure and controversy be useful and praiseworthy among us; but in the midst of these let there be Christian charity and the moderation proper to men of honor and taste. Let there be war in words, not in hearts. Let virtuous emulation reign, not bestial hatred, not misguided envy, not vile slander. In this way the dominion of the sciences and the arts will increase with the reputation of the men of letters and to the advantage of all.

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

In this section, an attempt has been made to include works in English, where possible. Additional references can be found in the notes to the various selections.

1. The organization of the various states is the subject of Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), R. Burr Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians, 1530-1790* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), Geoffrey Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II: Absolutism in the Savoyard State, 1675-1730* (Berkeley: University of California, 1980); Michael E. Mallett and John R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice c. 1400-1617* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); and articles by Enrico Stumpo, Rodolfo Savelli, Marco Cattini, Dante E. Zanetti and Giovanni Vigo in Amelio Tagliaferri, ed., *I ceti dirigenti in Italia in età moderna e contemporanea. Atti del convegno, Cividale del Friuli, 10-12 settembre, 1983* (Udine: Del Bianco Editore, 1984).

2. Spirituality is the subject of several contributions by Carlo Ginzburg aiming to explore religious expression at various social levels and its encounters with ecclesiastical authority, including *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, tr. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991). In addition, Giovanni Levi, *Inheriting Power. The Story of an Exorcist*, tr. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988) explores the role of religious authority in village communities. The contours of an entire early modern religious culture are described by David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992). Sainthood is explored in Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 48-62. Cases of spurious sainthood are explored by Anne Jacobson Schutte in her forthcoming book, *Failed Saints*. The system of lay control over ecclesiastical appointments is explored by Giovanni Greco, "I giuspatronati laicali nell'età moderna," *Storia d'Italia, Annali 9: La Chiesa e il potere politico dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea*, ed. Giorgio Chittolini and Giovanni Miccoli (Turin: Einaudi, 1986), pp. 531-72.

3. For cultural institutions, I base my general conclusions on my "Social Control and the Italian Universities, from Renaissance to Illuminismo," *Journal of Modern History* 61 (1989): 205-39.

4. Bacchini's comments are recorded in Giovanni Castagna, "La corrispondenza dei monaci benedettini cassinesi con Ludovico Antonio Muratori, VI: Benedetto Bacchini," *Benedictina* 5 (1951): 175. The indispensable reference work on the academies is Michele Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols. (Bologna: Cappelli, 1929-30). All work on academies, however, should be read in the light of Eric Cochrane, "The Renaissance Academies in the Italian and European Setting," in *The Fairest Flower: The Emergence of Linguistic Consciousness in Renaissance Europe*, Proceedings of the Conference at UCLA, December 1983 (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1985), pp. 21-39.

5. Much work on patronage has been done since the classic study by Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters, A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 19802, 1st ed. 1963). Just some examples: Janet Southorn, *Power and Display in the Seventeenth Century. The Arts and their*

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Patrons in Modena and Ferrara (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Renata Ago, *Carriere e clientele nella Roma barocca* (Bari: Laterza, 1990). On the patronage of literature in particular there is Gino Benzoni, *Gli affanni della cultura: intellettuali e potere nell'Italia della Controriforma e Barocca* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1979). Patronage of science is the object of Mario Biagioli, *Galileo Courtier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) and Paula Findlen, "Controlling the Experiment: Rhetoric, Court Patronage and the Experimental Method of Francesco Redi," *History of Science* 31 (1993): 36-63. However, I agree with the caution voiced by Alberto Tenenti about viewing court and gesture as explanatory categories, in his Introduction to Norbert Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, Italian tr. by Giuseppina Panzieri (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1980). The quote is from Giovanni Maria Muti, *La penna volante descritta in certe lettere alla moda* (Venezia: Miloco, 1681), p. 4.

6. The late sixteenth century economic situation all over Italy is explored in the articles by Peter Burke and Brian Pullan in Peter Clark, ed., *The European Crisis of the 1590s. Essays in Comparative History* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1985).

7. The crisis of the early seventeenth century is best described by Domenico Sella, *Crisis and Continuity in the Economy of Spanish Lombardy in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979); John Marino, *Pastoral Economics in the Kingdom of Naples* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); Ruggero Romano, *Napoli dal Viceregno al Regno: storia economica* (Turin: Einaudi, 1976); Richard T. Rapp, *Industry and Economic Decline in Seventeenth Century Venice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), taking account John Marino's reservations in *Studi storici*, 19 no. 1 (1978): 79-107; Paolo Malanima, *La decadenza di un economia cittadina: l'industria di Firenze nei secoli 16-18* (Bologna: Mulino, 1982), which however neglects economic activity in the countryside; Enrico Stumpo, *Il capitale finanziario a Roma fra Cinque e Seicento: Contributo alla storia della fiscalità pontificia in età moderna (1570-1660)* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1985).

8. Population movements are explored by Karl Julius Beloch, *Bevolkerungsgeschichte italiens*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Gruyter, 19652) and articles by Lucio Gambi and Dante Bolognesi in *La demografia storica delle città italiane. Convegno, Assisi, 27-29 ottobre, 1980* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1982). The plagues' economic consequences are the subject of Lorenzo Dal Panta, *Le epidemie nella storia demografica italiana, secoli 16-18* (Turin: Loescher, 1980).

9. The general international situation is explained by John H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), chap. 9. Relations with the Ottomans are explored by Kenneth M. Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1991).

10. The effects of plague were noted by Brusoni in *Delle historie d'Italia* (Turin: Zappata, 1680), p. 654-5 (quote).

11. Cultural continuity is asserted by Giuseppe Malatesta Garuffi, *L'Italia accademica* (Rimini: n.p., 1688), n.p., chap. 10 (quote) and by Paolo Casini, *Introduzione all'Illuminismo*, 2 vols. (Bari: Laterza, 1980), vol. 1: *Scienza, miscredenza, e politica*, p. 222 (quote).

12. The human sciences at the turn of the seventeenth century are examined by Maurizio Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State. The Acquisition and Transformation of the Language of Politics, 1250-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), updating the account by Friedrich Meinecke in *Die Idee der Staatsräson* (1924). For later periods, the only general account is a collection of articles by Rodolfo De Mattei, *Il pensiero politico italiano nell'età della Controriforma*, 2 vols. (Naples: Ricciardi, 1982). The "crisis of content" in late Renaissance historiography is identified by Eric Cochrane, "The Transition from

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Renaissance to Baroque: The Case of Italian Historiography," *History and Theory* 19 (1980): 21-38. The standard account of historiography in the period, Sergio Bertelli's *Ribelli, libertini ed ortodossi nella storiografia barocca* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1973) is challenged by Peter Burke, "Some Seventeenth-Century Anatomists of Revolution," *Storia della storiografia* 22 (1992): 23-35.

13. On the visual arts: Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin Verlag, 1977); Sydney Joseph Freedberg, *Circa 1600: A Revolution of Style in Italian Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983); Carl Goldstein, *Verbal Fact over Verbal Fiction: A Study of the Carracci and the Criticism, Theory and Practice of Art in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) is useful except for a somewhat dated view of Renaissance historiography; Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Jörg Martin Merz, *Pietro da Cortona* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1991); John Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). The Counter Reformation basis of seventeenth-century style asserted by Rudolf Wittkower in *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1650-1750* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973) is no longer generally supposed.

14. On literature: Paul B. Diffley, *Paolo Beni: A Biographical and Critical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Gerhard Dünnhaupt, "Giovanni Francesco Loredan's Novel, *La Dianea*: Its Structure and Didactic Aims," *Studi secenteschi* 16 (1975): 43-52; Maria Luisa Doglio, "Introduzione," in her edition of Emanuele Tesauro, *Idea delle perfette imprese* (Florence: Olschki, 1975), pp. 5-27; Mario Zanardi, "Sulla genesi del *Cannocchiale aristotelico* di E. Tesauro," *Studi secenteschi* 23 (1982): 51-52; Giuseppe Taviani, *Dante nel Seicento* (Florence: Olschki, 1976), p. 49; and Eric Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. 254.

15. On music: Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, tr. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), in which the chapter on the "Crisis of the Seventeenth Century" deserves updating; Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: the Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); and Claude V. Palisca, *Baroque Music* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1991^3).

16. Postgalilean physics is analyzed by Michael Segre, *In the Wake of Galileo* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), although the last word has still not been said. Important insights are still to be found in Ugo Baldini, "La scuola galileiana," in *Storia d'Italia*, Annali 3: *Scienza e tecnica*, ed. Gianni Micheli (Turin: Einaudi, 1980), pp. 383-468. Earth sciences are examined in Paolo Rossi, *The Dark Abyss of Time*, tr. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). For the life sciences, Howard B. Adelmann, *Marcello Malpighi and the Evolution of Embryology*, 5 vols. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966); Walter Bernardi, *Le metafisiche dell'embrione. Scienze della vita e filosofia da Malpighi a Spallanzani (1672-1793)* (Florence: Olschki, 1986). Hodierna's ideas are explored by Mario Pavone, *Introduzione al pensiero di Giovanni Battista Hodierna*, 2 vols. (Modica: Setim, 1982), but see my review in *Isis* 79 (1988): 732-33; Mengoli's ideas are analyzed in Marta Cavazza, "Introduzione" and Gabriele Baroncini, "L'*Arithmetica realis* di Pietro Mengoli," in Baroncini and Cavazza, eds., *La corrispondenza di Pietro Mengoli* (Florence: Olschki, 1986), pp. 1-22; 155-188. Vitalism is explored in Margherita Caporaso, "Vitalismo e meccanicismo nel dibattito sulla generazione spontanea," *Medicina nei secoli* 17 (1980): 85-110. Paracelsianism is explored in the articles by Marco Ferrari and Paolo Galluzzi in *Scienze, credenze occulte, livelli di cultura. Convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze,*

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26-30 giugno, 1980 (Florence: Olschki, 1982), pp. 21-30 and 31-62. Works by Di Capua and Valletta are analyzed in Maurizio Torrini, "Uno scritto sconosciuto di Leonardo Di Capua in difesa dell'arte chimica," *Bollettino del Centro di Studi Vichiani* 4 (1974): 126-39; Eugenio Garin, *Dal Rinascimento all'Illuminismo* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1970), pp. 135-44.

17. Cases of the difficulties of patronage, cultural rivalry and university life are from *Correspondence of Marcello Malpighi*, ed. Howard B. Adelmann, 6 vols. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 1: 400, 433 (Giambattista Capucci) and 3: 1344 (Lorenzo Bellini).

18. Ecclesiastical benefices are explored, although with somewhat contradictory conclusions, by Paolo Coliacomo, "Crisi dell'*ancien regime*, dall'uomo di lettere al letterato borghese," in *La letteratura italiana*, vol. 2: *Produzione e consumo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1984), pp. 363-412. De Dominis is quoted in Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince: One Body and Two Souls: The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, tr. Susan Haskins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), which is also my guide to "reason of state" versus "reason of Church." For ecclesiastical structure and religious education, I rely on the articles by Giovanni Greco and Mario Rosa in *Storia d'Italia*, Annali 9: *La Chiesa e il potere politico dal Medioevo all'età moderna*, ed. G. Chittolini and Giovanni Miccoli (Turin: Einaudi, 1986). On science and the Church, the quote of Borelli is from *Lettere inedite di huomini illustri*, Angelo Fabroni, ed., 2 vols. (Florence: Moücke, 1773-5), 1: 124. The Roman scientific craze is described in William E. K. Middleton, "Science in Rome, 1675-1700, and the Accademia Fisico-Matematica of Giovanni Giusto Ciampini," *British Journal for the History of Science* 8 (1975): 138-54.

19. As well as in the relevant works above, the late seventeenth-century situation is explored in Gigliola Pagano de Vitiis, *Mercanti inglesi nell'Italia del Seicento : navi, traffici, egemonie* (Venice: Marsilio, 1990). The situation in the North is explored in Giorgio Doria, "Investimenti della nobiltà genovese nell'edilizia di prestigio, 1530-1630," *Studi storici* 27, no. 1 (1986): 5-55; Edoardo Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica dei genovesi* (Bologna: Mulino, 1987); Enrico Stumpo, *Finanza e stato moderno nel Piemonte del Seicento* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea, 1979); Salvatore Ciriacono, "Structuration et destructuration: Venise et ses villes, XVI-XVIIIème siècles," *Révue historique* 560 (1986): 287-308. The creation of Turin is examined by Martha D. Pollak, *Turin: 1564-1680* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). Marco Cattini, *I contadini di San Felice. Metamorfosi di un mondo rurale nell'Emilia dell'età moderna* (Turin: Einaudi, 1984), gives a microhistorical pinpoint on the effect of economic transformation in a tiny area within the Este state.

20. In the South: Orazio Cancila, *Impresa, redditi, mercato nella Sicilia moderna* (Bari: Laterza, 1980); Timothy Davies, *Famiglie feudali siciliane. Patrimoni, redditi, investimenti tra Cinque- e Seicento* (Caltanisetta-Rome: Sciascia, 1985); Giuseppe Galasso, *Napoli spagnolo dopo Masaniello*, 2 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1982).

21. The classic study on poverty in early modern Italy, which nonetheless covers a single area before 1620, is Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice* (Cambridge, MA: 1971). In addition, the articles in Giorgio Politi et al, eds., *Timore e carità: i poveri nell'Italia moderna*, Atti del convegno "Pauperismo e assistenza negli antichi stati italiani," Cremona, 28-30 marzo, 1980, Annali della Biblioteca Statale e Libreria Civica di Cremona, vol. 27-30, 1976-9 (Cremona: Libreria Convegno, 1982).

22. My comments on Jewish life draw upon articles by Benjamin Ravid and David B. Ruderman in *Shlomo Simonsohn Jubilee Volume. Studies on the History of the Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance Period* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1993), although Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy*

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(Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1946) is still useful. On the Jews in Venice, I follow Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice. 1550-1670* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1983). The European situation is explained by Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989^{2}), chap. 6, as well as in the forthcoming article by Judith Vichniac in the Festschrift for Barrington Moore.

23. The situation of women is described in detail in Margaret L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). Neapolitan families are analyzed by Gérard Delille, *Famille et propriété dans le Royaume de Naples, 15s-19s* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1985), chap. 2. Valuable evidence on the restriction of marriages is in James Cushman Davis, *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility as a Ruling Class* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1962), but see my "Crisis and Reform in Eighteenth Century Venice: The Venetian Patriciate Strikes Back," *Journal of Social History* 5 (1986): 323-33. A somewhat controversial perspective on convent life is presented by Judith C. Brown, *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). The work by Bronzini was *On the Dignity and Nobility of Women* (Florence: 1624-5). Womens' education is examined in Guerrino Pelliccia, *La scuola primaria a Roma dal secolo XVI al XIX* (Roma : Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1985). The standard study of Gentileschi is Mary D. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi. The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

24. Ennoblement is explored in Giuseppe Trebbi, "La cancelleria veneta nei secoli XVI e XVII," *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi* 14 (1980): 65-125; Dorit Raines, "Pouvoir out privilèges nobiliaires: le dilemme du patriciat vénetien du XVIIème siècle," *Annales, ESC* 46, no. 4 (1991): 827-47; Roberto Mantelli, *Il pubblico impiego nell'economia del Regno di Napoli: retribuzioni, reclutamento e ricambio sociale nell'epoca spagnola (secc. 16-17)* (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, 1986), pp. 316, 321; Edoardo Grendi, "Capitazione e nobiltà genovese in età moderna," *Quaderni storici* 8 (1974): 414; Bandino G. Zenobi's chapter in Sergio Anselmi, ed., *Le Marche tra Cinquecento e Diciannovesimo Secolo* (Bologna: Mulino, 1978).

25. Antonio Zambelli's comments are in *Mercantesche dichiarazioni e ragguagli di piazze, con una tariffa di pesi . . .* (Brescia: Rizzardi, 1681), p. 1. Noble behavior and investments are explored by R. Burr Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy*, Part 5; Giuseppe Felloni, *Gli investimenti finanziari genovesi in Europa tra il Seicento e la Restaurazione* (Milan: Banca Commerciale, 1971), pp. 22-23; Danilo Marrara, *Riseduti e nobiltà: Profilo storico-istituzionale di un oligarchia* (Pisa: Pacini, 1976); G. Labrot, "Le comportement collectif de l'aristocratie napoletaine du XVI au XVIIIéme siècle," *Revue historique*, no. 523 (1977).

26. Concerning the professions, I referred to Carlo M. Cipolla, *Fighting the Plague in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981); and other titles mentioned above on political organization. Gizzio's story is recounted in Lorenzo Giustiniani, *Memorie istoriche degli scrittori legali del Regno di Napoli*, 3 vols. (Naples: Simoniana, 1787), 2: 114. D'Andrea's advice is in Nino Cortese, *I Ricordi di un avvocato napoletano del Seicento: Francesco D'Andrea* (Naples: Lubrano, 1923), p. 168.

27. Statistical data on student enrollments has been published by M. Saibante and C. Vivarini and G. Voghera, "Gli studenti all'Università di Padova dalla fine del Cinquecento ai nostri giorni (studio statistico)," *Metron* 4 (1924-5): 163-223; Carlo Pinghini, "La popolazione studentesca dell'Università di Ferrara dalle origini ai nostri tempi," *Metron* 7 (1927): 120-168; C. Cagno, "Gli studenti dell'Università di Roma attraverso il tempo," *Metron* 9 (1932): 151-70.

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Comparison between various regions is made difficult by the students' custom of registering successively in several different universities. A good start at analyzing the data has been made by Giuliana Volpi, "Lineamenti per uno studio sull'Università di Pisa nel XVII secolo," *Scritti in onore di Dante Gaeta*, Pubblicazioni della facoltà di giurispruzenza della università di Pisa, Milan: Giuffrè, 1984, p. 670.

28. The Renaissance education system is described by Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy. Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1989). Evidence on seventeenth-century education is in Daniela Pesciatini, "Maestri, medici, e cerusici nelle comunità rurali pisane nel Seicento," *Scienze, credenze occulte, livelli di cultura*, p. 134 (quote) and A. K. Liebreich, "Piarist Education in the Seventeenth Century, II," *Studi secenteschi*, 27 (1986): 57-88. Jesuit education has been examined by Gian Paolo Brizzi, *La formazione della classe dirigente nel Sei-Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1976).

29. Venetian bookseller Antonio Bosio kept a thousand copies of Segneri's *Lode spirituali* on hand in his shop, along with close to four thousand one-page "Christian Doctrine" broadsides. Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Petizion: Inventari*, filza 393.58.1 n.d., 1694. The other works mentioned are *Discurs d'astrulzie fatt da mi Sandron Garbui dall'Arquilez pr l'ann 1686*, mentioned in Antonio Restori, "La Battaglia del 29 Giugno 1734 e i primi documenti del dialetto urbano di Parma," *Archivio storico delle antiche province parmense*, 1 (1892): 83 (quote); *Raccolta di avvertimenti et raccordi per conoscere la peste, per curarsi e preservarsi, o per purgar robbe e case infette* (Venice: Combi e La Noue, 1682) (quote); Timoteo Rosselli, *De Segreti universali si per huomini et donne di alto ingegno, come ancora per Medici et ogni sorte di Artefici industriosi* (Venice: n.p. 1677); Antonio Neri, *L'Arte vetraria* (Florence: 1612); Cintio D'Amato, *Pratica nuova e utilissima di tutto quel che al diligente Barbiere s'appartiene* (Venice: Brogna, 1669).

30. On material culture: personal book lists are preserved in Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Petizion: Inventari*, filze 386.51.73 n.d., but 1680s (Zambelli); 385.51.82, 26 February 1685 (Tavernire); 390.55.32, 1689 (Bavella); 386.51.39, 23 March 1684 (Moretti); 396.61.29 (Robbaccini).

31. Paintings are in Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Petizion: Inventari*, filze 399.64.46, 26 February 1700 (Piccoli); 390.55.26, circa 1690 (Gastaldi); 366.30.90, 30 November, 1657 (Chechel); and in general, Simona Savini Branca, *Il collezionismo veneziano nel Seicento* (Venice: Olschki, 1965).

32. On box seats, I follow Remo Giazzotto, "La guerra dei palchi," *Nuova rivista musicale* 1 (1967): 245-85; 465-508; 3 (1969): 919-35, although I disagree with his conclusion.

33. The relation between art and society is explored by Arnold Hauser, *The Sociology of Art*, tr. Kenneth J. Northcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 93 (quote).

34. Pariati's work is analyzed by Reinhard Strohm in "Aspetti sociali dell'opera italiana del primo Settecento," *Musica/Realtà* 2 (1981): 117-41.

35. Serpetro, *Mercato delle meraviglie della natura* (Venice: Tomassini, 1653), Introduction, p. 1; the one by Camillo Ettore is from *Il buon gusto ne' componimenti rettorici* (Bologna: Santi, 1696), p. 45.

36. Studies of the relation between culture and economic development so far have been confined to the aristocracy: Gerard Labrot and Renato Ruotolo, "Pour une étude de la commande aristocratique dans le Royaume de Naples espagnol," *Révue historique* 234, no. 535 (1980): 25-50.

37. Political conditions are discussed by Pier Giovanni Capriata, *Dell'Historia libri 12*, 2 vols. (Genova: Calenzano, 1638), preface (quote); and by Alberto Lazari, *Motivi e cause di tutte le guerre principali, mutazioni de' regni, repubbliche, domini, e signorie successe in Europa dall'anno 1494 sino al tempo presente*, 3 vols.

