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The cultural importance of Florentine patricians

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Citation

Goudriaan, E. J. (2015, April 30). *The cultural importance of Florentine patricians*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/32883>

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Cover Page



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Title: The cultural importance of Florentine patricians. Cultural exchange, brokerage networks, and social representation in early modern Florence and Rome (1600-1660)

Issue Date: 2015-04-30

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The shared cultural world of the Medici princes and the Florentine patricians: musical performances, European networks, and cultural academies

Introduction

In the first part of this chapter we see how the cultural worlds of the Medici princes and the patricians related to each other, as the latter functioned as tutors and chamberlains for the former and in these roles supervised the Medici's cultural projects and academies (as vice-patrons). This is illustrated especially by the rich correspondence found in the Niccolini-archive between Filippo Niccolini, vice-patron of the Sorgenti-academy protected by Prince Giovan Carlo de' Medici, and the Roman musicians Marco Marazzoli and Giuseppe Vannucci. This correspondence demonstrates that the close contact Florentine patricians had with important artists and musicians led to many cultural innovations. In addition to this, attention is given to the relation between Don Giovanni de' Medici and the members of the Alterati-academy, and to the many patricians who played a role in Leopoldo de' Medici's network of cultural agents. Together the Medici princes and the patricians supported a large cultural world with many connections to other cities.

In the second part, we see how the Medici princes were actively involved in the cultural academies they patronized. The patricians used these cultural academies as places for critical discussions about literature, art, poetry, theology, and theatre and they experienced their reunions as intellectual diversions from their official obligations. Moreover, the academies were important places for sociability between patricians and artists where there was large space for cultural experiments. Playful accents in literature, poetry, word games, and theatre alternated with serious discussions and together characterised the life in the academies in the first half of the seventeenth century. At the same time, these academies were the starting point for many of the cultural developments we will discuss in the following chapters, such as art brokerage and ceremonial events.

Part I

4.1 Giovanni de' Medici and the Alterati

One member of the Medici-family who shared a lot of interests with Florentine patricians was Don Giovanni de' Medici (1567-1621, fig. 1).⁶⁶¹ He was an illegitimate son of Grand Duke Cosimo I and Eleonora degli Albizzi and was later legitimated. From that moment on he was involved in many court events and had important functions as a military commander in several countries. He was educated as a man of letters at the court of Grand Duke Francesco I and like the patricians he undertook diplomatic missions, held memberships in a variety of academies, collected art, worked as amateur architect, demonstrated an interest in culture and science generally, and maintained informal contact with artists. His most important commission as an architect was the Cappella delle pietre dure in the Medici Chapels.⁶⁶² Don Giovanni had great interest in theatre and during his life he patronized the Accademia Comici Confidenti (from 1613 to 1621) and the Accademia degli Incostanti. The Incostanti performed in his

661 On the life and career of Don Giovanni de' Medici, see Lippmann 2011; Baroncelli (ed. Marina Macchio) 2009; Volpini 2009 and Dooley 2006; 2004.

662 Besides his work in the Medici Chapels, as an architect Giovanni de' Medici built Forte Belvedere together with Alessandro Pieroni and furthermore, he made the façade of Santo Stefano in Pisa. Giovanni's project for the *cappella dei principi* (or Cappella delle pietre dure) was chosen by a jury that consisted of Vasari the Younger, Giovanni Caccini, Alessandro Pieroni, Alessandro Allori, Passignano, Cigoli, and Santi di Tito. They rejected a project of Bernardo Buontalenti, because its light source was only secondary. (Dooley 2004: 93.)

palace in Via del Parione.⁶⁶³ In the famous court-diary of Cesare Tinghi, there is information about these performances in Don Giovanni's palazzo.⁶⁶⁴ There were many improvisational plays, like ridiculous comedies, masked comedies and comedies with the use of dialects.⁶⁶⁵ In 1611 *La Dafne*, written by Ottavio Rinuccini and composed by Jacopo Corsi, was performed in Corsi's palace.⁶⁶⁶

At the end of his life Don Giovanni dedicated much of his spare time to the Accademia degli Alterati. The Alterati academy was founded in 1569 by seven young patricians, with the aim of discussing poetry, literature, music, science, theatre and art.⁶⁶⁷ At the end of the sixteenth century the academy gathered weekly or fortnightly in the house of Tommaso del Nero and from the beginning of the seventeenth century in the house of Giovan Battista Strozzi il Poeta. When Strozzi died in 1634 the academy ceased to exist.⁶⁶⁸ In the first decades of its existence, the discussions of the academy concentrated on literature in general and especially on the relative position of poetry with respect to the other arts (rhetoric, history, philosophy, and painting).⁶⁶⁹ And within this genre of poetry, the members aspired to establish a hierarchy among the poetic genres themselves (they distinguished the genres comedy, tragedy, lyric, epic, canzone, and sonnet).⁶⁷⁰ In the public quarrel about Ariosto and Tasso, which started in 1582, the Alterati defended Ariosto vigorously.⁶⁷¹ Besides discussions about poetry the other main concern of the academy was to judge the writings of their members, but also of independent persons who sent their manuscripts to the academy for criticism.⁶⁷² In addition to their discussions, or also simultaneously, they had festive banquets, where they played practical jokes and engaged in mock polemics.⁶⁷³

Don Giovanni de' Medici had joined the Alterati in 1587 with the pseudonym Il Saldo, but had often been absent because of his military missions for the

663 Volpini 2009: 72-77.

664 Landolfi 1991: 59.

665 Ibid.: 65.

666 Weaver/Weaver 1978: 87-143. *La Dafne* is considered to be the first opera and was performed for the first time during the Carnival of 1598 at the Palazzo Corsi.

667 Mazzoni 2000: 885; Van Veen 2008: 2. The Accademia degli Alterati was founded by Vincenzo Acciaiuoli, Antonio degli Albizzi, Giulio del Bene, Alessandro Canigiani, Lorenzo Corbinelli, Tommaso del Nero and Renato de' Pazzi.

668 Van Veen 2008: 3.

669 Weinberg 1954: 208-209.

670 Ibid.

671 Weinberg 1954: 212.

672 Mazzoni 2000: 885; Weinberg 1954: 212.

673 Weinberg 1954: 207.

Habsburgs in Flanders and Hungary/Bohemia.⁶⁷⁴ When he was present however, the Alterati had felt very honoured and had enjoyed his wonderful qualities. In 1615 he left for Venice, where he would be appointed as commander-in-chief of the army of the Republic of Venice. After his departure for Venice, his letters often were read aloud, because of the beautiful language. As Giovan Battista Strozzi il Poeta wrote him, after his departure it felt as if winter had started (“Mentre V.S. Illustrissima favoriva con la sua presenza l’Accademia, ella fioriva e produceva frutti mirabili, doppo la partita e lontananza sua è a lei, come alla terra avvenuto nel tempo del verno”).⁶⁷⁵ To keep the memory of his presence at the Alterati alive, Don Giovanni decided to put on record the activities of the academy in his *Ragionamenti accademici*.⁶⁷⁶ The *Ragionamenti* consisted of five parts. In the third part, he wanted to describe the ‘virtuous exercises’ of the Alterati in the years 1618-19.⁶⁷⁷ To be as accurate as possible he wrote the patriotic Giovan Battista Strozzi il Poeta several letters to ask for membership lists, including pseudonyms, coats of arms and information about each member’s literary output. In 1621, shortly before his death, this part of the *Ragionamenti* was almost finished.⁶⁷⁸ The other members of the Alterati read it together in his absence and were full of praise for his writings.⁶⁷⁹

Don Giovanni deeply regretted that during his years in Venice, he was unable to discuss his writings and cultural ideas with his fellow academicians: “Il maggior sollevamento che io habbia doppo qualche fastidio sono i miei studii, i quali restano bene spesso privi del loro intero gusto non havendo con chi conferirli”.⁶⁸⁰ This demonstrates the previous statement that the academies motivated their members to reflect about each other’s intended publications in order to criticise their fellow members and stimulate them to publish their writings. When he died in Venice in 1621, Don Giovanni left behind the manuscript of the *Ragionamenti accademici*, containing only one volume, which was

674 Volpini 2009: 72-77; Landolfi 1988: 134.

675 This is written in an undated draft of a letter from Giovan Battista Strozzi to Don Giovanni (Biblioteca Nazionale Magl. Cl. IX. Cod. 124).

676 Volpini 2009: 72-77. *Ragionamenti*: BNCF Magl. VIII 1406 cc.1-104.

677 Landolfi 1988: 138. BNCF Magl. Cl. VIII, cod. 1406, cc. 1-104 (minuta, parzialmente autografa) and copia calligrafica Biblioteca Laurenziana: cod. Ashb. 562, cc. 129-225.

678 Landolfi 1988: 139 For the letters written by Don Giovanni de’ Medici to Strozzi, see Biblioteca Nazionale Magl. Cl. IX. Cod. 124, c. 12-15, 20-23. For the answers of Strozzi, see: ASF Mediceo del Principato 5141 c.4,14,35,43,415. For the list of pseudonyms of members of the Alterati Don Giovanni de’ Medici gets from Strozzi (BNCF Magl. Cl. IX. Cod. 124, c.1 + 6), see appendix.

679 Landolfi 1988: 140 Letter from Strozzi to Giovanni de’ Medici: 21 July 1621, ASF Mediceo del Principato 5141 c. 43, see appendix.

680 30 July 1616, ASF Carte Alessandri f.2, c. 192.

sent to Florence by his fellow Florentine Niccolò Sacchetti, a patrician who lived in Venice.⁶⁸¹ Some Florentine artists, like Filippo Furini, were close friends of Giovanni and even visited him on his deathbed in Venice. Furini stayed with him day and night ‘with large and passionate affection’ (*con grandissimo et sviscerato affetto*).⁶⁸²

4.2 Giovan Carlo de’ Medici and Filippo Niccolini

4.2.1 Niccolini as supervisor of Giovan Carlo’s cultural projects

In 1629, Giovan Carlo de’ Medici (see chapter 2, fig. 23) bought the Villa Mezzomonte from the Panciatichi family, under the supervision of Marquis Filippo Niccolini, his tutor and from 1630 his chamberlain, whose patronage we discussed in the previous chapter.⁶⁸³ Villa Mezzomonte was located in the countryside near Impruneta, in the Chianti-region. The patrician Niccolini advanced all the costs for Giovan Carlo.⁶⁸⁴ He supervised the restoration of the villa and was in close contact with the painters who decorated it: Francesco Albani, Giovanni da San Giovanni, Pandolfo Sacchi, and Stefano del Buono.⁶⁸⁵ The stucco reliefs were designed by Pietro da Cortona, and Salvator Rosa painted the lunettes.⁶⁸⁶ In 1644, Giovan Carlo renewed the mezzanino in the Palazzo Pitti, with frescoes by Chiavistelli and Ciseri, who later worked for Filippo Niccolini in his city palace.⁶⁸⁷

Prince Giovan Carlo de’ Medici was very enthusiastic about theatre performances and patronized many theatrical academies in Florence, such as the *Instancabili* (from 1633) and the *Improvvisi*, later known as the *Percossi* (from 1645), which staged their plays at the Casino Mediceo. Further, he patronized the *Concordi* (later the *Immobili*, from 1648), for which he commissioned the architect Ferdinando Tacca in 1650 to build the Cocomero theatre. A few years

681 Landolfi 1988: 146.

682 Ibid. Landolfi quotes the manuscript source ASF Mediceo del Principato f 3007 c. 273 r.

683 Filippo Niccolini became marquis of Montegiovì in 1625 and exchanged this fief for the one of Ponsacco and Camugliano in 1637, as explained in the previous chapter. His brother was Francesco Niccolini (1584-1650), marquis of Campiglia from 1643 and the Florentine ambassador in Rome between 1621 and 1643.

684 Riccardo Spinelli in a presentation about the relation between Filippo Niccolini and Giovan Carlo de’ Medici on 15 December 2010 at the University of Florence during a conference called ‘Giornata di studi sulla storia del collezionismo fiorentino del Seicento. La corte medicea e i suoi sodali’.

685 Mascalchi 1982: 46, 47.

686 Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: 121.

687 Villani 2009: 61-63; Mascalchi 1982: 63.

later, when the Cocomero theatre had become too small for the purposes of the Immobili, Giovan Carlo commissioned the same architect to build the Pergola theatre, erected between 1652 and 1656 (figs. 2 and 3).⁶⁸⁸ From the moment the Immobili moved to the Pergola, Giovan Carlo started to patronize yet another academy, the Accademia dei Sorgenti, which began to perform at the Cocomero theatre in 1654. In the years before his death he also patronized three other academies: the Adamisti, the Infuocati and the Imperfetti.⁶⁸⁹

In 1644, as we could read in the account about his entry into Rome, Giovan Carlo de' Medici was made a cardinal.⁶⁹⁰ In his new role as Cardinal Legate, he sometimes had to travel to Rome for conclaves or other obligations. In 1655, for example, he was assigned the task of receiving and accompanying Queen Christina of Sweden in Rome, where she arrived in December after she had converted to the Catholic faith in Innsbruck in November of that year. On all the occasions when Giovan Carlo was in Rome or had other obligations inside or outside Florence, Filippo Niccolini supervised his cultural projects in the latter city, such as the building of the Pergola theatre. In a letter to his nephew, Carlo de' Medici wrote that he visited the construction of the Pergola theatre together with Niccolini. He sang the praises of the architect Ferdinando Tacca and the frescoes by Chiavistelli and Ciseri. He wrote favourably about the lavishly decorated room with much comfort for the women and princes and said that some of the scenery was more beautiful than he had ever seen in Lombardy or Mantua ("alcune scene, che ne' tempi passati qua non l'ho vedute, né meno in Lombardia, né a Mantova dove se n'è fatta tanta professione").⁶⁹¹ It was an important remark that Carlo thought the theatre was more beautiful than other theatres, because in the summer of 1635 Giovan Carlo had made a trip with his uncle Don Lorenzo to see and experience the theatres in Modena, Bologna, Parma and Venice. After the trip he knew exactly what kind of theatre he wanted to build in Florence.⁶⁹²

Niccolini stood in for Giovan Carlo many times as patron of the Cocomero theatre and of the Accademia dei Sorgenti. Between 1654 and 1660, the Sorgenti put on non-commercial plays financed by the Grand Duke, and every year they performed open-air plays and improvised plays with much space

688 On the Teatro la Pergola and the Accademia dei Sorgenti, see Michelassi 2005: 445-472.

689 Mamone 2003a: xxx

690 On Giovan Carlo de' Medici, see Villani 2009; Barocchi/Bertelà 2007, III; Mamone 2003a.

691 Barocchi/Bertelà 2007: 94. Carlo de' Medici to Giovan Carlo de' Medici, 22 August 1655, ASF Mediceo del Principato 5375 c535, see appendix.

692 Villani 2009: 61-63.

for music.⁶⁹³ The improvised plays were primarily performed during Carnival and the open-air plays in July and August. Niccolini was involved not only with the Sorgenti, but also with the Immobili. From the moment the Pergola theatre was finished, the Immobili staged almost all the official plays organised by the Medici family.⁶⁹⁴ Apart from the literary quality of the plays, the factors that made their performances successful were the machines, set designs, the magnificent spectacle itself, and an ensemble of about ten virtuoso singers, carefully selected from the whole peninsula.⁶⁹⁵ On many occasions, Niccolini acted as one of the “soprintendenti alle musiche” (supervisors of music) of the Immobili: for example, during the rehearsals and performances of the dramas *Il pazzo per forza* and *L'Ipermestra* (both performed in 1658).⁶⁹⁶ Among their other duties, the supervisors had to choose the specific singers and musicians for each play.⁶⁹⁷

Niccolini also took care of Giovan Carlo's art collection and when Giovan Carlo decided to move a certain number of his paintings from Casino Mediceo to Villa di Castello, his uncle Carlo wrote him that although some paintings had disappeared from Casino Mediceo, it was hardly noticeable because Marquis Niccolini had rearranged the other paintings so well that the missing paintings did not catch the eye: (“il marchese Niccolini ha fatto così bene accomodare gli altri che non si conosce che ne manchi nessuno”).⁶⁹⁸ At the end of his life, Giovan Carlo possessed 570 paintings: still lifes, landscapes, family portraits, paintings with literary scenes, and paintings of the Bolognese school.⁶⁹⁹ Giovan Carlo died intestate and with many debts, and immediately after his death there were negotiations about his art-collection between Filippo Niccolini and Marquis Carlo Rinuccini, another Florentine patrician and then ambassador in Rome.⁷⁰⁰ To pay off Giovan Carlo's debts, Ferdinand II auctioned the whole collection of paintings, furniture, books, sculpture, and glass in 1663-64.⁷⁰¹

693 Sarà 2007: 130.

694 Garbero Zorzi/Zangheri 2000: 16.

695 Decroisette 2000: 84.

696 Weaver/Weaver 1978: 87-143.

697 Yans 1978: 175.

698 Barocchi/Bertela 2007: 78. Letter from Carlo to Giovan Carlo de' Medici, ASF Mediceo del Principato 5375 c539: 14 August 1655, see appendix.

699 Mascalchi 1984: 268-269.

700 Mascalchi 1982: 62. Carlo Rinuccini (1596-1666) was marquis of Baselice and was married with Lucrezia Riccardi.

701 Villani 2009: 61-63; Mascalchi 1982 sums up the books Giovan Carlo possessed: *Opera omnia* of Plotinus and Plato (Venetian edition from 1517), the *Colloqui* of Erasmus, the *Discorsi sul poema eroico* of Tasso, the *Vite (Vitae Parallelae)* of Plutarch and of Vasari, many Spanish texts, like the complete works of

Most likely, Niccolini and Rinuccini discussed some possible buyers before the official auction took place.

4.2.2 Niccolini's correspondence with musicians: new baroque influences from Rome⁷⁰²

In his function of vice-patron of the Sorgenti, Niccolini came in contact with many musicians and composers in Rome. In the years 1658–59 he received a great deal of newly written music from the violone player Giuseppe Vannucci, a hitherto unknown copyist who resided at the court of the Chigi Pope Alexander VII.⁷⁰³ Apart from his dealings with Vannucci, Niccolini corresponded with the composer Marco Marazzoli about some of the latter's recently composed recitatives and ariettas, which he had sent to Niccolini. Together with other archival sources from the Niccolini archive in Florence, the letters from Vannucci and Marazzoli give some insight into the early dissemination of Roman baroque music and its reception in Florence. At the same time, analysis of the correspondence sheds light on the existence of a small private music academy at the villa of marchese Niccolini, whose musical patronage remains largely unknown.

The unknown copyist Vannucci sends ariettas by Caproli and Carissimi to Florence

The Niccolini archive in Florence preserves some thirty unpublished letters from the musicians Vannucci and Marazzoli to Filippo Niccolini, most of them written by the otherwise little known Vannucci.⁷⁰⁴ From 1636 to 1639, he played the violone in the Cappella Musicale of the church of Santa Maria di

Gòngora (Madrid, 1633), the comedies of Ruzzante and of Aristophanes, translations of Cicero and Aristotle, the *Adone* of Marino, the *Secchia rapita* of Tassoni and the *Trattato della musica* of Doni. These books tell something about the cross-border interest in cultural developments in seventeenth-century Florence. Many of the texts from Spain were sent by the patrician Vincenzo Bardi. (ASF Mediceo del Principato 5329 c.3, 2 aug 1651). (See Barocchi/Bertelà 2007: 105).

