Literature in Galileo's library

Crystal Hall
Bodwoin College; chall@bowdoin.edu

Abstract
The 195 entries in Antonio Favaro's first catalog of books in the library of Galileo Galilei would seem to be an eclectic collection of literary genres, and indeed, Favaro sorted them accordingly: literary criticism, grammar and rhetoric, Latin classics, Italian classics, various poetic works, drama and fables, novels (*romanzi*) and fiction, history, and festivals. A closer look at the identities of the authors of the texts and paratexts as well as the content of the books reveals a distinct trend across these categories. Over 60% of the works printed after 1610 contain either a direct or indirect connection to Galileo and his associates, the telescope, the compound microscope, or the discoveries with these instruments. This article aggregates modern scholarship on the literary texts in the library and adds new literary sightings of Galileo while indicating areas open for further scholarly investigation.

Keywords
Galileo Galilei, Antonio Favaro, literature, history, drama, poetry

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When Antonio Favaro (1847-1922) compiled the first inventory of the books in Galileo's library in the 1880s, he organized the titles via five broad categories: works by Galileo, works of knowledge ("scientifiche"), works of literature ("letterarie"), works of art ("artistiche"), and a few that were uncertain ("incerte").[1] Of the initial 521 entries, 195 were in the second category, literary works, which was further subcategorized in the order and quantities shown in Table 1.

Subcategory	**Number of entries**
XVII Literary criticism	7
XVIII Grammar and rhetoric	27
XIX Latin classics	30
XX Italian classics	14
XXI Various poetic works	44
XXII Drama and fables	24
XXIII Novels (*romanzi*) and fiction	10
XXIV History	35
XXV Festivals and spectacles	4

Table 1. Number of titles in literary subcategories in Favaro's inventory of Galileo's library.

By and large, these are variants or subsets of the category headings for literary works in the expansive collection of the founder of the Accademia dei Lincei, Federico Cesi (1585-1630): historians, erudites, poets, grammarians, and various books.[2] At the same time, these groupings are not quite as specific as the divisions in the library of literary critic, philosopher, and friend of Galileo, Paolo Beni (1553-1625). The index of the Biliotheca Beniana separates vocabularies from grammar books, comedies from tragedies, historians from writers about history, and creates other distinctions in Beni's much larger collection.[3] Nontheless, the categories are a helpful (if not precise) organizing framework for Galileo's books, even though the details about the collection continue to emerge and change. Work has been done to expand and correct Favaro's list in the intervening 135 years, including by Favaro himself, and the updated list is maintained by the Museo Galileo.[4]

While Favaro's categories imply a variety of literary interests, another frequent point of reference for Galileo's relationship to literature is the oft-cited hagiographic descrip-

1 Favaro, "La libreria di Galileo", 231.
2 Biagetti, "Dispersed collections", 392.
3 Tomassini, *L'«heroico»*, 239.
4 See Favaro, "Appendice Prima…" and "Appendice Seconda…"; Camerota, "La biblioteca di Galileo…"; Hall, "Galileo's Library Reconsidered", and Benucci *et al.* (eds.), *Galileo e l'universo dei suoi libri*. The the digital catalog is at https://galileoteca.museogalileo.it/biblioteca/biblioteca.html

tion of Galileo's delight in literature written by his self-proclaimed final student, Vincenzo Viviani (1622-1703).[5] Viviani's list of Galileo's favorite authors overlaps almost entirely with those in Favaro's category of Italian classics: Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Sanazzaro, Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso – both Bernardo and Torquato. This is also the literary category with the highest proportion of books with marginalia reported to be in Galileo's hand or copied from it: at least one title from each of 5 out of the 8 authors. In this version of Galileo's relationship to literature, 181 titles are omitted.

This article asks what this group of unmentioned books represents in terms of Galileo's library's relationship to literature of the seventeenth century. I am going to use Favaro's artifact to suggest a reconsideration of the literary works in the collection while aggregating scholarly perspectives on the titles therein. Although authors worked in multiple of Favaro's categories and readers would have made what use they wanted from the contents, I will discuss the 181 titles in the remaining categories by group. The goal is not to critique Favaro's work with 135 years of hindsight or engage in questions of genre. The idea of Galileo's library is dynamic, and my approach suggests new categorizations that are free from post hoc impositions of interpretation. Specifically, I am going to explore the works printed in or after 1610, the year in which Galileo's *Sidereus nuncius* appeared. By applying this lens, a different perspective emerges on the collection, summarized in Fig. 1.

Fig. 1 shows both the significant missing information (the lightest shade at the top of each column) as well as the areas of sixteenth-century focus. The lack of specific edition information can be found in varying degrees throughout Favaro's list. Of the 305 titles in the "opere scientifiche" Favaro was not able to suggest a specific edition for 39 of them (~13%). By way of comparison 66 of the 195 titles in the "opere letterarie" category were not specified (~34%). At the same time, the black areas at the bottom of each bar call our attention to the works printed after 1610 with direct and indirect connections to Galileo, his discoveries, members of his family, and his students and collaborators.

The sources on which books Galileo owned have not changed dramatically since Favaro compiled his catalog in the 1880s, but this article shifts the scholarly perspective away from Galileo's active use of the library's contents. Primary materials for this analysis are letters rather than the exemplars of books with Galileo's marginalia or explicit and implied quotations. Details, however sparse, are also derived from the two key inheritance documents that provide inventories of books: one composed at the death of Galileo's son Vincenzio Galilei, Jr. in 1649 and the other at the passing of his widow, Sestilia Bocchineri Galilei in 1669.[6] These lists of books represent what was left after portions of the library were sold by family members or given to Viviani, which were typically those with marginalia and other value for Galileo's natural philosophical legacy. Given the dates of these

[5] OG, XIX, 627; Gattei, *On the Life of Galileo*, xii-xxviii.

[6] Referred to as ASF 3483.3 and BNCF Gal. 308, respectively.

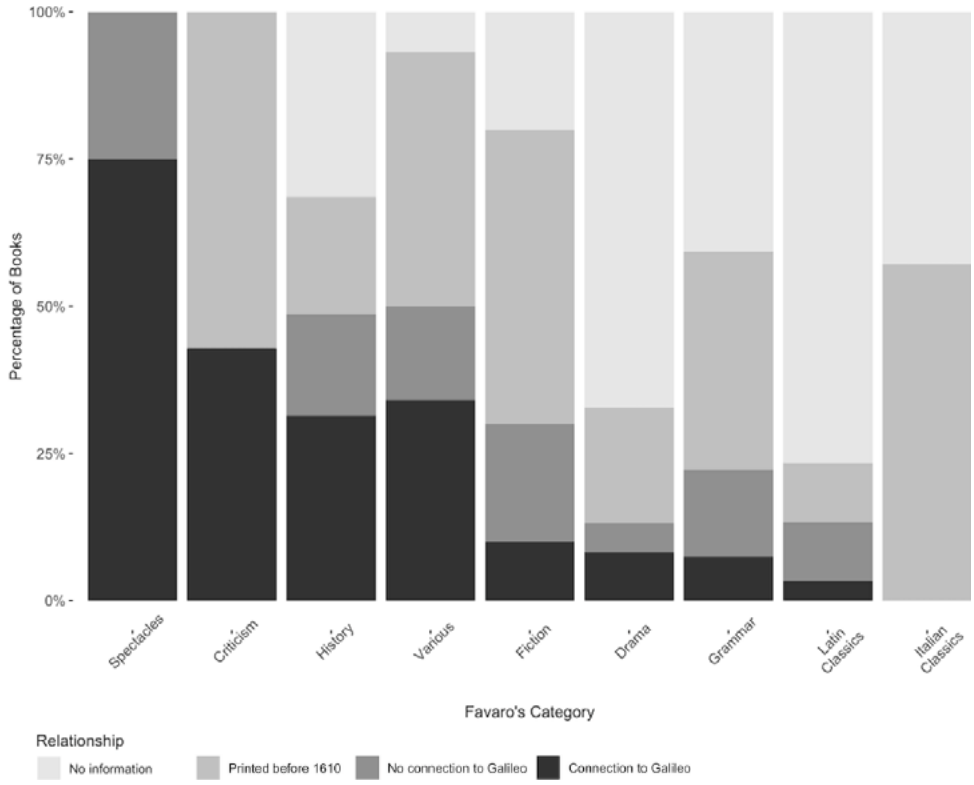

Fig. 1. The percentage of each literary category represented by books for which the year of printing is not available, those printed before 1610, and those printed after 1610 that have or do not have a connection to Galileo. Created by author. CC-BY-ND.

inventories, questions linger about whether the books listed were Galileo's or instead things read and collected by his family. This article cannot settle that debate, but I will argue that the books that remained in the collection demonstrate both active and passive efforts at memorializing Galileo's appearances in print. As I will outline in the sections that follow, over 20% of all literary works (as defined by Favaro) and over 60% of those printed in or after 1610 have a demonstrated Galilean connection.

