Heroes and Anti-Heroes

Reformulating the Heroic at the Accademia degli Apatisti in Seventeenth-Century Florence

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This article traces different concepts of heroism present within the Accademia degli Apatisti, one of Florence's dominant literary academies of the seventeenth century. Epic literary models played an important role in forming ideals of military heroism. However, the Apatisti significantly reshaped the figure of the chivalric hero by merging it with ideas of civic ethics. The academy's re-adaptation of models for male heroism took into account the social status of its members, who were mostly young Florentine men from aristocratic or bourgeois background preparing for their lives as employees of the Medici State System. The general development that I will delineate is the gradual establishment of heroic models that could be acquired by male citizens in an urban setting by uniting aspects of predestination such as aristocratic birth or intellectual brilliance with a responsible and diligent development of virtues.

The Accademia degli Apatisti

Founded by the Florentine intellectual Agostino Coltellini as a *conversazione letteraria* in 1631, this literary circle of young educated men quickly expanded, until it established itself with the name Accademia degli Apatisti as one of Florence's leading literary academies around 1638.[1] Although often belittled as milieus of idle leisurely activities or as instruments of Medicean political power, literary academies served a central cultural and civic purpose in seventeenth-century Florence. During that time, literary academies became important social spaces for Florence's tightly knit intellectual male communities, which also illustrated the complex interplay between the courtly world and the world of Florentine citizens. Dedicated to the study of local (Tuscan and Florentine) language, history, and literature, as well as science, academies created spaces for homosocial exchange that rendered fluid separations between the city's social classes by uniting

[1] On the Accademia degli Apatisti see: Edoardo Benvenuti, Agostino Coltellini e l'Accademia degli Apatisti a Firenze nel secolo XVII, Pistoia 1910; Alessandro Lazzeri, Intellettuali e consenso nella Toscana del Seicento. L'Accademia degli Apatisti, Milan 1983; Michele Maylender, Storia delle Accademie d'Italia, Vol. 4, Bologna 1929. See also the eighteenth-century history of the Accademia degli Apatisti, Antonio Francesco Gori / Anton Maria Salvini, Origine dell' Accademia degl' Apatisti con molte Giunte del can. Salvini, in Cod. A. 36 (Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence: 1754).

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aristocrats and bourgeois (*cittadini*) in studying their own culture. From the beginning, Coltellini intended his academy to serve a civic purpose by providing instructions to young Florentines preparing them for employment in the Medici State.[2] Similar to other European states, where mastering one's mother tongue elegantly played an important role in the self-fashioning and construction of social identity of pre-modern men, linguistic and rhetorical teaching played an essential role within the Accademia degli Apatisti.[3] Although the academy's seventeenth-century records are lost, a variety of sources help in reconstructing this gathering's many intellectual and rhetorical activities. For example, the academy regularly organized *lezzioni* (lectures) and *dubbi* (doubts), which were lectures presented by academicians as guidelines for fellow academicians.[4] Since the *dubbi* and *lezzioni* identified ethical models, they are also indicators for the academic consensus on the status of heroes as ethical prototypes.

Yet, unlike the scenario described by Michèle Cohen, in which men fashion their identity in dialogue with women, the construction of masculinity at the *Apatisti* took place in the absence of women. The academy's program of talks and discussions offered its male members models for individual self-fashioning that neatly fit the academy's corporate concept of ethical and civic behavior.[5] Women – in their physical absence – were epitomized and analyzed through their literary representations. A case in point is a *cicalata* (humorous speech) by Coltellini in which he analyses Francesco Berni's burlesque sonnet *Chiome d' argento finno, irte e attorte*.[6] In this sonnet, Berni mocks the style of Petrarchan love poetry by describing his beloved as physically unattractive. Coltellini's *cicalata*, which was presented to a group of young members of this academy and (exceptionally) their female dance partners, is written as if taking Berni's literary parody at face value and, therefore, as being an encomiastic poem lauding the beloved's unattractive exterior. Coltellini's poem *was* addressed to a masculine audience only. Through a reading of literary texts that resembles Anthony Grafton's analy-

2 Salvino Salvini, Fasti Consolari dell' Accademia Fiorentina, Florence 1717, p. 609. On the civic importance of education, see also Agostino Coltellini, Il Cittadino Accademico riconosciuto nella Vita del Signor Zanobi di Giuliano Girolami Gentiluomo Fiorentino di Agostino Coltellini Accademico Apatista al serenissimo Principe Leopolodo di Toscana, Florence 1656, p. 8.

3 Michèle Cohen, Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century, London 1996, pp. 17–21.

4 The academy's records of the seventeenth century are lost. There are, however, copies of extracts of these records from the eighteenth century. The academy's intellectual program is also documented by a selection of talks contained within the *Discorsi Academici* of the Accademia degli Apatisti for the seventeenth century, which have been preserved in Anton Maria Salvini's edited volume; see also Benvenuti, Agostino Coltellini (Fn. 1), p. 53.

5 On the complex relationship between individual self-fashioning and corporate entity, see Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare, Chicago/London 1980, pp. 11–73; 157–192.