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(Venice: Catani; vol. 3: Brigonci, 1669-73).

38. For Arcadia, I refer to my *Science, Politics and Society in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (New York: Garland, 1991), chapter 1.

39. Giambattista Vico tells his own story in the *Autobiography*. This period in his life is helpfully summarized in Leon Pompa, ed., *Selected Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 4-11.

40. The scholarship here includes David Wootton, *Paolo Sarpi: Between Renaissance and Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) and Gaetano Cozzi, "Nota introduttiva," in Paolo Sarpi, *Opere*, ed. G. and Luisa Cozzi (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1969), pp. 3-37; Pietro Redondi, *Galileo Heretic*, tr. Raymond Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) and Jean Dietz Moss, *Novelties in the Heavens. Rhetoric and Science in the Copernican Controversy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 241-54; Mario Rosa, "La Chiesa e gli Stati regionali nell'età dell'assolutismo," in *Letteratura italiana*, vol. 1: *Il letterato e le istituzioni* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), pp. 325-6 and Rosario Villari, *Elogio della dissimulazione. La lotta politica nel Seicento* (Bari: Laterza, 1987, pp. 27-45; Idem, "Masaniello: Contemporary and Recent Interpretations," *Past and Present* 108 (1985): 128 and Peter Burke, "The Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of Masaniello," *Past and Present* 99 (1983): 6-7; Paolo Casini, *Introduzione all'Illuminismo*, 1: 234-5 and Giorgio Spini, *Ricerca dei Libertini* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1983[2]), p. 383.

SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

1. FEDERICO CESI

Text of *Del naturale desiderio di sapere* is based on the one in Ezio Raimondi, ed., *Narratori e trattatisti del Seicento* (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1960), pp. 39-64, 66-70.

1. Basic information is in Giuseppe Olmi, "'In essercitio universale di contemplatione e pratica': Federico Cesi e i Lincei," in Ezio Raimondi and Laetitia Boehm, eds., *Università, accademie e società scientifiche in Italia e in Germania dal Cinque al Seicento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1981), pp. 169-99; and Jean-Michel Gardair, "I Lincei: I soggetti, i luoghi, le attività," *Quaderni storici* 16 (1981): 763-87. On Cesi's life, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* entry by A. De Ferrari, 24 (1980): 256-8.

2. The quotation from Cesi is in *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Galileo Galilei*, 20 vols. (Florence: Giunti-Barbèra, 1890-1909), 11: 507, Cesi to Galileo, 11 May 1613.

3. I adopt the direct translation of Cesi's term *scienza* even though the seventeenth-century definition meant knowledge in general and not just the natural and exact sciences.

4. Horace, *The Art of Poetry*, tr. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929), 413-4.

5. Complexion was a particular combination of the four bodily humors tending to produce a one of the four (or more) basic temperaments or psychological types—sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric or melancholic.

6. Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499), Platonic philosopher and humanist. The idea in question occurs in his *De vita*, 1: 1, in *Opera omnia* (Turin: Biblioteca di Erasmo, 1959), vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 495.

7. The word *esperimentare* is obviously used here for what we would call "to perform experiments." Elsewhere this word and its derivatives is used for what we would call "experiences." The connection between both concepts is important and should be kept in mind although the translator has used the two different English terms where appropriate.

8. Pliny the Elder died observing the eruption of Vesuvius in the year 79.

9. Perhaps Persius, *Satire* 1.

10. The reference is to the Scholastic notion of being, wherein substance apt for receiving the form of a particular thing, which has not yet received the form that makes it that thing, is said to have "privation" of that form.

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11. Pun from deprived and "Peripatetics," meaning followers of Aristotle.

12. Never completed.

13. Aristippus of Cyrene, whose life is recounted in Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum*, 2: 65-104.

14. I.e., Mercury, Phoebus and Venus, along with the natural ones, genius and memory.

15. I.e., Lorenzo de' Medici, whose authority in Florence lasted from the death of Piero de' Medici in 1469 to his own death in 1492, supposedly founded the academy in the villa at Careggi in 1462 or 1463; but see James Hankins, "The Myth of the Platonic Academy of Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 44 (1991): 429-75. Cesi's list of putative members is particularly fanciful, as George of Trebizond (1396-1486), Teodoro Gaza (died in 1475) and Galeotto Martio (1427-1497), were nowhere near Florence at the time and Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) was not part of Ficino's circle. The other figures mentioned are Agnolo Ambrogini, called Poliziano (1454-1494), and Demetrius Chalcondylas (1424-1511).

16. I.e., the academy of Pomponio Leto (1425-1498), founded around 1450 and protected by Nicholas V.

17. Began in 1442, protected by Alphonse and then Ferdinand I of Aragon, including Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503) and Jacopo Sannazzaro (1458-1530).

18. Giovanni de' Medici, pope from 1513-21, son of Lorenzo de' Medici.

19. Never finished.

20. Galileo invented the telescope in 1609 after hearing about a similar instrument built in Holland by Zacharias Jansen a few years before. Neapolitan philosopher Giambattista Della Porta (1535-1615) published his speculations in his *Natural Magic* (Naples: 1589).

21. Fourth-century BC Theban hero in the struggle against Sparta.

22. According to the legend recounted in Livy 25: 31, the geometrician of Syracuse lost his life in 212 AD by refusing to leave off tracing figures in the dust on the order of one of the besieging Roman soldiers.

2: TOMMASO CAMPANELLA

From *Del senso delle cose e della magia, testo inedito italiano con le varianti dei codici e delle due edizioni latine*, ed. Antonio Bruers (Bari: Laterza, 1925), bk 1, chaps. 1-6 (pp. 1-16); 13 (pp. 31-34); bk. 3, chaps. 1-2 (pp. 163, 167-71); 7 (pp. 182-84); 13-14 (pp. 208-10, 213-16).

1. Biographical material is from the entry by Luigi Firpo in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (17 (1974): 372-401. An attempt to situate his ideas periodically is John M. Headley, "Tommaso Campanella and the End of the Renaissance," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 20 (1990): 157-74.

2. This feature of his thought is carefully examined by John M. Headley, "Tommaso Campanella and Jean de Launoy. The Controversy over Aristotle and his Reception in the West," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990): 529-51.

3. His medical works, of which more will be said in the selection by Leonardo Di Capua, have most recently been studied by Michael Mönnich, *Tommaso Campanella. Sein Beitrag zur Medizin und Pharmazie der Renaissance* (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1990).

4. Campanella uses the word *cielo* rather carelessly in three distinct senses—to refer to what we might call "the sky" in general including outer space, to refer in particular to the heavenly spheres (see below) of the Aristotelian universe, and to refer to the Christian Paradise. The translation tries to distinguish between these meanings.

5. I.e., Campanella's adversaries.

6. The reference is to the *Philosophia realis* (Frankfurt: 1623), a version of his earlier unpublished *Epilogo magno*.

7. I.e., the sun in this case causes blackness.

8. Saltpeter was used in artificial refrigeration.

9. I.e., random killing is as impossible to understand as are God's ways.

10. The *Metaphysics* was published in

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1638 by Denis Langlois in Paris.

11. Lucretius, *De rerum nature*, 2: 865-990.

12. These theories are expressed by Lucretius throughout the *De rerum natura*, 2.

13. A reference to the *Physiologia*, a version of his lost *Physics* of the early 1590s, printed as part of the *Philosophia realis* (Frankfurt: 1623).

14. See Lorenzo Magalotti come to a very different conclusion from this argument in the *Letters against Atheism*.

15. This concept is in *De rerum natura*, 5: 656-65.

16. I.e., the active virtues, which are also called occult qualities.

17. I.e., tuned.

18. I.e., crystallized iron pyrites.

19. Bernardino Telesio (1509-1588), on whom see the introduction to this selection.

20. Campanella possibly refers to *Nature of Man*, 12, although his interpretation is idiosyncratic.

21. Dan. 3:52ff.

22. The term, not actually in Avicenna, may come from Agostino Nifo's commentary on Avicenna's *Destructio destructionum* (Venice: 1497) or Pietro d'Abano's *Conciliator differentiarum philosophorum* (Venice: 1476). It seems to mean something like a world soul.

23. I.e., Alexander of Aphrodisias, 2nd-3rd century AD.

24. Form here and below is understood in the scholastic sense of that which, joined with formless substance, makes distinct objects on the earth.

25. According to the Aristotelian theory of the elements, beneath the cycle of the moon there were four levels or places belonging to each of the four elements — earth the lowest, then water, then air, and finally celestial fire.

26. The Aristotelian theory of motion accepted in the sixteenth century and by Campanella said that natural motion is caused by the "desire" of things to go to their proper place. Thus, a ball dropped from the top of a tower goes down because it "likes" the ground. Galileo argued against this view.

27. Translates *scienziati*, although Campanella's meaning, comprising philosophical and metaphysical knowledge more than, say, mathematics and physics, is closer to "learned."

28. I.e., Gabriel Biel, scholastic philosopher who taught at Tübingen (d. 1495).

29. This work was probably written by Honorius Augustodunensis. The passage is in chap. 6.

30. Fourth-century philosopher of Paphlagonia, made senator by the emperor Constantius.

31. I.e., if terrestrial things were immediately motivated by God, their errors would be God's errors.

32. Scholasticism identified four sorts of causes: efficient cause, by an agent producing an effect; material cause, bringing about a new being; formal cause, whereby a new being receives its form; and final cause, or the reason for such a being or such an effect. Campanella and other thinkers added a fifth, the first cause, i.e., God.

33. A reference to Campanella's own troubled career, which, as mentioned in the introduction, did not turn out exactly as he might have wished, for reasons (he suggests here) having to do with the long view of divine Providence.

34. Like Copernicus, Campanella believes the cosmos is spheroid.

35. Recall that the eighth sphere comprised the fixed stars in the Ptolemaic and Aristotelian systems, as interpreted in the sixteenth century. The other concentric spheres around the stationary earth are that of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Campanella simply means the outermost edge of the cosmos, since he actually held with Johannes Kepler and others that these spheres did not really exist and that the heavens were fluid with the planets moving individually within them.

36. Because God is the essence of being, and there must be a balance between a thing and its opposite. See the next argument.

37. Begun around 1603, this work is

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now lost. Giulio Cesare Cortese (1575-1621) was a leading poet in Naples.

38. I.e., the five known planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.

39. Ptolemy thought the eccentricity of the sun's path around the earth (i.e., the path's deviation from circularity) was 1 part in 24. Copernicus believed it was 1 part in 31, showing a decrease which he considered to be periodic with a maximum in 64 BC and a minimum in the 17th century. The decrease in eccentricity meant the sun's apogee (farthest distance from the earth) was decreasing. Campanella took this to mean the sun was coming closer. He connected this phenomenon with the obliquity of the ecliptic. Keep in mind the following: the celestial equator is the line on the starry vault directly above the equator, and the ecliptic is the apparent yearly path of the sun along the starry vault. Ptolemy gave the angle between the planes drawn through each of these lines, cutting through the earth (obliquity), as 23° 51' 20". Copernicus observed it at 23° 29', so he concluded that this was variable and put its limits at 23° 52' and 23° 28'. Campanella thought this also meant the earth was getting closer; and for this he found further proof in the precession of the equinoxes. The precession of the equinoxes is caused, as we know, by the turning of the earth's inclined axis through a circle on the earth's surface of radius 23 1/2° once every 26,000 years. Suppose a pole line drawn up in the middle of the planes of the ecliptic and the celestial equator, perpendicular to the plane. The pole line of the celestial equator circles the pole line of the ecliptic once every 26,000 years. Campanella follows Copernicus's error in thinking precession varied in connection with obliquity, the first varying with a period of 1717 years, the second with a period of 3434 years.

40. Fragment 66 in Hermann Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* 6th ed. ed. by W. Kranz (Berlin: 1951).

41. 2 Pet. 3:7.

42. Another reference to the *Philosophia realis*.

43. I.e., they are essentially movement, as he says below.

44. Is., 66: 1.

45. I.e., Mohammed ben Gebir al Batani (ca. 850-929), Arab prince and astronomer and author of *De motu stellarum*.

46. 2 Pet. 3:7.

47. Fragment 66 in Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*.

48. To explain the apparent backward loop-shaped motions of the planets across the background of the fixed stars, Ptolemy and other astronomers (including Copernicus) suggested planets did not simply move in a direct path, but along a smaller sub-orbit, called an epicycle, moving in the opposite direction and centered outside the line of the main orbital path of the planet at a point itself moving in a circular path around a center on or outside the orbital path, and other complexities, producing an actual backward or retrograde motion.

49. Campanella believed retrogression was an illusion caused by changes in speed and distance due to the influence of the sun.

50. I.e., of the world of the sun, moon, earth, planets and stars.

51. Conjunction is when two or more heavenly bodies meet in the same part of the heavens. Opposition is when one heavenly body is at 180° from another one.

52. When heavenly bodies are, respectively, at 90°, 120° and 60° of each other.

53. Aristotle actually says "self-dependent substance" or "primary being" in *Metaphysics* 1073a30.

54. *Georgics*, tr. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 1935[2]), 2: 325-6.

55. *Georgics*, tr. Fairclough, 1: 418-9.

56. Mountain in ancient Lycia, in the southern part of Asia Minor.

57. In Spain, joining the Sierra da Estrella of Portugal to the Spanish Sierra de Gredos.

58. Mountains anciently believed to be in the northern part of Scythia.

59. Aristotle, *Physics*, 199b, 10-11. The first passage is in *On the Soul*, 414b, 1-5.

60. We say, Seville orange (Melangola).

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61. Campanella says *chioma*, which has the double meaning of "head of hair."

62. The analogy is lost in English; the original word is *ossa*, meaning both pits and bones.

63. Late fourth-century patriarch of Alexandria. The issue in question is the Originist controversy, 394-404.

64. Town in Calabria between Cosenza and Catanzaro.

3. PAOLO SARPI

Text is from the edition in Paolo Sarpi, *Opere*, ed. Gaetano and Luisa Cozzi (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1969), pp. 39-112 and from Romano Amerio, *Scritti filosofici e teologici editi e inediti* (Bari: Laterza, 1951), taking account of the Cozzi's emendations.

1. Biographical material is from the Introduction by Gaetano Cozzi to Sarpi, *Opere*, pp. 3-38.

2. Anaxagoras (5th century BC), believed in the existence of a primal mass containing the seeds of all things.

3. On the eighth sphere, or fixed stars, see notes to the selection by Campanella.

4. In Scholasticism, a proper sensible is what is perceived by one sense. Common sensible is perceived by several senses. Intention designates the relation between object and perceiving subject. Virtue is the particular nature of a thing that allows it to function as that thing.

5. Prolepsis is a preconception; to be distinguished from ideas arrived at by reflection.

6. Archimedes (3rd century BC) said bodies less dense than water float in water and that a solid body is buoyed up by a vertical force equal to the weight of fluid displaced.

7. Sarpi means that in this case water acts as an agent pushing the object up; and its superior weight with respect to air allows it to push upwards more strongly.

8. To determine is to limit or classify reality. By qualify here is meant to endow with qualities.

9. I.e., Aristotle's quartet of earth, air, fire and water.

10. You cannot say, for instance, "the Moon is moving quickly today."

11. Aristotle believed all things were set in motion by a prime unmoved mover.

12. He means a body containing air. See *Thought* no. 208 for the rule.

13. Galen (of Pergamum, 2nd century) believed generation was the result of a combination of male and female semen.

14. Diapason: octave; diapente: fifth; diatesseron: fourth.

15. Aristotle believed the whole world system of concentric spheres was moved by the intelligences at the outermost rim.

16. Sarpi uses *tora* to refer to religious laws of all kinds.

4. GALILEO GALILEI

Text is from Libero Sosio, ed., *Il saggiatore* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1965), pp. 2-3, 5-17, 261-7.

1. Among the works that were useful in writing this introduction were William A. Wallace, *Galileo and his Sources* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Stillman Drake, *Galileo at Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), and articles by Robert Westman, Charles B. Schmitt, Albert Van Helden and others in *Novità celesti e crisi del sapere*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Galileiani, ed. P. Galluzzi (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1984).

2. The work is written in the form of a letter to Virginio Cesarini, chamberlain of Pope Urban VIII.

3. Galileo invented this device, a kind of sector marked off for determining any area bounded by straight lines and curves, around 1597, set up a shop to build it in quantity, took in students interested in learning how to use it, and published a description of it nine years later, *Le operazioni del compasso geometrico e militare* (1606).

4. Also called Simon Mayer (1570-1624)

5. I.e., *Mundus Jovialis anno 1609 detectus ope perspicilli Belgici* (Nuremberg: 1614).

6. I.e., the four large satellites that Galileo named and described in *The Starry Messenger*.

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7. I.e., the sixth configuration of the four large satellites, during which none is eclipsed by the planet.

8. Keep in mind the following definitions: *Ecliptic*—the line traced by the sun in its apparent annual movement across the sky through the constellations. Nowadays, the celestial line of reference is the celestial equator, a projection of the earth's equator on the celestial sphere inclined about 23 degrees from the ecliptic. *Decline* and derivatives—to depart or diverge from a celestial line or plane. *Digressions*—apparent distances between heavenly bodies. *North*— except where noted, toward the Pole Star (Polaris).

9. I.e., as they appear on successive days of observation. They revolve, of course, in the same direction.

10. Imagine a plane slicing through the ecliptic and through the earth where you are sitting.

11. I.e., when Jupiter has latitude zero in relation to the ecliptic, which happens when it is on the ecliptic. Celestial latitude is measured nowadays in relation to the celestial equator.

12. On conjunctions, see the selection by Campanella. When there is no declination between bodies in conjunction, that is, when they have the same latitude with respect to the ecliptic and therefore seem to touch, their conjunctions are said to be *corporal*.

13. I.e., further out in the general direction of the plane of the ecliptic.

14. In order to bring the calendar into parity with astronomical events, Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 established that the 4th of October would be followed immediately by the 15th of the same month.

15. The famous Accademia Fiorentina had been established in 1540 by Cosimo I de' Medici for promoting Tuscan literature.

16. Guiducci's agreement with Galileo was hardly surprising, since the *Discourse* in question was really Galileo's own work with a few minor additions by Guiducci.

17. His antagonist was Orazio Grassi (1582-1654), professor of mathematics at the Jesuit Collegio Romano.

18. Grassi called his work *Libra astronomica ac philosophica* [1619], playing on the similarity between the common Latin title-word "Liber" or book and "Libra," which refers both to the astronomical sign in which he incorrectly assumed that a comet of the previous year had first appeared and to the scales used for weighing objects. Galileo plays with this pun throughout the following passages, insisting particularly upon the metaphor "weigh" and its various meanings—think, ponder, etc.

19. In the original, *lance*, from Latin *lanx* that forms half of a *bi-lances* or scales. The Italian word for "librate" was not archaic, but this translation approximates the pun.

20. The pun with Libra works better in the Italian.

21. Grassi, of whom Sarsi pretended to be a disciple.

22. *Purgatorio*, 9: 5-6.

23. Recall that Aristotle and his followers believed objects were made up of form joined to substance.

24. Why does he use "subject" rather than the more obvious "object"? Keep in mind that the Aristotelians believed qualities inhered in things so that a thing was, for example, red because it had redness.

25. Galileo's association of each of the five elements—earth, air, fire, water and the so-called "fifth essence"—with one of the five senses was a commonplace of the chemistry and psychology of the time, but you can guess how these associations were described before Galileo.

5. MARIO GUIDUCCI

Text from *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Galileo Galilei* (Florence: Giunti-Barbèra, 1890-1909), 13: 265-6.

1. Useful for the following was Mario D'Addio, "Considerazioni sul processo a Galileo Galilei," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 37 (1984): 47-114.

2. I.e., the work that was to be published in 1632 as *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems*.

3. Federico Cesi.

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4. The work in question was Galileo's reply to *On the Location and Rest of the Earth* (*De situ et quiete terrae*, 1616) by Francesco Ingoli (1578-1649), at this time a secretary in the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

5. Giovanni di Guevara (1561-1641). The author of the anonymous report is not known.

6. Francesco Barberini (1597-1679), papal nephew.

7. Orazio Grassi was from Savona in the Republic of Genoa. The work in question was his reply to the *Assayer*, entitled *Ratio ponderum librae et simbellae* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1626).

8. Born 1558, ancestor of Lorenzo Magalotti and a distant relative of Pope Urban VIII.

9. Remember that Guiducci's best-known work, the *Discourse on Comets* was ghost-written by Galileo.

6. ACCADEMIA DEL CIMENTO

Text is based on *Scienziati del Seicento*, ed. Maria Luisa Altieri Biagi and Bruno Basile, La Letteratura Italiana storia e testi, vol. 34 part 2 (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1980), pp. 881-6 and Lorenzo Magalotti, *Delle opere*, 2 vols. (Milan: Società Tipografica dei Classici, 1806), 2: 117-26, 129-32, 138-46, 175-180.

1. Information is from: Introduction to W. E. K. Middleton, *The Experimenters. A Study of the Accademia del Cimento* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), pp. 1-84; Paolo Galluzzi, "L'Accademia del Cimento: 'gusti' del principe, filosofia e ideologia dell'esperimento," *Quaderni storici* 16 (1981): 788-844; Eric Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 231-55.