702 Section 4.4.2 is based on, and some paragraphs are literally quoted from, the article by Elisa Goudriaan, "Un recitativo per il Signor Antonio con un scherzetto di un Arietta fatta fresca fresca": Marco Marazzoli, Giuseppe Vannucci and the exchange of baroque music between Rome and Florence in the correspondence of marchese Filippo Niccolini, *Recercare. Rivista per lo studio e la pratica della musica antica*, XXV: 1-2, 2013 (2014), pp. 39-74.

703 Vannucci wrote a total of 28 letters to Filippo Niccolini, which are preserved in Florence, Archivio Niccolini di Camugliano [hereafter, ANCFi], fondo antico 246, inserto 5/6/7/8. (All of these are volumes containing letters from various people to Marquis Filippo di Giovanni Niccolini written during the years 1658–1659). See appendix.

704 From a document in the Niccolini archive in Florence (ANCFi, fondo antico 60, Registro di ordini per servizio di Giovan Carlo de' Medici, 1651–1662) to which we refer later it appears that Vannucci was likely a priest from Barga. His name does not occur in the article about Roman copyists of the mid-seventeenth-century by Christine Jeanneret (2009) or in the article about Roman copyists in the

Provenzano in Siena, where he is listed also as a chaplain.⁷⁰⁵ During the years 1639–1656 his activities are unknown, but he probably continued working as a violone player in Siena and joined the Chigi family when it moved to Rome in 1656, after Fabio Chigi became Pope Alexander VII in 1655. Vannucci's letters show that he was in close contact with the Pope's nephew and brother, Agostino and Mario Chigi, respectively.⁷⁰⁶ He gives inside information about the Chigi court, and in one of his first letters to Niccolini he reports on the contacts between Berenice della Ciaia (the wife of Mario Chigi), Maria Virginia Borghese (the wife of Agostino Chigi), and Queen Christina of Sweden. In the summer of 1658 Agostino Chigi and Maria Virginia Borghese had just been married, and Vannucci describes the first visit of the new bride to the Pope, and, the day after, to Queen Christina:

Le nuove, che ho della nostra corte sono che martedì su le 21 hora la Signora sposa Don Agostino insieme con la Signora Donna Berenice andò per la prima volta a baciare il piede a Nostro Signore uscita cognita in una bellissima Carozza tutta indorata, dal quale si trattenne sino ad un hora di notte, ritrovandosi anco da Sua Santità il Signor Cardinale Chigi ed il Signor Don Mario, e Don Agostino. Il giorno seguente poi la suddetta signora sposa andò sola a visitar la Regina di Svezia, dalla quale poco dimorò, la sera poi a cena disse, che la Regina le haveva detto, che in Roma vi haveva pochi amici, ma che quelli erano buoni, e che spesse volte la visitavano.⁷⁰⁷

During the years of Vannucci's correspondence with Niccolini, the Chigi family lived in a palazzo at Piazza SS. Apostoli, which they had rented in 1657 from

seventeenth century by Alessio Ruffatti (2007). His handwriting is also not comparable to that of the anonymous copyists analysed by Jeanneret and Ruffatti.

705 Reardon 1993: 125. The viol (violone in Italian) was a viola-sized, cello-sized or larger than cello-sized instrument with four to six strings. Vannucci's salary is given in ACP [Archivio della Collegiata di Provenzano], H13 #47, 53, 76 and 85. Marco Borgogni (2008: 28) writes that this chapel was inaugurated in 1627. I am very grateful to Colleen Reardon, who checked all her documents to find out more information about Giuseppe Vannucci for me.

706 In 1656 Mario Chigi was named a general of the Church. Agostino (1634–1705) was appointed captain of Castel Sant'Angelo, governor of Benevento and Civitavecchia and castellan of Perugia, Ancona and Ascoli. Maria Virginia Borghese was the daughter of Princess Olimpia Aldobrandini (princess of Rossano) and Paolo Borghese, who died in 1646. Maria Virginia had a dowry of 200,000 *scudi* and was one of the richest women in Rome. See Krautheimer 1985: 12; Stumpo 1980: 743–745.

707 ANCFi, fondo antico 246, inserto 5, 7 September 1658.

Stefano Colonna.⁷⁰⁸ Mario and Agostino Chigi lived there with their wives, other family members, and servants.⁷⁰⁹ On 18 July 1658 the wedding of Agostino and Maria Virginia Borghese was celebrated. Two months after the wedding, on 21 September 1658, Vannucci wrote to Niccolini that “Don Agostino” had given him a book with ariettas containing contributions from several composers, but mainly Carlo del Violino, the familiar appellation of Carlo Caproli (“Il Signor Don Agostino mi ha dato un libro d’ariette, già alcune settimane promessomi, nel quale ce ne sono da 30 di diversi Autori, ma la maggior parte di Carlo del Violino”).⁷¹⁰ It is possible that the book was a present for the wedding of Agostino and Maria Virginia, or alternatively that these ariettas were performed during the wedding celebrations.⁷¹¹

Vannucci wrote that he was planning to copy Agostino Chigi’s whole book for Niccolini and promised to send one or two compositions weekly. Since he was not sure whether Niccolini already had some of the ariettas, he wrote out the textual incipits of the songs so that Niccolini could check his collection (see fig. 6 for a photograph of one of Vannucci’s letters). Carlo Caproli (1614–1668), the main composer represented in the collection, was a leading composer of cantatas in the mid-seventeenth century, and a talented violinist and organist.⁷¹² Niccolini probably knew Caproli personally, since a notation in

708 Waddy 1990: 290–302. This palazzo had been built in 1548 and was inherited in 1562 by Marcantonio Colonna, who lived in it until his death in 1597. After him, it was occupied by Cardinal Francisco Guzmán de Avila, and in 1622/23 it was bought by Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi. When Ludovisi received a new post, he sold the palazzo to Pierfrancesco Colonna.

709 Waddy 1990: 301. The combined households numbered 165 persons. Because they had such a large *famiglia*, in September 1659 Mario and Agostino bought another residence, the Palazzo Aldobrandini-Chigi at Piazza Colonna, to which they moved in the spring of 1660. Stumpo (1980) writes that the old Chigi palazzo at Piazza SS. Apostoli was bought in 1661 by Cardinal Flavio Chigi (Mario’s son), who began to live there at the beginning of 1662. As a result of his marriage Agostino became prince of Farnese. Later on, Pope Alexander VII bought for him the fiefs of Campagnano and Ariccia. Alexander’s aim was that Agostino should be named a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, an event that came to pass in October 1658, when Agostino received this title from the Holy Roman Emperor, Leopold I.

710 ANCFi, fondo antico 246, inserto 5.

711 The mentioned book could be BAV Chigi Q.IV.11, with the combined coats of arms of Virginia Borghese and Agostino Chigi on the binding. This document contains music by Caproli, Carissimi, Marazzoli, and others, but since there is only one piece by Caproli (while Vannucci wrote most of the pieces were composed by him) the volume copied by Vannucci was probably another one.

712 Caproli began his career as *maestro di cappella* of San Girolamo degli Schiavoni (1638–42). After that, he is listed as an instrumentalist, violinist, and chaplain at the Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocefisso from 1644 until 1665. During the same years he is also listed as a musician at the Arciconfraternita di San Marcello. From 1643, he was second organist at the Collegio Germanico, where Carissimi composed the music; in 1644 he became an *aiutante di camera* of Cardinal Camillo Pamphili, the nephew of Pope Innocent X. From 1652, he served as a violinist at San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome. In 1653, he went to

the Niccolini archive shows that on 2 May 1659 Niccolini made a present of six typically Tuscan marzolino cheeses to a certain “Carlino del Violino” who was passing through Florence on a trip.⁷¹³

Vannucci kept his promise and sent ariettas copied from the book of Agostino Chigi almost every week.⁷¹⁴ For Niccolini, these were certainly avant-garde works, since Rome was the centre of cantata and chamber aria composition during the seventeenth century.⁷¹⁵ In the years 1640–1660, apart from Caproli, the leading composers of cantatas and arias included Luigi Rossi, Anton Francesco Tenaglia, Giacomo Carissimi, and Marco Marazzoli.⁷¹⁶ The cantatas were generally written for one or two voices with basso continuo (sometimes accompanied by one or two violins), and were aimed at a select audience of connoisseurs.⁷¹⁷ Therefore this vocal chamber music could be performed in a perfect setting at the *conversazioni* (salons) regularly held in the private palaces of Roman aristocratic families such as those of the Barberini, Pamphili, Borghese, Chigi, Colonna, and Queen Christina of Sweden.⁷¹⁸

In mid-seventeenth-century Rome, most cantata music circulated only in manuscript form. Compositions could reach musicians and patrons most quickly in this state and remain exclusive.⁷¹⁹ Every prominent family sought to have the latest compositions for its salon, and copyists (or composers themselves) could arouse the curiosity of potential patrons by offering a rare, handwritten

Paris, where he composed the opera *Le nozze di Peleo e di Theti*, with a libretto by Francesco Buti. This opera was performed in 1654, and Louis XIV himself danced in the ballets after each scene of the opera, which was very well received. In 1655 Caproli returned to Rome and worked in the service of Antonio Barberini until 1664. In 1655 he also played the violin during the festivities of the entry of Christina of Sweden in Rome. In 1661 Caproli's opera *Davide prevaricante e poi pentito*, with a libretto by Lelio Orsini, was performed at the court of Vienna, in the *Kapelle* of Eleonora II. From 1662 Caproli was an *aiutante di camera* of Don Virgilio Orsini. Caproli's cantatas for one or more voices were especially famous for their lyrical quality. See Riepe 2011: 185, 192; Affortunato 2008: 7–17; Speck 2003: 370; Hammond 1999: 59; Caluori 1980.

713 ANCFi, fondo antico 63, Entrata e uscita 1652–1661: “A dì 2 Maggio 1659 4 y 4 [4 scudi e 4 soldi] per sei marzolini donati a Carlino del Violino che passò a Firenze”. Marzolino cheeses are Tuscan sheep cheeses produced in the early spring when the grass is still fresh.

714 Unfortunately, the scores of this music have not been preserved in the Niccolini archive — only the accompanying letters.

715 Bianconi 1987: 87.

716 Morelli 2006: 22; Morelli 2005: 308.

717 Bianconi 1987: 87–88.

718 Other families that held salons were those of the *contestabile* Colonna, the Rospigliosi, the Costaguti, Cardinal Mazarin, Cardinal Savelli, Cardinal de' Medici, the Princess of Butera, the Princess of Rossano, and the Duchess of Bracciano. See Carter 1980; Cametti 1911: 644.

719 Morelli 2006: 22, 26.

copy of a recently completed work. For patrons at other courts, such as Filippo Niccolini in Florence, this could be a very attractive proposition, since it was not at all expected that the music heard at such ephemeral performances would be preserved. Cantatas were generally written for specific occasions where attention centred on the immediate quality of the performance rather than on the future preservation of the musical score. Very often, the composers retained the scores in their own autograph copybooks.⁷²⁰ But on many occasions, the music was professionally copied by copyists and sent, normally in the form of fascicles containing single works, to interested patrons. For Niccolini, it must have been especially gratifying to introduce music in Florence that had only recently been performed at Roman salons. There was no reverse phenomenon of Florentine cantatas being sent in significant numbers to Rome, and the Roman cantatas were seen as special gifts of cultural significance and indicative of the close bonds between the patrons who received them and members of the highest circles of Roman society.⁷²¹ Thus, in addition to the ariettas from the book of Agostino Chigi, Vannucci attempted to send Niccolini many more new compositions that emerged at court in Rome, as we learn from the following passage, where the musician takes pains to stress that he is employing every free minute to copy ariettas for Niccolini:

Da un Gentilhuomo del Signor Don Agostino mi fu data una nuova arietta, la quale è nuova e però, senz'altro avviso, le ne mando, facendole sapere, che quando sono disoccupato sempre vò copiando delle accennate.⁷²²

In March 1659 Vannucci sent one of Caproli's compositions from the book of Agostino and expressed succinctly his opinion of it: "ed è a mio giuditio bella".⁷²³ Vannucci is constantly attentive to Niccolini's judgment about the copied ariettas, and he several times expresses his satisfaction that the marquis liked them - for example, in April 1659, after Niccolini has received the aforementioned composition of Caproli: "Godo poi non poco che l'aria ultimamente mandatale, sia stata di suo gusto. Le ne mando una del medesimo Autore, che anco questa credo che sarà di suo genio".⁷²⁴

720 Murata 1990: 274-279.

721 Morelli 2006: 27.

722 ANCFI, fondo antico 246, inserto 6, 16 November 1658.

723 Ibid., inserto 7, 19 March 1659.

724 Ibid., 11 April 1659.

In June 1659 Vannucci finished copying the book and asked Niccolini whether he wanted to receive some of the other ariettas that he, Vannucci, has already proposed (by giving their textual incipits) in his previous letters. He transcribed two incipits of ariettas by Caproli that he was planning to send. One of the incipits *Par che il core me lo dica* can be found in the listed works of Caproli and is a solo cantata with basso continuo.⁷²⁵ The other *Sentite come fu* cannot be traced and may well be lost.⁷²⁶

At the end of June 1659 Vannucci announced to Niccolini that he was about to receive some new songs from someone at court - "essendomene state promesse alcune".⁷²⁷ He also promised to send some ariettas for two and three voices as soon as Niccolini could confirm that he did not yet possess them ("Le mando hora una di quelle che scrive non havere, la quale mi do a credere, non le dispiacerà. Intanto se intenderò che non habbia le accennate a due, e tre voci, sarà servita di quelle ancora").⁷²⁸ In July 1659, Vannucci expressed his satisfaction that Niccolini liked the ariettas of Caproli and now began to send compositions by Carissimi ("Le ne mando hora una a due [voci] del Signor Carissimi, che credo non sarà inferiore all'altre").⁷²⁹ It is possible that these are the four ariettas for more voices of which Vannucci had given the textual incipits in April, and to which he refers at the end of June.

Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674, fig. 4) was *maestro di cappella* of the Jesuit-run German College of Rome, the Collegio Germanico-Ungarico, where he worked during the whole of his career, stretching from 1629 until 1674.⁷³⁰ In July 1656, after Carissimi became *maestro di cappella del concerto* of Queen Christina, his interest in secular music increased.⁷³¹ This coincided with the period

725 He gives the incipits on 7 June 1659. (ANCFi, fondo antico 246, inserto 8). An original score of "Par ch'il core melo dica" is preserved in the library of the Conservatorio di Musica "San Pietro a Majella" in Naples: "Par, che il core me lo dica/che s'io servo Donna bella": I-Nc 33.4.18 B, ff. 15r–28v. See Affortunato 2008; Caluori 1980.

726 The document Ms. Borb. 431 (Raccolta di ariette a uno e due voci) in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma contains an anonymous piece with the title 'Sentite come fu'.

727 ANCFi, fondo antico 246, inserto 8 (21 June 1659).

728 Ibid., 21 June 1659.

729 Ibid., 6 July 1659.

730 Bianconi 1987: 75. He also wrote oratorios for the Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso (in 1650 and 1658–60). A large part of his oeuvre consisted of cantatas, of which 150 are preserved. One third of these are written for two or three voices, the rest being works for one soprano and continuo. One of the characteristics of Carissimi's cantatas is that he often responds imaginatively to the opportunities for word-painting offered by individual words, utilizing the virtuosic vocal techniques of his time. See Jones 2001; Dixon 1986.

731 Jones 2001; Dixon 1986: 54.

when Vannucci was sending his ariettas to Florence. Most of the secular music Carissimi composed during this time was composed for Christina of Sweden or for aristocratic Roman families.⁷³²

On 12 July 1659 Vannucci sent an aria for three voices and expressed a hope that the compositions he was providing were satisfactory to the signori virtuosi. It is not clear who are meant precisely by the signori virtuosi - they are probably members of the Accademia dei Sorgenti or the Immobili, or singers in their service. Normally, 'virtuosi' are professional musicians, and therefore persons more likely to be employees rather than full members of most academies. Vannucci emphasized again that some of the compositions he was sending were freshly written:

Le mando un'aria a tre [voci]; se questa incontrerà il suo gusto, e quello di cotesti signori virtuosi, mi sarà cosa grata. Me ne sono state promesse due o tre, che son uscite dalla penna adesso, il nome delle quali non mandarò, già che son sicuro che ella non l'ha.⁷³³

Vannucci continued to send compositions until August 1659, after which there are no more letters from him in the correspondence. It emerges clearly from the information in his letters that Vannucci was in very close contact with Agostino Chigi and the gentlemen who surrounded him. He may have been employed as a household attendant (*aiutante di camera*) for one of the family members, which was common for musicians. In addition, he seems to have been a regular copyist for Filippo Niccolini, and possibly also for Giovan Carlo de' Medici. An order in the Niccolini archive shows that from 1656 Vannucci was paid a monthly salary of three *scudi* by Giovan Carlo de' Medici for unspecified duties.⁷³⁴

What did Niccolini do with all these compositions? What was their function, and what can they tell about the existence of a private Niccolini music academy

732 Jones 2001. The subject of Carissimi's cantatas is mainly unrequited love. To see how Vannucci's letters can probably date, as well as add, some hitherto unknown compositions of Carissimi, see Goudriaan 2014: 49-51.

733 ANCFi, fondo antico 246, inserto 8, 12 July 1659.

734 ANCFi, fondo antico 60, Registro di ordini per servizio di Giovan Carlo de' Medici, 1651-1662: *Prete Giuseppe Vannucci da Barga: Molto Illustre Signore Paolo Vettori. Havendo il Serenissimo Cardinale Principe Giovan Carlo di Toscana fatto gratia al Reverendo Giuseppe Vannucci da Barga di consegnargli tre scudi mese di provvisione sino che non venga provvisto come per resto da di primo Luglio 1656 che in filza prima no. 105 gliele non andrà VS pagando o mensualmente fino a nuovo ordine. Di Casa 11 Agosto 1656.*

in Florence? The correspondence between the composer Marco Marazzoli and marchese Niccolini may help us to answer these questions.

Marco Marazzoli and his recitatives for Antonio Rivani

At the beginning of his career the singer, composer, and virtuoso harpist Marco Marazzoli (1602–1662, fig. 5) from Parma worked as a musician for Cardinal Antonio Barberini the Younger.⁷³⁵ In 1637, together with Virgilio Mazzocchi, he composed the music for the opera *Chi soffre speri*. When this opera was revived in 1639 for the inauguration of the Barberini theatre, Marazzoli composed the famous intermedio *La fiera di Farfa*, with stage effects by Gian Lorenzo Bernini.⁷³⁶ After the death of Pope Urban VIII (in 1644) the Barberini family was forced into exile in France, and during that period Marazzoli travelled to Venice, Ferrara, and Paris, writing operas and cantatas for those courts.⁷³⁷ From 1645 onwards he remained in Rome and, like Carissimi, composed several oratorios for the Arciconfraternita di SS. Crocefisso.⁷³⁸ In the years 1653–54, immediately before his former patron Antonio Barberini returned to Rome, Marazzoli worked for the Ferrarese Cardinal Carlo Pio di Savoia.⁷³⁹ Because the Barberini, recently reconciled with Pope Innocent X, were still one of the rich-

735 In 1626 Marazzoli came to Rome from Parma. From 1629 he worked for Antonio Barberini. From 1634 he held a post at Santa Maria Maggiore, where Antonio Barberini was archpriest. In the Papal Chapel he had a post as a tenor and in the Barberini household he was listed as a *bussolante*. For more information on Marazzoli, see Morelli 2007: 466–471; Witzemann 2001; Hammond 1994: 85; Witzemann 1969: 36–86.