This change in perspective reflects prioritization that was happening at the level of book production. As other research has shown, the Florentine press of Pietro Cecconcelli (active 1618-1633) visually advertised connections to Galileo and some of these print materials were found in Galileo's library.[7] While Cecconcelli is best known for having printed

[7] Hall, "Print networks…", in press.

the *Discorso sulle comete* (*Discourse on the Comets*, 1619) co-authored by Mario Guiducci and Galileo, Cecconcelli's printer's block depicting the moons of Jupiter, what Galileo had called the *stelle medicee* (Medicean stars) in the *Sidereus nuncius* (1610), can be found in four other works from his press that are listed in the inheritance documents for Galileo's library: Alessandro Stufa's *Esequie* (Funeral rites; 1619); Andrea Salvadori's *Il Medoro* (1623); Giorgio Calamai's *Il Parto della Vergine, Poema eroico* (The virgin birth, heroic poem; 1623), and Portuguese Estevao Rodrigues de Castro's ethical treatise for students, *Philomelia* (1628). A fifth book, Margherita Costa's *Flora feconda* (Fertile Flora, 1640), has pages with the same block of stars, but was printed at a different Florentine press, that of Amador Massi and Lorenzo Landi. In addition to sharing this visual, material link to Galileo, Stufa talks about sunspots, Salvadori had written poetry in praise of Galileo's discoveries with the telescope, the paratexts for Calamai's poem were written by a host of Florentine intellectuals including the future father-in-law of Galileo's son, Castro was soon to be a correspondent of Galileo, and Costa used Galilean tropes in her poetry. Separated by Favaro's categories and largely unread in modern scholarship, Cecconcelli's press represents a fraction of the direct and indirect connections that will be addressed in the sections that follow.

Galileo and spectacle

Before analyzing the contents of the smallest category, a revision is in order. Favaro only put three titles in the group "Feste e spettacoli". Yet, while listed under "Drammatica e favole", *Le nozze de gli dei* (The nuptials of the gods; 1637) by Giovanni Carlo Coppola (d. 1652) should also be included here since it was an impressive opera to celebrate the marriage of Vittoria della Rovere to Ferdinando II de' Medici performed first in the courtyard of the Pitti Palace.[8] In the year of its staging Coppola read portions of this *favola* to Galileo, at that time under house arrest.[9] A later description suggests that this "palio molto ridicolo/very ridiculous horse tournament" included men dressed as flies "just like those that the little telescope [*piccolo occhiale*], which makes certain minutiae appear larger to the eye, represents to us".[10] In 1624 Galileo had demonstrated a compound microscope in Rome, which resulted in several publications of drawings of enlarged insects such as the Barberini bees.[11] Coppola's later work suggests that this relationship endured for more than one meeting. In addition to *Cosmo overo l'Italia trionfante* (Cosmo or Italy triumphant, 1650), which likely capitalizes on the double-meaning of Cosimo and cosmos in the title, Coppola also published *La verità smarrita over il Filosofo illuminato* (The truth lost

[8] Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici*, 162-174 and accompanying plates.

[9] OG, XVII, 24.

[10] Solerti, *Musica, Ballo e Drammatica alla Corte*, 202. The original reads: "tali appunto quali il piccolo occhiale, che all'occhio certe minuzie fa parer maggiori, ce li rappresenta".

[11] Freedberg, *Eye of the Lynx*, 151-153.

or the Philosopher illuminated, 1650). Importantly, this allegorical tale includes Galilean expressions about the book of nature and merits further inquiry beyond the scope of the article.[12] By the time of Coppola's meeting in 1637, Galileo's discoveries had appeared in other live performances, often in celebration of the Medici.[13]

Yet, this kind of dramatization was not limited to Galileo's patrons. The most compelling example in this category also represents direct use of Galilean discoveries, the involvement of many members of his intellectual circle, and the value of non-traditional sources on Galileo's relationship with literature. The work is *Amor pudico. Festino, e balli danzati in Roma nelle nozze de gl' Illus. & Ecc. SS. D. Michele Peretti Principe di Venafro, e Sig. Principessa D. Anna Maria Cesis nel palazzo della Cancellaria l'anno 1614* (Modest Love. A party and dances performed in Rome for the marriage of Don Michele Peretti Prince of Venafro and Princess Anna Maria Cesi in the palace of the Chancelry in the year 1614, 1614). *Amor pudico* was mentioned earlier, because of its production at the Cecconcelli press, with the added dedication on the title page "alle Stelle Medicee/to the Medicean stars". Written by Iacopo Cicognini (1577-1633), the festival celebrates the marriage of the cousin of the founder of the Accademia dei Lincei to an influential member of the Accademia degli Umoristi, who was also brother of a cardinal and relative of the pope. Scholar Elena Tamburini has recently provided a needed analysis of the ways in which *Amor pudico*, even though it repurposed a text written decades prior, was designed to be a defense of Galileo and the new science.[14] Historian Mario Biagioli had also documented the development of this skillfully-engineered dramatic spectacle in Florence and its evolution in Rome, where it became "the highlight of the Roman carnival" of that year.[15] The play, set in Tuscany, features: pagan deities; Italian classical poets – Dante, Petrarch, Sannazaro, Ariosto, Tasso; mechanical dragons; hand-to-hand combat; and a much-discussed machine that behaved like a shimmering cloud to transport Jupiter to the stage. Biagioli discussed the staging of the production in terms of Galileo's place at the courts of Florence and Rome via second-hand accounts of the play.

The details in the text itself are sparse. The satellites of Jupiter appear as characters in the second of the five acts – labeled "hours" – of the play. The stage directions are the only indication of what these characters are, "Jupiter and Juno are revealed with the four Medicean stars", and at their speaking part, they are described as the "Chorus of the Medicean stars".[16] This is their only appearance, and their song stays on point with the plot, without detectable references to natural philosophy.

[12] Rizzo, "Epica sacra …", 152.

[13] See for example the 1613 *barriera* to celebrate the son of Cosimo II de' Medici in which the Stelle Medicee play a part in the drama, described by Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici*, 119-125.

[14] Tamburini, "Un artista modenese …", 73-96.

[15] Biagioli, *Galileo Courtier*, 141-142.

[16] Cicognini, *Amor pudico*, 13 and 16. The original reads, respectively: "Si scoprono Giove, e Giunone, con le quattro Stelle Medicee" and "Coro di Stelle Medicee".

The strength of their relationship to Galileo is further documented in the second printing of the book (1614). The printer Girolamo Discepolo explains that he included a letter from Rome by Romolo Paradiso (n.d.) to poet Giovanni Battista Strozzi (1551-1634) in Florence that describes the stage, the actions, and the audience response to the production. Paradiso describes the appearance of Jupiter in its larger social context:

> Around him were four Youths, in the guise of custodians with silver armor and gold helmets, from which, among many feather plumes of deep blue color, arose from each, for a crest, a star. It was told to me that those four represented these stars that are named for the most Most Serene House of those Highnesses. It seems to me, that in this Sig. Cicognini has not only shown devotion toward his Prince, but also the affection that he bears for Sig. Galileo, who was the first observer of those stars, and once they were recognized as such, among many of the learned people there was held an honored discussion about his person.[17]

Shortly thereafter, Paradiso specifically identifies the youths as the "stelle medicee/Medicean stars".[18] When he closes the letter, he asks that Strozzi send greetings to the young poet and member of Galileo's circle Giovanni Ciampoli (1589-1643).[19] He also adds a postscript in which he provides Cicognini's identification of the unnamed poets of the Arno that appear in the fourth act, several of whom were also students and correspondents of Galileo: "the gentlemen Cini, Buonarroti, Franceschi, Adimari, and with great reason, Signor Prior Vinta; and among the others Signor Villifranchi, deservedly dear to the most excellent Signor Don Virginio".[20] Paradiso's salutation names the poet and nephew of the eponymous artist Michelangelo, who will be a frequent intermediary between Galileo and books in his library; the prolific poet discussed later in this article Alessandro Adimari (1579-1649); Secretary of State for the Grand Duke Belisario Vinta (1579-1613) involved in the naming of the Medicean stars; and Virginio Cesarini (1595-1624) to whom Galileo's *Il Saggiatore* (1623) would be addressed. Not all literary works are connected

[17] *Ibid.,* 27-28. The original reads: "Attorno à lui erano quattro Giovanetti, à guisa di custodi, con armature d'argento, & elmetti dorati; da quali tra molti pennacchi di color turchino sorgeva in ciascuno per cimiere una stella. Fummi detto, che questi quattro, quelle stelle rappresentavano, le quali hanno il nome della Serenissima Casa di coteste Altezze. Parmi, che in ciò il Sig. Cicognino habbia non solo mostrato devotione verso il suo Principe; mà anco l'affettion, che porta al Sig. Galileo, che di dette Stelle è stato il primo osservatore; e riconosciute che furono, tra molti eruditi si tenne ragionamento honorato intorno alla sua persona".