2. Compare his use of this term to that of Cesi above.

3. Job 38: 22.

4. Tuscan ten-lire coin.

5. Text is from Christiaan Huygens, *Oeuvres Complètes* (The Hague: 1888-1950), 3 (1890): 152-8. This whole affair is explained in precise detail by Albert Van Helden in "The Accademia del Cimento and Saturn's Ring," *Physis* 15 (1973): 237-59.

6. *Systema Saturnium* (The Hague: 1659).

7. In 1655, Huygens discovered the first known of nine moons and the sixth in outward distance from the planet. The other lucky astronomer alluded to here was of course Galileo—an allusion calculated to appeal to a Medici prince.

8. "Ring" or *anello* had not yet been used in connection with the planet; rather, *fascia* was used. Same thing.

9. Borelli here adopts a version of Descartes' explanation for planetary motion, implying that circular motion is somehow transmitted from a planet to its neighbors.

10. The most important adversary was French Jesuit scholar Honoré Fabri (1607-88), in his *Brevis annotatio in Systema Saturnium* (Rome: 1660), published under the name of Roman telescope maker Eustachio Divini. The so-called three-globe appearance is at issue here—wherein the planet appeared to be flanked by two other slightly smaller planets because the narrow continuities of the ring are not apparent or are very indistinct. Fabri insisted that there were in fact three planets. All this is explained below.

11. According to Huygens, the plane of the ring was inclined 23 1/3 degrees to Saturn's orbital plane, which in turn was inclined 2 1/2 degrees to the ecliptic, the orbital plane of the earth. Huygens's explanation of the various aspects of the ring, as seen from the earth, is shown in the Supplementary Drawing.

12. I.e., the sickle shape.

13. I.e., the ratio of the diameter of the ring to the diameter of the planet.

14. I.e., about 235 feet, at least according to the model of a *braccio* sent to accompany the drawings. Normally, a *braccio* was about two modern feet.

15. Galileo communicated his observation cryptically to his correspondents. *Opere di Galileo Galilei* (Florence: 1929-1939), 10: 409-10.

16. Borelli is sensitive to the force of

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the imagination upon visual observations. An important methodological point.

17. Fabri responded to the demonstrations, again, under Eustachio Divini's name, in *Pro sua annotatione in Systema Saturnium* (Rome: Dragondelli, 1661), pp. 101-2, where he claimed to have constructed his own model like the Cimento's.

18. I.e., of Johann Hevelius (1611-87), Polish astronomer, who published his observations in *De nativa Saturni facie* . . . (Gdansk: 1656).

19. Giambattista Riccioli, *Almagestum novum* (Bologna: Benati, 1651), vol. 2, bk. 7, sec. 1, chap. 7.

20. Pierre Gassendi, *Commentarii de rebus coelestibus*, in *Opera Omnia* (Lyons: 1658), vol. 4, observations recorded under the years 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1655.

21. Huygens did indeed think the ring had thickness and claimed to have observed this in 1655.

22. Convex is the outer edge of the ring closest to the viewer; concave is the inner visible edge of the ring, on the opposite side of the planet.

23. That is when two planets appear in the same part of the heavens.

24. That is when two planets or stars are at 180° of one another—i.e., at opposite sides of the heavens. He considers the case of opposition in the next paragraph.

25. You can imagine the plane of the ecliptic as being perpendicular to the page. When the earth and Saturn are in exact opposition, i.e., at 180° of one another, and Saturn is northern (Saturn's orbit is inclined at ca. 2° 29' to the earth's), the plane passing through the ecliptic is exactly perpendicular to the plane passing through the sun, Saturn and the earth.

26. Following Euclidean terminology rather than contemporary optical theory, the range of vision is conceived as a series of rays projected out from the eye.

27. I.e., 90°.

28. EA intersects them, producing a shadow.

29. The letter was written at the end of September.

30. Remember that while the sun appears to move along the ecliptic, a line drawn on the background of the fixed stars, the planets appear to move within a band, called the zodiac, in the same area, 9° on either side of the ecliptic, divided into twelve constellations or houses.

31. Borelli's *circolo finitore*, or *finitor circulus*. Don't forget the difference in size between the sun and the planet, so the shadow is a cone with the apex away and not a frustum facing the opposite direction.

32. He says *prosthaphairesis*. The angles in the figure are obviously not drawn to scale. In this position, with Saturn on the same side of the sun as the earth and almost as far as it appears to get from the sun along the ecliptic, its distance makes the angle very small.

7. GEMINIANO MONTANARI

Text is from *Pensieri fisico-matematici sopra alcune esperienze fatte in Bologna nell'Accademia Filosofica eretta dall'Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Abate Carlo Antonio Sampieri, intorno diversi effetti de' liquidi in cannuccie di vetro ed altri vasi* (Bologna: Manolessi, 1667), pp. 14-43; 49-50.

1. Sergio Rotta, "Scienza e 'pubblica felicità' in G. Montanari," *Miscellanea Seicento*, Università di Genova, Istituto di Filosofia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, 2 vols. (Florence: Le Monnier, 1971), 2: 65-208. Science in Bologna in this period is the subject of Marta Cavazza, *Settecento inquieto* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990, chap. 1.

2. *New Experiments Physico-Mechanicall Touching the Spring of the Air and its Effects* (Oxford: H. Hall, 1660).

3. *Dialogi physici* (Lyon: 1665).

4. The tangents of the angles are as the widths of the bases of the triangles. The volumes of the cones are as the squares of the radii of the bases.

5. Montanari is addressing the Accademia della Traccia in Bologna.

6. Unit of measurement roughly equivalent to the width of a "finger," or, about half an inch.

7. A *piede*, or "foot," was about as long as a modern foot.

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8. I.e., proportional to the angles.

9. Twelfth-century monument in Bologna, 318 ft. high.

10. In 1644 in Florence, Evangelista Torricelli filled a closed tube with mercury and with his finger over the open end inverted the tube in a bowl of mercury, and when he removed his finger, the level of mercury in the tube remained at around 29 in., apparently empty at the top. The first barometer.

11. Circa 32 modern feet.

12. I.e., if instead of a vacuum there were a weight of air inside, lighter than the surrounding air.

13. I.e., making Fabri's other supposition above, that there is a direct relation between the quantity of air over the water in a tube, reduced by the amount capable of entering through the tube's opening, and the height to which the water rises, from which Montanari deduced above that the difference in pressure outside and inside a tube a foot long would be as 15,000 to 14,999 1/3.

14. *Physico-mathesis de lumine* (Bologna: 1665).

15. I.e., when the water covers the straw lying on its side.

16. *Principia philosophiae* (1644), III.

17. This works out to about 34 modern feet.

18. This works out to about 29 modern inches.

19. Our petroleum.

20. We call this tendency of the surface of a liquid toward concavity the meniscus.

21. I.e., Fabri put the areas of the bases in his equation rather than the diameters, so the ratio was twice as great.

22. He is going to say that the channels inside plants are more like closed-ended barometers than open-ended straws.

8. FRANCESCO REDI

With some modifications, the translation by Mab Bigelow (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1909), pp. 26-46, of Francesco Redi, *Esperienze intorno alla generazione degl'insetti* (Florence: Piero Matini, 1685). Selections and notes were also useful in *Scienziati del Seicento*, ed. M. L. Altieri Biagi and B. Basile (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1980), 555-704.

1. Some aspects of Redi's career are examined, with appropriate bibliography, in Paula Findlen, "Controlling the Experiment: Rhetoric, Court Patronage and the Experimental Method of Francesco Redi," *History of Science* 31 (1993): 35-64. In addition, Maria Luisa Altieri Biagi, *Lingua e cultura di Francesco Redi medico* (Florence: Olschki, 1968).

2. Throughout this work Redi uses the word "uova" where the context shows that pupa is really meant. In this he followed Harvey, who called any embryonic mass an "egg." (Note by Bigelow).

3. Athanasius Kircher, *Mundus subterraneus in XII libros digestus* (Amsterdam: 1665).

4. Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus (1493-1541), started out near Zurich and gained a European reputation.

5. Digby was an English physician, 1603-65. Of Pisida, a Byzantine writer of the seventh century AD, is cited the *Hexaëmeron*, col. 1520A in Jean-Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 92 (Paris: Migne, 1860).

6. Giulio Cesare Scaligero (Riva del Garda, 1484-1558), *Apum generatio* (Frankfurt: Wechel, 1582).

7. *Tractatus duo, quorum prior est de plantis, et de generatione animalium, posterior de homine* (Paris: F. Muguet, 1666).

8. Johann Sperling, *Zoölogia physica* (Leipzig: 1661).

9. In *De re rustica*, 9: 14: 6.

10. The third-century BC *Rerum mirabilium collectio*, 19.

11. (London, 1554-1604). The work: *Insectorum* (London: 1634).

12. Is. 7: 18.

13. The work is Solomon al-Basrah's 13th-century *Book of the Bee*, known to Redi via Samuel Bochart's *Hierozoicon sive bipertitum opus de animalibus Sacrae Scripturae* (London: T. Roycroft, 1663).

14. *Hierozoicon* (London: 1663).

15. Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 5: 114.

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16. I.e., Soranus of Ephesus, 2nd c.

9. LIONARDO DI CAPUA

Text from: *Parere divisato in otto ragionamenti, ne' quali particolarmente narrandosi l'origine, e il progresso della medicina, chiaramente l'incertezza della stessa si manifesta* (Naples: Bulifon, 1681), pp. 403-9; 413-33; 438-42; 447-50; 478-9; 497-513; 575-7; 580-3; 585-96; 644-8.

1. Biographical details are in the entry by S. Scalabrella, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 39 (1991): 712-14; and, Nicola Amenta, "Vita di Lionardo di Capua," in Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, ed., *Vite degli Arcadi illustri*, vol. 2 (1710).

2. The English reformers are studied by Allen Debus, *Science and Education in the Seventeenth Century: the Webster-Ward Debate* (New York: American Elsevier, 1970), pp. 61-62.

3. Max H. Fisch, "The Academy of the Investigators," *Science, Medicine and History. Essays on the Evolution of Scientific Thought and Medical Practice Written in Honor of Charles Singer*, ed. E. Ashworth Underwood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 521-62.

4. On Paracelsus, see Redi selection.

5. Used here in the seventeenth-century sense of a liquid produced by distillation, the purest kind of moisture. The Aristotelian elements of earth, air, fire and water were traditionally associated with a pair of the four qualities of hot, cold, moist and dry. Paracelsus, as Di Capua suggests, rejected the pairing system and associated one quality with each element; and he also insisted that the classic elements, in their simplest form, e.g., phlegm (the embodiment of the moist) are so special that they are never really seen as they are. His ideas are best studied by Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus* (New York: Karger, 1958).

6. The balance of hot, cold, dry and moist was seen in traditional medicine as essential to health. Paracelsus rebelled against this view. He invented the term relollacean (which is now in the *OED*).

7. I.e., Paracelsus believed things have an intrinsic life-giving property.

8. Di Capua here sets out the doctrine of similarity, i.e., curing things by similar things (homeopathy).

9. Jan Baptiste van Helmont (born in Bruxelles in 1577, died 1644; worked in Bruxelles and Louvain), *Nature is Ignorant of Contraries*, chap. 41, in *Oriatricke, or, Physick Refined*, tr. J. C. Sometime (London: Lodowick Loyd, 1662), p. 171.

10. Paracelsus, *De Peste*, bk. 1, chap. 2, in *Opera omnia* (Frankfurt: Johann Justi Erythropili, 1682), 2: 404.

11. Realgar is arsenic sulfide. The present passage is in *Paragranum*, tract 1, *De philosophia*, in *Opera omnia*, 1: 196.

12. A vine of the gourd family.

13. As in a reverberatory oven.

14. Reduced to powder by heating.

15. Di Capua, as he infers here, rejected the microcosm/macrocosm argument favored by Paracelsus and others.

16. Bernardino Telesio, on whom see the introduction to the selection from Campanella in this anthology.

17. *Disputatio physiologica cum quaestionibus*, quaest. 36, art. 2, in *Disputationum* (Paris: Denis Houssaye, 1637), p. 370.

18. *Medicinalium* (Leyden: Phillehotte, 1635), bk. 3, chap. 1, art. 1, parag. 2, p. 75.

19. A vessel consisting of two parts unequally exposed to heat, in which fluids were distilled.

20. The discussion in question is in Descartes' *Meteors*, first discourse.

21. Sixth-century BC Greek philosopher who established a school in Crotona in Greater Greece. Di Capua claims him as the founder of Italian philosophy.

22. Philosopher of Locris of the fifth century BC and the basis of the title character in Plato's dialogue.

23. I.e., twenty-sided.

24. *De motionibus naturalibus a gravitate pendentibus* (Leyden: Petrus Vander, 1686), chap. 7, prop. 156, p. 208.

25. This is a term meaning chemical analysis.

26. Andreas Cellarius, *Harmonia macrocosmica* (Amsterdam: Jansson, 1661), *Praeloquium*, p. 35.

27. English anatomist and physiologist, 1621-75.

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28. Di Capua uses the term "rational" to refer to physicians who heal according to an elaborate physiological theory.

29. I.e., pure potentiality, lacking all positive characteristics.

30. *De fermentatione*, chap 10, tr. S. P., in *The Remaining Works* (London: T. Dring et al., 1681), p. 36.

31. Franciscus de la Boë, called Sylvius, German naturalist, 1614-72, who tanght at the university of Leyden.

32. Di Capua says "Lucas," an error. This Danish physician wrote *Chymica in nuce*.

33. I.e., Caesar Augustus.

34. Vettius Valens.

35. A gummy juice obtained from trees, used as a laxative.

36. Fourth-century BC Greek father of medicine, who taught at Athens and elsewhere.

37. Theophrastus of Eresus, who wrote on botany as well as on many other subjects, was Aristotle's successor as leader of the Peripatetic School in the third century BC.

38. Pedanius Dioscorides of Anazaraba was a Roman army physician who wrote on botany and medicine in the second century AD.

39. Aristolochia is a genus of tropical herbs and woody climbers. Scammony is also called bindweed (Convulvulus scammonia). Cicero, *De divinatione*, I: 13, 16, tr. W. A. Falconer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928).

40. Bezoardic means related to the bezoar stone, a calculus found in the intestines of some animals that was used as an antidote for poisons.

41. Traditional name for nitrohydrochloric acid or other strong mineral acids.

42. Niter is saltpeter; aqua regia is nitric acid.

43. Ethyl alcohol

44. Anaximander lived in Greece in the sixth century BC, and the other two Presocratic philosophers lived in the fifth century.

45. Ibn Sina, called Avicenna, Arabian polymath of Bukhara (979-1037).

46. A type of fungus.

47. Olaus Borrichius (1626-1690), Danish scholar who taught medicine in Copenhagen

48. Mercuric bichloride.

49. Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, tr. Joseph Tusiani (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1970), 14: 28.

50. (1580-1656), physician from Calabria.

51. Florentine friend of Galileo, 1590-1643.

52. This is a somewhat adventurous interpretation of *Metaphysics*, 1045b20 and 1045a.

53. *Physics*, 193b5.

54. *On the Soul*, 413a5.

55. Another Presocratic philosopher, this time from the seventh century BC.

56. Here Di Capua settles the debate between atomism (tiny indivisible bodies) and corpuscularism (tiny divisible ones).

57. Di Capua is referring to Epicurus' emanation theory of vision, where objects were supposed to throw off tiny images of themselves that were received by the eye. More on this is in David C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1976), pp. 2-3.

PRESERVATION OF THE PAST
10: PAOLO SARPI

Text is based on Paolo Sarpi, *Storia dell'Interdetto*, ed. M. D. Busnelli and G. Gambarin (Bari: Laterza, 1940), pp. 4-29, 32-9; 41-7; 49-54; 86-90; 131-4; 167-72; 174; 204-5; 212.

1. Biographical information is from the introductory material by Gaetano Cozzi in Sarpi, *Opere*, ed. G. Cozzi and Luisa Cozzi (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1969). Still useful is William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

2. Composed of the Savii del Consiglio, the Savii di Terra Ferma, and the Savii ai Ordini.

3. I.e., Henry IV of France (1589-1610).

4. I.e., the Knights of St. John.

5. I.e., Cardinal Scipione Cafarelli Borghese, the pope's nephew.

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6. Ranuccio I Farnese (1592-1622).
7. I.e., Ferrante Farnese.
8. First issued in 1363 and revised by Urban VIII in 1627, this bull, containing the official doctrine regarding heresies, schisms, sacrilege and infringement of papal and ecclesiastical privileges, was regularly republished around Easter.
9. Charles Emmanuel I (1580-1630).
10. Antonio Saraceno. Città Nuova is in Istria.
11. Cardinal Giovanni Dolfin.
12. In Italian the word "stato" is ambiguous and can also mean "estate," i.e., ecclesiastics.
13. Charles Dumoulin (1500-66), French jurist.
14. Cardinal Cesare Baronio, the historian.
15. Cardinal Antonio Zapata Cisneros, archbishop of Burgos.
16. Anselmo Marzato da Sorrento, cardinal of Monopoli.
17. One of the canonical hours.
18. Marino Grimani (1595-1605).
19. A body composed of the doge, the Ducal Councillors, and the Heads of the Forty.
20. A form of excommunication incurred automatically upon perpetration of the crime.
21. *Consultori in iure.*
22. A sort of lease.
23. Matt 16: 18.
24. Sinan Bassà Cicala, renegade in the service of the Ottomans.
25. I.e., the doge.
26. Pope from 498 to 514.
27. Presided over by Gregory X in 1274.
28. King of France from 1547 to 1559.
29. Charles II, called The Bald, was king from 843 to 877 of the West Frankish territories that later became the kingdom of France.
30. Charles IV, king of France from 1322 to 1328.
31. Latin emperor, ruled 1205-16.
32. 1574-1589.
33. Cardinal Girolamo Bernerio, bishop of Ascoli.
34. Clement VIII (1592-1605).
35. Cardinal Agostino Valier, bishop of Verona.
36. Cardinal Tolomeo Galli, called the Cardinal of Como.
37. Cardinal Giovanni Antonio Fachinetti, of the Santi Quattro Incoronati.
38. Metello Bichi, Bishop of Soana (Grossetto).
39. On whom, see the selection in the section on Spirituality.
40. Charles de Neufville, marquis d'Alincourt, French ambassador in Rome.
41. Pedro Enríquez de Acevedo, governor of Milan.
42. Concerning the importance of the Grey Leagues, see the introduction to the selection by Capriata.
43. Nicolas de Neufville, sieur de Villeroy, minister of Henry IV.
44. Ferdinand I de' Medici and Vincenzo I Gonzaga.
45. Charles III, duke of Lorraine.
46. Count Francisco de Castro, Spanish extraordinary ambassador to Venice.
47. S. Pietro di Castello was the cathedral of Venice until 1807.
48. Sarpi is referring to Francisco de Castro (see above), who was the nephew of Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, 1st duke of Lerma.

11: GIOVANNI BALDINUCCI

Text is from Venice, Archivio di Stato, *cod. ital.* VI 94 (=5898), cc. 2r; 45r-88r; 106v-112r.
1. Some biographical information is from the *Vita del Baldinucci* by Filippo's son Francesco Saverio Baldinucci, included in Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, ed. Sergio Samek Ludovici (Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1948), pp. 31-64. More is in Edward L. Goldberg, *After Vasari. History, Art and Patronage in Late Medici Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 50.
2. I.e., Charles Emmanuel I, 1580-1630.
3. Ferdinando Gonzaga, 1612-26.
4. Cosimo II (1609-21).
5. I.e., Aga Liman
6. I.e., Seleucia Tracheotis, modern Silfke.

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7. Grand Duke Ferdinando I (1587-1609).
8. The Italian is *mal di miserere*, at the time frequently used also in English. I have simply supplied a modern equivalent.
9. Display of the Holy Sacrament.
10. Alessandro Marzimedici, archbishop from 1605 to 1630.
11. I.e., Claudia de' Medici, actually married, as Baldinucci notes below, to the duke's son.
12. I.e., Maria Maddalena of Austria, and Grand Duchess Christine of Lorraine.
13. I.e., from other parishes.
14. Now S. Giovannino degli Scolopi.
15. The Jesuit college.
16. I.e., breakfast.
17. The new year according to the Florentine-style calendar used at this time began on March 25.
18. Alessandro Ludovisi, who took the name of Gregory XV (1621-1623).
19. I.e., purple spots. Carlo Cipolla, *Miasmas and Disease*, tr. Elizabeth Potter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 92.
20. The Elector Palatine Frederick V (1614-32; and king of Bohemia from 1619).
21. That is, Maria Maddalena, and her brother Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-37).
22. That is, Eleonora Gonzaga, married in 1622 to Emperor Ferdinand II. She was the sister of Ferdinando Gonzaga and daughter of Eleonora de' Medici, who was in turn the sister of Maria de' Medici, wife of King Henry IV of France. She was not actually a niece of Grand Duke Cosimo II, since her mother was only a cousin of the grand duke.
23. A name for the low-rent borgo San Frediano derived from the presence there of a now-suppressed monastery of the Camaldolese.
24. San Giovannino dei Cavalieri.
25. In this period the gold scudo was worth about 200 soldi (on which, see below)
26. 1604-1648.
27. Familiar name for Ferdinando II de' Medici (1621-70).
28. Claudia de' Medici's second husband, after her first husband Federigo Della Rovere had died in 1623.
29. 1596-1666, made cardinal in 1615.
30. In 1587.
31. I.e., to Federigo Della Rovere, 1605-1623, son of Francesco Maria II Della Rovere, 1549-1631.
32. Since Federigo Della Rovere died before his father he never really was duke of Urbino.
33. See the selection by Capriata. A quattrino was worth four denari (see below).
34. I.e., around 8 AM. Time was counted from the Ave Maria of the previous night.
35. Bishop from 1625 to 1629.
36. Gian Francesco di Sangro.
37. Now San Frediano in Cestello.
38. Now the Seminario Maggiore.
39. I.e., Francesco Barberini, son of Urban VIII's brother Carlo.
40. Margherita de' Medici (1612-1662) married Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma from 1622 to 1646.
41. I.e., at Marina di Pisa.
42. I.e., the cathedral.
43. Francesco in 1612, Ferdinando in 1626 and Vincenzo in 1627.
44. I.e., Eleonora de' Medici, daughter of Grand Duke Francesco I.
45. Carlo, duke of Nevers (d. 1637), actually took possession upon the death of Vincenzo II Gonzaga in 1627.
46. September to July, 1629. See selection by Capriata.
47. About a bushel.
48. María of Spain (d. 1646) was the sister of Philip IV, and she married Ferdinand of Austria, who was king of Hungary from 1625, of Bohemia from 1627, and, from 1637, Emperor Ferdinand III.
49. I.e., Maria Gonzaga, wife of Charles, duke of Rethel, daughter of Francesco Gonzaga, grand-niece of Maria, queen of France and niece of Empress Eleonora.
50. Alessandro de' Medici was bishop of Florence 1574-83, and pope in 1605.
51. From 1596 to 1605.
52. Cosimo de' Bardi, archbishop of

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Florence, 1630-31.