736 *Chi soffre speri* was performed during Carnival 1637 in honour of the visit of landgrave Frederick of Hesse-Eschwege. The opera was reprised in 1639 for the inauguration of the Barberini theatre in the Palazzo Barberini at Quattro Fontane, and for this occasion some new *intermedi* were included. The opera, written by Giulio Rospigliosi (the future Pope Clement IX), was based on a novella of Boccaccio and contained the intermedio *La fiera di Farfa*. Its title referred to the stage play *La fiera* of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, a copy of which Buonarroti had sent to Cardinal Francesco Barberini in the same year (1639). In *La fiera di Farfa* Marazzoli introduced street cries, folksongs, and dances. See Morelli 2007: 466–471; Witzemann 2001; Hammond: 1999: 58; Hammond 1994: 236.

737 Morelli 2007: 466–71; Witzemann 2001. 1641 Marazzoli was invited by the Marquis Cornelio Bentivoglio in Ferrara to compose the music for the opera *L'amore trionfante dello Sdegno (Gli amori di Armida)*. In 1642, he wrote the opera *Le pretensioni del Tebro e del Po* in honour of Taddeo Barberini, who passed through Ferrara with his army.

738 Hammond 1994: 85.

739 Morelli 2007: 466–71; Hammond (1994: 53) writes that the Barberini had become reconciled with the Pamphili, thanks to a marriage between Olimpia Giustiniani (the grand niece of Pope Innocent X Pamphili) and Maffeo di Taddeo Barberini (1631–1685). Maffeo's elder brother, Carlo Barberini (1630–1706), commissioned Marazzoli and Antonio Maria Abbatini to compose the music for the opera *Dal male il bene*, on a libretto by Giacomo Rospigliosi. This opera, performed during Carnival in 1654, marked the rehabilitation of the Barberini in Rome.

est families in Rome, Innocent X's successor, the Chigi Pope Alexander VII, had given them the opportunity to organize the official festivities at the end of 1655 for Queen Christina's entry into Rome. Marazzoli composed the music for several operas that the Barberini offered to Queen Christina on her arrival and during the months that followed.⁷⁴⁰

During the years when Marazzoli was corresponding with Niccolini he held the title of *cameriere extra muros* of Pope Alexander VII, for whom he worked from 1656 to 1660.⁷⁴¹ He wrote cantatas for several private occasions of the Chigi family, both in Rome and at their residence in Castel Gandolfo.⁷⁴² He also wrote cantatas for the Accademia degli Sfaccendati, which had been founded by the Pope while still only a cardinal.⁷⁴³ One of the prime characteristics of Marazzoli's cantatas is his gift for expressing grief and lamentation.⁷⁴⁴ In 1656–57, there was an outbreak of bubonic plague in Rome, an event that interrupted musical activities until about 1660.⁷⁴⁵ This may explain the fact that Marazzoli sent works also to Florence and even visited that city during the same period.

740 In the months following Christina's arrival, Jesuit Colleges, academies, and prominent families competed with each other for her favour. Such festivities were organized in particular by Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679). In December 1655, the queen made her entrance into Rome through the Porta del Popolo, which had been modernized for that very occasion by Gian Lorenzo Bernini. On 31 January 1656, the Barberini offered her the oratorio *Il trionfo della Pietà ossia La vita humana*, with a libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi and music by Marco Marazzoli. *Il trionfo della Pietà* was repeated on 3 and 6 February, the queen being present on all three occasions. After the oratorio, the Barberini offered her two further stage works from the pen of Giacomo Rospigliosi: *Le armi e gli amori* (24 February) and *Dal male il bene* (repeated from 1654). Pope Alexander VII offered her a *dramma in musica*. On 25 February the Collegio Germanico performed for her *Il sacrificio d'Isacco*, an oratorio by Carissimi. The Accademia dei Letterati treated her to an *intermedio da ballo* on 11 February. The ambassador of France, Ugo de Lionne, offered her a comedy, Pierre Corneille's *Héraclius*. In February, the Pamphili invited her to their villa and offered her a play written by Giovanni Lotti, with music by Antonio Francesco Tenaglia; further, they honoured her with the oratorio *Daniele perseguitato*, with a text by the Prince of Galliciano, Pompeo Colonna, and music by Carissimi. This composition was a series of short arias linked by recitatives rather than a genuine opera, and many virtuoso singers (most of them in the service of the papal chapel) participated. From that time onwards, Marazzoli became a *virtuoso da camera* of the queen, while retaining his function of *cameriere extra muros* at the court of Pope Alexander VII. See Morelli 2007: 466–71; Speck 2003: 324, 370; Witzenmann 2001; Hammond 1994: 53; Witzenmann 1969: 52; Cametti 1911: 641, 643.

741 Morelli 2007: 466–471; Witzenmann 1969: 54.

742 Morelli 2007: 466–471.

743 Witzenmann 1969: 54.

744 Witzenmann 2001.

745 Ibid.

Marazzoli sent several compositions to Niccolini in 1658.⁷⁴⁶ The difference between these and those sent by Vannucci is that Marazzoli had composed them especially for the Sorgenti or the Immobili academy in Florence, although it is not clear whether this arose from an actual commission or was simply a gift. Marazzoli always had in mind which singer was to take which part. With the authority of a composer, he also conveyed his opinion regarding the character of certain songs or gave Niccolini advice on how to approach them. On one occasion in September, for example, Marazzoli urged the singer Antonio to repeat a certain recitative several times, because each time he will discover more of its character.⁷⁴⁷

Io riverisco la Signora Lucia, assieme col Signor Antonio e li ringrazio al maggior segno dei favori che fanno alle mie bagatelle.⁷⁴⁸ Prego il Signor Antonio che favorischi più d'una volta il suddetto recitativo perché fosse lui che canta così affettuoso, lo troverà meglio la seconda volta della prima e la terza della seconda. La cantata poi delle Sirene V.S. Illustrissima vi sentirà delle diversità, ma vi vuole concerto et unione se no non compariscono mai quel che sono, parlo però con quel rispetto che si deve ad ogni sorte di virtuosi.⁷⁴⁹

Marazzoli includes the scores of the recitatives in the letters, but with regard to the cantatas for two or more voices, which he notates separately on *carta grossa*, he repeatedly advises Niccolini that they will be sent separately with the *procaccio*.⁷⁵⁰ “Il Signor Antonio” is the famous singer Antonio Rivani (1629–1686), and Lucia was his sister-in-law. Rivani (fig. 7) was a soprano castrato from Pistoia who worked in Florence from 1644 to 1663 in the service of Giovan Carlo de’ Medici.⁷⁵¹ During the same years — always with special permission from Giovan

746 Three letters of Marazzoli to Niccolini are preserved in ANCFi, fondo antico 246, inserto 5/6. See appendix.

747 The term recitative in the 1650s indicated a cantata that was divided in sections of aria and recitative.

748 “Le mie bagatelle” in this instance means “my humble compositions”.

749 ANCFi, fondo antico 246, inserto 5, 14 September 1658. In BAV Chigi Q.IV.69 there is a cantata with the title ‘Le tre sirene’ with the incipit “De le piagge sicane solcava i golfi il navigante” on a text by Baldini.

750 Unfortunately, the scores themselves have not been preserved in the Niccolini archive.

751 Antonio Rivani was trained by *maestro* Pompeo Manzini in the Cappella Musicale of the Duomo of Pistoia. From 1644 he served Giovan Carlo de’ Medici as an unpaid *musico da camera*. In 1646, he received 10 *scudi* every month, and in 1652 his salary was raised to 16 *scudi*. Between 1656 and 1661, he was a member of the Accademia dei Sorgenti. During the period 1657–63, he performed in several operas and theatrical entertainments at the Medici court, mostly those of the Accademia degli Immobili at the Pergola theatre. In 1657, he took the role of Tancia in *Il potestà di Colognole*, the *dramma civile rusticale* that inaugurated the Teatro la Pergola (text by Giovanni Andrea Moniglia; music by Jacopo

Carlo, who was proud to lend his virtuoso singer to other courts — Rivani also travelled to other cities, including Bologna, Ferrara, Genoa, Venice, and Paris, to perform in operas and salons.⁷⁵² During Carnival of 1658, the year when Marazzoli sent his compositions to Niccolini, Rivani sang the role of Ligurino in the opera *Il pazzo per forza* (mentioned above) of Giovanni Andrea Moniglia and Jacopo Melani, for which Filippo Niccolini acted as one of the four *soprintendenti alle musiche*. In October 1658, Rivani went to Venice; subsequently, he journeyed throughout Europe to visit the most important courts in Germany and Austria.⁷⁵³ During his tour of Europe, Rivani kept Niccolini regularly informed about his experiences. This emerges from the drafts of Niccolini's letters to Rivani in the Niccolini archive, from which it is clear that Rivani received advice from Niccolini when planning to buy a villa in Tuscany.⁷⁵⁴

Just before Rivani left for Venice, Marazzoli had composed a new arietta with Rivani as the singer in mind. On 25 September, Marazzoli sent this and another composition to Niccolini and stressed that they had just been written ("fatta fresca fresca"). Once more, he offered advice about how they were to be sung and tried to please all the singers of the academy by giving them parts to

Melani; scenery by Jacopo Chiavistelli). After 1660, Rivani travelled to sing in Livorno, Genoa, Marseille and Paris. Then he returned to Florence to sing the role of Ilo in *Ercole in Tebe*, performed in 1661 during the wedding festivities of Cosimo III. Following that, Rivani was asked to sing in Paris, London, Brussels and Turin and for Christina of Sweden in Rome, at a monthly salary now of 40 *scudi* (from Christina of Sweden). At the end of his career he worked for the Gonzaga family (in 1679) and for Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici. See Grundy-Fanelli (rev. Sarà) 2001; Garbero Zorzi/Zangheri 2000: 19; Grundy-Fanelli 1999: 103.

752 From 1651 to 1654, he worked in Bologna, Ferrara, and Genoa, singing in operas and salons. In the spring of 1655 and 1656 he was in Rome to sing an oratorio by Domenico Anglesi commissioned by Giovan Carlo de' Medici for the church of San Marcello. In the summer of 1657, he travelled to Venice to sing an *opera musicale* put on by the Grimani family. See Garbero Zorzi/Zangheri 2000: 19.

753 In Venice, he worked for the Grimani family again. In mid-October 1658 he stayed at Innsbruck, moving a few days later to Vienna, and in December 1658 to Hanover. At the end of January 1659, he went to Heidelberg, and in April to Frankfurt (meanwhile, he sojourned at Brunswick, as one learns from letters exchanged between Niccolini and Rivani). In May 1659, he travelled to Munich and Salzburg (his host in the second city was Archbishop Guidobald von Thun). At the end of May 1659 Rivani returned to Innsbruck, revisiting Vienna in June. He sang for the Emperor at private functions. During July–September 1659 he was in Venice again; after that, he sought to go to Paris, but in 1660 he was recalled to Florence to sing the role of Leandro in *La serva nobile*. See Grundy-Fanelli (rev. Sarà) 2001.

754 In a letter of 11 October 1658 from Niccolini to Rivani in Innsbruck, he concludes by saying that he is looking forward to Rivani's letters from other cities "Con che, aggradendo a V.S. la puntualità in darmi nuova di sè, l'attendo anche dagli altri luoghi ove ella sia per capitare. Con che le bacio." ANCFi, fondo antico 246, inserto 11, Minute Filippo Niccolini 1658–1659. This volume contains letters from Filippo Niccolini to Antonio Rivani sent on 29 March 1659 (to Brunswick) and 10 May 1659 (to Frankfurt), in addition to the above-cited letter.

sing. He seems to have been especially fond of writing pieces for the talented Rivani and trusted in his skill at singing the sometimes difficult ariettas:

Vi è un'arietta a 2 soprani acciò la signora Lucia mi continui le sue gratie, e perché non vorrei che nell'Accademia qualche Basso si lamentasse, che io non mando ancora delle compositioni con la parte grave, ne riceverà una a 3, et un recitativo poi per il Signore Antonio con un scherzetto di un'arietta fatta fresca fresca copiata nei medesimi fogli. Il recitativo ancor che vada cantato con un affetto straordinario. L'arietta però bisogna portarla un poco stretta se no riuscirebbe fredda assai. L'arietta poi nell'ultimo 'Difendetemi mi dico' mi rimetto alla bizzarria del Signor Antonio.⁷⁵⁵

From November 1658 onwards, Marazzoli continued to send the *marquis* compositions, but he deeply regretted that Rivani was unable to perform them because of his travels. He wrote that an exquisite ingredient was missing – “manca un ingrediente molto esquisito” – but that he nevertheless felt honoured that his compositions were being performed by the skilled virtuosi in Florence (“*honorata da una corona di virtuosi così qualificati, come sono cotesti di cotesta città*”).⁷⁵⁶

It is not known which cantatas Marazzoli sent to Niccolini for, unlike Vannucci, he provides no incipits. Many autograph music manuscripts by Marazzoli are preserved in the Chigi library at the Vatican. In all, 380 cantatas by Marazzoli are known; but we do not know which ones he sent to Florence, since the volumes containing his cantatas are without exception undated.⁷⁵⁷ What we do know, however, is that each year, in collaboration with the poet Sebastiano Baldini (1615–1685), Marazzoli wrote a cantata for Alexander VII during his stay at Castel Gandolfo.⁷⁵⁸ These were often cantatas for three to six voices,⁷⁵⁹ whereas, in general, relatively few cantatas by Marazzoli required

755 ANCFi, fondo antico 246, inserto 5, 25 September 1658.

756 When Marazzoli wrote his letter on 9 November 1658, Rivani was somewhere on his way from Vienna to Hanover. ANCFi, fondo antico 246, inserto 6, see appendix.

757 Witzmann 2001; Witzmann 1969: 53. The cantata volumes in the Vatican library are apportioned as follows: Smaller cantatas, arias and ariettas: Q. VI 80 and 81; Q. VIII 177 and 180; Q. V 68. Larger cantatas and cantatas for more voices: Q. VIII. 178–179 and 181; Q. V 69. The cantata volumes contain solo ariettas and cantatas for two or three voices. Composition drafts and fair copies are intermixed.

758 Speck 2003: 367.

759 Morelli 2007: 466–471. The cantatas written for the Chigi family at Castel Gandolfo were: *Il lago*, also called *Il riposo*; *Le giustificazioni di Primavera*; *Lo sdegno della Primavera*. *Flora e Zeffiro*; *La chiamata*

two or more voices.⁷⁶⁰ The works he sent to Florence are likewise of this kind, so they were possibly copies of works commissioned by the Chigi family for private functions; otherwise, they could have been the product of distinct and original commissions from Niccolini or Giovan Carlo de' Medici. Marazzoli set to music many cantata texts by Baldini, as did Caproli, Carissimi, and Rossi.⁷⁶¹ Baldini specialized in satirical and burlesque poems and was one of Marazzoli's close friends.⁷⁶²

To better understand the correspondence between Marazzoli and Niccolini, it is important to know that Sebastiano Baldini and Marco Marazzoli travelled together to Florence in June 1658 to be present at the opening performance of the Cavalli opera *L'Ipermestra*, performed in honour of the birth of the Spanish Prince Felipe Próspero, the son of Philip IV and Maria Anna of Austria. Baldini wrote to Agostino Chigi about this visit. In a letter of 15 June 1658 to Agostino Chigi, he mentions *L'Ipermestra* and writes that during their stay in Florence parts of *Lo sposalizio* were performed; this was a piece by Baldini, with music by Marazzoli, written five years earlier (in 1653) for the wedding of Anna Colonna and Paolo Spinola. Perhaps Marazzoli had to supervise the performance of this work when it was, apparently, repeated in Florence.⁷⁶³ Since Niccolini was *soprintendente alle musiche* for *Ipermestra*, he certainly made the personal acquaintance of Marazzoli on that occasion. This may explain why their correspondence began in September 1658, probably following an agreement made during Marazzoli's visit.

In one of Baldini's five letters to Agostino Chigi concerning his stay in Florence, he mentions a visit he made together with Marazzoli to the private palazzo of Marquis Niccolini.⁷⁶⁴ He relates that, apart from being received personally by the Grand Duke, they visited several music academies at the houses of illustri-

de' pastori di Castel Gandolfo fatta all'autunno; Il trionfo della Pace, Giustizia e Clemenza riportata da Marte, Bellona e Sdegno; L'arrivo di Primavera.

760 Carter 1980.

761 Speck 2003: 364.

762 Ibid.: 363. Baldini served as secretary to Cardinal Francesco Rapaccioli in 1656, and later as secretary of Antonio Barberini. He enjoyed the patronage of Agostino Chigi. He was a member of the Accademia degli Umoristi and also of the Accademia dei Disinvolti at Pesaro.

763 Cardinale 2000: 38; Morelli (2007: 466-71) writes that Marazzoli composed this recitative, *Lo sposalizio*, to words by Baldini in 1653, so a performance in Florence would have been a repeat. Fragment of the letter from Baldini to Don Agostino: "Le 'celebri virtuose' Angela e Virginia Caprini cantarono i brani facenti parte de *Lo sposalizio*, gruppo di sei recitativi composti in occasione del matrimonio di Anna Colonna e Paolo Spinola duca di Sesto, musicati da L. Rossi, G. Carissimi, M. Marazzoli, M. Savioni, C. Caproli e F. Boccalini." Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chig. R.III.69, f. 922.

764 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chig. R. III. 69, ff. 912-935v. Baldini also visited Siena, Lucca and Livorno.

ous families. He stresses in particular the one held at the palazzo of Marchese Niccolini, where Marazzoli accompanied Antonio Rivani's sister-in-law Lucia Rivani at the harpsichord.⁷⁶⁵ After the pair's stay in Florence, Giovan Carlo de' Medici commissioned Marazzoli to compose the music for two serenatas written by Baldini (*I felici e gli infelici* and *La lite tra i sei amanti e Momo giudice*), the first of which was performed in Rome for the *Contestabilessa* Maria Mancini Colonna and was repeated in honour of the ambassador of Spain.⁷⁶⁶ Thus during the years when Marazzoli and Niccolini corresponded and exchanged music, Marazzoli was working concurrently for Giovan Carlo de' Medici.

A private music academy at the palazzo and villa of Marchese Niccolini?

It is not known for what precise purpose or purposes Marazzoli and Vannucci sent music to Niccolini. The fact that Marazzoli mentions the singer Antonio Rivani and other "virtuosi" in general may mean that he sent pieces intended officially for the Immobili or the Sorgenti: perhaps not for their full-scale operas, but rather works for smaller, more intimate performances.⁷⁶⁷ The songs sent by Vannucci may have had a similar destination. Another possibility is that Filippo Niccolini received the songs for private salons (*conversazioni*) held in his villa, or even for a private academy of music. The fact that, according to Baldini, Marazzoli and Lucia Rivani performed in his palazzo seems to support this argument. Moreover, in the Niccolini archive we find a payment note showing that Niccolini ordered the binding of two volumes of music containing several individual ariettas.⁷⁶⁸ Although this payment comes from a slightly earlier date than the Vannucci letters, we can assume that Niccolini did the same with the pieces he received from him. It is even possible that Vannucci sent him music in the preceding months, and that the letters recording the fact have simply been lost.