[18] *Ibid*., 30.

[19] *Ibid*., 64.

[20] *Ibid.,* 67. The original reads: "li Signori Cini, Buonarroti, Franceschi, Adimari, e con gran ragione, il Signor Prior Vinta; e tra gli altri, il Sig. Villifranchi, meritamente caro all'Eccellentiss. Sig. D. Virginio".

to Galileo to such a high degree, but the supporting documents offered by Paradiso and others are a critical witness to the relationship.

Having such a model for reading clues about the literature in Galileo's library can in turn help to resolve some of the uncertainty surrounding specific titles in this and other subcategories of literary works. In Sestilia's inventory the entry "Amore Prigioniero Commedia" is a simple title with a complex set of possible books that match it, since the notary also indicated the size "fol. picc.". The size tells us that the book was a large presentation volume in folio, but printed on smaller paper (*piccolo*) than other folios that comprise her list of books. The most popular title to match the notary's phrasing, but not sizing, is the one that Antonio Favaro chose: *Prigione d'Amore Comedia nuova* (Prison of Love, a new comedy) by Galileo's contemporary Sforza Oddi (1540-1611). A very popular work, Oddi's comedy was reprinted at least 17 times between 1589 and 1634.[21] The sizes of extant copies of those printings do not match the inventory: first in ottavo and then in duodecimo, never apparently in a small folio or a quarto that might have been mistaken for it. Other candidates include Silvestro Branchi's *Amore prigioniero favoletta pescatoria* (The Prisoner Love, a little fishing tale; 1615). Although Branchi was a member of the Accademia dei Ravvivati (later Riacesi) that benefitted from the protection of then-Cardinal and future Pope Maffeo Barberini, this work seems to have only been printed in quarto, not folio.[22]

Alternatively, printed in folio, is the written account of the ambitious equestrian tournament organized by the Accademia dei Torbidi in Bologna, *Amore prigioniero in Delo* (Love, Prisoner in Delo; 1628). The tournament in Bologna was grandiose and hosted by an Academy known for its adherence to chivalric themes and rituals with attendance by the other two chief academies of the city – the Gelati and the Notte.[23] The publicized author of the volume, Giovanni Capponi (1586-1628), had been a student of the mathematician and astronomer Giovanni Magini (1555-1617), who had competed with Galileo for the chair of mathematics at the University of Bologna – and won.

Galileo's close associate Cesare Marsili (1592-1633) was a member of this Academy. Marsili also was admitted to the Accademia dei Lincei in 1625. Marsili broke his arm while participating in the events.[24] The elaborate tournament involved dozens of players and complex moving scenery on floats. Participants included Camillo Paleotti, another member of the Accademia dei Torbidi. Paleotti's wife had hosted Giovanni Ciampoli at her salons.[25] At the tournament, Marsili represented both the Torbidi and the Lincei with their insignia,

21 Herrick, *Italian Comedy*, 186.

22 I am grateful to an anonymous peer reviewer for pointing out this other possible connection to Galileo's circle.

23 Johnson, *Inventing the Opera House*, 164-168.

24 OG, XIV, 29.

25 Apollonio, "Intorno ad un codice…", 283.

and a lynx was also present in one of the parades.[26] The layers of significance for Galileo also extend into the realm of patronage, given the importance of the Barberini family to the Bolognese academies and the presence of Ferdinando II de' Medici and his family at the tournament.[27] While Galileo could have owned the more popular title – which was a comedy, but not printed in a matching size – he might have been sent the account of his colleague's display of the Accademia's colors – not a comedy, but the right size.

The final work in this category does not immediately match either of these examples, but evidence suggests that it was staged, and like *Amor pudico*, perhaps descriptions from attendees could offer more details. Carlo Casini's *Toscana festosa* (1639) is full of celestial references, but none seem on the surface specific to Galileo. Admittedly, this could have been politically and intellectually difficult after his trial in 1633. The work has received little modern scholarly attention. This spectacle celebrates the birth of Vittoria della Rovere's first male child and heir to the Medici grand duchy – although the infant died shortly after. It is worth noting that Galileo owned another work on this theme, Margherita Costa's *Flora feconda* (1640), that will be discussed with the "Componimenti poetici varii". While having been composed as a panegyric to be read by one person, Casini states that costumes and staging were created to please his patrons.[28] Based on clues in the text, these at least included clouds descending from the sky. Pending the discovery of staging descriptions, Casini and *Toscana festosa* may simply resist the trend seen in other literary works in the collection.

Galileo and contemporary history

In comparison to the small group of *feste* and *spettacoli*, the 35 titles in "Storia" present other challenges for interpretation, even while demonstrating a significant portion of works with direct or indirect connections to Galileo – 11 of the 17 titles printed in or after 1610.

The category of *storia*, as a whole, is the group with the most problematic cases of identifying editions. 11 titles cannot be traced to a specific edition. 3 further entries in the catalog are dubious. Both inheritance inventories indicate the third-century Roman Historian "Giustino" (in 1649) and "Justini historiae 8°" (in 1669).[29] Favaro's catalog subsequently lists a 1627 reprint of a 16th-century commentary on Justin's *Histories* without indication of further sources that guided this choice. Another partial title suggests a biography of the twelfth-century Pope Alexander III, possibly only printed in the correct size after Galileo's death, yet Favaro suggests a 1633 work by the Venetian man of letters

[26] Capponi, *Amore prigioniero*, 42.
[27] Betti, Calore, *Tornei a Bologna…* , 101-151, with gratitude to a peer reviewer for the indication.
[28] Casini, *Toscana festosa*, 5.
[29] ASF Arch 3483.3 f. 115r, line 8 and BNCF Gal. 308 f. 170r, line 7, respectively.

Giovanni Francesco Loredan (1606-1663). Loredan maintained correspondence with Galilean acolyte Giovanni Ciampoli and was founder of the Accademia degli Incogniti, which counted among its members several associates and antagonists of Galileo as well as authors mentioned elsewhere in this article.[30] Similarly, Lorenzo Conti's translation of the history of Louis XI and Charles VIII was printed and reprinted 4 times during Galileo's lifetime, but Favaro listed a 1653 edition in his preliminary catalog. In addition, three titles in the inheritance documents were printed after Galileo's death: Niccolò Strozzi's *Delle lodi di Luigi XIII* (Praises of Luigi XIII, 1643), Nicolo Vellaio's *Guerra cretense* (War of Crete, 1647), and Vittorio Siri's *Bollo* (Stamp, 1653). Strozzi's earlier oration *Delle lodi di Francesco di Lorena* (Praises of François of Lorraine, 1640) makes reference to the young prince having an "occhio Linceo/Lincean eye", but is otherwise quiet about Galileo, who had communicated with the prince's father, Charles of Lorraine (1571-1640).[31] In one of their many editions, all of these books could have glosses, notes, or other materials that refer to Galileo, but this section will focus on those for which a specific publication year can be determined.