53. Giuliano de' Medici, archbishop of Pisa, 1620-36.

54. I.e., the Gate of San Miniato. The fortress in question, directly behind the Palazzo dei Vescovi, is the improvised fortification constructed in 1529 by Michelangelo Buonarroti and later completed by Francesco da Sangallo.

55. Better known as San Salvatore al Monte, it shares the Monte alle Croci with San Miniato.

56. The famous "untori."

57. I.e., goods and persons proceeding from there cannot enter Florence.

58. I.e., Ippolito Galantini.

59. Worth around 13 soldi and 4 denari.

60. From 1446 to 1459.

61. Presumably, such families are so provided for that they do not need to go out.

62. About four feet.

63. I.e., the Pitti Palace.

64. I.e., coins minted by Alessandro de' Medici, duke from 1532 to 1537.

65. I.e., Crocetta convent, mentioned above.

66. Confraternities took their names from the color of the clothes worn by members.

67. The Sunday between the Thursday before Lent and Shrove Tuesday, in this case, March 2.

68. Unit equivalent to two barrels.

69. From 1620 to 1633.

70. The common graves created for plague victims were not always on hallowed ground, so that some families refused to observe the law specifying burial procedures.

71. Monte Somma is actually a part of the larger volcano.

72. The Battle of Lützen, in which Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar led the Swedish troops to victory upon the death of King Gustavus Adolphus, actually occurred on Nov. 16, 1632.

73. The victim was hoisted by the wrists joined behind the back.

74. Archbishop from 1632.

75. Later called Porta Romana.

76. Charles of Lorraine, fourth duke of Guise, prince de Joinville, peer and grand-master of France (1571-1640).

77. I.e., Carlo de' Medici, brother of the grand duke.

78. I.e., the Otto di Guardia, an order-keeping body. The Counsellors are the members of the Magistrato Supremo.

79. The term means "plebeians," in this case, especially those living in the popular area of San Lorenzo.

80. The original image, painted on wood, was replaced by the present painting in the mid-18th century.

81. Now called Brichieri Colombi.

82. I.e., those belonging to the citizen families, determined by 30 years' residence in the city, eligibility for the land tax, and approval by the Council of 200 or the grand duke.

83. I.e., the interest would provide dowries. The *monti di pietà* were lay-administered pawnshops that provided small short-term loans to the needy.

84. Customarily run during these festivities in Piazza Santa Maria Novella.

85. Triumphal chariots with standards normally went around on the morning of the feast day.

86. There were 20 soldi in a lira.

87. A sack contained 3 staia.

88. Soldi were divided into twelve denari.

89. At Nördlingen. The Imperial commander was Ferdinand, the emperor's son; the Bavarians who also fought were led by John of Werth.

90. François Nicolas of Lorraine (1609-70) became a cardinal in 1627; but when his brother Charles abdicated in 1634 he became duke of Lorraine and Bar. To join male and female lines he decided to marry his own cousin, Princess Claude of Lorraine, and before renouncing his cardinalship, granted himself a dispensation.

91. Francesco de' Medici, born in 1614, died in the Imperial camp before Regensburg.

92. Florins were about the same as lire.

93. The future Louis XIV, born in 1638 to Louis XIII and Anna after 23 years of marriage.

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94. Reference is made to the War of Castro (1641-44) between Urban VIII and Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma, in which the pope's armies invaded the state on the pretext of Odoardo's default on loan payments to certain Roman charitable trusts.

95. Carlo de' Medici.

96. I.e., Charles I.

97. He actually left six children.

98. Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France.

99. Grand duke from 1574 to 1587.

12: PIER GIOVANNI CAPRIATA

Text from *Dell'historia libri xii, ne' quali si contengono tutti i movimenti d'arme successi in Italia dal 1613 fino al 1634* (Genoa: Giovanni Calenzano, 1638), pp. 609-36, 663-81, 691-97, 749-60, 788-90.

1. On which the authoritative account is Geoffrey Parker et al., *The Thirty Years' War* (New York: Military Heritage Press, 1987[2]).

2. Some of the following is more fully illustrated by John Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 337-45.

3. On whom, there is an entry by M. Giansante in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 19 (1976): 104-7.

4. The point is made by Pier Luigi Rovito, "La rivoluzione costituzionale di Napoli, 1647-8," *Rivista storica italiana* 98 (1986): 370.

5. I.e., Vincenzo II, who ruled from 1626.

6. Lived 1580-1637.

7. Lived 1600-31.

8. I.e., Charles Emmanuel I.

9. Urban VIII (1623-44).

10. Philip IV (1621-1665).

11. Maurice of Savoy, son of Charles Emmanuel I. If Maria, daughter of Francesco Gonzaga and of Charles Emmanuel's daughter, Margherita of Savoy, married Carlo, her own right to Montferrat, and therefore the right of the house of Savoy, would be superseded by her husband's. If she married Maurice, who had no pretensions, she could in principle still assert her right.

12. I.e., from the Habsburg Imperial headquarters in Vienna.

13. Ferdinand II.

14. In theory, Mantua was a feud of the Holy Roman Emperor, as were many other cities of Italy.

15. Died in 1533. In 1532, an imperial decree stipulated that at his death his niece Margherita would receive the investiture of Montferrat. Federico Gonzaga, her husband, thus came into possession.

16. I.e., Emperor Ferdinand II.

17. Margherita Gonzaga, widow of the duke of Lorraine.

18. Ferrante II Gonzaga, lived 1563 to 1630.

19. That is, Louis XIII (1610-43). The duke of Nevers' mother was Henrietta of Cleves.

20. I.e., Spanish Lombardy.

21. I.e., the Thirty Years' War.

22. I.e., Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1585-1635).

23. March, 1626.

24. Margherita of Savoy was not the Infanta, but was vicereine of Portugal under Philip II.

25. Between Princess Maria and the duke of Rethel.

26. Between Saint Chamond and the duke of Savoy.

27. April 24, 1610, between France and Savoy, prescribing a joint attack on and partition of Lombardy.

28. Christian IV (1596-1648), defeated at Lutter in lower Saxony, on his way to take advantage of the peasant revolt in Upper Austria, which was sedated in the same year, 1626.

29. The Spanish government declared bankruptcy in 1627—the second time in twenty years. For the effects of this bankruptcy on the Genoese bankers, see the selection by Gaspare Squarciafico.

30. A type of outwork so-called for its half-moon shape, behind which defenders could maneuver.

31. Literally, a platform, situated behind a rampart for manipulation of artillery.

32. Metal cones filled with powder that were fastened to walls and gates to blow

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them open.

33. Giorgio Costa.

34 The deep and sometimes wide excavated area around a fortified place.

35. I.e., belonging to the citizen militia.

36. Today called Nizza Monferrato.

37. A small piece of artillery.

38. A stone-throwing engine.

39. The arquebus was fired with a crook placed in the ground to hold up the barrel, and it shot balls of up to two inches in diameter.

40. Charles I de Blanchefort de Canaples, marquis of Créqui.

41. Odoardo Farnese.

42. Ferdinando II.

43. Victor Amadeus, prince of Piedmont and later duke of Savoy (1630-37).

44. Armand-Jean du Plessis, cardinal de Richelieu, chief minister of France from 1624 until his death in 1642.

45. François-Hannibal, duke of Estrées, marquis of Coeuvres.

46. Christine of France was the daughter of Henry IV, sister of Louis XIII, and Charles Emmanuel's daughter-in-law by marriage to his son Victor Amadeus.

47. I.e., Victor Amadeus.

48. The agreements were signed March 20-31, 1629.

49. Charles VIII (1483-98) entered Italy in 1494, starting a chain of military incursions and engagements known as the Italian Wars, which were eventually to end, after the subsequent entry of emperor Charles V, with the sack of Rome (1527) and the siege of Florence (1530).

50. I.e., Gaspar de Guzmán, count of Olivares and duke of San Lúcar, chief minister of Spain from 1622 to 1643.

51. Henry, duke of Rohan (1579-1638).

52. Tomás de la Raspuru's fleet actually brought four million ducats, although Olivares thought it would have ten million. Of this, 1 million was for the king. The additional 1 1/2 sequestered as a forced loan was later reduced to 1 million. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, p. 368.

53. Antonio Alvárez de Toledo, duke of Alba, viceroy of Naples from 1622 to 1629.

54. I.e., Rambaldo XIII, count of Collalto.

55. I.e., Ambrogio Spínola, marquis of Los Balbases (1567-1630).

56. Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, duke of Feria, viceroy of Catalonia from 1629 to 1630 (d. 1634).

57. Albert of Wallenstein, duke of Friedland and Mecklenburg (d. 1634).

58. Alessandro Scappi.

59. I.e., Francisco Gómez de Sandoval Manrique de Padilla, 2nd duke of Lerma, grandson of Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, the 1st duke.

60. I.e., Count Johann Aldringen.

61. About 8:00 AM.

13: ALESSANDRO GIRAFFI

Text is from Alessandro Giraffi, *Ragguaglio del tumulto di Napoli* (Venice: Baba, 1647), Prologue and Days 1, 2, 5, 9, 10.

1. The long-term causes of the revolt are analyzed by Rosario Villari, *The Revolt of Naples*, tr. James Newell with the assistance of John Marino (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), p. 89, and Antonio Calabria, *The Cost of Empire: The Finances of the Kingdom of Naples in the Time of Spanish Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

2. The ritual aspects of the revolt are analyzed by Peter Burke, "The Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of Masaniello," *Past and Present* 99 (1983): 3-21. In addition, useful information was drawn from Aurelio Musi, *La Rivolta di Masaniello nella scena politica barocca* (Naples: Guida, 1989).

3. The constitutional issues are examined by Pier Luigi Rovito, "La rivoluzione costituzionale di Napoli (1647-48)," *Rivista storica italiana* 98 (1986): 367-462; and the spread of the revolt in Idem, *La rivolta dei notabili* (Naples: Jovene, 1988).

4. Philip IV of Spain.

5. Revolts occurred in Palermo and Catania in May 1647.

6. Pedro Fajardo Zúniga y Requesens, marquis of Los Vélez.

7. Giraffi here includes two decrees of

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21 May 1647 removing the Sicilian gabels on flour, wine, oil, meat and cheese and granting a general pardon.

8. Pedro de Toledo, marquis of Villafranca, viceroy from 1532 to 1553.

9. Giraffi mistakenly says Philip II. The tribunal in question was to be of the Spanish type, i.e., run directly by the government rather than by Rome.

10. I.e., the Camera della Sommaria or fiscal court.

11. I.e., the people's Seggio's representative. Naclerio was a lawyer.

12. Terms of money: *grana* =1/10 of a *carlino*=1/100 Neapolitan ducats; *baiocco*=1 soldo, i.e, 1/20 of a lire. Of weight: *rotolo*=33 ounces. Of capacity: a *palata* was the contents of a bread making frame. The usual fixed price was 8 *tornesi*, made cheaper or dearer by adjusting the weight of the loaves.

13. Diego Bernardo Zufia was the viceroy-appointed grassiere or official in charge of food provisions for the city.

14. I.e., those who leased the right to collect the gabels.

15. Per *palata* (q.v.).

16. I.e., Castel Nuovo.

17. The convent of San Luigi was located in what is now Piazza Plebiscito.

18. Gian Giacomo Teodoro Trivulzio.

19. Gold ducats.

20. *Tomolo* was slightly more than two *staia*, of which three made a sackful. *Soldo* was about 1/12 of a *carlino*.

21. An elevated area of Naples behind the monastery of San Luigi.

22. Shoreline area west of Naples roughly from the Castel Nuovo to Mergellina.

23. Civil and penal tribunal of Naples and court of appeals for the provinces, situated in Castel Capuano.

24. The town council or assembly of the Seggi representatives met in the refectory here.

25. About nine o'clock.

26. Now called rua Toscana.

27. Area around the church of San Gregorio Armeno.

28. Shoreline area around the church of Santa Maria di Portosalvo.

29. Now Piazza Municipio.

30. Near the present church of San Ferdinando, formerly San Francesco Saverio.

31. Viceroyal palace, later razed; in what is now Piazza Trieste e Trento.

32. I.e., Santa Maria della Croce. None of these convents near the palace or in modern-day piazza del Plebiscito is extant.

33. The Collaterale was the main administrative and juridical body of the kingdom, then consisting of six regents nominated by the king of Spain. The Council of State was a pro forma body of Neapolitan noble military advisors to the viceroy.

34. Frederick of Aragon ruled Naples from 1496 to 1501, and Ferdinand the Catholic from 1503 to 1516. Charles of Habsburg, king of Spain and its Neapolitan conquest from 1516 and Holy Roman emperor from 1519.

35. Each of the 29 *ottine* or popular districts of Naples was led by a captain. By the reform of 1548, the *ottine* no longer appointed the eletto directly, but presented a list of six names, usually restricted to the upper bourgeoisie and tax farmers, from which the viceroy would choose.

36. Actually, Pope Paul III.

37. I.e., the Sacred Royal Council, highest appeals court in the kingdom, with precedence over all courts including the Vicaria, and composed of a president, 24 councillors and various minor officials.

38. I.e., Girolamo Carafa and his son Gregorio, the prior of Roccella.

39. Pedro Téllez Girón, duke of Osuna, was viceroy from 1616 to 1620.

40. Francesco Antonio de Angelis was currently on the Sacred Royal Council. Manuel de Acevedo y Zúniga, count of Monterrey, was viceroy from 1631 to 1637.

41. Today, Santa Maria Apparente.

42. Giraffi includes the text of the letter.

43. The new letter of the viceroy follows.

44. A copy of this third letter follows.

45. Both Arpaia and Genoino had been confederates in 1620 with Viceroy Osuna in the effort to reduce noble power in city government and achieve parity between

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nobles and common people. When the plan failed they both escaped to Marseilles.

46. Then recently built; no longer extant.

47. Carlo Caracciolo.

48. Formerly in via San Giuseppe.

49. Royal auditor sent by Madrid for administrative investigation.

50. I.e., the viceroy.

51. About a ducat. 1*doppia* =two *scudi*.

14: GIOVANNI PIETRO BELLORI

Text is from Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite dei pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, ed. Evelina Borea with introduction by Giovanni Previtali (Turin: Einaudi, 1976).

1. A good summary of Caravaggio's innovations is in Sydney Joseph Freedberg, *Circa 1600: A Revolution of Style in Italian Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983). Giustiniani's letter is included in Robert Enggass and Jonathan Brown, *Italy and Spain, 1600-1750*, Sources and Documents in the History of Art (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall-1970), pp. 16-20.

2. Vasari's technique is discussed in Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 401-4.

3. Aspects of Bellori's method are discussed by Giovanna Perini and Evelina Borea in Elizabeth Cropper et al, eds., *Documentary Culture. Florence and Rome from Grand-Duke Ferdinand I to Pope Alexander VII*, papers from a Colloquium held at the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1990 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), pp. 165-84, 263-86.

4. Polidoro Caldara died in 1543.

5. In 1592.

6. Giuseppe Cesari, called the Cavalier d'Arpino, Roman painter (1568-1640).

7. *The Basket of Fruit*, now in Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana.

8. Prospero Orsi, called Prosperino delle Grottesche, Brescian painter (1558- 1633).

9. *The Fortune-Teller*, now in Paris, Louvre.

10. Founder of 4th century school of painting at Sycion in Greece. Mentioned by Pliny in *Natural History*, 34: 61.

11. *Penitent Mary Magdalene*, now in Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili.

12. *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, now in Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili.

13. *The Cardsharps*, now in Fort Worth (Texas), Kimbell Art Museum.

14. Francesco Maria Del Monte.

15. *The Musicians*, now in New York City, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

16. *The Lute Player*. May be the version now in St. Petersburg at the Hermitage or the one on loan at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

17. *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, now in Lugano, Thyssen Collection.

18. *Youth with a Ram (St. John the Baptist)*, now in Rome, Pinacoteca Capitolina.

19. Cardinal Carlo Pio di Savoia Carpi.

20. *Medusa*, now in Florence, Uffizi.

21. Ferdinando I.

22. Administrator of the hospice of San Giacomo degli Incurabili.

23. 1519-85, known as Matteo Contarelli.

24. The original *Inspiration of Saint Matthew* was thus removed from the church. Eventually it ended up in Berlin where it was destroyed in 1945.

25. *The Inspiration of Saint Matthew*, 1602, Rome, Contarelli Chapel, Church of San Luigi dei Francesi.

26. *The Calling of Saint Matthew*, Rome, Contarelli Chapel, Church of San Luigi dei Francesi.

27. *The Martyrdom of Saint Matthew*, Rome, Contarelli Chapel, Church of San Luigi dei Francesi.

28. *The Madonna of the Pilgrims*, also known as *The Madonna of Loreto*, Rome, Church of Sant' Agostino.

29. The Roman Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella.

30. *The Entombment*, now in Città del Vaticano, Pinacoteca Vaticana.

31. Rome, Cerasi Chapel, Church of Santa Maria del Popolo.

32. Rome, Cerasi Chapel, Church of Santa Maria del Popolo.

33. May be the version in Vienna at the

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Kunsthistorisches Museum, or the version in Prato at the Palazzo degli Alberti.

34. *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*. May be the version in Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie.

35. *Colorire* and *dipingere* can both roughly be translated as "to paint"; but since it may be significant that Bellori chooses one or the other, I have used the rather awkward rendition "to color" where Bellori chose *colorire*.

36. Now in Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie.

37. May be the painting in Odessa at the Museum of Western and Eastern Art, 1598.

38. Genoa, Galleria Comunale di Palazzo Rosso.

39. Now in Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera.

40. Now in London, National Gallery.

41. Now in Rome, Galleria Borghese.

42. *David with the Head of Goliath*, now in Rome, Galleria Borghese.

43. *Portrait of Paul V*. May be the painting in Palazzo Borghese, Rome.

44. Known as *Portrait of Monsignor Maffeo Barberini*, now in Florence, Private collection.

45. Known as *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, now in Florence, Uffizi.

46. At the end of May 1606.

47. May be the Brera *Supper at Emmaus*. Or Bellori is wrong and the painting he mentions was actually a lost *Journey to Emmaus*.

48. *The Fainting Magdalene*, now lost, or may be the painting in Rome, Private collection.

49. In October 1606.

50. Now in Naples, Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte.

51. Destroyed in the 1805 earthquake.

52. Still in this location but now attributed to another painter.

53. Naples, Pio Monte della Misericordia.

54. In fact the torch is held by the priest himself.

55. In summer, 1607.

56. Alof de Wignacourt, d. 1622.

57. *Portrait of Alof de Wignacourt*, Paris, Louvre.

58. Location unknown.

59. *The Decapitation of Saint John the Baptist*, La Valletta (Malta), Oratory of Saint John the Baptist.

60. Should be Salomé.

61. In October 1608.

62. *The Burial of Saint Lucy*, now in Syracuse, Museo di Palazzo Bellomo.

63. End of 1608 or beginning of 1609.

64. For the Church of Santa Maria la Concezione *extra moenia*.

65. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, now in Messina, Museo Nazionale.

66. Not identified.

67. Of the Crociferi Fathers.

68. Now in Messina, Museo Nazionale.

69. He must have been in Palermo in August 1609.

70. *Nativity with Saints Lawrence and Francis*, stolen from its original location in 1969.

71. In October 1609.

72. Should be Salomé, and the painting may be the one in Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real.

73. In July 1610.

74. Caravaggio actually died in July, 1610.

75. Roman painter (c. 1540/3-1609).

76. *La Galeria del Cavalier Marino, Distinta in Pitture e Sculture* (Venice: Ciotti, 1636), poem entitled, *In Morte di Michelagnolo da Caravaggio*.

77. Bolognese painter (1575-1642).

15: FILIPPO BALDINUCCI

Translation of *The Life of Bernini*, by Catherine Enggass (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1966), excerpts from pp. 73-87, 111, reproduced by permission, with emendations.