Further payments made by Marquis Niccolini suggest that he held meetings of a private music academy in his villa. Besides the payment for binding the ariettas, several books containing music such as sonatas for the guitar are described in the "Inventario della Libreria", the inventory of the Niccolini library, dating

765 Morelli 2007: 466-71; Cardinale 2000: 38.

766 Morelli 2007: 466-71.

767 *L'ipermestra* also contained many duets and terzets. See Yans 1978: 132. Weaver/Weaver (1978: 87-143) give information about the *opere musicali* performed in 1658 and 1659.

768 ANCFi, fondo antico 63, Entrata e uscita 1652-1661: "A dì 17 detto [maggio 1658] scudi uno e una per far legare due libri di Ariette venute da Roma".

from when it was sold in 1824.⁷⁶⁹ Moreover the Niccolini archive preserves many notes of payments, made by the Marquis between 1658 and 1660, to a violin maker and to a certain *maestro* Stefano, an instrumentalist and harpsichord technician, who were instructed to maintain the musical instruments in his villa and ensure that they were in tune with one another.⁷⁷⁰ In these payments mention is made of keyboard instruments, violins, lutes, theorbos, an organ, and small guitars.⁷⁷¹ A certain Pompeo Teri in Rome was paid by Niccolini for many lute strings.⁷⁷² On one occasion, it is noted that the instruments have to be prepared for the “giorno dell’*accademia*”, so it is possible that there was at least one special performance every year. In September 1658, Niccolini paid for the copying of *canzonettas* for the use of the “*Accademia*”. This may have been a payment to Vannucci, but more likely it represents a payment to a Florentine copyist.⁷⁷³ At the end of August 1659, Niccolini made a present of ten *scudi* (the equivalent of the monthly income of an average musician at the Medici court) to a Florentine theorbo player who, according to the note, often came to play at Niccolini’s private palazzo.⁷⁷⁴ These payments, together with the compositions sent by Vannucci and Marazzoli, give some idea of the kind of salons held by Niccolini at his palazzo and villa.

769 ANCFi, Registri moderni, Catalogo e stima della libreria (primo quarto del XIX secolo).

770 ANCFi, fondo antico 63, Entrata e uscita 1652–1661:

A di 13 detto [maggio 1658] a Maestro Stefano scudi uno e una [1 scudo e 1 soldo] per accordare gli strumenti che sono in Villa. (Maestro Stefano was also called Il Topo, see below).

A di 22 detto [agosto 1658] a maestro Stefano scudi uno e 5 per accordatura a due accademici di tutti li strumenti di tasti

A di 14 detto [settembre 1658] scudi uno lire tre al liutaio sono per più assetture di liuti, tiorbe e chitarrini per li Accademici.

A di 16 detto [settembre 1658] lire sei a Maestro Stefano Instrumentaio sono per più assetture di instrumenti per il giorno dell’*Accademia*

A di 28 detto [agosto 1659] scudi uno lire cinque, a M.o Stefano Cimbalaio per più accordature di instrumenti

A di 16 detto [settembre 1659] scudi dua e una per assettura di più instrumenti

A di 14 detto [ottobre 1659] scudi uno al liutaio per assetture di violoni

A di 29 detto [ottobre 1659] scudi dua a un organista forestiero che ha accomodato l’organo

A di 29 detto [ottobre 1659] scudi quattro prestati a Maestro Stefano detto Topo Instrumentaio.

771 On 6 September 1658 Niccolini pays for transporting some instruments from his Florentine palazzo to his villa. ANCFi, fondo antico 63, Entrata e uscita 1652–1661: “A di 6 detto [settembre 1658] scudo uno lire una per più portature di instrumenti da Firenze alla Villa Nuova et altre mancie”.

772 Ibid.: “A di 8 detto [febbraio 1660] scudi dieci rimessi a Roma a Pompeo Teri che mi ha mandato per detta somma tante corde di liuto”.

773 Ibid.: “A di 3 detto [settembre 1658] scudi uno per fare copiare più canzonette in musica per l’*Accademia*”.

774 Ibid.: “A di 29 detto [agosto 1659] scudi dieci per donativo al Fiorentino che sona la tiorba, quale è venuto molte volte a sonare in Casa”.

The analysis of the correspondence between Marchese Niccolini and the musicians Vannucci and Marazzoli has shown clearly that, apart from his important commissions to artists, Niccolini also maintained close contact with musicians, keeping Florence abreast of the latest musical developments. Whether for his private music academy or for the more “official” academies of the Sorgenti and the Immobili, he acquired many compositions from Rome, an important centre of the cantata and chamber aria in the seventeenth century. Niccolini maintained direct or indirect relations with certain famous composers and musicians of the time, such as Rivani, Carissimi, Caproli, and Marazzoli. Some of the musicians and composers from whom he received cantatas, among them Marazzoli and Caproli, had experience working at important foreign courts such as those of Venice and Paris. Niccolini was not content merely to receive the compositions passively: he was genuinely able to discuss them at a more detailed musical level, as the letters of Marazzoli prove. Thanks to his contacts with these Roman musicians, Niccolini gained the means of presenting at home in Florence secular music that originated from the salons of Roman aristocratic families and the Chigi court.

The dissemination of anthologies and loose fascicles such as the ones Vannucci copied tells us what kind of Roman music, and which composers, were considered most valuable at other courts, and who was interested in receiving (and probably collecting) this music.⁷⁷⁵ By analysing the activities of copyists, we can gain a better insight into the reputation of musicians and composers, since the discovery of this kind of correspondence gives us a lively image of ephemeral performances and of the repertory of private and official musical academies.⁷⁷⁶

4.2.3 Niccolini's contacts to clients of Queen Christina of Sweden

An important cultural figure that appears in the letters of Niccolini is Pio Enea II degli Obizzi, a librettist and promoter of the genre of melodrama who in 1652 built a theatre at Padua, known today as the Cinema Teatro Concordi. In the Niccolini archive I found a letter, not from Degli Obizzi himself, but from the musician Alessandro Cecconi, who was in service of Christina of Sweden (fig. 8). In December 1651 Cecconi, who seems to have a real pleasure in expressing himself quite explicitly, wrote Niccolini that he had travelled all the way from Vienna and on his way he had to travel on the road that leads from Mestre to

⁷⁷⁵ Murata 1990: 279.

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid.; Owens 1990: 327.

Bologna via Padua, which was a real thrill for him. He wrote that every time he tried to recall that road in his memory his flesh crept and his hair stood on end (“giuro a V.S. Illustrissima che ogni volta che fisso il pensiero a quella mi si raccapricciano le carni e mi si dirizzano i capelli”).⁷⁷⁷ At the end of this journey, three miles from Ferrara, he encountered Degli Obizzi, whom he did not yet know. Degli Obizzi offered Cecconi and his horses a ride in his boat to Ferrara, only because Cecconi declared himself a client of Niccolini.

During their passage to Ferrara, Degli Obizzi explained to Cecconi that he had been commissioned by the Duke of Mantua to organise some jousts and tournaments, and that he was on his way to Ferrara to search for decorations and for men and horses that could participate. Cecconi relayed that Degli Obizzi was not that satisfied with the Duke of Mantua, because he paid too much attention to playing and not to politics. Cecconi, in his turn, tells Degli Obizzi about his fervent admiration for his patroness Queen Christina of Sweden and thought he succeeded in convincing Degli Obizzi of her exquisite qualities, because Degli Obizzi planned to send her some of his poems:

Non mancai di predicarli le reali qualità e le uniche Prerogative della Regina mia Signora con tale ardore e tale ardore, che alla fine si chiamò vinto e convertito, e per segno del suo devoto affetto mi ha promesso fare legare quanto prima una quantità di sue poesie, et inviarle a Sua Maestà.⁷⁷⁸

From this letter results that Niccolini was in contact as a patron with clients of Queen Christina of Sweden and also with famous theatre figures like Degli Obizzi who was in service of other courts, like Mantua, Venice, Padua and Ferrara. Thanks to letters like this, Niccolini was able to get much inside information about these Italian courts.

4.3 Leopoldo de' Medici (1617-1675) and his cultural contact with Florentine patricians

il principe [Leopoldo] sta fino a gola nei libri, e non tra i romanzi o i poeti, ma tra' concilii, tra i Padri e tra le storie, ed espressamente tra l'antichità romane; e si confina le belle quattro ore del giorno, solo come un cane, in una

⁷⁷⁷ ANCFI, fondo antico 246, inserto 4.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid. Cecconi was Queen Christina's favourite and died in 1658 in Palazzo Rospigliosi in Rome, the palace where Queen Christina was living at the time.

libreria; e come i ragazzi il pane, ha sempre per suo consumo un libro in tasca, per leggerlo in tutti i tempi rubati' (Lorenzo Magalotti to Ottavio Falconieri, January 1665).⁷⁷⁹

This beautiful sketch of Prince Leopoldo de' Medici in his library was written by his patrician friend Lorenzo Magalotti. Leopoldo (fig. 9) was very generous with his books and did not mind when people borrowed his books and did not return them,⁷⁸⁰ yet at the end of his life he possessed 14,000 manuscripts and 200,000 books.⁷⁸¹ Thanks to the Arcangelo Raffaello confraternity, which he joined in his youth, Leopoldo met many persons from different social levels.⁷⁸² These kinds of contacts between young adults contributed to the strong and elaborate cultural networks between Medici, patricians and artists in Florence.

Like his brother Giovan Carlo, Leopoldo joined and patronized many cultural academies, including the scientific academy Accademia del Cimento (1657 to 1667),⁷⁸³ and the Crusca academy. Apart from patronizing it, he was also a member of the Crusca academy under the assumed names Assonnato (1641), Adorno (from 1643) and Candido (1651-52). He wrote entries on artistic subjects for the Vocabolario della Crusca. Apart from the Crusca and the Cimento academies, Leopoldo also patronized the academies Adamisti, Infuocati, Imperfetti, and Affinati, some of them after the death of his brother Giovan Carlo.⁷⁸⁴ In 1638 he (re-)founded in Florence the Accademia Platonica of Lorenzo il Magnifico and Marsilio Ficino.

Between 1641 and 1649, Lorenzo Guicciardini supervised the decorations of Villa Lapeggi for Leopoldo, which were undertaken by Colonna, Mitelli, Albani, and Chiavistelli.⁷⁸⁵ Guicciardini functioned as an intermediary when Leopoldo wanted to buy a Guercino in 1647.⁷⁸⁶ He also had to look after all the paintings that moved to Lapeggi from other palaces and was very explicit in his advice to Leopoldo, when writing in 1649, for instance, that Leopoldo had

779 Cited in Cole 2011: 351, who quotes Alessandri 46-53, 1999-2000, tesi di laurea.

780 Mirto 2009: 106-112.

781 Meloni Trkulja 1975: 28.

782 Mamone 2003a: xxviii.

783 Alessandri 2000: 52. Members were Leopoldo, Vincenzo Viviani, Giovanni Alfonso Borrelli, Antonio Oliva, Lorenzo Magalotti, Francesco Redi, Carlo Dati, Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, Carlo Rinaldini, and Paolo and Candido del Buono.

784 A Mirto 2009: 106-112.

785 On Lorenzo Guicciardini see chapter 3, *The Guicciardini palace and the collection of art*.

786 Barocchi/Bertela 2007: 141 ASF Mediceo del Principato 5438 c368. Guercino advises about the costs: 17 May 1645: ASF Mediceo del Principato 5438 c19.

to stop commissioning very large paintings, because they physically could not enter the villa and there was no place to show them:

Io sono stato un giorno all'Appoggio e ho dato luogo a tutti quei quadri che vi erano, che si è durata un poca di fatica per essere di misure differenti et uno in particolare, dove è la Pittura e l'Architettura, che non entrava per nessuna porta, né in alcuna stanza si poteva adattare, però supplico Vostra Altezza a non far fare più quadri, perché non ve n'entra più e di quelle grandezze non sono boni a niente.⁷⁸⁷

From Rome the patrician Jacopo Salviati sent paintings and sculptures to Leopoldo.⁷⁸⁸ Another patrician who was supervising the decorations at Lapeggi was Francesco Rinuccini.⁷⁸⁹ One of the painters was Marquise Margherita Capponi, who painted a lunette. It became a real villa di campagna with many genre paintings (fruit, flowers, buffoons, battles, views of Medici villas, landscapes, and portraits).⁷⁹⁰

The acquisition of books and works of art on paper

Throughout his life, Leopoldo was in frequent contact with different patricians in different functions. One of his tutors was the patrician Jacopo Soldani, a pupil of Galileo.⁷⁹¹ For his service as Leopoldo's *maestro*, Soldani's friend Piero de' Bardi compared him with the mythological Chiron, the centaur who raised Achilles, to denote the importance of this function.⁷⁹² Soldani advised Leopoldo about which books to buy for his library, including some by the German geographer Philipp Clüver, who worked for the University of Leiden and pub-

787 Barocchi/Bertela 2007: 142. ASF Mediceo del Principato 5397 c629, 19 June 1649, letter from Lorenzo Guicciardini.

788 Barocchi/Bertela 2007: 197, 235. ASF Mediceo del Principato 5521 c.255.

789 In the years before, from 1637 until 1642, Francesco Rinuccini (1603-1678) had been the Tuscan resident in Venice. From 1656 until his death he was bishop of Pistoia and Prato.

790 Barocchi/Bertela 2007: 159 ASF Mediceo del Principato 5449 c497 and 605, see appendix.

791 Jacopo Soldani (1579-1641) studied law and was interested in philosophy, mathematics, physics and astronomy. He frequented the lessons of Galileo and defended him in one of his satirical verses *Satira contro i peripatetici* (1623). The other satirical verses dealt with corruption, the vices and desires of humans and the search for honour. Soldani was a member of the Accademia Fiorentina from 1597 and of the Alterati from 1599. At the Alterati he held orations at the commemoration ceremonies of Luigi Alamanni (1603) and Grand Duke Ferdinand I de' Medici (1609). From 1628 he was tutor of Prince Leopoldo and in 1637 he became senator. He wrote the *Trattato delle virtù morali*, which remained unpublished. See Romei 2001; Limentani 1961.

792 Casprini 1994: 77-86 letter from Piero de' Bardi to Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger 1633.

lished his books in that city.⁷⁹³ In 1638, Soldani recommended acquiring the *Dialoghi* by Galileo and his *commenti danteschi*.⁷⁹⁴ Many erudite patricians, who knew the cultural and commercial value of books, worked for Leopoldo as his librarians: Francesco Rondinelli until 1665, followed by Alessandro Segni, and from 1671 Lorenzo Panciatichi.⁷⁹⁵ Leopoldo started buying books for his library as early as 1638, helped by Ferdinando de' Bardi, a patrician who worked for the Medici in Paris.⁷⁹⁶ Together with Giovan Battista Barducci, Bardi sent books on mathematics from Paris to Florence around 1639. Other advice about religious books came from Vincenzio Capponi.⁷⁹⁷

After the reformation the art of printing in German-speaking areas such as Leipzig and Frankfurt flourished, at the expense of publishing companies in Venice and France. Companies in the Dutch Republic, like Elzevier in Leiden and Blaeu in Amsterdam, were flourishing, as was the paper industry.⁷⁹⁸ Many innovating books on the natural sciences were published there, which explains Leopoldo's interest in books from these areas, not surprising for a patron of the scientific Accademia del Cimento.⁷⁹⁹

793 Barocchi/Bertela 2007: 131. Soldani advised Leopoldo to buy books from the German geographer Philipp Clüver (1580-1622), born in Danzig, who published his books at Leiden, where he studied law and geography under Joseph Scaliger. See ASF Mediceo del Principato 5550 c. 310, Letter from Jacopo Soldani to Leopoldo, 19 February 1639, see appendix.

794 Barocchi/Bertela 2007: 131, 372. See ASF Mediceo del Principato 5550 c303 and c. 326 (12 June 1638 and 31 March 1639).

795 Mirto 1984: 93. Alessandro Segni (1633-1697) was a pupil of Evangelista Torricelli and was specialized in natural sciences. From 1662 he was appointed as librarian of Prince Cosimo (the future Grand Duke Cosimo III) and from 1665 he functioned as librarian for Leopoldo as well. He was tutor of the patrician Francesco Riccardi during his travels through Europe from 1665-1669 (See 4.3, *Relations with European men of letters*). During this trip Leopoldo had assigned him the task to search for rare and precious books and manuscripts. Segni was a member of the Accademia della Crusca and together with his good friend Francesco Redi he collaborated on the production of the third edition of the *Vocabolario della Crusca*. In 1676 Segni devised the motifs for the ceiling frescoes of the Uffizi Gallery and in 1685 he conceived the iconographic programme for the frescoes by Luca Giordano in the Palazzo Medici Riccardi. In 1686 he became senator. Segni wrote an unpublished autobiography, which is still in the Biblioteca Riccardiana (ms. 1882). See 'Alessandro Segni', on the website of the Mediateca di Palazzo Medici Riccardi http://www.palazzo-medici.it/mediateca/en/Scheda_Segni_Alessandro. Retrieved October 16, 2014.

On Lorenzo Panciatichi, see 4.4.1 The Svogliati, the Crusca and burlesque poems influenced by the literary academies.

796 Mirto 2009: 106-12.

797 Barocchi/Bertela 2007: 132. See ASF Mediceo del Principato 5562 c. 113, 121, 135, 163, 170 and 172, all from the year 1639.

798 Mirto 1984: 6-7, 18. With the help of Carlo Dati Leopoldo ordered a breviary at the Elzevier-company at Leiden. In the end this project however was not executed.

799 Alessandri 2000: 52.

All the books from Marseille, Venice, Naples, and Amsterdam arrived at the port of Livorno. There, before they could be transported to Florence, they had to remain in quarantine for forty days, or sometimes less - in periods with no epidemics or after the intercession of the Florentine librarian Antonio Magliabechi.⁸⁰⁰ After the quarantine, the books had to be seen by the censors of the inquisition, who were not that strict about books destined for Leopoldo.⁸⁰¹ When the books were ready to travel to Florence, it took a few days for them to arrive (by boat) or sometimes a week if they had to travel over land.⁸⁰² Leopoldo, Magliabechi, and their humanist friends did everything to circumvent the strict controls by the inquisition and let forbidden books circulate.⁸⁰³ To avoid the controls in Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, the books ordered from Venice were transported over sea.⁸⁰⁴ If there was a high risk that books might be forbidden, they were often sent to Carlo Dati instead of Magliabechi, to make them look less suspicious.⁸⁰⁵

Over the course of twenty-five years and using many contacts in different cities as agents, Leopoldo built up a large collection of drawings.⁸⁰⁶ At one point he had collected such a vast number of drawings that it had become difficult to

800 Antonio Magliabechi (1633-1714) was the son of a tanner. He began his career as apprentice in a jewellers workshop, but, as he loved books, he chose another career. He became befriended with Michele Ermini, librarian of Leopoldo and learned Latin from him. Thanks to Ermini he got to know Andrea Cavalcanti, Lorenzo Panciatichi, Lorenzo Pucci, and Carlo Dati. He studied the Greek and Hebrew languages and eventually became librarian of the Grand Dukes Ferdinand II and Cosimo III, respectively. Magliabechi was an important collector of books and manuscripts and dedicated his life to this collecting activities. He divided his energy between his own library, the Medicea Palatina and the other Medici libraries. He created a network of European correspondents and was one of the protagonists of the Republic of Letters. He was the key figure in a network of intellectuals who came to him for advice when doing research or having to obtain certain books. After his death he left 30.000 books and manuscripts. This became the nucleus of the first public library in Florence, still existing as the Biblioteca Nazionale. In this library his whole correspondence is preserved, consisting of 27 volumes with 20.000 largely unpublished letters. See Albanese 2007: 422-27.