Of the 17 works printed after 1610, one final title of problematic categorization is worth note here: *De Bello Svevico* (*On the Swabian war*) by Pietro Battista Borgo or Borghi (d. 1649). Benedetto Castelli (1578-1643), student of Galileo in Padua and collaborator in Florence, was initially an intermediary between Galileo and Borghi, one of Castelli's former mathematics students at Pisa.[32] After sending Galileo a copy, Castelli writes on August 12, 1634: "I am very glad that you liked the book *De bello Svevico* because the author finds greater value in your very purified judgment than that of a thousand others".[33] Several years later Castelli even uses a copy of this book to test the magnification power of a lens just arrived from Naples.[34] By this point Galileo and Borghi had developed a habit of correspondence, part of which shows that Borghi tried to send Galileo several books on astronomy.[35] In spite of Castelli's ability to procure more than 6 copies of Borghi's work to send to Florence in 1634, an extant copy has been harder to locate to scan for more direct references to Galileo or his discoveries.[36]

[30] Miato, *L'Accademia degli Incogniti*, 85. Miato lists among otheres: Alessandro Adimari, Leone Allacci, Francesco Bracciolini, Giovanbattista Capponi, Virgilio [sic] Cesarini, Gabriello Chiabrera, Giovanni Ciampoli, Scipione Errico, Fortunato [sic] Liceti, Giovanbattista Marino, Gabriel Naudé, Francesco Pona, Antonio Querenghi, Antonio Rocco, Tommaso Stigliani, Giulio Strozzi, and Alessandro Tassoni. See pp. 237-240.

[31] Strozzi, *Delle lodi di Francesco di Lorena,* 19. On his father see OG XIV, 332 and XVI, 399.

[32] OG, XVI, 75.

[33] *Ibid*., 122.

[34] OG, XVII, 350.

[35] OG, XVI, 185, 192, 198, 207, 217, 275.

[36] *Ibid*., 87.

Others of Galileo's friends, colleagues, and correspondents were authors or subjects of three historical works that appear in the library. One was an elegy at the death of a key intermediary in the debates on sunspots Mark Welser (1558-1614). Galileo received 3 copies of this *foglio volante*, two from the author Lorenzo Pignoria (1517-1631) and one from Paolo Gualdo (1553-1621).[37] Traiano Boccalini (1556-1613), author of the posthumous *Pietra del Paragone Politico* (1615) that appears in this section, was, according to Eileen Reeves, a good friend of Galileo and aware of the many literal and literary uses of telescopes.[38] Notably absent from any records on the library is Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (1612, 1613, 1614), in the first of which he describes and derides courtly uses of the *occhiale*. The two works were bound together in Vincenzo Viviani's library inventory, which might explain why the earlier work is apparently missing.[39] Another author, Vincenzo Renieri (1606-1648), first appears in primary materials related to Galileo in 1633, after which he became a devoted student.[40] In April 1640 Renieri sends an unsolicited copy of an oration to mark the coronation of the new doge in Venice in 1639.[41] He will also send poetic work to Galileo. Renieri was a member of the Accademia degli Alterati with poet Alessandro Adimari and other authors seen throughout this article. Galileo had both literary and natural philosophical connections to its members beginning as early as 1587.[42]

Similarly, Alessandro Adimari is first mentioned in extant Galileo correspondence in 1631 in relation to his translation of Pindar, to be discussed later, but the historical work in question was printed over 15 years prior: *Esequie del Principe D. Francesco de' Medici* (Funerary celebrations for Prince Don Francesco de' Medici, 1614) The text describes the otherwise ephemeral art and events to mourn the loss of the Grand Duke's brother. These include images of death breaking the tools of Mathematics, Geometry, Drawing (*Disegno*), and Cosmography, but Adimari offers no details about what tools were pictured.[43] Given the Medici court setting, one has to wonder if the various images of the Sun included the recently debated sunspots and if mountains appeared on the moon.[44] The text potentially holds a more direct connection to Galileo in a description of a very terrestrial image present during the funerary celebration. Adimari describes a vignette that will reappear in Galileo's *Dialogues on the Chief World Systems* (1632): a field nearly ripe

37 OG, XII, 89-90, 115.
38 Reeves, *Evening News,* 102-130.
39 BNCF, Palat. 1195, f. 193.
40 Favaro, "Amici e corrispondenti…", 115.
41 OG, XVIII, 184.
42 Camerota, "Giovanni Battista Strozzi e Galileo…", 174.
43 Adimari, *Esequie*, 49.
44 *Ibid*., 27 and 38.

enough to harvest destroyed by a sudden storm.[45] The artist of the *impresa* at the funerary rites that Adimari describes and Galileo both may have been drawing on a classical trope for futility in the face of the inevitable.

Adimari's is the earliest work in this genre of funerary texts with a connection to Galileo. Galileo also owned Alessandro Stufa's *Esequie* (1619) for the Emperor Matthias celebrated by Cosimo II de' Medici. It would seem a strange choice, but for the references to Galilean discoveries interwoven into the descriptions. For example, Stufa performs a rhetorical feat by including the recent discovery of sunspots in his description of the ascension of the emperor's soul.[46] Also indicated in Sestilia's list of books was an *Orazione… in morte di Cosimo Secondo* (Oration upon the death of Cosimo II, 1621) by Viero Cerchi (1588-1646). Cerchi compares the Grand Duke to a star, planet, and later a planetary sphere, but there are no direct references to Galileo.[47]

Galileo's trial by the Inquisition in 1633 marks a distinct turning point for what some authors can write about him. On the one hand, Leone Allacci (1586-1669), papal librarian at varying levels after 1621, received imprimaturs to print his *Apes Urbanae* (Urban's bees, 1633) the day before Galileo arrived in Rome in 1633. Galileo had been summoned the previous fall by papal authorities to account for claims made in the *Chief World Systems* (1632). Allacci's collection of praise for illustrious individuals in this encyclopedia work includes a short biography of Galileo among many other famous men of the time.[48] It was printed before the guilty verdict was issued later that year.

The results for permissions are mixed for the final two authors in this category. First, the French writer Jean Jacques Bouchard (1606-1641) blamed the printing delays that

[45] Adimari, *Esequie*, 31 and OG, VII, 346. Adimari's rendering of the *impresa* appears with the following description: "Destava compassionevole affetto l'impresa che veniva nell'arco ottavo, perche à denotare il dolore, che s'è preso in vedendo nel fior de gl'anni perdersi cosi caro pregio, scoprivasi una gran campagnia di grano, tutto abbatutto, e disperso da una improvisa tempesta, e troppo si conosceva, che se quel' inevitabil caso non l'havessi oppresso, havrebbe i primi semi con infinita misura multiplicati, e lacrimevole era la perdita, non solo per il danno di cosa tanto necessaria all'umana vita, ma perche l'acerbo colpo era seguito in quella stagione, in cui le speranze sono universalmente maggiori, e però diceva il motto. OMNIA DVM RIDENT".

[46] Stufa, *Esequie*, 6.

[47] Cerchi, *Orazione*, 3, 22, and 46, respectively. The text might also include a laudatory nod to Galileo, but the use of the common epithet "Accademico" for Galileo would suggest that he was present shortly before the death of the Grand Duke: "Poc'hore avanti che e' morisse (come se non volesse Iddio privarlo di vita, prima di haverlo con qualche bella attestazione novellamente assicurato dell'amor de' suo sudditi) potette egli chiarissimamente comprendere, quanto gradiscano i popoli un Principe mansueto, per mezzo di quel nostro grand'Accademico, che lo lasciò herede di tutte sue facultà, non contento di haver' à pro del medesimo tutto 'l suo sapere impiegato" (Cerchi, *Orazione*, 16).

[48] Allacci, *Apes Urbanae,* 118-119.

he experienced in 1638 on Niccolò Riccardi (1585-1639), the papal authority for book licensing that had initially allowed the *Chief World Systems* to be published. Bouchard's funerary oration for the astronomer Nicolas Claude Fabricius de Peiresc (1580-1637) does not appear in the inventories of the books in the Galilei family, but letters exist that show that he sent a copy to Galileo.[49] In a letter from February 1638, he explains: "after having kept this Oration of mine for two full months, he nearly mangled the entire thing, and what's worse, in things that mostly have nothing to do with Faith. Among other things, he does not want me to name any learned heretics … in particular Galileo, having dismissed everything that I had said in praise of him".[50] In August he was able to send an advanced copy printed in Venice, indicating that the printing in Rome would likely edit the reference to Galileo.[51] Censorship likely silenced several such appearances after 1633.