1. Biographical information is from the *Vita* of Baldinucci by his son Francesco Saverio, in Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita di Bernini*, ed. Sergio Samek Ludovici (Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1948), pp. 31-64, as well as Edward L. Goldberg, *After Vasari. History, Art and Patronage in Late Medici Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 48-183.

2. Leopoldo de' Medici (1617-1675), brother of Grand Duke Ferdinando II, made a cardinal in 1667.

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3. The collection of self-portraits is in the Corridoio Vasariano which links the Uffizi to Palazzo Pitti.

4. Louis XIV. The marble bust of the king, made by Bernini in 1665, is at Versailles.

5. Reference is to the rooms in the Vatican palace painted by Raphael for Pope Julius II.

6. I.e. the *Four Sibyls*.

7. Called the Borgia Apartment (in the Vatican Palace) after Rodrigo Borgia (Pope Alexander VI, 1492-1503), it contains fresco cycles incorporating reliefs painted by Pintoricchio.

8. Maffeo Barberini, 1623-1644.

9. Fabio Chigi, 1655-1667. His tomb in St. Peter's incorporates a door.

10. Now lost.

11. Not extant.

12. Giulio Rospigliosi, 1667-1669.

13. Giambattista Pamphili, 1644-1655.

POLITICAL AND CIVIC AFFAIRS

16. TRAIANO BOCCALINI

Ragguagli di Parnaso, vol. 1, ed. Giuseppe Rua, vols. 2-3 ed. Luigi Firpo (Bari: Laterza, 1910-48), Century 1, nos. 25, 29, 89; Century 2, no. 99.

1. Biographical information is from the entry by Luigi Firpo in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 11 (1969): 10-19.

2. Roman provincial government in this period is analyzed by Roberto Volpi, *Le regioni introvabili. Centralizzazione e regionalizzazione dello Stato Ponteficio* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1983).

3. A recent critical appraisal is in Maurizio Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State. The Acquisition and Transformation of the Language of Politics, 1250-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 257-67.

4. Where the Council of Ten usually dumped those ordered secretly strangled.

5. I.e., the two columns in Piazzetta San Marco.

6. Translates *scienza politica*.

7. Tuscan scholar (1550-1629), publisher of an edition of works by the first-century Roman historian Cornelius Tacitus. The others are Josias Mercier (d. 1626), French councillor and scholar whose comment on Tacitus circulated in manuscript; Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), Flemish scholar who published an edition of Tacitus; and Orsini, a Roman antiquary (1529-1600).

8. Boccalini's term for the modern reason of state theorists inspired more or less by Machiavelli and Tacitus.

9. In the Renaissance sense of manly courage and ability.

10. Student of Quintilian and imperial administrator of the first century AD.

11. L. Calpurnius Piso Licinianus was the adopted son of Galba, Roman emperor, 68-69 AD. The maxim is the one mentioned above and in Tacitus, *The Histories*, 1: 16.

12. Tacitus, *The Annals*, tr. John Jackson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 6: 48.

13. Tacitus, *The Histories*, tr. Clifford H. Moore (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925-31), 1: 16.

14. The allusion is to the Venetian tribunal of the same name, composed of forty noblemen under the doge.

15. Francesco Maria II Della Rovere (1548-1631) was the last duke of Urbino. To him Boccalini dedicated the third Century.

16. Justinian I, Eastern Roman emperor of the sixth century, had Roman law codified; and in this form it became an influential source of jurisprudence in late medieval Europe.

17. The authorities in question are Angelo Gambiglioni of Arezzo (d. 1451), author of a famous treatise of criminal proceedings, *De maleficiis*; Florentine-born Franciscus Accursius (1182-1260), professor at Bologna, who produced the most influential Gloss or commentary on Justinian's compilations; Bartolus of Sassoferrato (1314-1357), whose commentary concentrated on applying and modifying Roman law according to the Italian context; his student Petrus Baldus de Ubaldis (1327-1406), who continued on a similar tack; Paolo de Castro (d. 1447), who studied under Baldus at Perugia;

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Perugia-born Giasone del Maino (1435-1519), who was a powerful proponent of the humanist historical approach advanced by Lorenzo Valla.

17. ANTONIO SERRA

Text is from Antonio Serra, "Breve trattato delle cause che possono far abbondare li regni d'oro e argento" (1613), in Raffaele Colapietra, ed., *Problemi monetari negli scrittori napoletani del Seicento* (Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1973), pp. 179-87.

1. The economic situation in this period is best discussed by Antonio Calabria, *The Cost of Empire. The Finances of the Kingdom of Naples in the Time of Spanish Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

2. I.e., the government is forced by its pressing financial needs to sell the right to collect taxes at such low prices that the tax farmers' return on investment is very high.

3. The ruling nucleus in Venice, made up of the doge, six Ducal Councillors and the three Heads of the Council of Forty; so, by antonomasia, the Venetian government.

4. Serra refers to one of the founding myths of Venice here.

5. I.e., the Senate, or "summoned ones."

6. Actually, there were 120.

7. Marcantonio De Santis, merchant and author of a *Discorso intorno alli effetti che fa il cambio in Regno* (Naples: Costantino Vitale, 1605), which was well received in official circles in its time.

8. Antidote against poisons, as also is theriac, which is also called Venice treacle, composed of some sixty-four chemicals.

9. He really means chemicals.

10. He means sulfuric acid.

11. I.e., trisulfide of arsenic, used in paints.

12. Made by treating copper with acetic acid; used as a pigment.

13. Zinc oxide.

14. Red dye from brazilwood.

15. I.e., sublimate of mercury.

16. Open helmet without visor, somewhat resembling a hat, typical in Naples and Spain.

17. Armor covering the body from neck to thighs, worn by infantry in this period.

18. Part of the candle-making process.

19. Thirds were the property revenues payable thrice yearly, many of which had been sold, according to Serra, to "foreigners."

18. VIRGILIO MALVEZZI

Text is from *Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito. Al Serenissimo Duca Ferdinando II Granduca di Toscana* (Venice: Ginami, 1622).

1. The ouly study is Rodolfo Brändli, *Virgilio Malvezzi politico e moralista* (Basel: Tipografia dell'USC, 1964), from which only biographical details are taken.

2. Tacitus, *The Annals*, tr. John Jackson, 1: 1. All translations from this edition except where noted.

3. *The War with Catiline*, tr. J. C. Rolfe (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931^2), ch. 3.

4. *The Histories*, tr. Clifford H. Moore, 1: 1. All translations from this edition except where noted.

5. *The Annals*, 4: 33.

6. Ibid.

7. Ezechiel, 43: 10-11.

8. Gregory I, *Morals on the Book of Job* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847), 3: 24: 18, p. 62.

9. Tacitus, *Agricola*, tr. M. Hutton (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914) sec. 2.

10. *The Histories*, 1: 14.

11. *The Annals*, 4: 33.

12. *The Annals*, 14: 14.

13. *The Annals*, 4: 34.

14. Ibid.

15. *Ab urbe condita*, tr. B. O. Foster (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1919), bk. 1, Preface, 4. All translations are from this unless otherwise specified.

16. Proverbs 10:7

17. *The Annals*, 1: 1.

18. *The Histories*, 1: 1.

19. *The Annals*, 1: 1.

20. This and the next passage are from *The Annals*, 1: 1.

21. *The Histories*, 1: 1.

22. *The War with Catiline*, 8.

23. *Praefatio in Isaia propheta* or

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Prologus in libro Isaiae in *Biblia sacra*.

24. *Ab urbe condita*, bk.1, preface.

25. *The Histories*, 1: 14-15.

26. *Physics*, 209a10.

27. Psalms 17: 8 (16: 8 in Douai, where it says *as the apple of thy eye*).

28. I.e., Paolo Giovio, Como-born historian (1483-1552), most famous for his *History of His Own Time*, and Philippe de Commines, seigneur d'Argenton (1445-1511), memorialist.

29. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of St. John* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, F. and J. Rivington, 1852), pt. 2, Homily 83, ver. 15, p. 734. The biblical passages above are from Lk. 1: 2; Acts 1: 1; Jn. 1: 34 and 15: 27; Acts 10: 41; Jn. 18: 15.

30. *The Annals*, 1: 2. My translation.

31. Malvezzi is referring to the office of the *aediles cereales* who had the superintendance of the public granaries and other provisions.

32. *The Annals*, 2: 59.

33. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 4: 12-14.

34. Is. 3: 7.

35. *Ab urbe condita*, 2: 34ff.

36. Ibid., 2: 9.

37. The Medici acquired the territory between 1562 and 1580.

38. *The Annals*, 2: 85.

39. *The Deified Augustus*, 2: 70.

40. Gen. 47: 20-21.

41. Gen. 47: 25.

42. *Ab urbe condita*, 2: 34. In 492 BC, when there was a famine in Rome, Coriolanus advised to use the corn obtained from Sicily to force the plebs to consent to the abolition of their tribunes.

43. *The Annals*, 1: 6. Tiberius thus tried to pin the murder of Agrippa Postumus on his predecessor Caesar Augustus, Agrippa's grandfather. Livia was Augustus' second wife, and had brought into the marriage her son Tiberius, who became emperor in 14 AD.

44. M. Junianus Justinus, *History* [epitome of Trogus Pompeius], tr. John Clarke (London: W. Clarke, 1759), 1: 4, p. 4. The story of Harpagus was this: Astyages wanted to get rid of his grandson and delivered him to Harpagus his friend and privy-counsellor so that he could kill him. But Harpagus was afraid of the child's mother's revenge, if the kingdom should come to her, since she was Astyages' only child, and delivered the child to the keeper of the king's castle to be exposed instead.

45. *The Annals*, 1: 6.

46. This later incident involving Nero, emperor, 54-68, is in *The Annals*, 14: 7.

47. *The Annals*, 14: 12.

48. *Ab urbe condita*, bk. 1, Preface, modified.

49. Is. 51: 8.

50. *The Annals*, 6: 6.

51. Ostrogothic ruler of Italy 489-526. Alfonso ruled Aragon 1104-34.

52. Job 15: 21.

53. *The Annals*, 14: 62.

54. *The Annals*, 4: 71.

55. Killed in 69. Perseus was a son of Philip of Macedon; the event concerning him occurred before he took power in 179 BC.

56. I.e., Caracalla (211-17), who followed Septimius Severus (193-211) in the emperorship.

57. I.e., Cesare Borgia (d. 1507), natural son of Pope Alexander VI. The incident recounted here is in Machiavelli, *The Prince*, chap. 7.

58. *The Annals*, 6: 26.

59. The reference is to Theodoret, *Quaestiones in II Reges*, ch. 12, quaestio 25.

60. Ps. 50: 5.

61. Lk. 8: 17.

62. Is. 10: 5.

63. *The Annals*, 1: 11.

64. Canticle of Canticles [Song of Solomon in Rev. Std. Ed.], 4: 1.

65. Prov. 25: 11.

66. *The Annals*, 1: 7. Eccentric version.

67. Exodus 32: 31-2.

68. Citation is to St. Augustine, *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, sermo 6, *De Misericordia*.

69. I.e., Henry II (1547-59); Charles the Fat ruled 876-887; Charles III the Simple 893-923; Francis I, 1515-47.

70. Respectively, 193 and 218-222.

71. Respectively 193-211 and 222-35.

72. Gen. 9: 2.

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73. St. Bernard, *Sermones in cantica cantorum*, serm. 70; St. Ambrose, *De officiis*, bk. 2, ch. 7, sec. 32.

74. *Physics* 188b25.

75. Phil. 2: 12. Next is I Tim. 2: 4.

76. Rom. 13: 7.

77. Gregory I, *Morals on the Book of Job* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, F. and J. Rivington, 1845), vol. 2, bk. 20, ch. 3, sec. 6, p. 449.

78. Job 29: 25.

79. Gregory I, *Morals on the Book of Job*, vol. 2, bk. 20, ch. 5, sec. 14, p. 456.

80. Ps. 22: 4.

81. II Kings 1:23.

82. Here and below, *The Histories*, 1: 16.

19. PAOLO SARPI

Text is from Paolo Sarpi, *Scritti giurisdizionalistici*, Giovanni Gambarin, ed., Bari: Laterza, 1958, pp. 213-220, with a collation of the manuscripts, from which I have accepted all major readings.

1. For further bibliography, see the selection from *History of the Interdict*.

2. The report is addressed to the Senate, which reported to the doge of Venice as the highest governing body of the Republic.

3. Henry IV, who came to the French throne in 1589 and helped end the Wars of Religion between the Catholic League and the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes, 1598, was assassinated in 1610.

4. Louis IX (ruled 1226-1270), was canonized for heroic actions in the Sixth Crusade and posthumous miracles. *Virtù* is the manly quality of strength and power admired by the Renaissance humanists.

5. Sarpi may have particularly in mind the Jesuit theologian Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621), who sustained papal power in the Interdict Controversy (on which, see the selection under Preservation of the Past). For their role in this controversy the Jesuits were banned from Venetian territories until 1657.

6. I.e., Huguenot and Catholic.

7. In July 1620 the Valtelline, an area on the northern border of the duchy of Milan, rebelled against the Grey Leagues, and Catholic sympathizers eliminated Protestants in a so-called "Holy Massacre." The Milanese government took advantage of the opportunity to take control, defending its action in a series of pamphlets.

8. In Venice, the Riformatori dello Studio di Padova, composed of three senators, were in charge not only of overseeing the university but also of approving books for printing. They based their decisions on the opinions of official censors appointed especially for religious, political, and indifferent materials.

20. FERRANTE PALLAVICINO

Text is from Ginifacio Spironcini [=Ferrante Pallavicino], *Il corriero svaligiato* (Norimberga [=Venice], s.d. [1641]), ed. Armando Marchi (Parma: Università di Parma, 1984), pp. 95-99.

1. Antonio Rotondò, "La censura ecclesiastica e la cultura," in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 5: *I documenti* (Turin: Einaudi, 1973), 2: 1397-1492; Paul Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Printing Press, 1540-1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

2. Biographical details are in Giorgio Spini, *Ricerca dei libertini* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1983[2]).

3. The former reference is to the prohibition of Giambattista Marino's successful erotic poem, *Adonis*, in 1627; the latter reference is to Pallavicino's own novels, the *La Susanna* (1636), *Il Giuseppe* (1637) and *La Bersabee* (1639).

4. Dominicans were traditionally in charge of the Holy Office and the Congregation of the Index.

5. The reference is to the emperor Tiberius, and the story is from Pliny, *Natural History*, 30: 66.

21. GREGORIO LETI

1. Biographical and bibliographical details are from Franco Barcia, *Un politico dell'età barocca: Gregorio Leti* (Milan: Angeli, 1983); Idem, *Bibliografia delle opere di Gregorio Leti* (Milan: Angeli,

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1981); Idem, *Gregorio Leti: informatore politico di principi italiani* (Milan: Angeli, 1987).

2. *Dialoghi politici ovvero la politica che usano in questi tempi i principi e le repubbliche italiane per conservare i loro stati e signori, il tutto raccolto d'alcune conferenze havute tra un ambasciatore di una repubblica e un ministro di stato di un principe*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Chouet, 1666), 1: 229-240.

3. Genoa. See the selection by Gaspare Squarciafico below.

4. Demosthenes, *Against Aristocrates*, 200. Perdiccas actually received citizenship.

5. *Il nipotismo di Roma* (Leyden: Elsevier, 1667), pp. 14-24.

6. Reference to the practice of kissing the pope's foot.

7. Fabio Chigi, pope from 1655-67.

8. Mario was Alexander VII's brother; Agostino and Flavio Chigi, later a cardinal, were nephews.

9. I.e., Sforza Pallavicino, whose writings are excerpted below.

10. Popes, respectively, 1522-23 and 1565-72.

11. Is. 58: 7.

12. Mario received the office of superintendent of the annona or grain reserves and a judgeship. Flavio, besides the cardinalship, received ecclesiastical incomes amounting to 100,000 scudi per year. Agostino got a Roman palace and marriage into the highest Roman nobility. That they had a significant influence on the pope, however, has been doubted. See the entry "Alexander VII" by Mario Rosa in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 2 (1960), p. 212.

22. GASPARE SQUARCIAFICO

Text is from Gaspare Squarciafico, *Le politiche malattie della Repubblica di Genova e loro medicine* (Amburgo, 1676, actually published around 1654, probably in Genoa), from part 1, chaps. 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 14; part 2, chaps. 2, 3, 4, 6.

1. Claudio Costantini, *La Repubblica di Genova nell'età moderna* (Turin: UTET, 1978), chap. 15.

2. The composition of the aristocracy is explained by Jacques Heers, "The Two Aristocracies: The Case of Genoa," in Anthony Molho, ed., *Social and Economic Foundations of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: 1969), 164-68. Also, Aldo Agosto, "Nobili e popolari: l'origine del dogato," *Storia dei Genovesi* 1 (1980): 91-109. The 1576 legislation is explored by Rodolfo Savelli, *La repubblica oligarchica: legislazione, istituzioni e ceti a Genova nel Cinquecento* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1981).

3. Analyzed by Edoardo Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica dei Genovesi* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987), pp. 49-104.

4. The only biographical information is in Michele Giustiniani, *Gli scrittori liguri* (Rome: Tinassi, 1667), p. 268; Agostino Oldoini, *Athanaeum Ligusticum* (Perugia: Typ. Episc., 1680), p. 223.

5. Before the constitutional reform of 1528, the Genoese ruling elite consisted of two groups—on the one hand, nobles, deriving their title from feudal origins or from long-time membership in the councils, and, on the other hand, *populares*, made up of merchants and the upper crust of the artisans (see below). It should be remembered that the so-called nobles also included many merchants. Government offices were equally divided among the two groups. The constitutional reform of 1528 redefined the nobility to include all families that had held power before that year—both former nobles and *populares*, all of whom were to be inscribed in a *Liber civitatis*, and ten new families were to be added every year. This reform gave rise to a new site of conflict—between the Old Nobility—i.e., those families who had been nobles before the reform—and the New Nobles, added by the reform and made increasingly powerful in politics through the new additions.

6. Aeolus was the god of winds. Homer, *Odyssey*, 10.

7. King of all the Cyclopes. Homer, *Odyssey*, 19.

8. Stentor was one of the Greeks who went to the Trojan War, whose voice was louder than that of fifty men together.

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Homer, *Iliad*, 5: 785-6.

9. "Bears" perhaps comes from Machiavelli, *The Golden Ass*, 6: 61-3.

10. The alberghi, an institution unique to Genoa, began emerging in the fourteenth century as clan-like structures headed by powerful families, whose surnames the member families adopted. With the reform of 1528, the alberghi were regulated by a law that sanctioned 28 alberghi made up of a mixture of pre-1528 "noble" and "popular" families and headed by the most numerous family in each. In 1576, families were supposed to return to their old pre-1528 surnames in order to weaken the new alberghi.

11. Following the revolt of 1339, the exiled noble families were excluded from the dogeship but not from other high offices, until they were finally readmitted to power by the reform of 1528.

12. The South Wind.

13. I.e., the New Nobles support the 1576 reform cancelling the new alberghi created by the 1528 reform.

14. In fact, the 1528 law failed to reduce the prominence of the pre-1528 nobility.

15. Although the terminology was ambiguous, the so-called "populace" (*populares*) comprised merchants (*mercatores*) and artisans (*artifices*) who were members of the guilds. Costantini, *La Repubblica di Genova*, pp. 9-11.

16. The invasions of Charles VIII and Louis XII into Italy, respectively, in 1494 and 1499, contributed to the Italian wars, which ended with the sack of Rome by troops of Charles V in 1527 and, by the same army, the siege of Florence in 1530. Genoa sided with the French at first, providing Charles VIII with a base from which to attempt the conquest of Naples. Internal divisions among the Genoese undermined the French alliance; but the anti-French wave was not enough to protect Genoa from being sacked by the Spanish in 1522. Andrea Doria sided at first with the new French king, Francis I, but later changed to the Empire in 1528.

17. Again, a reference to 1339.

18. 1640-59, ending in reincorporation into the Spanish monarchy.

19. João Ribiero led a successful rebellion against Spain in 1640 that brought to power the Braganza dynasty as rulers of Portugal.

20. I.e., the Puritan revolution, 1640-60.

21. The Dutch Revolt lasted from 1568-1648 and ended in independence from Spain.

22. I.e., laborers (often called *cappete*), belonging to the disenfranchised lowest social rank—not to be confused with the guild members in the previous chapter.

23. From 1576 onward, the composition of the two main councils was thus: the Minor Council, which carried out most government functions, elected a group of 30 Electors, who in turn elected the next 100 members of the Minor Council and the 400 members of the Great Council. Legislative power belonged to these as well as to the Signoria.

24. The Poor Office was established in 1539. Squarciafico's estimate seems high, as the total population was no more than 70,000. Estimates by the Poor Office were closer to 19% of the whole.

25. The War of Candia between Venice and the Ottoman Turks, beginning in 1645, ended in 1669 when Venice definitively lost the island.

26. The War of Chioggia, also called the Fourth Genoese War, fought against the Genoese, the king of Hungary, and Francesco Carrara, lord of Padua, 1378-81.

27. Province of Ptolemaic Egypt to which Anthony the Anchorite retired from the persecution of Maximian in 312 AD.

28. In the Roman conclaves, voting was repeated until a candidate received a two-thirds majority or better. So also in Genoese elections.

29. A *lustrum* is a five-year period. By the reform of 1576, the Senate (popular name for the 8 governatori) and the 8 procuratori (also called the Chamber), were chosen by lot from among the 120 members of the Seminario (elected in turn by the Minor Council and the Great Council). The Senate and procuratori formed, with the doge (also elected by the two Councils), the Signoria, which alone

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held executive power—along with the legislative power it shared with the Councils. Enforcement belonged to the 5 censors.