801 Mirto 1984: 39.

802 Ibid.: 40.

803 Albanese 2007: 422-27.

804 For the same reason, even Venetians often chose the port of Livorno to receive books from Amsterdam, England, and Germany.

805 Mirto 1984: 45. Carlo Dati (1619-1676) was a philologist and pupil of G.B. Doni, Galileo, and Torricelli and an active member of several academies, the Apatisti, the Fiorentina, the Platonica, the Percossi, the Crusca and the Cimento. At the Crusca (with the pseudonym Smarrito) he was one of the most important contributors to the third edition of the *Vocabolario*. In 1657 he published his *Discorso dell'obbligo di ben parlare la propria lingua*, originally meant as an introduction to G.B. Strozzi's *Osservazioni intorno al parlare e scrivere toscano* and D. Buonmattei's *Declinazione de' versi*, which were united in one volume at the time. See Vigilante 1987: 24-28.

806 Chiarini De Anna 1975: 39.

organize them. Exactly at that moment the solution to the problem presented itself in the person of Filippo Baldinucci. At some time before 1665, Baldinucci had given Leopoldo some drawings accompanied by a very clear catalogue.⁸⁰⁷ Therefore, Leopoldo ordered him in 1665 to catalogue all his drawings and think about some attributions. Eight years later, Baldinucci finished his twenty-volume list, chronologically ordered from Cimabue in the Duecento until the drawings of contemporary artists from the Seicento.⁸⁰⁸ By the end of his life Leopoldo possessed 12,000 drawings.

To acquire these, Leopoldo had sent his agents in different cities lists on which he indicated which drawings he was still missing.⁸⁰⁹ His contacts included noblemen, diplomats, and clergymen – and the painters they patronized – in cities such as Rome, Bologna, Modena, Venice, and even Antwerp.⁸¹⁰ The gentlemen in those cities often collected paintings themselves, knew the local art markets, and were aware of which drawings were on offer.⁸¹¹ Their painters were asked to check if drawings were authentic.⁸¹² Often drawings were sent to Leopoldo, who checked them again with his favourite assistants, the painters Sustermans and Il Volterrano, who helped him decide which drawings he wanted to buy and those he wanted to return.⁸¹³ What is remarkable is that among his network of agents that acquired the drawings, there were almost no Florentine patricians, contrary to the network that acquired his books.

In addition to drawings, Leopoldo's agents also helped him collect miniature portraits (589), coins, medals (7,000 of which 4,000 antique), cameos (900), paintings (730, among them 33 by Bolognese painters such as Caracci,

807 *Ibid.*: 40.

808 *Ibid.*: 39–40.

809 *Ibid.*: 43–45. His correspondents were: in Venice—Paolo del Sera, Stefano della Bella, Pietro della Vecchia, Sebastiano Mazzoni (Florentine painter), and Nicolas Regnier (Flemish painter); in Siena—Ludovico Vecchi and his circle of painters Ramaciotti, Deifebo Burbarini, and Casolani, Flaminio Borghesi, and the painter Raffaello Vanni; in Senigallia—Alessandro Nappi and the painter Vincenzo Patanazzi from Urbino; in Urbino—Giovan Battista Michelori and Domenico Maria Corsi; in Modena—Giovanni Francesco di Gaspero and the painters Giovanni Tangheldri and Livio Mehus; in Cremona—Giovanni Battista Natali; in Genua—Giovan Battista Bolognetti; in Bologna—Bonaventura Bisi, Giuseppe Maria Casarengchi, Ferdinando Cospi, Giacomo Zanoni, Giuseppe Maria Abati, Carlo Cesare Malvasia, Annibale Ranuzzi and the painters Domenico Maria Canuti and Cesare Gennari; in Rome—Pietro da Cortona, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Ciro Ferri, Giovanni Maria Morandi, Monsignor Domenico Maria Corsi, Ottavio, Francesco and Paolo Falconieri (Ottavio also travelled to Flanders in 1659 and 1673 and bought drawings of Rubens and Van Dyck on those occasions); and in Antwerp—Canonico Happart.

810 Meloni Trkulja 1975: 17

811 *Ibid.*: 18.

812 Chiarini De Anna 1975: 45.

813 Meloni Trkulja 1975: 18.

Guercino and Guido Reni), sculptures (318, many of which were bronzetti; he possessed only 32 marble sculptures), oriental porcelain (of which 800 were bought by Francesco Feroni in Amsterdam), maiolica (120), and silver objects (515). Leopoldo preferred to spend money to specific specializations for example in his collection of medals or books, instead of collecting only famous names. As a result, his coins and medal collections were so complete that errors in the chronological history of antiquity could be corrected.⁸¹⁴ He often loaned his books or showed his medals to interested dilettantes and did not concern himself terribly if they were returned or not. He thought the contents of his collection could serve as study-objects. After his death, his humanist friends bemoaned the loss of this open approach to collecting. Abbot Enrico Noris for example complained that Cosimo III never allowed others to look at his thousands of medals, while Leopoldo enjoyed to share them (“io sono il Tantalo vicino a quasi trentamila medaglie di S.A. senza poterne vedere pur una. Il signor cardinale molto Leopoldo a tutti mostrava i suoi scrigni, e godeva farli vedere”).⁸¹⁵

Leopoldo's interest in the theatre life at different Italian courts

Around Carnival, many of Leopoldo's correspondents, most of them patricians, wrote him about the Carnival activities in the cities where they resided. The patricians could, in the words of Alessandri “farsi occhi e orecchi del principe assente” (be the eyes and ears of the absent prince), so that he could “conoscere e giudicare” (have knowledge of and give his opinion about) cultural events.⁸¹⁶ In 1640, Jacopo Soldani wrote him about the Carnival celebration at the Sienese court of Mattias de' Medici. He wrote that Cavalier Martelli, who was also present, could write about it more elaborately. In the following years, he received letters from Lorenzo Guicciardini, Niccolò Panciatichi, and Bali Ugo della Stufa with their opinions and accounts about theatre performances.⁸¹⁷ Many of the letters speak about Carnival, masked processions, vigils, private dinners, and conversations in the palaces and villas of the patricians.⁸¹⁸ Often

814 Ibid.: 20.

815 Ibid.: 29.

816 Alessandri 2000: 95.

817 Letter from Lorenzo Guicciardini to Leopoldo, 21 November 1640, ASF Mediceo del Principato 5575 c 184 bis r, cited by Alessandri (2000), see appendix. The title of Bali was one of the highest ranks in several chivalric orders.

818 Ibid.: 96.

travelling theatre companies passed Florence and private citizens opened their doors for them, like Monsignore Corsi in 1639.⁸¹⁹

Sometimes Leopoldo knew the people who wrote him about the Carnival celebrations only from their letters.⁸²⁰ One example was Alfonso Antinori, who travelled with Mattias de' Medici and described the theatre activities everywhere they passed (Venice, Modena, Ferrara) in separate letters to Giovan Carlo and Leopoldo.⁸²¹ From Milan, Carnival descriptions came from Pier Francesco Rinuccini (who found the Milanese Carnival boring), from Genoa, they came from Giovan Battista Bolognetti.⁸²² People returning from the marriage of Anna de' Medici and Ferdinand Charles of Austria in 1646 in Innsbruck, like Carlo Ventura del Nero, wrote Leopoldo about the Carnival celebration in Mantua.⁸²³ From Bologna, letters arrived from Paolo del Bufalo (1645-75) and the agent Filippo Soldani, Jacopo's son.⁸²⁴ In 1651, the same Filippo Soldani wrote him about the activities at the palace of Margherita Branciforte (1604-1659), Princess of Butera and the widow of Federigo Colonna.⁸²⁵

When Leopoldo was away from Florence, his correspondents kept him up to date about the cultural developments at home. Niccolò Panciatichi (1608-1648) wrote him about the theatre in the palazzo di Parione of Don Lorenzo and of the Accademia dei Concordi. Soldani wrote him about a popular way to celebrate the spring on the first of May by performing a ballet and singing a 'maggio', on the field of the confraternity of the Vangelista.⁸²⁶ Because Leopoldo knew everybody in Florence, the tone of those letters is often ironical.⁸²⁷

Together all those letters from different parts of Italy and Europe functioned as a collection of the most up to date knowledge about cultural festivities, ideas that could be tucked away for consideration about what was possible in the

819 Ibid.: 111.

820 Ibid.: 98.

821 Ibid.: 99. ASF Mediceo del Principato 5527 c 372 r-v (letters of Antinori)

822 Pier Francesco Rinuccini (1592-1657) was the son of the poet and librettist Ottavio Rinuccini, the writer of the first opera in history, *La Dafne* (1597). Pier Francesco was most probably the author of *Il corago, o vero alcune osservazioni per metter bene in scena le composizioni drammatiche* (ca. 1630), a manual which gives instruction in the art of stage direction for spoken and sung drama. See Guccini 2002: 125-26.

823 Alessandri 2000: 100. ASF Mediceo del Principato 5545 c 630 r (Carlo del Nero); ASF Mediceo del Principato 5527 c 370r-v, 26 February 1641 (Alfonso Antinori from Milan).

824 Alessandri 2000: 103. Filippo Soldani (1630-1674) was the son of Jacopo Soldani and bishop of Fiesole.

825 Ibid.: 115. 11 February 1651.

826 ASF Mediceo del Principato 5550 c 325 r, 29 May 1638, Letter from Soldani to Leopoldo, see appendix.

827 Alessandri 2000: 109.

future in Florence, as is remarked by Alessandri.⁸²⁸ Sometimes the letters speak about the qualities of rising theatre companies, so that Leopoldo could be prepared for their good or mediocre quality.⁸²⁹ In exchange for all the information, Leopoldo sent books and cultural information about festivities and academies in Florence.⁸³⁰ Other times Leopoldo included libretti, scores, posters, prints, and descriptions with his letters, which was also a form of Medici-propaganda.⁸³¹ Leopoldo answered all his correspondents enthusiastically and he often sent invitations for theatre performances in Florence and promised to look after places to sleep for the gentlemen and their servants in convents like Santa Trinita and Santo Spirito.⁸³² Leopoldo also wrote about his own activities to his correspondents, as in this brief fragment to Lorenzo Strozzi:

[...] Intendo che per hoggi saremo invitati ad un festino per trattenimento da cavalieri, e domani haveremo qui in palazzo la mia solita accademia per trattenimento da accademici: oggi pascereмо gl'occhi e domani l'intelletto [...]⁸³³

Relations with European men of letters

When Leopoldo travelled to Rome in 1668 to receive his cardinal's hat, he saw theatrical performances in various cardinals' palaces and villas, and frequented the circles of the Aldobrandini, Acquaviva, Imperiali, Omodei, Pio, Borromeo, and Gualtieri. In these palaces he dined with several Florentine patricians who resided in Rome, the marquises Corsi, Riccardi, and Albizi, and with senator Acciaiuoli and Signor Ugo della Stufa.⁸³⁴ When he could not travel himself, Leopoldo tried to maintain his ties with European men of letters by letting his courtiers stay with them when they visited their countries. One of these courtiers was the patrician Francesco Riccardi (1648-1719), who made a long journey of instruction to prepare himself for the official functions at court. The patrician Alessandro Segni (1633-1697) accompanied him on this trip as his personal teacher.⁸³⁵ The journey took them through Italy (Loreto and Rome),

828 Ibid.: 132, 135.

829 Ibid.: 134.

830 Ibid.: 132, 135.

831 Ibid.: 139.

832 Ibid.: 132, 135 - ASF Mediceo del Principato 5548 c 777, 8 June 1654, letter from Pier Francesco Rinuccini to Leopoldo, see appendix.

833 Leopoldo to Lorenzo Strozzi, from Siena 16 July 1636: ASF Carte Stroziane serie V 1121 inserto 1 c.n.n.

834 Alessandri 2000: 35, 39.

835 Minicucci 1985: 11; Minicucci 1983: 122. ASF Riccardi, f 818, ins 1.

France, the Netherlands, Flanders, Germany, Bohemia, and Austria between 1665 and 1667.⁸³⁶ In the course of the next two years they made a second trip, this time to Flanders, France, Spain, Portugal, and England.⁸³⁷ Riccardi and Segni reported to Leopoldo everything they saw and experienced, and made many comparisons between Florence and the places they saw (villas and palaces of princes).⁸³⁸ Leopoldo was very interested in their writings and waited anxiously for their letters, which let him travel, as he put it, without any discomfort (“viaggiare senza incomodo”).⁸³⁹

In Paris, Segni and Riccardi met the young Prince Cosimo (the future Grand Duke Cosimo III), who was undertaking a long journey of instruction as well, together with Lorenzo Magalotti.⁸⁴⁰ Every time Segni and Riccardi went to a new country they read the historical treatises and books about that country to be better prepared. For Leopoldo they had to visit still unknown museums, libraries, and publishers and forge new relations between them and Florence.⁸⁴¹ The two patricians helped Leopoldo enlarge his cultural and scientific scope. When in June 1666 they visited the publisher Blaeu in Amsterdam, which was famous for its geographic maps, Segni reported enthusiastically about this visit:

...di buonissima ora andai alla bottega del Blaeu. Parlai col signor Giovanni e appresso col signor Pietro suo figliuolo, e sodisfece con tutti due gli ordini che avevo del signor Principe Leopoldo di riverirgli il suo nome. [...] Comparve

836 Minicucci 1985: 5, 18. During this trip he visits Lyon, Paris, Fontainebleau, Prague, Brussels, Lissabon and the Escorial.

837 De Julius 1981: 59. In London Riccardi and Segni met some members of the Royal Society and in Paris they made the acquaintance of Gilles Ménage, the author of the book *Origins of the Italian Language* (1669). See ‘Alessandro Segni’, on the website of the Mediateca di Palazzo Medici Riccardi http://www.palazzo-medici.it/mediateca/en/Scheda_Segni_Alessandro. Retrieved October 16, 2014.

838 Minicucci 1985: 12–13. They saw libraries in Turin (royal library) and Paris (Sorbonne and royal library), and Jesuit libraries in Orléans, Clermont Ferrand, Tornai, Antwerp, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Hamburg, Wolfenbüttel and Venice. Source: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, N.A. 665: *Diario del viaggio d'Europa fatto dal Sig. March. Francesco Riccardi*. (19 October 1665 until 16 March 1667). About Amsterdam and the office of Blau, see A. Segni, *Diario del viaggio col Marchese Francesco Riccardi*, B.R.F., Ms. 2296 bis 2299, see appendix.

839 Minicucci 1985: 16. Letters from Leopoldo (3 and 10 April 1666): See Ricc 2295, c.145, 177, 193 for letters of 20 February 1665 and 20 July and 23 October 1666). See appendix.

840 On Cosimo III's travels in the Netherlands, see Wagenaar/Eringa 2014; Mirto/Van Veen 1993; Van Veen/McCormick 1985.

841 Alessandri 2000: 78. After his journey Francesco Riccardi had the functions of Cavallerizzo Maggiore, Consigliere di Stato, Gentiluomo di Camera and Maggiordomo. In 1673, he undertook a diplomatic mission to Vienna (again with Alessandro Segni) to congratulate the Holy Roman Emperor on his second marriage. See Minicucci 1985: 5, 21–22.

il signor marchese Francesco e tutti insieme andamma a vedere la stamperia de' signori Blaeu, che è in luogo assai lontano dalla casa, e bottega loro. Colà in grandi armadi sono i rami per le figure cosmografiche. In una stanza a lato sono i torcoli per tirare le medesime figure in numero di nove. In altro simil salone sono parimenti nove torcoli, distinti co' nomi delle Muse, per istampare. Nella parte più alta della casa sono i magazzini con molti lavori fatti, e in particolare libri di rosso e nero, come Breviari, Messali, e simili, per la valuta de' quali passa d'Italia gran somma di denaro in Olanda; in altre stanze ci mostrarono caratteri latini, greci, ebraici, siriaci, persiani, arabi e tedeschi, strumenti e madri per gettare i medesimi caratteri, e grandissima quantità di strumenti Cosmografici e Astronomici.⁸⁴²

One can only imagine Leopoldo's pleasure when reading about these visits. Pieter Blaeu also wrote to Antonio Magliabechi in Florence about the visit of Segni and Riccardi and noted that they bought a lot of books from him, some of which were destined for Leopoldo's library.⁸⁴³

Thanks to all his travels, Francesco Riccardi had a very international art collection. He bought many Flemish genre paintings.⁸⁴⁴ Apart from paintings, he also acquired many books for his own library during his journeys with Segni. Together with the books and manuscripts he inherited from Gabriello, Cosimo and Riccardo Riccardi, and with the 2500 books and some hundred manuscripts he inherited from Vincenzo Capponi, the father of his wife, Cassandra Capponi, he had an extensive collection of books about linguistics, history, philosophy, theology, politics, science, juridical questions, and antique and

842 Mirto 1984: 23-24. This is a fragment from the 'Viaggio di Alessandro Segni col Signor Marchese Francesco Riccardi', BRF (Ms. Aut. RICC 2296, ff. 231/232) adì 28 giugno Lunedì, Amsterdam.

843 Mirto 1984: 24. Bleau to Antonio Magliabechi, 9 July 1666, BNCF Fondo Nazionale, II-I, 382, see appendix. On the letters Pieter Bleau wrote to Leopoldo, Magliabechi and Cosimo III de' Medici, see Mirto/Van Veen 1993.

844 De Julius 1981: 58. ASF carte Riccardi 272 en 309: these Flemish paintings from the collection of Francesco Riccardi were exhibited in 1706 in SS Annunziata. Apart from Italian paintings, F. Borroni Salvadori (1974: 1-166) mentions for this exhibition two paintings from the German Peter Philip Roos (Monsù Rosa, p.118), one of them with animals. At the exhibition of 1737, many Flemish paintings were exhibited, but it is not certain whether they were bought by Francesco or Vincenzo Riccardi. It was probably Vincenzo, as they were not exhibited in 1706. Among these paintings are landscapes (sometimes with animals) by Willem van Bemmelen (1630-1708), Nicolaes Berchem (1620-1683) and Jan Baptist Weenix (1621-1659), seascapes by Hendrick Dubbels (1621-1707) and Casper Adriaensz. van Wittel (1653-1736, in Italian he was called Gaspero degli occhiali/Monsù Gaspero), architectural church paintings by Peter Neefs the elder (1578-1656) and Hendrik van Steenwijck (II) (1580-1649), and a bamboccianti painting by David Teniers (1582-1649).

Italian literature. He decided he would like to open his library to the public and even made a reading room for this purpose. His son Cosimo (1671-1751) realized this goal for him. The magnificent Biblioteca Riccardiana, which contains autograph manuscripts of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ficino, Poliziano (Politian), and Pico della Mirandola, remains open to the public to this day.⁸⁴⁵

Part II

4.4 Patricians, artists, and their literary, linguistic, and theatrical experiments at Florentine cultural academies and confraternities

Many patricians joined the Florentine cultural academies at a very young age and saw each other several times a week at different academies. As they grew older and their responsibilities increased, they continued to correspond with each other about cultural subjects and exchanged cultural objects and information from different courts in Europe. In this way, the Medici court remained informed about new developments in the fields of music, poetry, theatre, art, collecting, and libraries. Written as well as oral culture was discussed. Within the academies, patricians also came into contact with foreign men of letters and many artists, thus giving them access to large networks that were useful to them in their capacity as brokers.