In the same year though, Galileo also makes an apparently unproblematic extended appearance in an *Orazione* (1638) that Marcantonio Pieralli (n.d.) delivered in honor of Professor Niccolò Aggiunti, chair of mathematics at the University of Pisa.[52] This volume appears in the library with Pieralli's earlier *Orazione* (1636) for the appointment of Scipione Pannocchieschi d'Elci as Archbishop of Pisa. Galileo was under house arrest at the time of both orations. Pieralli makes no explicit mention of Galileo in the earlier text, but in 1638, nearing the end of a wide-ranging celebration of Aggiunti's life, exemplary characteristics, and accomplishments, Pieralli digresses. While speaking of Aggiunti's superior intellect, Pieralli uses Galileo's praise of Aggiunti as testimony of the professor's intellectual gifts. He lists Galileo's discoveries and celebrates him as another Archimedes and Ptolemy.[53] Pieralli touches on every major discovery in a tone so praiseworthy as to cause a reader to forget the real subject of the oration. This text is yet another unlikely literary place to find Galileo since modern scholarship has focused more on poetic representations such as those that follow.

Galileo's embeddedness in general literary culture

Favaro's category of "Componimenti poetici varii" provides as opportunity to explore Galileo's connections to a wide swath of literary cultural production after early 1610. Because of the focus in this article on Favaro's catalog, this will not be a full accounting of all sight-

[49] OG, XVII, 367.

[50] *Ibid.*, 299. The original reads: "dopo havermi tenuta questa Oratione duoi mesi continui, me l'ha quasi storpiata tutta, e quello ch'è peggio, in cose per il più che non hanno che fare con la Fede. Tra l'altre egli non vuol ch'io chiami nessun heretico dotto… in particolare il Galileo, havendo cassato tutto quello ch'io havevo detto in laude di lui".

[51] *Ibid.*, 367. The reference to Galileo can be found in this early printing, Bouchard, *Nicolai Claudii Fabrici Peirescii*, 20-21.

[52] OG, XVI, 430-431.

[53] Pieralli, *Orazione*, 23-24.

ings of Galileo in poetry. For example, there is no evidence that Galileo owned Giambattista Marino's *Adone* (1623) even though he appears in the poem.[54] Nunzio Vaccaluzzo has already documented how several manuscripts of works that were also printed were sent to Galileo because they contained references to him or to his discoveries: Girolamo Bartolommei's *America* (not printed until 1650), Girolamo Magagnati's *Meditatione poetica sopra i pianeti Medicei* (Poetic meditation on the Medicean planets, 1610), Malatesta Porta's *Rimini protetto* (Rimini protected, 1628), Ottavio Rinuccini's *Poesie* (1622), and two by Lorenzo Salvi, *Stanze contro Aristotile per la nuova stella* (Stanzas against Aristotle for the new star, 1605) and *Stanze sopra le stelle e macchie solari scoperte col nuovo occhiale* (Stanzas on the stars and sunspots discovered with the new telescope, 1615).[55] These works do not overlap with the titles identified by Favaro in the inheritance documents of Vincenzio Jr. and Sestilia, which are sources for all of the titles in this category in his catalog. Of the 45 titles that he listed, 20 were first printed before Galileo's discoveries with the telescope and three cannot be connected definitively to a specific author or text. Of the 22 remaining titles, all printed after 1610, 19 have either a direct or an indirect connection to Galileo via relationships with authors – of the main text or paratexts – or appearances of Galileo or his discoveries in the book. The three remaining books are one part of a series of amorous laments, a collection of praise of beautiful women, and a volume of sacred poetry in Latin.

Direct connections span language, form, and authors. Maffeo Barberini – who would become Pope Urban VIII three years later – sent Galileo a manuscript of his "Adulatio Perniciosa" (1620), later published as part of the *Poemata* (1634).[56] This Horatian ode makes two direct references to Galileo and to the Lincei.[57] In an appendix to the library catalog Favaro added the encyclopedic *Epigrammata* (1641) compiled by Gabriel Naudé and Cassiano del Pozzo, of which Galileo received both a manuscript and print copy.[58] The seventh epigram is dedicated to Galileo. The telescope plays a pivotal role in Giulio Strozzi's epic poem *Venetia edificata* (1621, 1624).[59] To this we can also add an anachronistic *occhiale* in an epic poem by Giovan Domenico Peri (1564-1639). Peri is one of the few literary authors for whom we have evidence that Galileo sought out his works as early as 1610.[60] At the time Peri was working on an ambitious sacred poem on the Last Judgment inspired by Torquato Tasso, which would eventually be published in 1637 with the title *Mondo desolato* (The dreary world). His poem in ottava rima, *Fiesole distrutta* (Fiesole de-

[54] Marino, *Adone*, X.33-34. See Hall, "Galileo's Library Reconsidered", 43.
[55] Vaccaluzzo, *Galileo Galilei nella poesia del suo secolo*, XLIII-XLIV, 119, 129.
[56] Heilbron, *Galileo*, 225.
[57] Vaccaluzzo, *Galileo Galilei nella poesia del suo secolo*, XLIII-XLIV, 129; Heilbron, *Galileo*, 225; Gattei, *On the Life of Galileo*, 281-308.
[58] Vaccaluzzo, *Galileo Galilei nella poesia del suo secolo*, 119.
[59] Hall, "Galileo, Poetry, and Patronage…", 1296-1331.
[60] OG, X, 405.

stroyed, 1621), describes the ruin of the city by the Romans. Importantly, the hero of the poem and other central characters are saved from enchantment by the use of a telescope that breaks incantations.[61] Finally, Tolomeo Nozzolini (1569-1643), who had been involved in the debates on floating bodies in the early 1610s, appears in this section with his *Sogno in sogno, ovvero il Verme da seta* (A dream within a dream, or the Silkworm, 1628), a six-part recounting of a feverish dream in which the narrator is visited by several figures. The second canto features a rebuke of the Academia dei Lincei and several octaves that condemn the debates about the motion of the earth.[62]

The several indirect connections to Galileo also span language and form. These include four works by fellow member of the Accademia dei Lincei, Alessandro Adimari, but notably absent is his collection of sonnets dedicated to the muse of astronomy Urania. Another title is by the poet Carlo Bocchineri (1569-1630), father of Galileo's daughter-in-law Sestilia. Calamai's *Parto della vergine* (1623), printed at the Cecconcelli press for the Stelle Medicee is in this category, containing a paratextual celebrity list of members of the Florentine intellectual elite: Filippo Salviati, Carlo Bocchineri, Ludovico delle Colombe, Andrea Salvadori and others. Margherita Costa's *Flora feconda* (1640) is here as well.

A second group of poets represents those who had written elsewhere on Galileo's discoveries, but not necessarily in the volume that appears in the library. One of the authors in this group is Piero de' Bardi (1560-1650), a Florentine poet and member of the Accademia della Crusca, who contributed a sonnet to the collection that Galileo was preparing for the never-completed second edition of the *Sidereus nuncius*.[63] Viviani will later count Bardi among Galileo's disciples.[64] The title that appears in Sestilia's list of books is the one-word *Avinoavolioottoneberlinghieri*, also known as *Il poemone*, a poem in ottava rima whose title collapses a line from Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1516, 1521, 1532). The line identifies four paladin brothers who are the inspiration for Bardi's jocose and hyperbolic work. Although the work does not seem to have been printed earlier than 1643, Bardi began to work on it in the late sixteenth century, evidence suggests that it was complete and known to Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger early in the century, and the author received printing permissions in Pisa in 1636.[65]

Along with Bardi are several others. Prolific poet Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1638) had likewise intended to contribute a poem to Galileo's collection. In surviving correspondence, he appears as an intermediary between Galileo and others.[66] The two works that appear in Sestilia's list are his poem *Firenze*, which saw several editions of different lengths

61 Peri, *Fiesole*, IX.Argomento, 10-14, 21-25, 104.
62 Nozzolini, *Sogno*, 2.21.1-8 and 2.27-34, respectively.
63 OG, X, 399, 412.
64 OG, XIX, 628.
65 Previtera, *La poesia giocosa*, Vol. 2, 63.
66 OG, XI, 597.

after 1615, and a collection of poetry, *Canzonette*, which was also printed at least 5 times, with one of the latest issuing from the Cecconcelli press in 1625. Baldovino de Monte Simoncelli, author of Latin satire in the spirit of Boccalini, had contributed other poems that incorporated Galileo's discoveries, found in a volume in Sestilia's list, *Alcune poesie sopra la morte del Principe Francesco de' Medici* (Some poems on the death of Prince Francesco de' Medici, 1615). Her list also included the 360-page volume of Latin poetry by Mario Guiducci's professor of rhetoric, Tarquinio Galluzzi (1573-1649), better known for being the recipient of Guiducci's letter in response to the *Libra astronomica ac philosophica* (*Astronomical and philosophical balance*, 1619) during the controversy on the comets of 1618.