30. Called "a state within the state" by Machiavelli, the Casa di San Giorgio, established in 1407, was a semiautonomous body responsible for administering the public debt and gabels in return for substantial loans to the government as well as governing certain provinces and colonies including Corsica.

31. The government in Squarciafico's time had virtually no navy of its own, since the city, by an agreement made in the time of Andrea Doria, was supposedly defended by Spain. When needed, private owners were expected to offer their services.

23. GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE LUCA

Text is from: Giovanni Battista De Luca, *Il dottor volgare*, 15 vols. (Rome: G. Corvo, 1673), 1: 1-6.

1. On this subject, Gaetano Cozzi, *Repubblica di Venezia e stati italiani. Politica e giustizia dal secolo XVI al secolo XVIII* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), chap. 1. Information about De Luca is chiefly from the entry by A. Mazzacane in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 38 (1990): 340-7.

2. De Luca subscribes to a myth about the Twelve Tables that was later repudiated by Giambattista Vico.

3. Jeronimo Castillo de Bobadilla, *Politica para corregidores y señores de vassallos, en tiempo de paz, y de guerra* (Madrid: Sanchez, 1597).

24. TORQUATO ACCETTO

Text is from *Della dissimulazione onesta* (Naples: Egidio Longo, 1641), ed. Salvatore S. Nigro (Genoa: Costa & Nolan, 1983), including biographical information.

1. Rosario Villari, *Elogio della dissimulazione. La lotta politica nel Seicento* (Bari: Laterza, 1987, pp. 27-45. In addition, the article by Victor Ivo Comparato in John Marino, ed., *Good Government in Spanish Naples* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990).

2. Ps. 37 (36 in Douai): 37.

3. Matt. 10: 16, modified from the Vulgate.

4. More than "virtue"—this is the manly quality of strength and vigor admired by the humanists.

5. The rhetorical figure of parallel rhyme between *tetto* (roof) and *letto* (bed), typical of Accetto's playful style, and also of Giambattista Marino's, is lost in English.

6. The original word used here is *authékastos*. He is referring to Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 4:7,1127 a-b.

7. The original word used here is *philalétes*.

8. *The Sophist*, tr. Harold North Fowler, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921), 260C.

9. *Inferno*, tr. Charles S. Singleton (Princeton: University Press, 1970), 16: 124-126.

10. Another rhyme, between *più vale* (stronger) and *più vuole* (desire more), lost in English.

11. Hans Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi*, 2 vols. in 9 pts. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1963-86), 4: 213, no. 29, gives numerous references.

12. Plato explains the "forms" or "ideas" in *The Sophist*, 246A-B.

13. *The Annals*, tr. J. Jackson, 1 : 11.

14. *Odyssey*, 1: 3. Here Accetto makes his own paraphrase into Latin; whereas other times he uses the version of Jean de Sponde (Spondanus), Basel, 1583.

15. *Odes*, tr. C. E. Bennett (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927^2), 1: 24: 19-20.

16. *The Aeneid*, tr. H. R. Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: $1934\text{-}5^2$), 1: 209.

17. Ibid., 1: 203.

18. Ibid., 1: 204-7.

19. Ibid., 1: 208.

20. *The Odyssey*, tr. A. T. Murray (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), 19: 204-212.

21. *De generatione et corruptione*, tr. E. S. Forster (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), 2: 329b, 30.

22. Accetto may have quoted the fragment from George of Trebizond's

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translation of Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, 8: 14.

23. *Jerusalem Delivered*, tr. Joseph Tusiani (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1970), 16: 14: 7-8.

24. The reference is to Giovanni Della Casa's *Galateo* (Venice: 1558).

25. *Orlando furioso*, tr. Barbara Reynolds (Penguin, 1975), 15: 1: 1-2.

26. Martial, *Epigrams*, 10: 47.

27. Virgil, *Aeneid*, tr. H. R. Fairclough, 6: 129.

28. *Discourses*, 1, chap. 3: 5-7.

29. Genesis 45:1-3

30. *Aminta*, tr. Ernest Grillo (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1924), act 2, sc. 1, lines 724-7.

31. *Aeneid*, tr. Fairclough, 1: 712-4

32. Ibid., 4: 1-2.

33. A. cites Plato's *Republic*, bk. 4, 440d.

34. *Iliad*, 1: 148-50.

35. *Iliad*, 1: 206-7.

36. *Rhetoric*, tr. W. Rhys Roberts (New York: Modern Library, 1954), bk.2: 1378b2, is more literal than the Loeb Library tr., as was the Latin tr. of Accetto.

37. *The "Rime sparse" and Other Lyrics*, tr. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press , 1976), 104: 14.

38. *Agricola*, tr. William Peterson, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914), 45.

39. *De rerum natura*, tr. W. H. D. Rouse (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937^{3}), 2: 7-10.

40. Job, 3: 26.

41. Wisdom, 11: 24.

42. Job, 19: 26.

25. SIMONE LUZZATTO

From Simone Luzzatto, *Discorso circa il stato de gl'Hebrei et in particolar dimoranti nell'inclita città di Venetia* (Venice: Gioanne Calleoni, 1638), of which the facsimile edition by Cesare Saletta, Antiquariato Libraio, Bologna, 1976, was used, Considerazioni 1, 2, 4, 8, 11, 16.

1. Much of the following material is from Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1983), Parts 2 and 3.

2. Zone of Northern Africa between the western border of Egypt and the Atlantic Ocean.

3. *Aeneid*, tr. H. R. Fairclough, 4: 624.

4. These were types of will forbidding heirs from alienating any of the lands and buildings inherited, in order to guarantee the wealth of subsequent generations.

5. Part of the Black Sea east of the Crimean peninsula.

6. Lazzaro and Pietro Querini were both famous fifteenth-century travellers, as were Alvise Da Mosto and Giosaphat Barbaro. Marco Polo lived from 1254 to 1324.

7. Cicero, *De officiis*, tr. Walter Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913), 1: 42.

8. Daniele Rodriga, a Ponentine Jew, developed the port of Spalato in the 1570s, at modern-day Split, then a Venetian colony.

9. Gen., 11: 2.

10. I.e., the Don.

11. City in Northern Syria.

12. Now Dubrovnik.

13. River in Herzegovina.

14. Here as elsewhere, in the sense of "government."

15. Source of a blue dye.

16. Source of red dye.

17. The Jewish community, in return for toleration, was responsible for fitting out lavish quarters for dignitaries visiting the Venetian government. Pullan, *The Jews of Europe*, p. 148.

18. Rents in the Ghetto were higher than rents outside, so rent-based taxes were higher.

19. The reference is to the public Banco della Piazza, created in 1587 in the wake of the failure of the private Pisani-Tiepolo bank to facilitate commercial payments by offering lines of credit to merchants.

20. Reference is made to the fourth-century *Characters*.

21. *Ars poetica*, 323, tr. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929).

22. Ps. 88: 3.

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26. OVIDIO MONTALBANI

From *Atenografia; ovvero, la minervale descrizione delle arti* (Bologna: Monti, 1656), pp. 7-18.

1. Howard B. Adelmann, *Marcello Malpighi and the Evolution of Embryology*, 5 vols. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 1: 128-9.

2. Prov. 18:19, quoted eccentrically.

3. Joannes Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, Thomas Gaisford, ed. (Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1822), vol. 2, title 29: De assiduitate et diligentia, fragment 12 from Anaxandrides, not from Anaximander.

4. Olympian Ode 6: 11 or 72-3. The reference is unclear.

5. Sophocles, in Joannes Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vol. II, title 46 [44]: De magistratu, fragment 13, from the lost work, *Inacho*.

6. I.e., Ovid, born in Sulmona. *Heroides*, tr. Grant Showerman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1914), 5: 96, with modifications.

7. Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, in *Tristia et Ex Ponto*, tr. Arthur Leslie Wheeler (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press: 1924), bk. 2: 7: 47, with modifications.

8. Euripides, *The Suppliants*, tr. A. S. Way (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1912), 650, modified.

9. Gen. 3:19.

10. The first part is taken from Ecclesiasticus 29: 28. The rest is unknown, not Jerome as Montalbani suggests.

11. Lk. 16: 2, eccentric version.

12. Mt. 25: 21.

13. Virgil, *Georgics*, tr. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, rev. ed. 1935), 4: 168, with slight modifications to account for M's version.

14. An ancient Hindu sect.

15. Gen. 2: 15.

16. Gen. 3: 17.

17. Euripides, in Joannes Stobaeus, *Florilegium*. The fragment can be found in vol. 1, title 1: De virtute, fragment 8. It is from the lost work, *Antiope*.

18. See note 2.

19. 1 Jn. 4: 8.

20. 1 Jn. 3: 1.

21. 1 Jn. 4: 11.

22. 1 Pet. 4: 10.

23. Aristotle, *Politics*, modified from tr. by H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 1328b, 19-20.

24. Ovid, *Tristia*, in *Tristia et Ex Ponto*, 3: 5: 32.

25. John Tzetzes, *Chiliades* (Leipzig: Christian Wilhelm Vogel, 1821), 10: 356, 820-1.

26. Seneca, *Troades*, tr. Frank J. Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917), 291.

27. John Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, 8: 240, 925-6.

28. Plato, *The Republic*, tr. Paul Shorey (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, rev. ed. 1937), 1: 3: 405a.

29. Marginal note is to Mt. 13: 41: *The angels . . . shall gather out of his kingdom all scandals*.

30. Ulisse Aldrovandi, *De quadrupedibus digitatis viviparis* (Bologna, 1645), bk. 2, De mustelis, ch. 15, Emblemata et symbola, p. 320. Aldrovandi in turn got it from Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalis quadrupedibus* (Nuremberg, 1595) emblem 81.

31. Plato, *The Laws*, 890, M's own eccentric translation.

32. Horace, *Epistles*, tr. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1926), bk. I, 18, 96-7.

33. Ecclesiasticus 11: 24.

34. Wisdom 5: 5.

35. 2 Cor. 5: 4.

36. Prov. 9: 1.

37. Tibullus, tr. J. P. Postgate (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962[3]), 3: 3, 26.

38. I Maccabees 2: 62.

39. Is. 38: 12, with modifications.

40. 1 Kings 2: 30.

41. Nehemias 3: 31, concerning the gates of Jerusalem. The version is idiosyncratic.

42. Refers to Caius Atilius Regulus,

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consul from 257 BC and Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, consul from 460 BC, both of whom had rural origins.

43. In fact, the Pisoni were a distinguished plebeian family. The Fabii were not a family but a gens.

44. Ovid, *Fasti*, tr. James George Frazer (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1989[2]), 1: 239-40.

45. Gen. 3: 21.

46. Virgil, *Georgics*, tr. H. Rushton Fairclough, 4: 348-9.

47. Ovid, *Fasti*, tr. James George Frazer, 1: 299-300.

48. Moschion, in Joannes Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vol. 3, title 105 [103]: fragment 22.

49. I.e., grammar, rhetoric and logic, the trivium or first three of the seven liberal arts in medieval and Renaissance scholastic education.

50. I.e., the quadrivium: arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy—the rest of the liberal arts.

51. Montalbani quotes the Laws and Statutes of Bologna.

52. Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, tr. Arthur Leslie Wheeler, 2: 9, 47-48.

53. Horace, *Odes*, tr. C. E. Bennett, 2: 10, 13-5,

54. Matt. 7: 19.

55. Propertius, *Elegies*, tr. by G. P. Goold (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1990), 3: 5, 13-4.

56. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, tr. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1916), 6: 7-8.

57. Job 15: 18, Montalbani's own version.

58. The first part of the quotation is from Ps. 138:15, the second from Ps. 130:1.

59. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8: 800. Montalbani slightly modifies Ovid's text.

60. Persius, *Satires*, tr. G. G. Ramsey (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, rev. ed. 1940), 4: 13, slightly modified.

61. I.e., the five general or higher forms in which all the other forms of particular things participate.

62. Oozing of blood into the tissues from the natural pores of the blood vessels.

63. Connection between different blood vessels.

64. Ovid, *Tristia*, 4: 6, 43.

65. Seneca, *Oedipus*, tr. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1917), 204. M removes the interrogative.

27. ARCANGELA TARABOTTI

Text is from Galerana Baratotti [pseudonym for Arcangela Tarabotti], *La semplicità ingannata, o Tirannia paterna* ("Leida: Giovanni Sambix," 1654 [actually, Venice, 1651 or 1652]), pp. 13-23; 30-32; 39-42; 64-76; 94-103; 188.

1. Patricia Labalme, "Venetian Women on Women: Three Early Modern Feminists," *Archivio Veneto*, ser. 5, vol. 117, no. 152 (1981): 81-110. Additional biographical information is in Emilio Zanette, *Suor Arcangela, monaca del Seicento veneziano* (Venice-Rome: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1960).

2. She cites *Paradiso*, 5: 19-22.

3. Ps. 54: 6 (53: 8 in Douai).

4. Gen. 1:1

5. Not in Ecclesiastes but in Ecclesiasticus 24: 5.

6. Prov. 8: 23-4.

7. Gen. 1: 31.

8. Gen. 2: 18.

9. Such a phrase does not occur in Fabius Claudius Gordianus Fulgentius, *De fide ad Petrum*, to which Tarabotti evidently refers; the passage may be an amalgamation, created from memory, of certain phrases between lines 295 and 315. J. Fraipont, *Sancti Fulgentii Episcopi Ruspensis Opera*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 91, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols S. A., 1968), p. 721.

10. *Satires*, in *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, tr. H. R. Fairclough (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942), 2:2:135-6. Tarabotti's version is slightly different from the original.

11. *The Distichs of Cato*, in *Minor Latin Poets*, tr. J. W. Duff and A. M. Duff (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934), 2: 25. Tarabotti only quotes

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the first line of the distich. Popular as an early modern Latin textbook, this collection's true authorship has been the subject of conjecture.

12. Prov. 31: 25.

13. Gen. 2: 2-3.

14. The pun comes from the word "mona," a rare term referring to a type of monkey (Cercopithecus mona), close to the word "monaca" or nun.

15. Gen. 2: 18

16. Is. 14: 12. Tarabotti quotes from memory or from a breviary, and there are sometimes significant differences between her versions and the Vulgate.

17. Ps. 18: 5 (17: 5 in Douai).

18. Matt. 10:23

19. 1 Jn. 2: 16

20. Lk. 16: 2.

21. Ps. 132 (131 in Douai): 14.

22. Matt. 19: 21.

23. Prov. 23:26.

24. Clara (1194-1253) was the foundress of the Franciscan nuns; Catherine of Siena (1347-1380) was a mystic.

25. Poets in the *Inferno* are not in the fires of hell itself. Tarabotti is probably referring to Canto 18, concerning liars and panderers. There is a reference to Vulcan in Canto 14, but it concerns neither liars nor poets.

26. Medieval proverb; origin unknown. Hans Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi*, 2: 3, no. 2038a.

27. Here Tarabotti appears to have mixed the famous quote from Ecclesiasticus 1: 2 with some medieval proverb.

28. Ecclesiasticus 1: 15.

29. Prov. 2: 14

30. Matt. 7: 13-14.

31. Hos. 13: 9.

32. Jn. 5: 6.

33. Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, tr. Joseph Tusiani, 4: 17. Instead of "Sia destin ciò ch'io voglio," Tarabotti quotes "Sia destin ciò, che voglio."

34. Gen. 11: 4.

35. Tarabotti may have received this medieval myth from Peter the Venerable's widely-read *Summula quaedam brevis contra haereses*.

36. The treatise *De monialibus* is in vol. 2 of Francesco Pellizzari's *Manuale regularium*, 2 vols. (Venice: Baglioni, 1647-8).

37. Sophist and rhetorician, he lived ca. 483-375 BC.

38. Actually, Solon was an Athenian statesman of the sixth century BC, although he assisted in the recovery of Salamis from the Megarians.

39. Acts 2: 4

40. Somewhat adventurous interpretation of Plato, *Symposium*, 207a.

41. Prov. 31: 13.

42. *Jerusalem Delivered*, 2: 39, lines 3-4. Arachne, a weaver in Lydia, beat the goddess Minerva in a weaving competition, for which she was turned into a spider. The story of Camilla, who grew up as a huntress and assembled an army to fight Aeneas, is recounted in *Aeneid*, book 11.

43. *Orlando Furioso*, tr. Barbara Reynolds, 37: 2.

44. *Republic*, bk. 5, 451D-E, 452A.

45. *Germania*, 8.

46. She cites *Orlando Furioso*, 27: 1.

47. Wife of Augustus.

48. Granada was conquered in 1492 and the Canary Islands in a series of battles ending in 1493 but not fought by Ferdinand.

49. The reference is to Flavius Galerius Valerius Licinianus, Roman emperor, A.D. 307-324.

50. Mythical descendant of Hercules.

AESTHETICS

28. GIOVANNI BATTISTA AGUCCHI

Text is from the edition by Denis Mahon in *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971[2]), pp. 241-58, and the original is in the extract in the preface by Giovanni Antonio Massani to Simon Guillain, *Diverse figure al numero di ottanta, disegnate di penna nell'hore di ricreatione da Annibale Carracci intagliate in rame e cavate dagli originali* (Rome: Lodovico Grignani, 1646), pp. 3ff.

1. In general, Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of*

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Baroque Style, I Tatti Studies (Glüchstadt: J. J. Augustin Verlag, 1977).

2. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35: 16, 56ff, the source for information on all the following artists, but gives to Ecphantus the role given by Agucchi to Cleophanes.

3. Translates *maniera*, used by Giorgio Vasari to mean something like "style" and later by Gian Pietro Bellori with negative connotations.

4. Comprehends much more than the obvious translation, "design" or "drawing"—also, it is the idea the artist has in his mind.

5. Raffaello Sanzio, 1483-1520; Michelangelo Buonarroti, 1475-1564.

6. Tiziano Vecellio, 1490-1576.

7 Antonio Allegri, called Correggio, 1489-1534, worked mostly in Parma.

8. Respectively, 1452-1519, and 1486-1530.

9. I.e., Domenico Beccafumi (ca. 1486-1551) and Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1536).

10. 1471-1528, born in Nuremberg.

11. This point has been disputed.

12. I.e., Accademia degli Incamminati. or dei Carracci.

13. I.e., the *Assumption of the Virgin*, in the cathedral church.

14. I.e., Ranuccio I Farnese, duke of Parma from 1592 to 1622.

15. 1574-1626, younger son of Alessandro Farnese, the previous duke.

16. Much admired sculpture from Rhodes of the first century BC, discovered in 1506 and placed in the Cortile di Belvedere of the papal palace in Rome.

17. The passage is in Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1448a2: 2. The edition used here and below is W. Hamilton Fyfe and W. Rhys Roberts (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932).

18. *Natural History*, 35: 112, 114, 120.

19. *Institutio oratoria*, 12: 10: 9.

29. GUARINO GUARINI

Guarino Guarini, *Architettura civile*, intro. by Nino Carboneri, ed. Bianca Tavassi La Greca (Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1968) treatise 1, chap. 3; 2 chap. 7; 3, chaps. 3, 13, 15, 17, 21. The work was published posthumously in 1737 (Turin: Domenico Paolino), edited by Bernardo Vittone. Final designs for the engravings were not by Guarini himself, although the preparatory drawings were.

1. The construction of the capital and the place of Guarini and other architects is the subject of Martha D. Pollack, *Turin: 1564-1680* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

2. Vitruvius, *On Architecture* [1: 3: 2. Guarini used the edition published at Amsterdam, 1649. Further notes are modified author's notes except where bracketed.]

3. Luke 14: 28-30.

4. Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 10: Preface, 1.

5. Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 10: Preface, 2 [tr. Frank Granger (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933) Henceforth, all translations are from this ed. unless indicated].

6. [I.e., Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1552), Bolognese architect who worked in Venice and later in France. Guarini uses the edition by Giovanni Domenico Scamozzi, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva (sic!) di Sebastiano Serlio* (Venice: de' Franceschi, 1619); and in fact the cited comment is from Scamozzi's appended *Discorso*. Andrea Palladio (1518-1580) was a Vicentine architect who worked in the Veneto and in Rome and published *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice: de' Franceschi, 1570).]

7. Vitruvius, *On Architecture* [1: 3: 2, same place as the next two citations].

8. Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 6: 2: 1, [editor's translation].

9. [The work in question is Johann Heinrich Alsted's *Tractatus de Architectura*, bk 34 of his *Encyclopaedia*, of which in the Herborn: 1630 edition, the passage is in the *Appendix ad architectonicom*, p. 2206].

10. [Claude-François Milliet Dechales, *Cursus seu mundus mathematicus*, 3 vols. (Leyden: Anisson, 1674)], vol. 1, treatise 10, p. 709.

11. Tacitus, *The Annals* [tr. J. Jackson], 3: [55].

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12. Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 6: 2: [1-2].

13. Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 6: 2: [4].

14 Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 6: 2: [5].

15. Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 1: 2.

16. [Gioseffe Viola Zanini, *Dell'architettura* (Padua: Bolzetta, 1629)], bk. 1, ch. 31, [p. 134].

17. [I.e., in the section on stairways, not translated.]

18. [Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 4: 4: 1-2.]

19. [*I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice: 1570)], bk. 2, chap. 2 [p. 4].