6 Ostilio Contalgeni (=Agostino Coltellini), Lezione ovvero Cicalata sopra il Sonetto di M Francesco Berni Chiome d'argento fine irte, & attorte, Florence 1651.

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sis of how the neo-stoic philosopher Justus Lipsius approached literature of the past by turning 'philology into philosophy' in an effort 'to make classical studies serve practical ends', young members of this academy were warned about problematic behavior or violating ideals within their own gender. The underlying argument of Coltellini's *cicalata* is that of the lover's blindness, and despite the fact that it is a literary analysis, the *cicalata* shifts the focus away from a literary to a moral argument.[7]

Although the Apatisti are usually not considered as neo-stoics, their name derives from the Greek term *apatheia*, describing the rational, emotionally detached attitude towards life upheld by the stoics and neo-stoics. One of the academy's prominent literary figures and founding members, Benedetto Fioretti mentions that the spirit of the Apatisti was one of impartial analysis of linguistic, scientific, and moral questions.[8] In conjunction with the academy's title and didactic mission, Coltellini also devised an *impresa*, called "l'impresa dello specchio piano," for his academy. The *impresa*, arranged around a mirror, was inspired by a motto from Dante's *Purgatorio*, Canto 33, verse 27 "Che la figura impressa non trasmuta".[9] The *impresa* appeals to the reader's literary memory by inviting him to recontextualize the sentence written around the mirror into its original literary scene, which is Dante's and Beatrice's dialogue in the *Purgatorio*. There, Dante admits that his mind, similar to a wax seal, has been "stamped" by Beatrice's thoughts, which will faithfully retain its imprint. This *impresa* therefore marks the importance attributed by the academy to its didactic program, educating citizens *intra muros* for the outside world. The fact that so much importance is attributed to the academy's symbolical decoration with a mirror highlights this academy's focus on themes of identity and ethical self-perfection. According to Deborah Shuger, the Renaissance mirror does not reflect the beholder's subjectivity, therefore merging the reflection of the individual with a system of abstract values, in a similar way as described by Greenblatt.[10] Therefore, the mirror at the Accademia degli Apatisti exceeded its basic function of reflecting a specific physiognomy by imprinting the moral and intellectual lessons learned at the academy into the conscience of its beholder, as made explicit by its inscription.

7 Anthony Grafton, Renaissance Readers and Ancient Texts: Comments on Some Commentaries, in: Renaissance Quarterly 38, Issue 4, 1985, p. 640.

8 Benvenuti, Agostino Coltellini (Fn. 1), p. 270.

9 Gori / Salvini, Origine dell' Accademia degl' Apatisti (Fn. 1), c. 15. Benvenuti, Agostino Coltellini (Fn. 1), pp. 269–270.

10 Deborah Shuger, The "I" of the Beholder: Renaissance Mirrors and the Reflexive Mind, in: Patricia Fumerton / Simon Hunt Fumerton (Ed.), Renaissance Culture and the Everyday, Philadelphia 2008, pp. 26–27; Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning (Fn. 5), pp. 11–73.

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Heroes, Anti-Heroes, and Their Readers

Against this background, I am going to take a closer look at literary ideals of heroism and their impact on concepts of masculinity and ethics within the Accademia degli Apatisti, whose members were very familiar with such contrasting concepts of the hero as Tasso's *Gerusalemme* and Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.

In his *Discorsi del Poema Eroico* (1594), Torquato Tasso tied an indissoluble knot between the heroic action presented in the epic "as a narration of a memorable and possible human action" and the moral education of its readers: "I say that the heroic poem is an imitation of an action noble, great, and perfect, narrated in the loftiest verse, with the aim of giving profit through delight, so that the delight may get us to read more willingly and thus not lose the profit."[11] As Giovanni Careri has stressed, Tasso wants his influential poem *La Gerusalemme Liberata* (1582), in whose defense the *Discorsi* were written, to be understood as a representation of the totality of human experience, describing a large variety of actions and passions that have particular appeal to the Christian reader.[12] The emotional impact of Tasso's poem, which describes the historical combat between Christian and pagan soldiers for Jerusalem, is based on his text's rhetorical structure, which appeals to the senses. Careri has underscored that Tasso's *Gerusalemme* constructs a world that is at the same time verisimilar and evokes strong emotions in the reader by turning the act of reading into a sensation of first-hand experience.[13] That a vast number of Early Modern readers indeed read Tasso's influential epic *Gerusalemme Liberata* with the expectation of drawing parallels between its literary world and experienceable reality, is demonstrated slightly later by Galileo Galilei's profoundly skeptical reactions to this text: apart from aesthetic criticism, for example, by ridiculing the uninspiring, unrealistic dryness and artificiality of Tasso's characters. Galileo's insistence on a new kind of verisimilitude in poetry that takes into account the physical reality of the world also leads to his disappointment with Tasso's lack of rendering visual reality and spatial perception experienceable.[14] All in all, these different views represent a profound change regarding the constituencies of literary realism in which Galileo stands for a new generation of readers for whom experienceability is a key feature of literature.[15]

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11 Torquato Tasso, Discourses on the Heroic Poem, trans. Mariella Cavalchini / Irene Samuel, Oxford 1973, p. 14. For the Italian text, see Discorsi del Poema Eroico di Torquato Tasso, Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani (Ed.), Milan 1824, pp. 20–21: "Io dico che il poema eroico è una imirazione d'azione illustre, grande e perfetta, fatta narrando con altissimo verso, a fine di giovar dilettando, cioè a fine che il diletto sia cagione ch'altri leggendo più volentieri non escluda il giovamento."