In one of the few instances in which we have evidence that Galileo sought out a book of poetry, Bonventura Cavalieri reports to Galileo that he is having difficulty finding the work by abbott Giovanni Panezio (n.d.) that Galileo had requested.[67] Cavalieri or someone else must eventually have been successful, because the *Lagrime della città di Bologna per la morte del Sig. Girolamo Petri del Panezio* (Tears of the city of Bologna for the death of Sig. Girolamo Petri by Panezio, 1626) appear in both inheritance documents. Galileo's Bolognese friend and ally, the astrologer Giovanni Antonio Roffeni (c. 1580-1643) receives a poetic tribute among the verses.[68] The dedicatory letter to Antonio Barberini, nephew to Pope Urban VIII, indicates that Panezio wrote the work at the insistence of Cesare Marsili and Benedetto Castelli, among others.[69] Similarly to the Bolognese *Amor prigioniero in Delo*, the work deserves attention beyond the scope of this article, particularly considering Preti's apparent engagement with themes of mirrors.[70]

An important caveat exists: not all poetic and prose fictional works were equally connected to Galileo. For example, of the ten titles that Favaro included in "Romanzi e finzioni", three were first published after Galileo's discoveries with the telescope. First, Galileo's later work and the Italian translation of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1622, 1626) are suggestive of literary parallels between, if not direct influence from, the picaresque satire to the *Saggiatore* (1623) and dialogues.[71] Second, Favaro suggests the Latin original of John Barclay's epic *Argenis* (1622) in quarto, even though the sources both list it with the Italian title *Argenide* in the smaller ottavo size. Barclay lived in from Rome from 1617 until his death in August 1621 and the *Argenis* includes extended praise of Maffeo Barberini, not yet Pope Urban VIII at the time.[72] Nicolas Claude de Peiresc (whose funeral elegy Bouchard struggled to publish with praise of Galileo) was a friend of Barclay and oversaw the publication of this work in Paris. The third book in this category tells the

67 OG, XVI, 103-104.
68 Panezio, *Lagrime*, 18.
69 *Ibid*., i verso.
70 Arnaudo, "Il doppio e lo specchio", 484-495.
71 Hall, *Galileo's Reading*, 102-128.
72 Barclay, *Argenis*, Vol. 1, 10-11, 24, and 181.

story of Valeria Messalina, wife of the first century C.E. Roman emperor Claudius, who satisfied her sexual appetite by posing as a prostitute at night. The archival evidence that points to this text appears only in the list of books found in Sestilia Bocchineri's home in 1669: "La Messalina 24°".[73] After reading examples of the work by Francesco Pona, who would later translate the *Argenis* into Italian, and Pietro Angelo Zaguri, I can find no obvious connection to Galileo or his discoveries in the text or paratexts. Pona, however, did not agree with Galileo's ideas, although for a time he and Antonio Rocco (author of a rebuttal to *The Chief World Systems*) were students of Cesare Cremonini in Padua.[74]

Galileo in literary criticism

Only one title of the seven associated with "Critica letteraria/literary criticism" could not be traced to a specific edition, and that was later resolved by finding an exemplar with Galilean marginalia.[75] Three were first printed after 1610 and have clear relationships with Galileo.

The first is George Fortescue's *Feriae academicae* (Academic Holidays, 1630). The book's author had lived in Rome from late 1609 to early 1614, which informed the dialogues that he dramatized in the text.[76] Galileo is both cited and depicted in dialogue with the two Jesuit mathematicians Christoph Clavius and Christoph Grienberger.[77] As Michele Camerota has described: "It combined literary imagination with actual events, mixing narrative elements with fact".[78] Fortescue and Galileo exchanged letters about the book when it was forthcoming.[79]

Galileo has a less prominent appearance in the 1627 edition of Alessandro Tassoni's *Pensieri diversi* (Diverse thoughts). First printed in 1620, the anti-Copernican Tassoni engages with the question of the motion of the earth in Book 4.[80] For the 1627 edition Tassoni added Book 10, "Ingegni Antichi, e Moderni/Great minds, ancient and modern" in which Galileo appears.[81] In the chapter on philosophers, Tassoni contextualizes Galileo within a broader argument of the times and places him on the same level as Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), who Galileo had spent much of *Il saggiatore* (1623) deriding.[82] Tassoni goes

73 BNCF Gal. 308, f. 171v, line 16.
74 Miato, *L'Accademia degli Incogniti*, 18.
75 Favaro, "Appendice prima…", 375. The volume was also reported in the exhibit guide for Benucci et al., *Galileo e l'universo dei suoi libri*, 120.
76 Camerota, "Roman Holiday", 30.
77 *Ibid*., 35-42, 46-47.
78 *Ibid*., 34.
79 OG, XIV, 47-48, 83-85.
80 Daniele, *Intorno a Galileo*, 135-153.
81 Tassoni, *Dieci libri di pensieri diversi*, 573.
82 Sberlati, "Lo scienziato savio…", 204-207.

on to mention the new instruments and experiments that facilitated these discoveries, but remarks that their quantity pales in comparison to what the Greeks had accomplished.

The final work in this category is a posthumous representation of a long-standing personal relationship with potential stylistic and conceptual influences on Galileo: the collected lectures of Giovanni Battista Strozzi, mentioned earlier for being the recipient of Paradiso's report on the *Amor pudico*. As Michele Camerota reports, Strozzi and Galileo had known one another since at least 1587.[83] Galileo enthusiastically praised Strozzi's poetry and orations. Their relationship was strong enough that when Strozzi made his will, he bequeathed his 1508 edition of Ptolemy to Galileo (although it does not appear in the inheritance documents related to Galileo's library).[84] As Camerota writes, "Strozzi and Galileo had breathed the same air and shared connections, interests, attendances, readings, academic affiliations, literary passions".[85] As Camerota and Eraldo Bellini both have remarked, at least one passage in one of Strozzi's early orations (1583) has significant conceptual and rhetorical overlap with comments made on the First Day of the *Dialogue on the Chief World Systems*.[86] Camerota adds a further similarity between the description of the book nature in another of Strozzi's orations and Galileo's *Saggiatore* (1623).[87] Camerota also reports on Galileo's delight at hearing Strozzi deliver his "Lettione in biasmo della superbia/Lecture in blame of pride" in April 1611, likely due in part to a comment made early in the oration.[88] Strozzi describes four types of pride, third among them "those who, in regarding their own merits, take out of pride one of these new instruments, that by multiplying objects so many hundreds of times make ants appear little smaller than elephants, and they are very similar to that lunatic, about which I remember hearing, who giving himself over to believing that it was dangerous to touch the stars with his head, and fearing that he might break them in their hardness, went around with his head down lower than Archimedes when he was so intent on measuring I do not know what that he died".[89] As Francesco Rossini pointed out a few years later, Strozzi includes several references to the new science in this lecture, with warnings about investigations of the universe, curiosity,

[83] Camerota, "Giovan Battista Strozzi e Galileo…", 175.

[84] *Ibid*., 176.

[85] *Ibid*., 177. The original reads: "Strozzi e Galileo avevano respirato la stessa aria e condiviso relazioni, interessi, frequentazioni, letture, affiliazioni accademiche, passioni letterarie".

[86] Bellini, "Galileo e le de culture…", cited in Camerota, "Giovan Battista Strozzi e Galileo…", 177-178.

[87] Camerota, "Giovan Battista Strozzi e Galileo…", 178-179.

[88] *Ibid*., 169, 183-184.