20. Athanasius Kircher [*Musurgia universalis* (Rome: 1650)], book 7, p. 544.

21. [Henry Wotton, *Elementa architecturae*, prefaced to his edition of Vitruvius, examined for this translation in the edition of Amsterdam: 1649; passage is in part 1, p. 11.]

22. [Vitruvius, *On Architecture*,] 4: 1: [6].

23. [Here and below, Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, tr. Granger, 4: 1: 7-8].

24. [Measurement equal to the diameter of a column.]

25. [Son of Helen, who according to the legend, inherited central Greece between Thessaly and the Peloponnese.]

26. [Athenian sculptor of the fifth century BC.]

27. [Dechales, *Cursus seu mundus mathematicus*], vol. 1, treatise 10, prop. 21, p. 723.

28. [*Elementa architecturae* (Amsterdam: 1649), pars. 1, p. 12.]

29. [Dechales, *Cursus seu mundus mathematicus*], vol. 1, treatise 10, proposition 1, p. 708,

30. [Terms: *abacus* is the slab atop the capital of a column. Square in the Tuscan, Doric and Ionic orders, its sides were arched inward in the Corinthian and Composite. *Ovolo* is a large convex molding. See Table 2, Figure 2, H. *Capital* is the top of the shaft, characteristically decorated. *Volutes* are the characteristic spiral scrolls as in the capital of Table 2, Figure 2, I.]

31. [Greek historian and rhetorician of the fourth century.]

32. [*Variarum*], 7: 19-20.

33. [*I quattro libri dell'architettura*], 1:16 and 1: 18. [In fact, Palladio says the Composite order is scarcely different from the Corinthian.] [An example of the modillion, an ornamental bracket under the projecting part of the cornice, is at M Table 2, Fig. 3.]

34. [Zanini, *Dell'architettura*], 2: 25, 34.

35. [*Tutte l'opere*, bk 4, chaps. 7-8.]

36. [Most of these elements are represented in Table 2, Fig. 1. In ascending order here: *Torus* is the semicircular molding (M) at the base of the column, just above the plinth. *Astragal* is a small convex molding just above it. *Architrave* is the first level of entabulature (D) after the capital ends. *Metopes* are spaces between the triglyphs of the frieze, often sculpted. *Triglyph* is an ornament (not here) made up of two vertical channels called glyphs, separated by three fillets. *Frieze* is a sculpted band of the entablature, usually the next level above the architrave. *Guttae* are small triangular downward-projecting ornaments, not represented here. *Cornice* is the whole assembly above the frieze. *Cyma reversa* is a molding (C) combining concave and convex elements. *Corona* is the top portion (B) of the cornice, just beneath the *cymatium* (A), which in this case is also an ovolo or deep convex molding.]

37. [These elements are represented in Table 2, Figure 2. *Scotia* is a deep concave molding (B). The *torus* is at (C). *Dado* is the lowest part of the base, not represented. *Dentils* are square projecting pieces (R). *Volutes* are part of the construction beginning at I. The column is shown both fluted and full.]

38. [These elements are represented in Table 2, Figure 3. *Cauliculi* are the characteristic stalks crowned with leaves in the capital. *Modillions* are sculpted ornamental brackets (M) under the *corona* (I). Sculpted *ovolo* is at (L). The three bands are at (C), (D) and (E). A *pulvinated frieze* is bent outward in convex form (G).]

39. [Vitruvius, *On Architecture*,] 4: 2:

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[5. Vitruvius uses the term *mutulo*, which could be either the modillion or under-corona bracket particular to the Corinthian order or else the mutule, the version of the same characteristic of the Doric.]

40. [Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, tr. Frank Granger, 4: 2: 2-3 with some modification.]

41. [The term of course means having to do with draftsmanship; Guarini uses it to mean architecture in general.]

42. [I.e., small square molding. An example is between L and M in Table 2, Figure 2.]

43. [*Tutte l'opere*, bk. 3, pp. 85 and 107-8. The two ancient buildings were built in the emperorships, respectively, of Septimius Severus and Trajan. The arch is customarily called Trajan's Arch.]

44. [I.e., small square pillars placed in the uppermost parts of buildings.]

45. [Guarini uses these terms interchangeably.]

46. [Hollow moldings about a quarter-circle in depth. The example at O in Table 2, Figure 2, does not clearly show the roundness.]

47. [Also called the echinus, this is the ornamented part of the capital below the abacus, before the ornamentation is put on].

48. [Starting with the first example, Santa Maria de la Sede was begun in 1402; the cathedral of Salamanca dates to the twelfth century; Notre Dame of Rheims was begun in 1211; Notre Dame of Paris was begun in 1163; the cathedral of Milan was begun in 1386; the Certosa of Pavia was begun 1396; San Petronio was begun 1390; and the cathedral of Siena was begun in the thirteenth century but substantially rebuilt in the fourteenth.]

49. [That is the place where the arch rests on a wall or column. See Table 3, at A]

50. [I.e., the thirteenth-century edifice that preceded the work of Christopher Wren in Guarini's own day.]

51. [Guarini here brings in some of the main purposes of Baroque architecture. It is unlikely that the original architects of these monuments intended for them to lean. In fact, the ground gave way beneath the foundations.]

52. ["Roman" architecture here of course means "classicist" or "Renaissance."]

53. [I.e., the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore, built by Brunelleschi in the fourteenth century.]

54. [See the selection by Filippo Baldinucci.]

55. [I.e., 20 times as high as the diameter of the column.]

56. [Projecting band of stone.]

57. [*On Architecture*], 4: 6.

58. [*Tutte l'opere*], bk. 3 [pp. 101-4. The first monument was built by Vespasian.]

59. [*I quattro libri dell'architettura*], 1: 25.

60. [I.e., the Palazzo della Pilotta, begun in 1583 by Giovanni Boscoli of Montepulciano for Ranuccio I Farnese.]

61. [Only the lower half of the façade of the Carignano Palace is done in band works.]

62. [This is the effect achieved in wall C of Table 4.]

63. [I.e., the Baldacchino.]

64. [Originally from Philip Gauthier de Châtillon, *Alexandreis*, 5: 301.]

65. [*On Architecture*], 6: 2 [: 4].

30. Giambattista Marino

Text from Giambattista Marino, *Epistolario*, 2 vols., ed. Angelo Borzelli and Fausto Nicolini (Bari: Laterza, 1911), 1: 249-65.

1. Biographical details are in James V. Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvelous: Giambattista Marino* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).

31. Emanuele Tesauro

Text based on Emanuele Tesauro, *Il cannocchiale aristotelico* (Venice: Baglioni, 1674), pp. 324-6 and Ezio Raimondi in *Narratori e trattatisti del Seicento* (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1960), pp. 19-22; 33-50; 73-82; 84-101.

1. This aspect of the work is discussed by Pierantonio Frare in "Il *Cannocchiale aristotelico*: da retorica della letteratura a

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letteratura della retorica," *Studi secenteschi* 32 (1991): 33-63.

2. On this work and its relation to the *Aristotelian Telescope* the authority is Maria Luisa Doglio, in her introduction to the edition of *Idea delle perfette imprese* (Florence: Olschki, 1975), pp. 5-27.

3. Here as elsewhere, ingenuity translates *ingegno*, following the practice of Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvelous*, pp. 116-7.

4. Again following Mirollo, "wit" and "witty expressions" and their derivatives translate *arguzie* and its derivatives.

5. Following Mirollo, here as elsewhere "concept," rather than the more specific English term "conceit" used in relation to the metaphysical poets, has been preferred to translate the word *concetto*.

6. Goddess of persuasion.

7. Aristotle identified four sorts of causes: efficient cause, by an agent producing an effect; material cause, bringing about a new being; formal cause, whereby a new being receives its form; and final cause, or the reason for such a being or such an effect.

8. I.e., of the witticism depicted in the soul by thought.

9. Emblems are an important part of the theory of concepts. Used by academies (remember the emblem of the Accademia del Cimento) and by individuals within academies, they consisted of an image and a motto, the combination of which produced a new idea.

10. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Tr. H. R. Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 1934-52), 7: 318-22. Pergama, the word used by Virgil, was the citadel of Troy and came to symbolize Troy itself.

11. I.e., Minerva and Cupid—not Aeneas himself, who was also a child of Venus. The point here is that Aeneas came from the ruins of the Trojan War; and the marriage to Lavinia, daughter of the king of Latium, infuriated the rival king of the Rutuli, who thereupon made war, stimulated by Juno, who was still incensed over Paris's choice of Venus as the most beautiful goddess.

12. Hecuba, while pregnant with Paris, dreamt that he would destroy Troy.

13. He has just explained the divine and the natural, and he has gone over the instrumental causes.

14. Tesauro's way of referring to Aristotle throughout this treatise, since it is at least partially a commentary on Aristotle.

15. I.e., the city of l'Aquila in Abruzzo.

16. Pliny, *Natural History*, 35: 36: 74. Tesauro's version differs slightly from the text established by the Loeb edition (tr. H. Rackham, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952): Tesauro has *omnibus eius* instead of *unius huius* and *supra* instead of *ultra*.

17. Get it? Engineer plus ingenuity.

18. I.e., ornament on Doric frieze, for which see notes to Guarini selection above.

19. Another Doric ornament, on which see notes to Guarini selection.

20. Sculpted female figures taking the place of a column in supporting an entabulature.

21. A type of herma, which was a square pillar of stone topped by a bust or head of Hermes, used as milestone.

22. Ornamental bracket; see Guarini notes.

23. Interlinked shields to protect soldiers from enemy blows.

24. The art of causing things to move.

25. The art of endowing things with breath.

26. Sculptor from Chios active around 580 BC.

27. This artist is mentioned in Pliny, *Natural History*, 35: 37: 120.

28. The reference is to Zacharias Jansen, eyeglass maker in Middleburg, reputedly the inventor of the telescope.

29. Here T. has in mind Plato's notion that inspiration is more important than art for poetry (*Phaedrus* 245A, 265B).

30. I.e., in the section on divine witty expressions, not translated.

31. *Aeneid*, 1: 8. Tr. Fairclough.

32. Roman poet of the first century AD.

33. A fountain sacred to Apollo, used here as a metaphor.

34. The reference is to Genesis 40: 11-13.

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35. 4 Kings 3: 15-19, in Douai. (2 Kings in Revised Standard Edition).

36. Apparently a reference to the mental images of Aristotelian philosophy.

37. One of the four humors or liquids in the body according to ancient and seventeenth-century medical theory. The others were phlegm, blood and yellow bile.

38. Another name for Hercules. The story is from Seneca, *Hercules furens*.

39. Characters, respectively, in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* and Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*.

40. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1410b, 3: 10: 2. Here and below the ed. by John Henry Freese (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926) has been consulted.

41. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1447a, 1: 2.

42. The statue may actually be by Leochares.

43. Of course, in Latin, this and some of the next examples would be formed by simple inflections on the single word *rideo*. I have offered neologisms to suggest the richness of the original.

44. City in Lower Egypt.

45. I.e., arguments with implied premises.

46. An allusion to the flight of Phryxus to Colchis on a ram.

47. Another name for Zephyr, the West Wind.

48. Mythical daughter of Pandion, changed into a swallow.

49. Cicero, of course.

50. I.e., death.

51. I.e., earth.

52. Aristotle mentions these lines from two lost plays in *Poetics*, 1458b, 22: 13.

53. The event is recorded in Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 2: 3: 10; 7: 3: 8.

54. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1459a22: 16.

55. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1405a 3: 2: 8.

56. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1410b 3: 10: 2.

57. Cicero, *The Orator*, 3: 38: 155.

58. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1405b 3: 2: 14.

59. Actually, from Plautus, *Trinummus*, 874.

60. Read it backwards.

61. Plautus, *Persa*, 420.

62. I.e., Gallic.

63. Livy, *Ab Urbe condita*, 13 vols., tr. B. O. Foster, F. G. Moore, Evan T. Sage, and A. C. Schlesinger (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948-59), 5: 36: 5 (tr. Foster).

64. *Metamorphoses*, 2: 1.

65. *Hercules furens*, 3.

66. Plautus, *Amphitryon*, tr. Paul Nixon (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916), 341.

67. *Curculio*, 393.

68. A famous Roman patriot.

69. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1406b 3: 3: 4.

70. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1407b 3: 5: 6, modified to reproduce Tesauro's Latin.

71. I.e., word-painting.

72. I.e., peculiarly concentrated.

73. I.e., looking at the object from the point of view of its opposite. Oxymoron is a species of this.

74. Tesauro is not introducing a new species to the list above; this belongs to no. 1, similitude. The proportional trope or metaphor (*traslato* or *metafora*, two words Tesauro uses interchangeably) is more than just a simile; it is an expression referring to one thing by playing on its similarity with another. A simile is just an expression showing that similarity. The distinction is explained in Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1412b 33 and ff.

75. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1412b, 3: 11: 10. Here Aristotle simply says that the liveliest sort of metaphor gives some idea of activity. Tesauro twists his words around.

76. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1411b 3: 10: 7.

77. *Rhetoric*, 1411a 3: 10: 7.

78. *The Orator*, 2: 71, 288-9.

79. *Rhetoric*, 1410b 3: 10: 3.

80. *Rhetoric*, 1409b 3: 9: 3.

81. *Rhetoric*, 1412b 3:L 11: 11.

82. In this and the following paragraph, Tesauro adds an eleventh to Aristotle's ten categories or modes of being. Actually, he divides the category of "relation" in two, including the new one, "causality." "Movement" is also often called "passion."

83. Also called "habitus" or "state."

84. Giovan Battista Guarini, Ferrarese (1538-1612), *The Faithful Shepherd* (1590), act 2, scene 4, l. 937.

85. *The Art of Love*, 2: 24.

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86. *Rape of Proserpine*, tr. Maurice Platnauer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1922), 1: 170.

87. Reputedly, wooden automata capable of flight invented by this Greek philosopher, contemporary of Plato.

88. Martial, *Epigrams*, 4: 32.

89. Cicero, *De divinatione*, 1: 23: 47.

90. Cicero, *The Orator*, 2: 62: 253.

91. The triangle is inscribed in a circle, and the centroid of the triangle and the center of the circle are one and the same.

92. I.e., struggle resulting in a strengthening of the thing opposed.

93. *Nicomachean Ethics*, 4: 8: 7.

94. Mentioned by Cicero in *Tusculan Disputations*, 2: 18: 42.

95. *Rhetoric*, 1400b 2: 24: 1.

96. *Rhetoric*, 1401b 2: 24: 5.

97. I.e., because all murderers are wicked, and Dionysius is wicked.

98. *Rhetoric*, 1401b, 2: 24: 8, *a non causa pro causa*. In the given case, much like the *post hoc propter hoc* fallacy.

99. I.e., besides being the goddess of the hunt she is also the goddess of births.

100. Works better in Latin, where *verres* is actually a word meaning pig.

101. *Rhetoric*, 1355b, 1: 1: 14.

102. This sophism is based on repeated bisection. Aristotle's formulation of it in *Physics* 239b, 6: 9, is clearer: "the slowest will never be overtaken in its course by the swiftest, inasmuch as, reckoning from any given instant, the pursuer, before he can catch the pursued, must reach the point from which the pursued started at that instant, so the slower will always be some distance in advance of the swifter." Tr. Philip H. Wicksteed and Francis M. Cornford (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934).

103. A disciple of Socrates.

32. SFORZA PALLAVICINO

Sforza Pallavicino, *Trattato dello stile e del dialogo* (Rome: Mascardi, 1662), 39-41; 290-3; 330-3; 344-8. For this translation, apart from that edition, reference has been made to the one of Reggio: Torreggiani, 1828.

1. The best biography is still the sketch by Ireneo Affò, in *Opere edite ed inedite del cardinale Sforza Pallavicino*, 7 vols. (Rome: Tipografia de Classici sacri, 1844-5), vol. 7, and there is some useful additional information in Ezio Raimondi, ed., *Narratori e trattatisti del Seicento* (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1960), pp. 193-6.

2. The reference is to Alessandro Marchetti, whose Italian paraphrase of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, including much information about his own times, circulated in manuscript and was finally published in London (Pickard, 1717).

3. The reference is to Plato's banning of poetry from his *Republic*.

4. Pietro Bembo, Venetian prelate and humanist (1470-1547); Sperone Speroni degli Alvarotti, Padua-born humanist and playwright (1500-88). The other reference should be to Girolamo Barbagli (1537-1586), Sienese playwright.

5. It was also, Pallavicino wants to say, the purpose of Galileo.

33. CRISTOFORO IVANOVICH

From *Minerva al tavolino* (Venice: N. Pezzana, 1681), pp. 415-20.

1. General information is from Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

2. On this subject, I recommend Howard Mayer Brown, "How Opera Began: An Introduction to Jacopo Peri's *Euridice* (1600)," in Eric Cochrane, ed., *The Late Italian Renaissance* (London: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 401-44.

3. Michelangelo Muraro, *Venetian Villas: The History and Culture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), p. 84. On Ivanovich see the entry by Thomas Walker in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 9: 413-14.

4. Freschi (ca. 1630-1710), maestro di cappella of the cathedral of Vicenza eventually became house composer at Villa Contarini. The libretto of this work was by Giorgio Maria Rapparini (1660-1726). Pallavicino (ca. 1640-1688) was at this time a maestro di coro in Venice after a

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stint in Dresden, to which he later returned. The libretti in question were published in Padua by Frambotto in 1679 and 1680.

5. Charles of Hesse-Cassel, ruled 1670-1730; the others are Duke Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga of Mantua (1650-1708) and Prince Gianfrancesco Gonzaga of Bozzolo and Sabbioneta (1672-1703).

6. A high honorific title within the Venetian aristocracy.

33. ANDREA PERRUCCI

From *L'arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all'improviso* (Naples: Michele Luigi Mutio, 1699), ed. with introduction by Antonio Giulio Bragaglia (Florence: Sansoni, 1961), pp. 66, 74-89; 90-93; 119-27; 159-61; 270.

1. On which, there is Franca Angelini, *Il teatro barocco* (Bari: Laterza, 1975), and for the earlier period, Louise George Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

2. Literal translation is used rather than the kindred notion of "acting," because of the special connotations in seventeenth-century dramatic theory, as will become apparent later on.

3. The work in reference is Julius Caesar Boulenger, *De Theatro* (Troyes: Peter Chevillot, 1603). Throughout this text P uses the word *scena* or to refer to what we would call a stage setting as well as to refer to a scene. The translation takes account of this.

4. Perrucci cites Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, 1: 48.

5. Buskins, worn in ancient times by tragic actors, were tall boots with thick soles to give the appearance of height. Socks were light shoes worn by the comedy actors.

6. I.e., Antonio Sebastiano Minturno, *L'arte poetica* (Venice: Giovanni Andrea Valvassori, 1563); Perrucci's citation is in bk. 2, p. 150.

7. Our word for *maestro di cappella*, which had evolved from its original meaning of "choirmaster."

8. In the Roman theaters, the drop curtain disappeared under the stage at the beginning of the play and was pulled up at the end.

9. Smaller curtain about half-way between the front and back of the stage, drawn up between scenes.

10. The citation is actually from Ovid. *Metamorphoses*, tr. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921), 3: 111-12.

11. Fourth-century author of a commentary on Terence.

12. Fifteenth-century author of a history of ancient poetry.

13. Of Pesaro, 1563-1608.

14. The reference is to Tommaso Garzoni's *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo* (Venice: 1585).

15. *De Theatro*, 1: 29. Rather than *oscillantes*, P should have said *grallatores*.

16. Proverb. Hans Walther *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi*, no. 11294.

17. Greek grammarian of the second century, writer of *Onomasticon*.

18. All are characters in Aeschylus, Euripides and Sophocles.

19. Actually, Petrarch, *I trionfi*, 4: 88.

20. The last reference is to Vincenzo Cartari, *Le immagini de i dei de gli antichi* (Venice: Valgrisi, 1571).

21. Literally, word painting or personification.

22. I.e., the denouement.

23. References are to Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, o vero, Descrittione dell'imagini vniversali cavate dall'antichità et da altri luoghi* (Rome : Gli Heredi di Giovanni Gigliotti, 1593), and Giovan Pietro Valeriani, *Hieroglyphica, sive, De sacris Aegyptiorum litteris commentarii* (Basel: Michael Isengrin, 1556).

24. Deut. 22: 5.

25. Salomon Gessner, *Oratio de personis sive larvis* (Hamburg: Gundermann, 1636).

26. *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (Madrid: 1613), 281-2.

27. *De jure naturae et gentium* (Frankfurt: Knock, 1694), 6: 1: 30, cited by Perrucci.

28. Aristotle, *Poetics*, tr. W. Hamilton Fyfe and W. Rhys Roberts, 1449b, 6: 2.

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29. Comedy writer of the fifth century BC.

30. Tenth-century Greek lexicographer.

31. Giovambattista Giraldi Cintio, *Discorsi intorno al comporre de i romanzi, delle comedie, e delle tragedie* (Venice: Giolito De Ferrari, 1554).

32. *De humana physiognomonia* (Naples: Longo, 1599), 1: 14, 15.

33. Athenian disciple of Theophrastus in the third century BC.

34. Celebrated writer of Samosata of the second century AD.

35. Perrucci cites, *De origine, progressu, ceremoniis et ritibus festorum dierum Iudaeorum, Graecorum, Romanorum et Turcarum, libri III* (Zurich: Wolff: 1592).

36. Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, epitome of bk. 52: 19.

37. *El arte nuevo*, 360-1. The Minturno passage is in *L'arte poetica*, bk. 2, p. 150.