Within the cultural academies the patricians discussed literature, poetry, painting, and theatre, experimented with literary genres, and dedicated poems to each other. An example is the patrician Alessandro Adimari (1579-1649), who published in 1628 an introduction to the *Poesie ditirambiche*, written by the patricians Francesco Maria Gualterotti and Carlo Marucelli.⁸⁴⁶ Gualterotti was canon of Santa Maria del Fiore, poet, and musicologist, and dedicated his dithyramb *La morte d'Orfeo* to Piero de' Bardi.⁸⁴⁷ Gualterotti and Marucelli wanted to prove that it was possible to compose dithyrambs in the Tuscan language and not only in the Greek language, which contained many compound

845 'Presentazione, cenni storici'. In Biblioteca Riccardiana Firenze. Retrieved January 30, 2014: <http://www.riccardiana.firenze.sbn.it/main.php>

846 Conrieri 2003: 370. Alessandro Adimari (1579-1649) was a poet who studied the Greek and Latin languages and translated and annotated many antique works. His most famous book was his annotated version of the *Odi di Pindaro* (*The Odes of Pindar*) (Pisa, 1631). He was a member of the Accademia Fiorentina and of the Alterati and most probably also of the Lincei in Rome. Besides orations for the Medici family, he wrote six volumes of sonnets. See D'Addario 1960: 277-78.

847 Conrieri 2003: 375.

words. To show what their dithyrambs were like, here is a fragment from *Morte d'Orfeo* of Gualterotti:

più donne ebrifestevoli
 ivi arrivar, che liete
 brilliballischerzavano
 corisalti facevano
 e ripiene di vin cantiululavano
 a onor di Bacco vincitor sublime
 che il crin pampinicinge⁸⁴⁸

The academicians also criticised each other's poems. There was a large social and cultural cohesion within the academies and the patricians conversed in a common cultural language. In this section we will discuss two kinds of academies, literary and theatrical.

4.4.1 Literary and linguistic academies

The Apatisti

There were several academies in which linguistic and literary experiments were the main focus. We will discuss the main characteristics by analysing a few of these academies, beginning with the Accademia degli Apatisti (c. 1632-1783), which was famous for its word games that helped train its members in rhetoric and prepare them for positions in government.⁸⁴⁹ When they joined the academy, new members made up an anagram using the letters of their first and last names. These names were often very humorous anagrams that seemed to make the member absurd, of low descent, or appear like someone from another region of Italy altogether. Some examples are Don Lopez de Cuscira (for Alessandro Pucci), Ammonio Platonici (for Antonio Ciampoli), Lucano da Recanati (for Andrea Cavalcanti), Boemonte Battidenti (for D. Benedetto Buonmattei), and Bali Scoprifrode (for Pietro Frescobaldi). The names served as a kind of a mask that made the member freer to act and publish things within the academy.⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁹ Lazzeri 1983: 7.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid.: 14, 15, 20, 69, 72. A list of members with their anagrams:

Agostino Coltellini – Ostilio Contalgeni; Agostino Nelli – Antonio Gelli; Alessandro Pucci – Don Lopez de Cuscira; P. Andrea Busono – Adriano Usebi; Antonio Ciampoli – Ammonio Platonici; Andrea Cavalcanti – Lucano da Recanati; Carlo Roberto Dati – Currado Bartoletti, later Ardaclito; Anton F. Arrighi

The Accademia degli Apatisti was founded by Agostino Coltellini, who surrounded himself with friends to discuss literature, science, and art.⁸⁵¹ Coltellini himself specialized in law and in the Greek, Latin, Chaldaen, Arabic, and Syrian languages.⁸⁵² In its first years, the academy gathered in his house in the Via dell'Oriolo.⁸⁵³ Because of all the discussions and word games the Academy of the Apatisti was also called 'Università di Letterati e di Virtuosi'.⁸⁵⁴ It began as a 'conversazione virtuosa', but soon became a real academy.⁸⁵⁵ Its members belonged to the old patrician families.⁸⁵⁶ The secretary of the academy was Carlo Dati.⁸⁵⁷ One of the key figures of the academy was Jacopo Gaddi, one of Dati's best friends.⁸⁵⁸ The reunions were often in his house, Palazzo Gaddi in the actual Via del Giglio, and with good weather the Apatisti met in the gardens of Via Melarancio, next to Palazzo Gaddi, or in the Villa Camerata at Fiesole.⁸⁵⁹ Their emblem was a sun, accompanied by a motto from Tasso: "oltre i confini ancor del mondo nostro". Another emblem was a mirror, accompanied by a motto from Dante's *Purgatorio*: "che la figura impressa non trasmuta". The fact that they took their motto from Tasso shows that they were enthusiastic about

– Conte Acrisio Rangoni; P. Bastiano Ulivi – Silvano Abati; Benedetto Baldesi – Baldo de' Benattesi; D. Benedetto Buonmattei – Boemonte Battidenti; Carlo Gerini- Ciro Angeli; Domenico dell'Ancisa – Nicodemo Ansaldo; Domenico Bardelli – Bandinel Comorli; D. Ermando Montalvi – Don Armeno Lunati; Francesco Lorenzi – Cipriano Zolfi; Ferdinando della Rena – Don Aleandro Floredani; Francesco Teri – Ferrante Cosci; D. Francesco Rovai – Rainero Fucasco; Ab. Giuliano de' Ricci – Guicciardin Leri; Giov. Ant. Francini – fra Antonio Figio; Gio. B. Teri – Bastiano Gualtieri; Gio B. Livizzani – Balì Gustavo Miniatazzi; Giulio Berti – Gilberto Vai; Iacopo Tosi – Appio Stoico; Iacopo Galigai – Acciauolo Paggi; Niccolò Teri – Neri Accolti; Niccolò Cecchi – Cola Cecchini; Pietro Salvetti – Livio Serpetta; Pietro Frescobaldi – Balì scoprifrode; Ridolfo Paganelli – Lionelli da Parigi; Romolo Bertini – Tiberio Romano; Vaio de Vai – Tuone Vida; Venanzio Mattei da Camerino – Lattanzia poeta; Zanobi Nacci – Baccio Zanni; Niccolò Bonaiuti – Vituccio Annoboli; Lorenzo Lippi – Pierozzo Pelli; Averardo Niccolini – don Valerio Ricci; Carlo de' Bardi – Baldo Carredi; Giovanni Medici – Egidio Mannucci; Domenico dell'Ancisa – Nicodemo Ansaldo; Giulio Gherardi – Vergilio Draghi; can. Carlo de' Bardi – Bardo Carrel; Can. Alessandro Ridolfi – Don Flonsel de Aras; Segretario Alessandro Segni – Don Angelo Sarsi; Sen. Andrea Pitti – Pindaro Teti; can fra Francesco Curradi – can fra Dino Cresci; Sig Jacopo Salviati duca di Giuliano – duca Iosia Paleoti; Ipolito Pandolfini – Don Piloto Panfini; Ottavio Bartolini – Attilio Buonarroti

851 Lazzeri 1983: 5.

852 Arthos 1968: 18.

853 Mamone 2003b: 285.

854 Lazzeri 1983: 31

855 *Ibid.*: 5.

856 *Ibid.*: 8.

857 Boutier 2005b: 431. On Carlo Dati, see section 4.3.

858 Kiefer Lewalski 2000: 93.

859 Arthos 1968: 19.

this author, while the Accademia della Crusca promoted Ariosto and had an anti-Tasso attitude.⁸⁶⁰

The Apatisti was a very open academy and attracted many foreign scholars who were willing to meet Florentine scholars in an informal setting. Among the most celebrated was the English poet John Milton, who visited the Apatisti between July and September 1638, and again the following spring from March to May.⁸⁶¹ Foreign scholars were not welcome in the Crusca academy. Milton praised the Apatisti as that “Florentine institution which deserves great praise not only for promoting humane studies but also for encouraging friendly intercourse”.⁸⁶² In 1637, many Polish, English, French, and Flemish members joined the academy.⁸⁶³ Their presentations were often multilingual, which was unique in the Florentine academy-life.⁸⁶⁴

For many years after his return to England, John Milton continued to correspond with “all the kind and congenial friends and companions I left behind me in that one city, so distant but so well beloved”. In a letter to Carlo Dati in 1647, he writes about his melancholy when he thinks of all those friends from the Florentine academies who are his soul mates but who live so far away:

Soon an even more depressing thought came into my mind, a thought which often makes me lament my fortune, namely that those who are closely bound to me by the fact of neighbourhood or by some other tie of no real importance, either by chance or by some legal claim, though they have nothing else to commend them to me, are with me every day, deafen me with their noise, and, I swear torment me as often as they choose; while those who are so greatly endeared to me by sympathy of manners, disposition and tastes, are almost all separated from me either by death or by the cruel accident of distance, and are as a rule snatched from my sight so swiftly that I am compelled to spend my life in almost perpetual loneliness.⁸⁶⁵

This letter proves the close friendships that could be formed within the academies. He ends his letter by greeting his other friends: “Meanwhile my dear

860 Lazzeri 1983: 31.

861 Kiefer Lewalski 2000: 89.

862 Ibid.: 90 He quotes Milton's *Defensio Secunda*, CPW IV.I 615-17.

863 Lazzeri 1983: 16, 18.

864 Kiefer Lewalski 2000: 92.

865 Ibid.: 102. He cites Phyllis B. Tillyard, *Milton's private correspondence and academic exercises*, Cambridge 1932, see appendix.

Carlo, I send my good wishes to you, and to Coltellini, Francini, Frescobaldi, Malatesti, the younger Chimentelli, and to any other of my good friends whom you know: and pray convey my respects to the whole of Gaddi's Academy".

The Apatisti was one of the few academies in which women were welcome, like the nun Maria Clemente Ruoti.⁸⁶⁶ The most important intellectuals were subscribed and many of them joined both the academies of the Svogliati and the Apatisti, like Rondinelli, Cavalcanti, and Jacopo Gaddi.⁸⁶⁷ And mostly they were also active at the official Crusca and Fiorentina-academies.⁸⁶⁸ Other famous members were the Danish scientist Niels Stensen; Giovan Filippo Marucelli, Tuscan ambassador at the court of Louis XIV; the scholar and antiquarian Cassiano dal Pozzo; the German humanist, geographer, and historian Lucas Holstenius; the poet and dramatist Pietro Susini; Mattias Maria Bartolommei; Ludovico Adimari; Alessandro Adimari; Alessandro Pucci; Senator Strozzi; Marquis Malaspina; Antonio Ricasoli; Francesco Redi; Lorenzo Magalotti; and the artists Stefano della Bella, Giusto Sustermans, Ferdinando Tacca, Francesco Curradi, Lorenzo Lippi, and Vincenzo Dandini.⁸⁶⁹ The artist-members also made artworks for the academy. Francesco Curradi had made four paintings of the patron saints of the academy, Saint Mary of the Immaculate Conception, Saint Filippo Neri, Saint Catherine of Alexandria, and Saint Augustine.⁸⁷⁰

A practice the Apatisti copied from the Crusca in 1636 was the *cicalate*. A *cicalata* was an exaggerated discussion about a subject that was hardly worth discussing.⁸⁷¹ Furthermore, the Apatisti continued the *stravizzi* of the Crusca-academy, which were called *simposi*, a reference to ancient Greece.⁸⁷² During the *simposi*, the Apatisti played all kinds of word-games and they discussed *dubbi*, doubtful cases. Every time a doubtful case was introduced, three persons had to give improvised pros and cons and the Apatista Reggente (who was nominated for one month) decided who was right. The doubts were a mix of literary, scientific, religious, and profane cases.⁸⁷³ Sometimes the questions are still very apt, like the question: "Which of the two situations is the most happy:

866 After an unsure start in the third decennium of the seventeenth century, the Accademia degli Apatisti was refounded in 1649 and flourished until 1783. Writings of Maria Clemente Ruoti: *Giacob patriarca*, 1637, *Il Natal di Cristo*, 1657.

867 Michelassi 2005: 451.

868 Lazzeri 1983: 19.

869 Castelli/Testaverde 2007: 11; Vuelta García 2005: 483, 485, 488; Lazzeri 1983: 9, 19.

870 Lazzeri 1983: 20.

871 Castelli/Testaverde 2007: 12.

872 Lazzeri 1983: 20.

873 Ibid.: 24.

being a bachelor or being married?" Another question was whether most of the Tuscan language derived from Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, or Cardinal Bembo. They were all intellectual games.⁸⁷⁴ From 1649, another intellectual game was introduced. It was called the 'gioco del Sibillone' – the Sybil game. Something was asked to a young member (the Sybil) of ten to twelve years old and he had to answer very fast. After his answer, two interpreters began to explain his answer. One of the questions was for example: "Why do women cry more often and more easily than men?" The answer often had nothing to do with the subject (in this case the answer was "paglia" or "straw"), but afterwards they could discuss it for forty-five minutes, looking for arguments to support the answer. It was all meant to practise their improvising skills. It had a humorous character and was often played with Carnival.⁸⁷⁵

The Svogliati, the Crusca and burlesque poems influenced by the literary academies

An academy more aimed at intellectual discussions than games, was the Accademia degli Svogliati (founded around 1638), whose members discussed poetry, theatre, and theology. They convened every Thursday in the palace of the academy's founder, Jacopo Gaddi (the Hotel Astoria in Via del Giglio, Piazza Madonna), and together they read poems, plays, theological essays, and lives of the saints.⁸⁷⁶ Sometimes they produced literary works together. In 1638, Jacopo Gaddi published his *Elogiographus scilicet Elogia omnigena*, a collection of panegyric poems on illustrious men and in 1639 the Svogliati collaborated on a translation of this from Latin into Italian. In the Vatican archive, I found some letters of Gaddi to Francesco Barberini in which he asks the Cardinal's opinion about these *Elogi storici in versi, e'n prosa* before publishing them.⁸⁷⁷ The members of the Svogliati were ex-members of the youth confraternity Arcangelo Raffaello, who had probably grown too old for the youthful confraternity.

874 Castelli/Testaverde 2007: 11; Lazzeri 1983: 25. The *dubbi* in Italian: Quale dei due stadi sia il più felice o quello dello scapolo o quello del maritato. Se la toscana lingua debba più a Dante, al Boccaccio, al Petrarca o al cardinal Bembo. Other *dubbi*: Which language do the reunited blessed souls in paradise speak? Did they have to allow women to study? Which hair colour gives the most beauty to a woman: blonde or black? Who should to be praised more, Dante or Vergil? Is it better to write poems in Tuscan or in Latin? What is better for a man: to fulfil a civic function for the republic or to enrich himself in science and the other *virtuosi esercizi*? (Se più convenga all'uomo l'impiegarsi in servizio della repubblica o il perfezionare se stesso nelle scienze e con gli altri virtuosi esercizi.) Conrieri 2003: 385 gives another *dubbio*: E' meglio perdonare o vendicarsi?

875 Lazzeri 1983: 26; Castelli/Testaverde 2007: 12. Perché le donne piangono più sovente e più facilmente degli uomini?

876 Kiefer Lewalski 2000: 92.

877 BAV Barb Latino 6464, Lettere di Jacopo Gaddi (1623-1648), ff. 10 + 12 (28 May and 12 August 1639).

Many members of the Apatisti were also subscribed to the Svogliati-academy, like Rondinelli, Cavalcanti, Jacopo Gaddi, and John Milton. Furthermore, the academy attracted poets and dramatists such as Alessandro Adimari, Giovan Carlo Coppola, Camillo Lenzoni, Giovanni Battista Doni, Andrea Cavalcanti, Francesco Rondinelli, Pietro Salvetti, Carlo Dati, Orazio Rucellai, Benedetto Buonmattei, Girolamo Bartolommei, and Francesco Rovai.⁸⁷⁸

At the same time that the patricians frequented the more informal academies of the Apatisti and Svogliati, they were also members of the official Accademia della Crusca, where, in this period (1630-60) there was a concentration on word games and literary experiments as well. One of the goals of the Accademia della Crusca was to purify the language. This concentration on the Tuscan language led to exaggerated word jokes and games, and comical discussions during informal dinners. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Accademia della Crusca was, with the Accademia Fiorentina, the most important official academy. Almost all the members of the traditional oligarchic families were subscribed. The Accademia della Crusca, which still exists, was founded in 1582 and there were many literary discussions about contemporary Italian books like Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*.⁸⁷⁹ From 1590, the Crusca-members worked on a dictionary of the Italian language, the *Vocabolario*, the aim of which was to preserve the beauty of the fourteenth-century Florentine language of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch. This language had to be complemented with words from the poems of Lorenzo de' Medici, Machiavelli and Ariosto, who was not even a Florentine citizen.⁸⁸⁰ The first edition of the *Vocabolario* was published in 1612 and the second in 1623, both in Venice.⁸⁸¹ The third edition was published in Florence in 1691.⁸⁸²

Like the Accademia degli Alterati, members of the Accademia della Crusca had pseudonyms. The names did not have to do with wine, like at the Alterati, but with chaff (*crusca*) and wheat.⁸⁸³ The chaff (the unpurified language) had to be separated from the wheat (the purified language). Instead of the serious dis-

878 Michelassi 2005: 451.

879 'Primordi e fondazione'. In *Accademia della Crusca*. Retrieved January 30, 2014: <http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/it/laccademia/storia/primordi-fondazione>.

880 'Il primo Vocabolario'. In *Accademia della Crusca*. Retrieved January 30, 2014: <http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/it/laccademia/storia/primi-vocabolario>.

881 'La seconda edizione'. In *Accademia della Crusca*. Retrieved January 30, 2014: <http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/it/laccademia/storia/seconda-edizione>.

882 'La terza edizione'. In *Accademia della Crusca*. Retrieved January 30, 2014: <http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/it/laccademia/storia/terza-edizione>.

883 Imbert 1906: 157-58.

cussions at the Fiorentina, at the Crusca they had comical discussions, *cruscate*, with their humble pseudonyms as an extra comical accent.⁸⁸⁴ The pseudonyms were painted on chair backs together with mottos from famous poems.⁸⁸⁵

Seventeenth-century men of letters preferred the Accademia della Crusca above the Fiorentina because of its informal reunions. There were weekly dinners (*stravizzi*) in member's villas, where they had pleasure with *cicalate*, word jokes in which humble objects like food were glorified in an exaggerated way.⁸⁸⁶ Niccolò Arrighetti wrote for example a *cicalata sul cetriolo* (about the cucumber) and a *cicalata sulla torta* (about the cake). Piero Dini wrote a *cicalata* with the title *La nemicizia dell'acqua e del vino* (the hostility between the water and the wine). Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger composed many *cicalate* for the Crusca *stravizzi* between 1632 and 1647.

For these dinners, the patricians wrote also poems that were concentrated on vernacular language, word games, and calembours,⁸⁸⁷ like Francesco Redi's dithyramb *Bacco in Toscana*, from 1666. In his poem, Redi wanted to show off not only his linguistic skills, but also his knowledge of history, geography, and wine. It began as a joke with fifty verses for the Crusca *stravizzi*, but by the time of its final publication in 1685 it had grown to a thousand verses. In the story, Bacchus has emigrated to Tuscany and sits on the Poggio Imperiale, while drinking wine from a variety of different regions and singing with Arianna. The dithyramb incidentally mentions all of Redi's friends, including many Florentine patricians as well as non-Tuscan correspondents. Therefore it was called an 'opera sociale'. To have an idea of the character of dithyrambs of the Florentine patricians, here is a fragment of the poem:

884 'Primordi e fondazione'. In *Accademia della Crusca*. Retrieved January 30, 2014: <http://www.accademia-dellacrusca.it/it/laccademia/storia/primordi-fondazione>.