[89] G. B. Strozzi, *Orazioni*, 206. The original reads: "quei, che nel riguardare i propri meriti, prendono dall'amor proprio un di questi nuovi strumenti, che tante centinara più multiplicando gl'oggetti, fanno apparire le formiche poco men, che Elefanti, e son molto simili à quel forsennato, del quale mi ricordo havere udito, che dandosi à credere di portar pericolo di toccare con la testa le stelle, e dubitando non le spezzare nella sodezza loro, andava col capo basso più, che non lo teneva Archimede, quando intento à non sò che misura fù morto".

and the limits of human knowledge.[90] Given this content, Galileo's knowledge of it, and Strozzi's habit of punctuating his morals with short vignettes about unnamed characters, scholars should feel invited to reconsider the episodes of the *Saggiatore*, including the famous fable of sounds, with Strozzi's lectures in mind.

Further, in his oration upon the death of Ferdinando I de' Medici (1609), included in this volume, Strozzi would seem to be hinting at the Grand Duke's patronage of Galileo as he metaphorically describes the rhetorical task ahead of him: "I raise myself [to the challenge] in hope that it ought to happen to me as to he, who, following the example of others invited to gaze upon the Heavens, among those eternal beauties detects something new, and happy, immediately reveals it and points it out to others".[91] This funerary oration, included in a collected volume of lectures on various topics, some of them more literary than others, is yet another reminder of where Galileo might be hiding in Seicento texts.

Further work suggested: grammar, drama, Latin classics

The historical value (or lack thereof) for works in the final three forms and genres also leaves open future avenues of exploration for modern scholars. This section will quickly explore what is currently known about the books in the three remaining categories in Favaro's organizational schema: grammar and rhetoric, drama, and Latin classics. In all three categories the value of these books to the mid-17th century notaries prevents a more complete analysis of possible Galilean connections to the content of these literary volumes. For example, after the proliferation of classical Latin texts from the earliest decades of print, copies of canonical works existed in multiple sizes, had been printed at a multitude of presses, and were available in many types of qualities. Neither quantity nor popularity signaled value to the compilers of the inheritance documents.

The section on grammar and rhetoric is perhaps the most straightforward in terms of the chronologies of the 27 texts. Other than a reference to the grammarian Cantalych in *Considerazioni sopra il Discorso del Colombo*, the other titles in Galileo's library are found only in the inheritance documents.[92] One of the titles in Favaro's original grouping is miscategorized. The "Rhetorica di Polendo del Lauri" is likely the prose *Historia delle gloriose imprese di Polendo figliuolo di Palmerino d'Oliva* (History of the glorious feats of Polendo, son of Palmerin of Oliva) translated by Pietro Lauro (1510-1568) and first published in 1566.[93] 11 titles were provided by Favaro without specific edition information, although

[90] Rossini, "Giovan Battista Strozzi il Giovane a Roma", 744-752.

[91] Strozzi, *Orazioni*, 62. The original reads: "m'innalzò a speranza che e' debba avvenirmi come a chi dall'esempio altrui a rimirare il Cielo invitato trà quelle eterne bellezze alcuna di nuovo vi scorge, e lieto subito ad altri la palesa, e l'addita".

[92] OG, IV, 465.

[93] BNCF Gal. 308, f. 115r, lines 7-8.

enough information is available to understand the dates of first printings or the life of the author for all but a general "Grammatica latina".[94] 11 others were printed before 1610.

Two of the remaining five printed after 1610 are worth further consideration. One is unceremoniously listed as "Prosodia Bononiensis" (*The Prosody of Bologna*) which is an abbreviated title for a work by the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Riccioli (1598-1671), known for later critiquing Galileo's methods and findings.[95] Only two copies seem to exist, and a perusal of Riccioli's pages might surface previously undocumented references to Galileo or his Bolognese counterparts. Jacobus Mancinus Politianus (Giacomo Mancini, n.d.), author of the second title, a Latin grammar, was a correspondent of natural philosopher Fortunio Liceti (1577-1657), and his reports of carbonization and creation of bitumen informed Liceti's work on light.[96] Only one copy of Mancini's work appears in WorldCat, at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, but could clarify any possible Galilean connections.

The relatively small section of "Drammatica e favole" similarly exemplifies the attitude of low value for books in high quantity through the absence of a significant component of the works that should otherwise appear in Favaro's catalog. In the inventory of books made at the death of Vincenzo Galilei, Jr. the notary and Viviani were clearly tired after exploring over 300 volumes. When they arrived at the last stack, they described it as "37 commedie" with no other details.[97] While these comedies might not have been valuable as part of an inheritance in 1649, they are important to keep in conversation with the 24 titles that Favaro did list under this subheading. The preponderance of books in this category, the largest by far when these undifferentiated comedies are included, has potential implications for a better understanding of the role of dissimulation in the navigation of what modern historian of science Rivkha Feldhay has called the "gap between 'seem and be'" that "was haunting political actors and courtiers, theologians and playwrights" in the Seicento.[98]

Twenty titles in this category can be connected to specific edition information, but only 8 were first printed after Galileo's discoveries with the telescope. One was Coppola's *Nozze de gli Dei*, discussed earlier. Of the remaining seven, three were written by close contacts of Galileo who incorporated his discoveries into these or other works: Margherita Costa, Vincenzio Renieri, and Andrea Salvadori (another contributor of poems for the unrealized second edition of the *Sidereus nuncius*).[99] Another was written by a prolific poet in the Barberini court, both before and after Cardinal Maffeo Barberini's election as Pope Urban VIII, Francesco Bracciolini delle Api (1566-1645). Three do not seem to have an immediate, personal connection to Galileo. Clearly there is more room for investiga-

[94] *Ibid*., f. 115r, line 12.
[95] Graney, *Setting Aside all Authority*, 103-114.
[96] Liceti, *De Lucernis Antiquorum*, 25.
[97] ASF Arch. 3483.3, f. 115r, line 26.
[98] Feldhay, "The Simulation of Nature…", 285.
[99] For Costa, see *Li buffoni*, 14 and 30 n. 123.

tion here, particularly given Galileo's explicit connection of the *Chief World Systems* to this form of literature.[100]

Finally, of the 30 titles listed as "Classici latini/Latin Classics", Favaro had listed only seven with specific editions, four of which appeared in or after 1610. Only one has a direct connection to Galileo, the 1630 translation of the satires of the first-century Roman poet and satirist Persius by Francesco Stelluti. In the prefatory material and explanatory footnotes readers found Galileo's discoveries of the satellites around Jupiter and the phases of Venus with the telescope and microscopic observations.[101]

The remaining remarks will address two other connections between Galileo and classical Latin authors, or rather their commentators, who were contemporary with him. Even though the books do not appear in current materials related to Galileo's library, they suggest the merit of expanding the investigation of literary sightings in this area.

First, Alessandro Adimari, part of the Florentine literati, penned the translation and editorial remarks on the classical Greek lyric poet Pindar's odes that include two references to Galileo. A letter from Francesco Stelluti (1577-1653), one of the founding members of the Academy of the Lynxes, suggests an unexplored vein in at least some of Adimari's work. Stelluti discusses the printing of Adimari's translation, saying of its author: "since he has already been accepted as one of ours, it would be good for his book to come out with the title of 'Lynx'".[102] In a gloss on the mention of Orion in the second ode, Adimari recounts the myth surrounding the hunter, and then adds about the stars that compose the constellation: "Aratus and Ovid say that only six are seen, but the ingenious and very learned Signor *Galileo Galilei*, discoverer of the new and marvelous telescope affirms that many more of them are found".[103] Galileo is mentioned again in a gloss on the tenth ode, in which the adjective "Lyncean" is used. Adimari provides a literary and cultural history, before discussing the Accademia dei Lincei, founded by the recently deceased Federico Cesi, continued in spirit (according to Adimari) at the present time by Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Adimari lists several illustrious members and laments that he does not have more space to dedicate to the valor of the academy: "But those Gentlemen Academicians themselves, who shine in the guise of so many suns, *without changing light*, are their own testimonies of their valor; and let it be enough to remember Signor *Galileo Galilei*, true Lincean, who penetrated the lunar body and heretofore unknown stars, called by him *Medicean*; Signor *Francesco Stelluti*, and Signor *Mario Guiducci*, who in their writings make

[100] OG, VII, 157, 190.

[101] Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, 187-188.

[102] OG, XIV, 293. The original reads: "essendo già accettato fra' nostri, sarà bene che esca il suo libro col titolo del linceo".