38. I.e., Giovan Battista Guarini.

39. Torquato Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, tr. Joseph Tusiani, 18: 27.

40. Guarini, *The Faithful Shepherd*, II: vi.

41. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Roman Antiquities*, 7: 72: 10.

42. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1449b, 6: 5.

43. After the name of a short sort of toga.

44. The *toga praetexta* was worn by magistrates and free-born children; *tabernarius* refers to shopkeepers.

45. The works in question are Diomedes, *De arte grammatica*, bk. 3, sec. *De poematibus*; and Stephanus, *De urbibus et populis*, which however does not cover the material in question.

46. Literally, dancers who performed without sock or buskin.

47. *Epistles*, 7.

48. Ovid, *Tristia*, 2: 515.

49. So named for the Greek poet Rhinthon, who flourished around the fourth century BC.

50. Camillo Pellegrini, *Apparato alle antichità di Capua, overo, discorsi della Campania felice* (Naples: Savio, 1651), 4: 5, p. 612.

51. *Ab urbe condita*, 7: 2: 6-7.

52. Horace, *The Art of Poetry*, tr. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929), 343.

53. The reference is actually to Guarini's anonymous *Il Verrato, ovvero Difesa di quanto ha scritto Messer Giasone Denores* (Ferrara: Alfonso Caraffa, 1588).

54. By Torquato Tasso, first performed in 1573.

55. *The Art of Poetry*, tr. Fairclough, 179-182.

56. *El arte nuevo*, 372-6.

57. Giovanni Savio, *Apologia in difesa del Pastor Fido* (Venice: Carducci, 1601).

58. I.e., Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, Tuscan prelate, 1470-1520. The play was first performed around 1528. On it, see Douglas Radcliff-Umstead, *The Birth of Modern Comedy in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 143.

59. (Rome: Mascardi, 1666). The first edition of *Calandria* was Venice: 1523.

60. I.e., in Venice.

61. P. cites Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, 6: 43.

62. Fifth-century grammarian of Alexandria.

63. Literally, "sweeper." Presumably a sort of *mechane* or crane.

64. Types of moveable platform.

65. Reference is made to the grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus; and Pulcher is mentioned in Pliny, *Natural History*, 37: 55.

66. Athenaeus of Naucratis lived in the late second century AD and wrote a miscellany called *The Deipnosophists*, which Perrucci claims to cite from book 14 (inaccurately).

67. 1540-1597.

68. By Giacinto A. Cicognini, first presented at the Venetian theater of San Cassiano in 1649 with music by Francesco Cavalli.

69. By Giovanni Apolloni, first presented in the theater of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice in 1667 with music by Marc' Antonio Cesti.

70. Perrucci's music history is a little sketchy here. That was the year public theaters were first opened in Venice.

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71. *El arte nuevo*, 148-50.

72. Perrucci cites *On the Crown*, 277.

73. The recognizable figures here include Francesco Rossi (born in Bari around 1645, died there 1680); Baldassarre Pisani (born in 1650); Giulio Cesare Sorrentino (flourished in the last decades of the seventeenth century); Giulio Cesare Corradi (a Perrucci contemporary who had one of his works put to music by Tommaso Albinoni); Antonio Arcoleo (Perrucci contemporary whose librettos were put to music by Giacomo Antonio Perti and others); Girolamo Brusoni (1624-ca. 1686, who spent most of his career writing novels in Venice, although he also produced several melodramas); Enrico Noris, Veronese (1631-1704, better known as an ecclesiastical historian); Aurelio Aureli, Venetian (1630-1708); Giovan Andrea Moniglia, Florentine (1624-1700); Bernardo Morando, Genoese (1589-1656); Tiberio Sbarra (born in Ravenna); Francesco Melosio (1609-70).

74. *Poesie liriche* (Modena: Cassani, 1627), p. 66.

75. *El arte nuevo*, 47-8.

76. Caelius was a fourth-century writer chiefly known for his medical works. Of Tertullian, Perrucci cites *Liber de Pallio*.

77. Recognizable works here, apart from those already cited, include Toscanella's *Arte metrica facilissima* (Venice: Bariletto, 1567); Poliziano's *Panèpistemon*, in *Opera omnia* (Venice: Aldus, 1498); Jacopo Mazzoni's *Discorso di Donato Rofia in difesa della Commedia del divino poeta Dante* (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1572). For the others, perhaps Lodovico Castelvetro's *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata ed esposta* (Vienna: Gaspar Stainhofer, 1570), is intended here, and Celio Rodigino (Lodovico Ricchieri), *Lectionum antiquarum libri XXX* (Basel: Froben, 1542); Francesco Robortello, *In librum Aristotelis De Arte Poetica explicationes* (Florence: Torrentini, 1548); Vettori, *Commentarii in primum librum Aristotelis De Arte Poetarum* (Florence: Giunti, 1560). Girolamo Micillo may be Jacob Molsheym, called Micyllus (he did no known annotations on Aristotle).

78. *Eclogues*, 2: 65. Tr. H. R. Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 1934-52).

79. *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, tr. R. M. Gummere (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1917), no. 11.

80. Venice: 1681. See the selection from this work in this section.

81. The reference may be to *Nicomachean Ethics*, 4: 7.

82. *The Dance*, tr. A. M. Harmon (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 267.

83. Perrucci refers to Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 1: 3.

84. Terence, Prologue to *Hecyra*.

85. *Jerusalem Delivered*, 2: 61.

86. Cicero, *De lege agraria*, 2: 34: 92-3. Cicero actually spoke of a praetor, not a decemvir.

87. Perrucci refers to the *De humana physiognomonia*, bk. 3.

88. Propertius, *Elegies*, tr. H. E. Butler (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1912), 2: 5: 12.

89. *Jerusalem Delivered*, tr. Tusiani, 19: 96.

90. Celio Rodigino (Lodovico Ricchieri), *Lectionum antiquarum*, 30: 8, p. 1153.

91. Horace, *The Art of Poetry*, tr. H. Rushton Fairclough, 101-3.

92. Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, 4: 83.

93. Giovanni Della Casa, *Il Galateo* (Venice: 1558), chap. 3.

94. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 6: 3: 54.

95. The main character in this play is Pyrgopolynices.

96. Stock characters in Italian comedies.

97. Philostratus, *Lives of the sophists*, tr. W. C. Wright (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), 25.

98. Pio Rossi, *Convito morale per gli etici, economici e politici* (Venice: Guerigli, 1639).

99. The pun in Latin is based on *nux* meaning both nut and head, and *perfringere*, to break, resembling *perfrigere*, to cool.

100. Plutarch, *Life of Demosthenes*, tr.

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Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1919), 11: 2-3.

101. What Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* has to do with this is left to the reader.

102. The event is recorded in Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 6: 5.

103. By Seneca. The actor was famous in Cicero's time.

104. The episode is reported by Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 2: 7. Again, Seneca's play.

105. A similar proverb is recorded by Cicero, *The Orator*, 1: 28: 130.

106. Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, 1: 48: 256.

107. Petrarch, *De remediis utriusque fortunae, de variis spectaculis, dialogus XXX*.

108. Scene painter from Cnidus in the fifth century BC.

109. Bolognese contemporary of the Carracci, regarded by them as the stereotype of artistic ineptitude.

SPIRITUALITY

35. ACHILLE GAGLIARDI

From *Breve compendio intorno alla perfettione cristiana*, ed. Mario Bendiscioli (Florence: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1952), pp. 47-71; 73-87; 89-100.

1. Biographical information is in Gaetano Cozzi, "Gesuiti e politica sul finire del Cinquecento: una mediazione di pace tra Enrico IV, Filippo II e la Sede Apostolica proposta dal P. Achille Gagliardi alla Repubblica di Venezia," *Rivista storica italiana* 75 (1963): 477-537; Massimo Petrocchi, "Isabella Berinzaga," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 9 (1967): 103. The authorship debate is explored by Giovanni Pozzi and Claudio Leonardi, *Scrittrici mistiche italiane* (Genoa: Marietti, 1988), pp. 392-4.

2. Massimo Petrocchi, *Il quietismo italiano del Seicento* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1948), p. 21.

3. I.e, the spiritual director. The translation faithfully renders the informal, intimate character of the original so no attempt has been made to add verbs where they were not, as long as the sense is clear.

4. I.e., union with God.

5. Gagliardi is disputing those who assert perfection can be achieved only through contemplation.

6. I.e., not necessary for the welfare of the soul.

7. I.e., lay or ecclesiastical.

8. I.e., ecclesiastical superiors.

9. I.e., lay or ecclesiastical.

10. Phil. 4: 4.

11. Refers to the preliminary state before the taking of religious vows.

12. Lk. 22: 42.

13. I.e., the rule of the person's religious order.

14. Mt. 26: 37.

15. Mt. 26: 38, Mk., 14:34.

16. Lk. 12: 50.

17. Mt. 26: 46.

18. 1 Cor. 10: 13.

19. Gagliardi warns here against the dangers of the sorts of raptures experienced by Catherine of Siena and, more recently, by Teresa of Avila, in which the visions were notoriously difficult to interpret and attribute. In this volume, see the mystic Caterina Paluzzi. He advocates the mystical state known as "divine suffering," signifying things contrary to pleasure, as being safer because sanctioned by Christ's example and Scripture.

20. The story is in Gregory I, *Dialogorum libri IV, de vita et miraculis Patrum Italicorum*, bk. 3 chap. 2.

36. CATERINA PALUZZI

Text from Giovanni Antonazzi, ed., *Caterina Paluzzi e la sua autobiografia*, Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà, 8 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980), pp. 167-192, 200-5, 218-43; also the source for biographical information

1. The first milestone was Filippo Maria di San Paolo's *Vita e virtù della Venerabile Serva di Dio la Madre Sor Caterina Paluzzi Fondatrice delle Monache Domenicane in Morlupo* (Rome: 1667).

2. I.e., catechism. Christian Doctrine was the name for a Post-Tridentine Church campaign at the parish level.

3. Note P.'s caution, probably suggested by her spiritual advisors, in presenting

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these visions as conjectures rather than as facts.

4. Ring-shaped cake.

5. Here and below she refers to the evil influence she feels is tempting her.

6. Alessandro Migliacci, archpriest of Morlupo from 1588.

7. I.e., to read, probably through her brothers.

8. Quiet was a term from mystical literature signifying the cessation of all mental operations aimed at objects other than God. See the selection from Gagliardi. Paluzzi seems to use the term to mean, more precisely, peacefulness and freedom from anxiety, doubt and temptation.

9. Second-class servant nun. She could not afford to take the habit.

10. I.e., Santa Maria sopra Minerva, headquarters of the Dominican Order, to which Migliacci apparently appealed for advice.

11. Sleeveless outer garment worn by religious.

12. As mentioned in the introduction to this selection, she in fact instituted a convent in Morlupo later on.

13. I.e., supposing she married.

14. The Virgin Mary's birthplace, according to legend, transported by angels to Loreto, Italy, over which a church was built.

15. The feast is celebrated on two days: May 8 and September 29.

16. I.e., a white version of a cardinal's gown.

17. Mystical literature insists on the divine origin of true mortification. See the selection from Gagliardi.

18. Standard "discernment of spirits" procedure in early modern cases of women having visions.

19. Indeed, she would no doubt have found them difficult to read.

20. Wooden confessionals were introduced by Carlo Borromeo; Caterina may have experienced his innovations through Migliacci.

21. I.e., Pietro della Madre di Dio.

22. Of St. Cecilia in Trastevere in Rome, Benedictine. The year was 1599.

23. The body was found in a crypt beneath the church.

24. I.e., nuns.

25. Paraphrase of Romans 7: 19.

26. The offense was probably solicitation in the confessional or the like.

27. The papal tiara is made up of three crowns representing the pope's three jurisdictions as father of princes and kings, ruler of the world and vicar of Christ.

28. Chronological order is interrupted here and below.

29. Keep in mind that she is writing this on request from her advisors.

30. I.e., in prayer.

31. Aridity is a technical term in mystical literature signifying inability to pray or achieve union with God. See the selection from Gagliardi.

32. Resignation was a mystical term signifying total abandonment to the will of God.

33. Brief prayer without definite form.

34. Technical term of mysticism referring to total conformity with the Divine Will.

35. An animal's heart, liver, spleen and lungs. The gall is of course in the gall bladder; there is no need to take her too literally here.

37. PAOLO SEGNERI

Translation is from *Twelve Sermons from the Quaresimale*, tr. James Ford (London: Masters, 1858), with modifications.

1. Biographical and bibliographical sketch in Ezio Raimondi, *Narratori e trattatisti del Seicento* (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1960), pp. 653-6. The authoritative biography is Nicola Risi, *Il principe dell'eloquenza sacra in Italia, P. Paolo Segneri* (Bologna: 1924).

2. Tomaso di Villanova (1488-1555), *Conciones sacrae* (Brescia: 1603), p. 3.

3. *Summa theologica*, 3, suppl., q. 87, art. 2: 4.

4. 1281-85.

5. Asphaltites is the Dead Sea. The pools of Lerna were in Argolis. The river Cocytus was in Epirus.

6. Fourth-century Theban general famed for veracity. The others: Seleucus conquered Syria in the third century BC.

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Antigonus Gonatas was a king of Macedonia in the third century BC. The others are Athenians: Aristides, called "The Just" and Pericles were both fifth-century leaders; Socrates lived in the following century; and Polemon of the 3rd century BC was converted to a regulated life by Xenocrates.

7. Reigned 992-1025.

8. St. Basil, *Homily on Psalm 33*, 8.

9. The name of the city was left blank in the original, to be filled in by the city in which the preacher was speaking.

38. PAOLO SEGNERI

Text is from *Il penitente istruito a ben confessarsi* (Rome: Giuseppe Salviucci, 1826), chaps. 1, 2, 15.

1. David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch*, chap. 3.

2. Gen. 39: 41.

3. Ps. 104: 20.

4. Ps. 104: 21.

5. Jn. 6: 71.

6. Ecclesiasticus 28: 25.

7. Ecclesiasticus, 26: 20.

8. Sophonias, 1: 2.

9. Rev. 22: 11.

10. Dan. 2: 3.

11. Dan. 2: 4.

12. Soph. 1: 12.

13. 1 Corinthians, 11: 31.

14. The general of the army of the king of Syria, cleansed from his leprosy by the prophet Elisha. 2 Kings [4 Kings in Douai] 5: 10.

15. Job 36: 14.

16. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4: 560.

17. Ecclesiasticus 30: 24.

18. Joel 1: 17. Segneri slightly modifies the Latin quotation.

39. DEGLI ALBIZZI

From Massimo Petrocchi, *Il quietismo italiano del Seicento* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1948), pp. 147-55, 157; report to the Roman curia dated 12 April 1682.

1. On which, the best source is Gianvittorio Signorotto, *Inquisitori e mistici nel Seicento italiano. L'eresia di Santa Pelagia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989).

2. *Concordia tra la fatica e la quiete nell'orazione* (Rome: 1680).

3. I.e., Pietro Ottoboni, Pope Alexander VIII from 1689 to 1691.

4. Her book, *Stati d'oratione mentale per arrivare in breve tempo a Dio* (Turin: 1674), was prohibited in 1676.

5. Explained by John of the Cross in *The Dark Night of the Soul*, bk. 2, chap. 10. The purgation or cleansing of the soul of all impurities was accompanied by divine illumination.

6. In the original, the edict follows.

7. See the selection from Gagliardi.

40. GIORNALE DE' LETTERATI

From *Giornale de' letterati*, August, 1674 (Rome: Tinassi, 1674), pp. 97-8.

1. General information can be found in Jean-Michel Gardair, *Le "Giornale de' letterati" de Rome (1668-81)* (Florence: Olschki, 1984). The volume for the year 1681 was actually published in 1683.

2. According to the Aristotelians, the soul is the substantial form of the human body—in other words, it is that which gives reality and essence to pure substance, bringing about the particular body. For the atomists, there is no need for substantial form, since the atoms simply mix in certain configurations to produce body.

3. The problem for the Aristotelians is that according to Catholic teaching, the soul leaves the body. Therefore it must have some independence from the body whose essence it is.

4. I.e., the particular configurations that the atoms appear to assume, causing them to be such and such a body.

5. The objection, in other words, is that the Eucharist cannot have the accidental form of bread atoms without actually being bread, even though Catholic teaching insists the Eucharist looks like bread but is actually the body of Christ.

6. The works in question are Thomas Netter of Walden (1375-1430), *Antiquitatum fidei Catholicae Ecclesiae doctrinale* (Venice: Bassanese, 1758), vol. 2, chap. 82, col. 491A; and Innocent III, *De sacrificio missae*, in his *Opera omnia*, vol. 4, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol.

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217 (Paris: Migne, 1855), 4: 9, cols. 862B-C, from which the quote is a pastiche.

41. LORENZO MAGALOTTI

Text is mainly based on the edition of Venice: 1762, taking account of the apparatus in Mario Praz, *Lettere sopra i buccheri con l'aggiunta di lettere contro l'ateismo. . . .* Florence: Le Monnier, 1945) and Massimo Baldini, *Magalotti: religione e scienza nel Seicento* (Brescia: La Scuola, 1984).

1. Information regarding this stage in his career is in Eric Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, book 4.

2. Romans 7: 22-23.

3. The anecdote comes from Pliny, *Natural History*, 35: 103, in relation to Protogenes. There, the animal is a dog.

4. Alessandro Varotari, called Padovanino, 1588-1648.

5. A famous Spanish sailor, 1649-1733.

6. The allusion is to Giovanni Gonnelli, called the Cieco da Gambassi.

7. An allusion to Jacques Callot, French engraver, 1592-1635.

8. Burin is the needle used in etching. Reference is made to Robert Nanteuil, 1623-78, French engraver.

9. Without the occasion to do another portrait, the unimaginative Nanteuil would have tried to make a living by the one he had already produced.

10. I.e., the creatures were now able to make themselves without the continuous activity of Chance.

11. Heb. 11: 6.

12. I.e., the four moons of Jupiter discovered by Galileo in 1610.

13. John Wilmot, earl of Rochester, *Satyr against Mankind* (London: 1679), 55-7.

14. Sextus Propertius, *Elegies*, bk. 2, 1: 15-1, tr. G. P. Goold.

15. Heb. 11: 1.

16. Ps. 58 (57 in Douai): 9.

17. I Peter, 1: 8.

18. Statius, *Thebaide*, tr. J. H. Mozley (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928), 3: 661.

19. Some traces of the current of pessimism and austerity known as Jansenism (after Cornelius Jansen, 1585-1638) may be evident here, perhaps by way of the *Pensées* of Blaise Pascal (1623-62).

20. The allusion is to Acts 5: 15, where the Apostle in question, performing cures, is Peter.

BEYOND THE BAROQUE

42. BENEDETTO MENZINI

Text from Giovan Mario Crescimbeni, ed., *Prose degli Arcadi*, 3 vols. (Rome: Rossi, 1718), I: 112-25.

1. Crescimbeni, ed., *Le Vite degli Arcadi illustri*, 5 vols. (Roma: Stamperia di Antonio de' Rossi, 1708-1751), 1: 169-88.

2. Menzini, like the other members of the academy, chose a fanciful pseudonym.

3. legendary river running through Arcadia.

4. Tragic poet of the 5th century BC.

5. Another river in Arcadia.

6. River in Vaucluse, the area near Avignon where Petrarch wrote some of his most famous poetry.

7. Part of Boeotia containing Mt. Helicon, sacred to the Muses.

8. The allusion is, of course, to Giambattista Marino (q.v.) and the Marinisti.

9. Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) and Giovanni Guidiccioni (1500-41) were cardinals as well as writers; Giovanni Della Casa (1503-56) was also a bishop, papal nuncio, and secretary to pope Paul IV.

10. Greek lyric poet of the sixth century BC, whose *Odes* Menzini imitates.

11. Menzini, *Rime* (Florence: Michele Nestenus e Francesco Moücke, 1731), vol. 3, elegia 5.

12. I.e., of Leo X, Giovanni de' Medici, pope from 1513-21.

13. Luigi Tansillo (1510-68), Angiolo Di Costanzo (1507-91), and Maffio Venier (1550-86).

43. ANNIBALE ALBANI

Text from Crescimbeni, ed., *Prose degli Arcadi*, I: 144-52.

1. Biography is in the entry by G. Sofri, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 1 (1960): 598-600.

2. Tasso, *Il mondo creato*, 1: 335-344.

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3. The Aristotelian theory of generation by opposites is meant here. See the selection by Campanella for a critique.

4. Pliny, *Natural History*, 35: 105.

44. LUDOVICO ANTONIO MURATORI

From Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Opere*, 2 vols., ed. Giorgio Falco and Fiorenzo Forti (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1964), 1: 178-97.

1. Concerning Muratori's importance, Eric Cochrane, "Muratori: The Vocation of a Historian," *Catholic Historical Review*, 51 (1965): 153-72; for his ideas on academies, Alberto Vecchi, "La nuova academia letteraria d'Italia," in *Accademie e cultura: aspetti storici tra Sei e Settecento* (Florence: Olschki, 1979), pp. 39-72.

2. Clement XI (1700-21).

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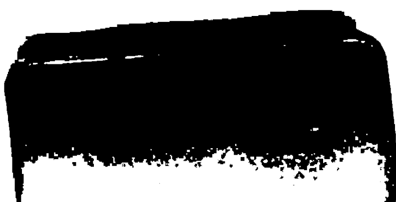

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