885 Imbert 1906: 159.

886 Rossi 1995a: 156; Dolci 1962: 308-09; Formichetti 1991: 158-59.

887 A calembour is a pun that plays on the different meanings of homophones, which mostly creates a funny effect, for example: Imagine us/ I'm a genius.

E se a te
 E se a te brindisi io fo
 Perché a me
 Perché a me
 Perché a me faccia il buon pro,
 il buon pro
 Arianuccia leggiadribelluccia
 Cantami un po...
 Cantami un po...
 Cantami un poco, e ricantami tu
 Sulla vio...
 Sulla viola la cuccurucù
 La cuccurucù
 Sulla viola la cuccurucù⁸⁸⁸

Another patrician who recited dithyrambs during the stravizzi of the Crusca was Lorenzo Panciatichi from 1657 to 1659.⁸⁸⁹ He made a dithyramb on a model of Redi, *La madreseiva*, in which he sang the praises of the scent of flowers.⁸⁹⁰ For the patricians, the writing of this kind of poems was a pleasant pastime, in combination with their official functions.⁸⁹¹

888 Conrieri 2003: 375.

889 Lorenzo Panciatichi (1635-1676) was the son of Niccolò Panciatichi and Ginevra Soldani, the daughter of senator Jacopo Soldani. He studied law and during a stay in Rome he learned the Greek language. Back in Florence he became a member of the Accademia Fiorentina, the Accademia della Crusca, and the Accademia degli Apatisti. At the Crusca he wrote many *cicalate*, *stravizi*, *satire* and *ditirambi*. Some of his famous contributions for the Crusca are the *Cicalata in lode della padella e della frittura* (1656), the *Ditirambo d'uno che per febbre deliri* (1659), and the *Contraccicalata alla cicalata dell Imperfetto* [pseudonym of Orazio Rucellai (1604-1673)] *sopra la lingua ionadattica* (1662). His good friends were the intellectuals Alessandro Segni, Francesco Redi, Lorenzo Magalotti, Orazio Rucellai, and Antonio Magliabechi. Panciatichi wrote the funeral orations for Philip IV of Spain (1655) and for Giovan Carlo de Medici (1663). Panciatichi was interested in linguistics and wrote a *Dizionario di voci proprie della marineria*, which was published posthumously in 1999. Together with Valerio Chimentelli, Francesco Redi and Ottavio Falconieri he worked on an *Etimologico Toscano*, edited by Carlo Dati, but this was never published. In 1670 and 1671 Panciatichi travelled to France, Flanders, the Netherlands and Germany. He stayed in Amsterdam for a while to search for a self-portrait of Palma il Vecchio, which was destined for the Corridoio Vasariano. After his trip he occupied himself with the study of the Greek Language, of numismatics, and of the origin of Italian proverbs. In the same years, however, he slid into a depression, which was aggravated by the death of Prince Leopoldo. Finally in 1676 Panciatichi committed suicide. See Rondinelli 2014.

890 Conrieri 2003: 376.

891 Ibid.: 378.

One of the poems the patricians were influenced by was the mock-heroic poem *Secchia rapita* (*The Stolen Bucket*) by Alessandro Tassoni, published in 1622, but which was already circulating in manuscript form in 1618. This poem influenced, for example, Piero de' Bardi (1570-1660) with his caricature of knighthood *Poemone: Avolio Ottone e Berlinghieri* (*Avinavoliottoneberlinghieri*) 1643.⁸⁹² The title derives from a verse of Ariosto (XVIII 8 8) with the names of four 'paladini' compressed in one word in a burlesque way.⁸⁹³ Piero de' Bardi caricaturized the genre of the heroic poem in a burlesque way. His poem was published under the pseudonym Beridio Darpe. Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger made a reference to *Avinavoliottoneberlinghieri* in the 'proemio' of his *Aione* at the Crusca in 1643. *Aione* was a burlesque joke about a legendary gentleman from Figline and Montaione and it was full of pure Florentine language with many colloquial expressions and Tuscan vulgarisms.⁸⁹⁴ So, members of the Crusca also used their concentration on the purity of the Tuscan language in exaggerated ways to record these vernacular expressions for posterity.

It was not only the patricians who wrote burlesque poems with significant attention to vernacular language; so, too, did the artist-members, especially Lorenzo Lippi (1606-1664), who kept in very close touch with the patricians. His famous poem *Il Malmantile racquistato* had a burlesque intonation and was influenced by *Secchia rapita*. Lippi began to write it in 1644, but it was published posthumously in 1676 under the pseudonym Perlone Zipoli. It contained many Tuscan proverbs and sayings, and popular language. In 1688, Leopoldo commissioned Puccio Lamoni (Paolo Minucci) to publish a Florentine version with footnotes to explain all the particularities of the language to non-Florentine-people.⁸⁹⁵ The style was burlesque, mock-heroic, and comic,⁸⁹⁶ and with a mix of fantasy and bizarre details, almost every sentence had a double meaning.⁸⁹⁷ It contained much vulgar humour, linguistic experimentations, and Florentine idiotisms.⁸⁹⁸ The title *Il Malmantile racquistato* - the subject was the reconquering of the Castle Malmantile - is a reference to the *Gerusalemme liberata* (1580)

892 Conrieri 2003: 381. The Stolen Bucket tells about the War of the Oaken Bucket between Modena and Bologna (1325-27).

893 Arbizzoni 1997: 750.

894 Conrieri 2003: 381; Arbizzoni 1997: 751. It was published posthumously only in 1852.

895 Cabani 2010: 199; Conrieri 2003: 381; Arbizzoni 1997: 746, 751.

896 Cabani 2010: 197.

897 Conrieri 2003: 381; Arbizzoni 1997: 746, 751. Examples of Tuscan sayings include *E, perch'ei non avea tutti i suoi mesi* (he did not spend nine months in the womb and therefore his brains are not fully developed), and *lo vado a Scesi* = to die.

898 D'Afflito 2002: 155.

and *Gerusalemme conquistata* (1593) of Tasso, and to the *Croce racquistata* (1614) of Francesco Bracciolini dell'Api. The poem contained twelve cantos. The fixed topoi of Tasso are changed in a comical way; the prologue for example takes place in the sky.⁸⁹⁹ Lippi joined several academies together with Florentine intellectuals, discussed literature with them, and from a literary viewpoint his poem has more quality than the poems of the other painters.⁹⁰⁰

Other painters who wrote poems were Francesco Furini, Andrea Boscoli, Cristofano Allori, Andrea Commodi, Giovanni da San Giovanni, Baccio del Bianco, Cosimo Lotti, and Sebastiano Mazzoni. The style was mostly neo-burlesque/grotesque with many bizarre details.⁹⁰¹ This style was well suited to the playful caricatural and mock-heroic painting fashion in that time. Mostly the painters did not publish their poems, but let them circulate in manuscript form. Their poems were often parodies of Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, Burchiello, Berni, Pulci, and Ariosto. The poems were very expressive, as if painted with words,⁹⁰² and they were also influenced by the theatre. In Francesco Furini's poem *Sconcio sposalizio*, Amor goes to Mount Olympus and back very fast, which lets one think of the changing set designs of the architects Baccio del Bianco and Giulio Parigi. Also the leading characters, two *caramogi*, seem to be a reference to Baccio del Bianco.⁹⁰³

The patricians and artists used vernacular language not only in the poems they wrote, but also in their plays. Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger especially experimented with popular jargon in his grand dramas. His play *La Tancia* (1611) deals with the impossible love story of a townsman Pietro and the peasant girl Tancia. The language differences between the city and the countryside are very obvious. With this play, Buonarroti the Younger wanted to promote the diversity of the Tuscan language, by showing the language of different levels of society, which of course had a comical effect.⁹⁰⁴ His play *La Fiera*, which also contained many linguistic experiments and Tuscan sayings and proverbs, was performed very late in the evening for the first time in 1619

899 Cabani 2010: 198. The Poem of Francesco Bracciolini dell'Api (1566-1645), dedicated to Cosimo II de' Medici, contains the love story of Alceste and Elisa. David Quint (2001: 59, 66) writes that in *La croce racquistata* the Medici family is glorified in the form of the heroine Herinta, the daughter of Heraclius, who is presented as the ancestress of the Medici dynasty, who gets in this poem an ancient imperial genealogy.

900 D'Afflito 2002: 28.

901 Rossi 2007: 107.

902 Ibid.: 108.

903 Ibid.: 113.

904 Conrieri 2003: 362.

in the Teatro della Sala of the Uffizi. The Medici Grand Dukes were among the spectators. It was a mix between a theatre play and a ball.⁹⁰⁵ The play contained some comedic aspects, but Michelangelo experimented with many genres at the same time and the play was at the same time a pastime for courtiers, a music spectacle, a naval battle, and a satire.⁹⁰⁶

The Pastori Antellesi

The Pastori Antellesi was a quite informal academy formed in 1599, the members of which gathered in different villas in the countryside until 1637. The main purpose of this academy was the study of literature and poetry. The members of the Pastori Antellesi had pseudonyms inspired by rural literature, such as Jacopo Sannazarro's *Arcadia* (1502) and stories of Boccaccio. Most of the members of the Pastori Antellesi also participated in the Accademia Fiorentina and the Accademia della Crusca, including Jacopo Soldani (with the pseudonym Tirsi), Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger (Alfesibeo), Niccolò Arrighetti, Mario Guiducci, Neri Alberti, Marcello Adriani, Piero de' Bardi (Selvaggio), Jacopo Giraldi, and Galileo Galilei.⁹⁰⁷

The Pastori Antellesi alternated among different villas in the neighbourhood of Antella, in the region of Bagno a Ripoli. While discussing literature and poetry, they wandered in the Tuscan hills and went fishing or hunting. One of the main functions of the academy was to get away from the hectic life of the city and to relax in the countryside.⁹⁰⁸ Already in the early Renaissance period, patricians and members of the Medici family had used their villas for humanistic discussions and pastimes. Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) called his villa in Terranuova the Academia Valdornina, reference to the name of Cicero's Tuscan villa. Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) followed this example and gave his villa the name Academia as well. The fifteenth-century humanists revived the philosophic dialogues of Cicero and retreated to their villas to get away from

905 Porcelli 1984: 53, 54, 57, 59, 60. The comedy was performed in five acts instead of five daily periods (*giornate*). It was a kind of summary, because the original piece contained 30.000 verses and took very long. Buonarroti was aware of this and wrote in the original text *Alla fine di ogni atto venga un personaggio che faccia tollerare la lunghezza con nuove consolazioni o mitigazioni che siano in un certo modo scuse tacite, e pure scoperte della lunghezza*. A description of the comedy is cited in Renucci 1978: 200, see appendix.

906 Porcelli 1984: 61, 63.

907 Masera 1941: 29, 34.

908 Ibid.: 35, 36.

political and commercial affairs in the city and to write philosophical treatises.⁹⁰⁹ In 1475, Cristoforo Landino published his famous *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, an imaginary story about a group of Florentine patricians (including Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, Leon Battista Alberti, and Alamanno Rinuccini) who climb the mountain to the Camaldoli convent to discuss, far from the tumult of the city, the comparison between the active and the contemplative life.⁹¹⁰

Some patricians' poems emphasize the contrast between country life and life at court in the city. Soldani compares the pleasures of nature and the hills of the Arno valley with the delights that come from luxurious objects (like dresses, damask, brocade) in the city in his poem *Che l'uomo non sa dove risieda la sua felicità, e che indirizza i suoi voti ad oggetti che gli sarebbero fonte d'infelicità* (as it was titled by Limentani).⁹¹¹ The satirical poems of Buonarroti, the *capitoli* of 1637, describe the contrast between the idyllic pastoral world and the hectic world in the city. They are more burlesque in intonation and less aggressive than Soldani's poems.⁹¹² Influenced by Horace, he praises villa life in the countryside, and he accurately observes the beauties of nature, the inhabitants of the countryside, and their use of language.⁹¹³ He loved the cyclical changes of nature, the pleasure of wandering in the hills, and seeing the crops grow:

Quel che al novembre io già piantai semento, Ceraso, o pero, o mel cotogno,
o pesco,
O altro, o da delizia o da provento,
Veder che sia attaccato, e verde e fresco,
E fatta a primavera bella messa,
Parer parlare e dirmi: Io cresco, io cresco.⁹¹⁴

Buonarroti thought the city was full of hypocrites with superficial activities.⁹¹⁵ He dedicated his satiric poems to his patrician friends Niccolò Arrighetti (in 1632), Mario Guiducci (in 1632-33), and Jacopo Giraldi (in 1634).⁹¹⁶ In 1627,

909 Coffin 1979: 10-12. Bruni *Dialogus ad Petrum Paulum Histrum*. Poggio Bracciolini *De Avaritia + De Nobilitate + Historia Convivalis*. Matteo Palmieri: *Della Vita Civile* 1430. Alamanno Rinuccini: *De libertate* 1479. Francesco Guicciardini's dialogue about the government was situated in villa Del Nero, Impruneta.

910 Coffin 1979: 14.

911 Limentani 1961: 60-61.

912 Arbizzoni 1997: 758. Michelangelo's satiric poems had approximately 350 verses, which was quite long.

913 Limentani 1961: 72.

914 Ibid.: 73: quote from *Satira* 1 Vv. 187-192.

915 Ibid.: 74.

916 Ibid.: 76, 78.

the painter Andrea Commodi wrote a satirical political poem about the Spanish invasion of Italy.⁹¹⁷ Battles were so ubiquitous in that period that the poems of Commodi were also meant as a flight into the pastoral world. In his frottole he describes the life at the countryside, just like Buonarroti and Soldani. But this quiet and peaceful life is disturbed by the noises of the war.⁹¹⁸ Buonarroti and Commodi also exchanged frottole in 1627, which are all written in a vulgar, Florentine idiom and performed with music.⁹¹⁹ Another person who praised the life at the countryside in his poems was Orazio Rucellai, a member of the Accademia degli Apatisti:

Tolto al grave tenor de' verdi affanni
 Men vivo in solitaria erma foresta
 Schivo l'orgoglio pur d'atra tempesta
 Ch'agitò il viver mio ne' più verd'anni.
 Non mai novella di ruine, e danni
 Qui me giunge a inquietar torbida, e mesta
 Ne trovo in vile albergo, o in umil vesta
 Tela di frodi, o fabbrica d'inganni.
 Più dolce è il conversar tra gl'olmi, e i faggi,
 Che per entro a cittade alta, e superba
 Soffrir ogn'or degl'emuli gl'oltraggi⁹²⁰

Sometimes the Pastori Antellesi made hiking trips of several days and passed different villas. One of these trips is described by Piero de' Bardi, who told Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger about it in a letter. He describes a trip in 1633 from San Quirico a Ruballa to Antella in which he continuously compares the landscape to landscapes from classical mythology. Furthermore he writes how during their trip the members of the Pastori Antellesi were hosted by local

917 Baffoni 1955: 12. Biblioteca Nazionale Firenze. This was the period of the Thirty Years' War. In 1627 a war about the Duchy of Mantua began. This ended with the treaty of Cherasco (1631) which decided that the duchy came in the possession of the family Gonzaga-Nevers. This was the beginning of the French hegemony of Italy. The domination of Spain stopped at this moment. The wars over Mantua (1627-30) coincided with the invasion of the army of the Habsburg Emperor and with the Plague. (Baffoni 1955).

918 Ibid.: 13

919 Bruno 2007: 37. Frottole are popular poems with varied metre, with bizarre thoughts and riddles (Garzanti).

920 D'Afflito 2002: 154 BNCF Palatino 263 Poesie di diversi del XVII secolo c. 25 Lascia la corte per la villa (S Cav Orazio Rucellai).

aristocrats and priests and how they enjoyed having dinner, drinking wine, and admiring the antiquities in the villa of the son of Cosimo dell'Antella.⁹²¹ It seems that the patricians enjoyed these informal academies a lot and that they afforded them an important venue for socializing.

4.4.2 Theatrical academies

The Incostanti, the Improvvisi/Percossi, the Affinati, and the Sorgenti

Another category of academies were those that performed theatre plays. The academies were used as a form of sociability and there were many links between patricians and performers within them.⁹²² The theatre academies had many functions, among them to perform plays at ceremonial feasts of the Medici, to experiment with new theatrical genres (such as elaborations of Spanish plays), and to organize commemorative ceremonies on the death of important persons.

Small theatre academies flourished under the regime of Cosimo II. Because of his bad health, he did not organise many large-scale events and he reduced the political control over theatre and contributed fewer financial resources for scenery, costumes, and actors. Fewer plays were censored and the Medici (for example, Don Giovanni) sponsored academies and confraternities in a constructive and not restrictive way.⁹²³ There was considerable freedom for experimentation, and the patricians took advantage of this situation. As they were financially autonomous and well educated in thinking about theatre plays, they started to organise performances in which young patricians acted alongside professional artists.⁹²⁴ The performances were held either in Medici palaces or in their own palaces and were organised sometimes in commission of the Grand Duke, but on other occasions completely autonomous of him, or only in honour of him.⁹²⁵ For both the Medici and the patricians the involvement in theatre meant an increase in their social prestige.⁹²⁶

Between 1610 and 1640, the activities of the small theatre academies filled in the gaps between dynastic events of the Medici. Court theatre in those years was not terribly innovative, but the experiments in the confraternities and small

921 Casprini 1994: 76. The itinerary they followed: San Quirico a Ruballa – L'Apparita – Il Borro di San Giorgio – Montisoni – La Fonte dell'Acqua Calda verso San Donato – Montisoni – Lonchio – Antella

922 Mamone 2003b: 216.

923 Ibid.: 214.

924 Ibid.: 215.

925 Ibid.

926 Ibid.

academies certainly were. In 1618, the Accademia degli Incostanti was officially founded by the painter Filippo Furini and the painter and architect Cosimo Lotti, after several years of performing as an unofficial theatre company. The Incostanti, patronized from 1618 by Don Giovanni de' Medici, often performed improvised plays in the Casino di San Marco.⁹²⁷ They also performed improvised plays in very informal settings like the sleeping room of the Grand Duke, who commissioned them to entertain the Grand Duchess and her children while he was observing them from his bed, as is clear from the diary of Cesare Tinghi:⁹²⁸

Et adì 2 detto [marzo 1620] venute le 22 ore, volendo S.A. dare un poco di piacere alla Serenissima Arciducessa et a signori fillioli et sorelle, fece recitare una commedia all'improvviso dalli Accademici delli Incostanti a uso di Zanni et Pantaloni, in camera sua, et S.A. stette a letto.