[103] Adimari, *Ode di Pindaro,* 363, emphasis in the original, which reads: "Arato, & Ovidio dicono, che solamente se ne veggono sei, ma l'ingegnoso, e dottissimo Signor *Galileo Galilei* ritrovatore del nuovo, e maraviglioso occhiale afferisce, che molte più ne ritrova".

clear the merit of so many other men".[104] Given Adimari's lengthy engagement with these figures and subjects, his role as liaison between literary and natural philosophical academies merits further investigation.

The final example points to a potentially broader community of influence beyond the Lincei, a translation of the works of the first-century Roman historian Tacitus. The Galileo-Tacitus connection has not been documented by scholars before, but appears in the *Postille* to the first book of the Annals, transcribed and translated in the posthumous printing of *Opere di G. Cornelio Tacito* (Works of G. Cornelius Tacitus, 1637). The primary author, Bernardo Davanzati (1529-1606), is now remembered as proprietor of the Palazzo Davanzati, a precious museum that offers a glimpse into domestic Renaissance mercantile life in Florence. Bernardo Davanzati's broad range of interests (including economics, metallurgy, and language) could have allowed him to cross paths with Galileo at events early in the century organized by the Accademia Fiorentina, the Accademia della Crusca, or the Accademia degli Alterati. But since Davanzati had died in 1606, the note is likely one of the interventions made by his son Giuliano (n.d.).[105] Giuliano only appears in Galilean correspondence in a completely unrelated financial matter in 1614.[106]

Yet, in a discussion of the aurora borealis and its effect on the appearance of the moon, after citing Pliny as an authority, the younger Davanzati writes:

> The demonstration and effects of this accident were observed in modern times and taught by Sig. Galileo Galilei, who recounts that among other things, one night in Venice, feeling dejected at going out two hours after sunset and the sky clearing entirely, and in particular beyond the Zenith, towards the Northeast (Greco) and North (Tramontana), such that all of the stars had disappeared. And even though this dawn was very bright, nonetheless the shadows of the buildings were so washed out that they could barely be distinguished. And this derived from the immensity of the space from which the light was coming.[107]

[104] *Ibid*., 472, emphasis in the original which reads: "Ma quei SS. Accademici stessi, che à guise di tanti soli risplendono, *non mutata luce,* sono à se medesimi testimoni di lor valore; e basti il ricordare il Sig. *Galileo Galilei*, vero Linceo, che ha penetrato il Corpo lunare, e l'incognite per avanti stelle, per lui dette *Medicee*, il Sig. *Francesco,* [sic] *Stelluti*, & il Sig. *Mario Guiducci*, che ne gli scritti loro fanno palese il merito di tanti altri Signori".

[105] Zaccaria, "Davanzati, Bernardo".

[106] OG, XII, 57.

[107] Tacitus, *Opere*, 432 n. 42. The original reads: "La dimostrazione, ed effetti di questo accidente è stata modernamente osservata, e insegnata dal Sig. Galileo Galilei, il quale referisce essersi trà l'altre abbattuto una notte in Venezia a vedere due ore dopo il tramontar del Sole schiarirsi il Cielo tutto, e in particolare oltre al Zenit, verso Greco, e Tramontana, talmente tutte le stelle erano sparite: E benche l'albòre fosse grandissimo; nulladimeno le ombre delle frabbriche erano talmente dilavate, che poco si distinguevano. E questo derivava dall'immensità dello spazio, onde si veniva il lume".

Davanzati's explanation touches on concepts that Galileo had expressed in *The Assayer* and the *Chief World Systems*, but not with the contextualization, astronomical details, or vocabulary in those works. This leaves open the possibility that Davanzati was at a lecture or otherwise "taught" by Galileo, to use his own expression.

Conclusion

The aggregated information about these books alongside new information is part of a call to reconsider how we engage with Galileo's library. This invitation for future interventions is a reminder that even a meticulously crafted data set such as Favaro's list of books in Galileo's library represents only one perspective in time. Humanists' work of recovery and discovery should perpetually update such a resource. There are likely other books with similar relationships to Galileo, whether he or his book collectors were aware of them. While Google Books can be one resource for identifying these sightings in print, it must be noted that the search algorithm and underlying language model do not present every possible or actual match for a word or a phrase in digitized books in that collection.[108] Networks of scholars across fields will remain essential for continuing to expand the collection of Galileo's appearances in literary texts. The impacted genres are also unlikely places to find Galileo or his associates. Yet, this could be more reason to explore deeper literary relationships between Galileo's prose, his analytical perspectives, and these texts. Perhaps more importantly, scholars might now want to turn to the question of where Galileo is *not* present.

Furthermore, the role of printers, paratexts, visual elements, and live performances in many of these connections to Galileo decenters the text and the author from the analysis. Although the content might have thematic relationships to aspects of Galileo's prose, we overlook the broader process of book production and consumption at the risk of missing many of these relationships.

On the other hand, aggregating the scholarship on the literary works in the library provides an opportunity to reconsider Galileo's debt to the sixteenth century literary tradition, as visualized in Fig. 1. Even if he was influenced by the poetry and prose of his contemporaries in which he has a cameo, a significant portion of each of these categories of literary works represents pre-1610 titles and much earlier authors.

Taken as a whole, the post-1610 literature in Galileo's library looks less like a collection of Galileo's interest in literary works and more like an interest in Galileo in literature. Fig. 2 represents the proportionality of this distribution seen in the previous sections by only visualizing books printed in these later decades.

[108] Hall, "Attribution, Imposture, and Interpretation…", forthcoming.

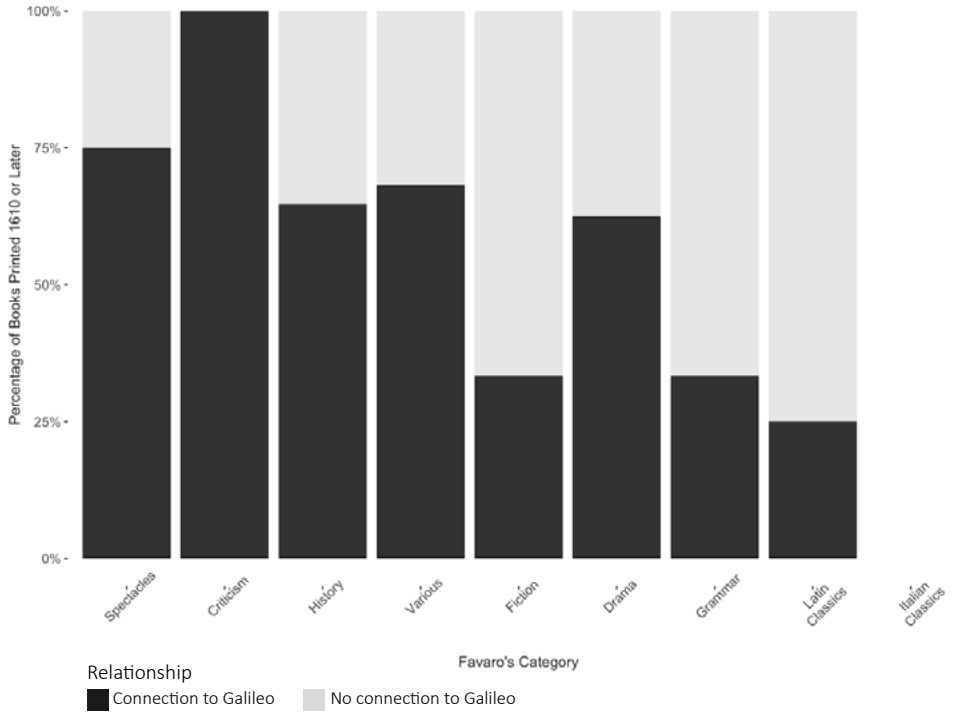

Fig. 2. Percentage of books in Galileo's library printed in or after 1610 that have a connection to Galileo (black) or no connection (gray). Italian Classics are still listed, although without a bar, since no works from that category were printed in or after 1610. Created by author. CC-BY-ND.

While there may have been a nearly complete overlap between Galileo's literary preferences and what his friends and colleagues were writing in the early seventeenth century, the few examples that we have of his requests for poetic works defy this trend. The majority of the Galileo sightings in literary works in his library appear in books that were unsolicited or for which no evidence exists other than the inheritances of his son and daughter-in-law. Galileo's library, whether accidentally or through coordination by him or a family member, became the repository for examples of the cultural interpretation of Galileo and his work.

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