Many painters were members of the Accademia degli Incostanti such as Cristofano Allori, Filippo Furini (the father of Francesco), Cosimo Lotti, Baccio del Bianco, and Lorenzo Lippi.⁹²⁹ In 1609 Cristofano Allori performed Orpheus in the palace of the Montalvi and in 1611 he performed in Buonarroti the Younger's *La Tancia* in the palace of Don Antonio de' Medici.⁹³⁰

One of the other theatrical academies was the Accademia degli Improvvisi/Improvisi (1644-45), later the Percossi. As the name suggests, the Accademia degli Improvvisi (founded in 1644) performed improvised theatre plays. When the Improvvisi changed their name in the Percossi after 1645, they also discussed the links between literature and art.⁹³¹ The academy was patronized by Giovan Carlo de' Medici from 1645.⁹³² They met in the house of the painter Salvatore Rosa (Canto de' Cini, near Croce al Trebbio) and after that in the Casino Mediceo. Members of the Percossi were Francesco Rovai, Carlo Dati, Lorenzo Lippi, Paolo Minucci, Luigi Ridolfi, Antonio Malatesti, Andrea Cavalcanti, Evangelista Torricelli, Vincenzo Viviani, and Giovambattista Ricciardi.⁹³³ Most of these members were also members of the Crusca and the Apatisti.⁹³⁴

927 Testaverde 2002: 125.

928 Landolfi 1991: 71.

929 Testaverde 2002: 125; Mamone 1996: 222, 228.

930 Mamone 1996: 224-25.

931 Langdon 1974: 190.

932 Mamone 2001a: 124.

933 Michelassi 2010: 137, 139; Fumagalli 2007a: 64.

934 Fumagalli 2007a: 64.

Like Michelangelo's *Fiera*, the plays of the Improvvisi were performed sometimes very late in the evening.⁹³⁵ The improvised performances were organised as follows: the plays were described scene by scene based on a certain theme, but the dialogues had to be improvised. Usually, the members of the academy were divided in two groups, one to play the serious parts and the other the ridiculous parts.⁹³⁶ The members of the Percossi occupied themselves with minor literary genres, writing odes, sonnets, satires, and songs, which were seldom published but circulated as manuscripts in the academies, to be read during their meetings.⁹³⁷

Another academy that focused on improvisational plays was the Accademia degli Affinati/Affannati (1650-ca. 1742). In this academy, new influences, improvisations, and elaborations of Spanish plays were very important. In 1658, they performed *Di male in peggio* of Pietro Susini with Carnival.⁹³⁸ This was an Italian elaboration of a Spanish comedy by Calderón de la Barca (*Peor está que estaba*).⁹³⁹ Leopoldo de' Medici patronized this academy, which performed from 1650 in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi and later in the Casino di San Marco.⁹⁴⁰ It was an academy of noble courtiers who performed for an aristocratic public.⁹⁴¹ In the seventeenth century, there were many cultural exchanges between Florence and Spain. In Florence a group of authors called the *spagnoleggianti* performed Spanish plays.⁹⁴² The aristocratic members of the Accademia degli Immobili performed in the Teatro la Pergola court theatre, while the Accademia dei Sorgenti and Degli Affinati presented new work in the Teatro Cocomero. They experienced with new genres (often mixed genres and the introduction of persons from the lower ranks of society) and (language) registers. Pieces by well-known Spanish dramatists like Lope de Vega were performed like *L'amico per forza* - an elaboration of *El amigo por fuerza*.⁹⁴³

935 Michelassi 2010: 138. The first performance was on 11 January 1644, ASF Miscellanea medicea, 302, ins. 3 c.35v), see appendix. Another performance took place on 23 January 1645, ASF MM 304, ins III fasc. 4 c. 165r-v, see appendix.

936 Michelassi 2010: 140.

937 Fumagalli 2007a: 62, 63.

938 Weaver/Weaver 1978: 87-143.

939 Vuelta García 2001: 361.

940 Michelassi 2005: 450; Mamone 2001a: 130.

941 Vuelta García 2005: 485; Vuelta García 2001: 358, 364. One famous member was for example Mattias Maria Bartolommei (1640-1695) who performed the role of nobile gentildonna in *Il male in peggio*. His anagram within the academy was Passa Bel Masotto Ammirati.

942 Vuelta García 2001: 360.

943 Michelassi/Vuelta García 2004: 70.

The last important academy we will discuss that performed improvised theatre was the Accademia dei Sorgenti (1654 to at least 1679), which was patronised by Giovan Carlo de' Medici. The members were not only aristocrats.⁹⁴⁴ The Sorgenti entered the Cocomero-theatre when the Immobili left it to perform in the Pergola-theatre.⁹⁴⁵ The academy was founded by artisans and originated probably in the confraternity Compagnia di San Filippo Nero.⁹⁴⁶ Members included the poet and dramatist Pietro Susini, Mario Calamari, the painter Felice Ficherelli, the architect Pietro Tacca, the musician Antonio Rivani, and the composer Jacopo Melani.⁹⁴⁷ Whenever Giovan Carlo had to go to Rome, Filippo Niccolini became vice-patron of the academy.⁹⁴⁸ In 1654 Niccolini took a role in a play as a singer in the full dress rehearsal of *L'Hipermestra* together with Vincenzo Bardi. When the real play was performed Niccolini was 'soprintendente delle musiche', together with Filippo Franceschi, Giovan Battista del Monte, and Piero Strozzi.⁹⁴⁹ Every time there was a performance they divided the tasks, like dancing, painting, making the scenes, acting, singing, and making music. In 1661, the Sorgenti performed *L'Erismena*, which was dedicated to Marquis Pietro Corsini.⁹⁵⁰ This piece was performed four times a month to an audience of 250 people.⁹⁵¹ The first public performance - *Il Convitato di pietra* - was for Russian ambassadors who passed Florence in 1657. It seems that this piece was performed by a professional theatre-company whereas the Sorgenti only provided the music, *intermedi*, scenes, and ballet. The play was based on Tirso da Molina's *El Burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de piedra*.⁹⁵² One month later they performed the opera *La caduta del principe saggio* in the presence of the whole court.⁹⁵³

Theatrical performances at the youth confraternity Arcangelo Raffaello

Like at the academies, one of the functions of the youth confraternity Arcangelo Raffaello was to give young boys practise in rhetoric, which was very useful

944 Mazzoni 2000: 891.

945 Ibid.: 892.

946 Michelassi 1999: 162.

947 Vuelta García 2005: 483; Michelassi 1999: 165, 171.

948 Mamone 2003a: xxiv.

949 Ibid. *L'Hipermestra* was performed in Florence in honour of the new born Spanish prince, the son of King Philip IV of Spain.

950 Weaver/Weaver 1978: 87-143.

951 Michelassi 1999: 177.

952 Ibid.: 172.

953 Ibid.: 174.

for their future careers.⁹⁵⁴ Another function of the Arcangelo was to organise memorial services on the death of important people. In 1603, the confraternity commemorated the patrician Jacopo Corsi and an oration was given by Neri Acciaiuoli.⁹⁵⁵

The members of the confraternity included patricians, artists, and also Medici princes: Giovan Carlo, and after him also his brothers Mattias, Francesco and Leopoldo.⁹⁵⁶ At the Arcangelo the Medici princes came into contact with many painters like Cosimo Lotti, Baccio del Bianco, and Lorenzo Lippi.⁹⁵⁷ Other celebrated members included the musicians Jacopo Peri, Marco da Gagliano, and Giulio Caccini; the painters Jacopo Vignali, Jacopo da Empoli, Piero Dandini, Lorenzo Lippi, Cosimo del Bianco and his son Baccio, Giovanni da San Giovanni, Sigismondo Coccapani, Anastagio Fontebuoni, and Matteo Rosselli; the writers Andrea Cavalcanti and Francesco Bandinelli; the dramatists Orazio Persiani, Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, Pietro Susini, and the singer Michele Grasseschi; and the patricians Jacopo Soldani, Neri Acciaiuoli, Ferdinando and Piero de' Bardi, Alessandro del Nero, Piero Strozzi, and Jacopo Gaddi.⁹⁵⁸ Some of these members also joined the San Benedetto Bianco confraternity. So, just as some people were simultaneously members of more than one academy, patricians and artists joined different confraternities at the same time. Thanks to all the artist members, the Arcangelo Raffaello possessed many art works, for which reason it was mentioned in travel diaries in the seventeenth century.⁹⁵⁹ For the decoration of their ceiling and the façade of their oratory they commissioned Michelangelo Cinganelli, who also painted the literary scenes in the Careggi-villa of Carlo de' Medici.⁹⁶⁰

In 1621 the Arcangelo Raffaello commemorated Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici, who had been a member of the confraternity from his childhood.⁹⁶¹ For this occasion, several painters made temporary sculptures and paintings.

954 Mamone 2001a: 123.

955 Carter 1985a: 77.

956 Mamone 2003a: xviii. Here they came into contact with the painters Cosimo Lotti, Baccio del Bianco, and Lorenzo Lippi; the writers Andrea Cavalcanti, Francesco Bandinelli, and Jacopo Gaddi; the dramaturgs and librettists Orazio Persiani, Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, and Pietro Susini; and the singer Michele Grasseschi.

957 Mamone 2001a: 123.

958 Mamone 2003b: 233; Mamone 2001: 123; Castelli 2001: 45; Eisenbichler 2000: 111; Eisenbichler 1998: 25.

959 Eisenbichler 2000: 110. From an inventory of 1784 it appeared that the Arcangelo Raffaello possessed artworks of the following painters: Domenico Ghirlandaio, Santi di Tito, Jacopo da Empoli, Jacopo Vignali, Baccio del Bianco, Lorenzo Lippi, and Orazio Fidani.

960 Eisenbichler 2000: 105-10.

961 Ibid.: 110.

Almost all the members had specific tasks. The patrician Simon Carlo Rondinelli made the iconographic programme for the ephemeral art. Two artists, Giovanni Pieroni and Giovanni Coccapani, made the sceneries. The patrician Jacopo Soldani made the inscriptions. The painter Cosimo del Bianco painted the ceiling of the temporary pavilion in the reception hall. Several painters like Ottavio Vannini, Giovanni da San Giovanni, Matteo Rosselli, Sigismondo Coccapani, and Anastagio Fontebuoni made large paintings portraying virtues of Cosimo II.⁹⁶² Fontebuoni and Giovanni da San Giovanni made large allegorical sculptures of *Tuscany* and the *Order of Saint Stephen*.⁹⁶³

For more than ten years, the dramatist Jacopo Cicognini was a member (1622-33) and one of the prime movers of the confraternity,⁹⁶⁴ which produced many of his plays like *Il gran natale di Christo Salvator nostro*, dedicated to Prince Ladislao of Poland and Sweden, in 1622. In that same year, the confraternity performed his play *Benedizione di Giacob* in the presence of the whole Grand Ducal court, and velvet chairs were brought in for this occasion.⁹⁶⁵ In 1623, Cicognini's play *Il Gran Misterio della Redentione humana* was performed with music by Gagliano and Peri, with sceneries by Cosimo del Bianco. In 1624, his *Rappresentazione del Angiolo Raffaello, e di Tobia* was performed with music by Gagliano.⁹⁶⁶ During their performances, the sets were simply built over religious objects or otherwise the religious furniture was draped in cloths, decorated with saints and symbols of the confraternity. For the performance of 1639 of *Aglæ, il martirio di S Bonifatio*, written by Girolamo Bartolomei, the sets were made by the sculptor Felice Gamberei, a cooperater of Giulio Parigi. Prince Don Lorenzo de' Medici helped pay for the sets.⁹⁶⁷ There was a hell with Pluto and other monsters and there were stairs with angels. Sometimes they performed at villas.

962 Ottavio Vannini made a large painting, which represented a personification of *Religion*, accompanied by *Diligence* and *Humility*. Other painters painted more virtues: Giovanni da San Giovanni made *The Perfect Virtue*, Matteo Rosselli made *Piety*, Sigismondo Coccapani made *Magnanimity* and *Generosity*, Anastagio Fontebuoni made *The Good advice* and *Justice who was sitting on a rainbow*, Felice Palma made *Prudence*, Orazio Mochi made *Force*, Agostino Ubaldini made *Moderation* and Francesco di Piero Susini made another *Justice*. After the ceremony all the allegorical canvases, which were too large to put in storage, were distributed among the nine members who had paid for the ceremony. They have not survived until the present day. A description of the subject matters can be found in ASF, CRS, 162.22/23, ff. 79v-83v. See Eisenbichler 2000: 116 n. 48.

963 Eisenbichler 2000: 111.

964 Mazzoni 2000: 889.

965 Sebreghondi 2000: 340.

966 Weaver/Weaver 1978: 87-143.

967 Sebreghondi 2000: 339.

The play *L'amor fraterno* of Cicognini was performed in the villa Buonaccorsi in Castel di Poggio.⁹⁶⁸

In the sixteenth century, the members of the Arcangelo had to be boys between the ages of seven and twenty-five, but in the period of Jacopo Cicognini there was no age limit anymore. This was very advantageous for the performances, because the older patricians had more money to finance the plays and the older artists were generally more talented.⁹⁶⁹ In 1624, *La Celeste Guida* of Cicognini was performed with music by Gagliano and sceneries by the patricians Cosimo Portinari, Ferdinando de' Bardi, and Lionardo Tempi.⁹⁷⁰ Two older patricians, Piero de' Bardi and Alessandro del Nero, patronized (and probably financed) the performance. Also in 1628, when *Il Trionfo di Davide* was performed, Piero de' Bardi patronized it, and the actors included Baccio del Bianco, Lorenzo Lippi and the young Alessandro Galli with his father Carlo Galli.⁹⁷¹

Conclusion

From the first part of this chapter we can conclude that the cultural worlds of the Medici princes and the patricians were intertwined. Patricians served as tutors: as in the case of Filippo Niccolini for Giovan Carlo de' Medici, and Jacopo Soldani for Leopoldo. In this capacity, they gave cultural advice to the princes and got to know many artists. Mostly they stayed in contact for a long time with these artists, patronizing them themselves as well, which led to many cultural innovations. This is illustrated especially by the contact between Filippo Niccolini and musicians in Rome, among them the famous composer Marco Marazzoli, who had also worked in Venice, Ferrara and Paris. From Rome, Niccolini received much new secular music that was also performed in Roman salons. Niccolini introduced this new baroque music in Florence in the theatre academies and during salons in his own private palace.

The patricians were well grounded in cultural opinions and could judge paintings, buildings, books, and musical compositions and thus could function as supervisors for the building and decoration of Medici villas and theatres (Filippo Niccolini for villa Mezzomonte and the Teatro la Pergola of Giovan Carlo, and Lorenzo Guicciardini together with Francesco Rinuccini for the Villa

968 Ibid.: 347.

969 Castelli 2001: 40.

970 Ibid.: 44.

971 Ibid.: 45

Lapeggi of Leopoldo), as vice-patrons of cultural academies (Filippo Niccolini for the Sorgenti), and as librarians (Francesco Rondinelli, Alessandro Segni and Lorenzo Panciatichi for Leopoldo de' Medici). Some patricians served as cultural agents for Leopoldo (Ferdinando Bardi and Vincenzo Capponi), in this way also forming his cultural taste.

From the second half of this chapter it is clear that the cultural academies were important meeting places where patricians and artists shared their knowledge and skills to execute cultural experiments in theatre, literature, language, poetry, and painting. The patricians and artists could hone their rhetorical and improvisational skills, which could be very useful in their future careers. This counted especially for the patricians, who often had careers in the government or in diplomacy later in their lives; but artists also needed good rhetorical skills to increase their social mobility and to define their places in large patronage networks, which included patrons from different cities and levels of society.

Within the academies, the patricians could meet foreign scholars (especially at the Apatisti) and get to know other languages and cultures. At the same time, they made a significant contribution to record the Tuscan vernacular language for posterity. The academies were also an important pastime for the patricians. They took large pleasure in their word games and linguistic experiments and in their shared burlesque world with the artists, where there was large space for caricatures and comical pseudonyms.

Together with the patricians the Medici princes shared the world of the cultural academies and the princes actively tried to record the activities of these academies to posterity (Don Giovanni with his *Ragionamenti* of the Alterati and Leopoldo with his entries for the Vocabolario of the Crusca). The Medici princes invested a large amount of their time in cultural academies, patronage and cultural performances and therefore were much more closely related to artists and patricians involved in these activities than the Grand Dukes. This made them also more accessible than the Grand Dukes and therefore the ideal go-betweens for social, political and cultural requests of artists and patricians.

Figures – Chapter Four



Figure 1: Don Giovanni de' Medici (1567-1621)
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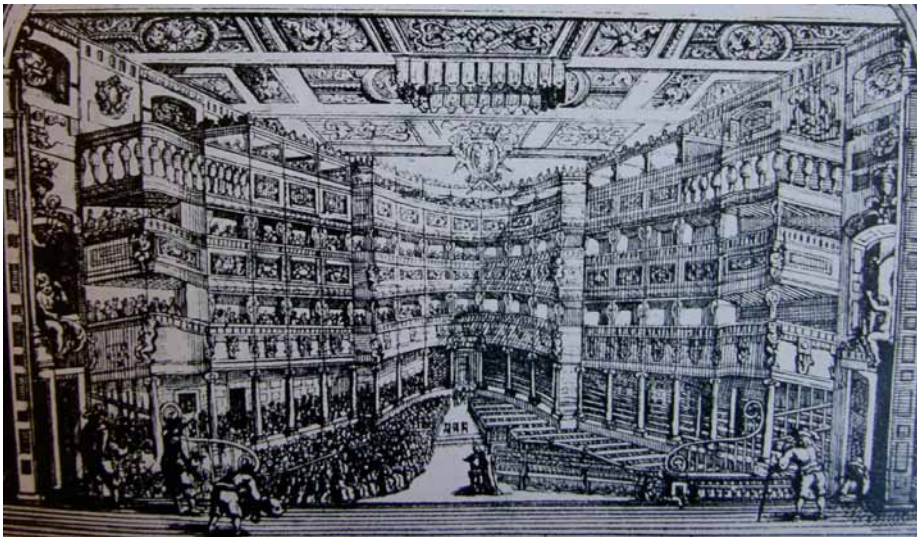


Figure 2: The first image of Teatro della Pergola (1657)



Figure 3: Teatro della Pergola, nowadays



Figure 4: Giacomo Carissimi (1605-1674).



Figure 5: Marco Marazzoli (1602-1662)

26 Oct 1658 M^{ro} per M^{ro} di Niccolini

Biccolo amoruola di V. M^{ma} il Pocaccio di Firenze
 sotto la data de' 19. del corrente, in cui scorgo sempre au-
 ni segni di non poca inclinazione di giouarmi nelle con-
 giunture di mio interese; Di tutto le ne resto obligato
 al maggior segno, e le ne rendo i miei mi ne gratie. Le man-
 do conforme il solito una dell' accennate Avette, con
 desiderio di sapere, se gli habbia mandata quella, che
 incomincio. Non uelo uoglio dire, poiche non riscon-
 tro d'hauesta mandata, e mi pare d'hauesta copiata; on-
 de questa non la mandarò, sino a che ella non m'adavà
 auuiso: e per non mi stare, quando ho tempo, uo copiar
 do quella del sig. D. Agostino, affinchè possa esser sempre
 seruita di qualcheduna di esse. Si compiacia tenermi
 in sua gratia, mentre pregandola dal cielo piena di
 felicità, la uelmente la riuerisco. Di Roma d. 26. Ottobre
 1658.
 Di V. M^{ma}
 Filippo Niccolini.

Figure 6: Letter from Giuseppe Vannucci to Filippo Niccolini, 26 October 1658 (ANCFi, fondo antico 246, inserto 5).



Figure 7: Anton Domenico Gabbiani, *portrait of the musicians Vincenzo Olivicciani, Antonio Rivani and Giulio Cavaletti*, 1687, Galleria dell'Accademia: Museo degli strumenti musicali, Florence.



Figure 8: Queen Christina of Sweden.



Figure 9: Justus Sustermans, *Leopoldo de' Medici*, before 1667, London, Christie's sale.