12 Giovanni Careri, Gestes d'amour et de guerre: La Jérusalem délivrée, images et affects (XVIe–XVIIIe siècle) (L'histoire et ses présentations; 5), Paris 2005, pp. 11–15.

13 Ibid., p. 13.

14 Galileo Galilei, Scritti Letterari, Florence 1943.

15 On the importance of experience as a basic cultural matrix, see Ezio Raimondi, La dissimulazione romanzesca: Antropologia manzoniana, Bologna 2004, pp. 17–30.

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Critics of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* have attested to the fact that this text, like Tasso's *Gerusalemme*, aims to be a comprehensive representation of human experience. David Quint identifies Cervantes' contrasting modes of narration – straightforward and fragmentary – as a way to underscore the differences between literature and real life.[16] More recently, Anthony J. Cascardi has described *Don Quixote* to represent the human experience through the genre of the novel. Cascardi points out that "in the early modern age, literature was regarded as having the potential to think both speculatively and with skeptical criticism about larger questions."[17] The central theme of *Don Quixote* is to delineate a discrepancy between reading and reality by underlining the outdated nature of chivalric, literary ideals for contemporary society.

Both texts promote literary role models for their readers. The impact of Tasso's work on seventeenth-century Florentine aristocratic culture has been studied.[18] Although the impact and dissemination of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in seventeen-century Florentine culture has been less mapped out, recent studies, such as Crystal Hall's *Galileo's Reading*, attribute a significant impact of the Spanish novel on the city's intellectual culture, as it was translated into Italian in the 1620s.[19] In fact, *Don Quixote* renders the relationship of reader and literary example more complex by establishing the model of an anti-hero, whose extravagant and crazy actions take place in a "world on paper" that differs dramatically from the readers' lives, thus inviting the reader to recognize the impossibility of imitating chivalric models. The decline of the appeal of the chivalric epos and, therefore, also of its function as implicit conduct literature is – among other things – to be attributed to an increased demand for literature to be compatible with the experience of the real life of its readers. The middle of the seventeenth century also sees the rise of a new type of astute reader who demands literature to be based on real life experience in order to prepare him for reading texts similar to the always ambivalent meaning presented by the "book of life".[20]

Discourses on the Heroic at the Accademia degli Apatisti

Benedetto Fioretti's *Proginnasmi Poetici*, a five-volume poetic treatise that defines literary models to follow and criticizes faults of authors for the benefit of future writers, sheds light on the richness of literary discourse in this academy.[21] In each of the volumes, Fioretti discusses various aspects regarding the representation of

16 David Quint, Cervantes' Novel of Modern Times, Princeton, NJ 2003, pp. 26–27.
17 Anthony J. Cascardi, Cervantes, Literature, and the Discourse of Politics, Toronto 2012, p. 7.
18 M. Rossi / F. Gioffredi Superbi, L'arme e gli amori: Ariosto, Tasso and Guarini in Late Renaissance Florence, Florence 2001.
19 Crystal Hall, Galileo's Reading, Cambridge 2013, pp. 102–112.
20 Raimondi, La dissimulazione romanzesca (Fn. 15), p. 18.
21 Udeno Niesely (=Benedetto Fioretti), Proginnasmi Poetici, 5 vols., Florence 1620–1639.

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literary heroes by ancient and contemporary writers. In volume three, he defines the hero as an "uomo illustre" – an illustrious man – who is "perfect in all sublime virtues like Tasso's Goffredo, who is described as young, noble, strong, just, prudent, generous and nearly a saint."[22] Fioretti therefore merges social status with moral and military values to underscore his strongly moralistic and elating vision of the hero.

Most of the *Proginnasmi* alert authors not to violate the necessary decorum for describing the perfect and sublime hero, who, in a literary representation, should not be tainted by the weaknesses of everyday men. Fioretti chastises authors such as Ariosto and Homer, who, in their representation of male heroes, undermine their military, masculine, and ethical superiority by humanizing them. When writing about heroes, authors must respect the obligation of the "eroico decoro" (heroic decorum) by representing heroes as superior to ordinary men.[23] Fioretti criticizes Homer for his representation of Odysseus as fraudulent.[24] He criticizes Ariosto for creating heroic characters that contaminate the concept of the heroic by rendering them too human. For Fioretti, the hero exceeds what is possible for others to accomplish, both in military action and in ethical conduct.[25] The social status of Fioretti's heroes is defined as that of princes, whose rank is consequently superior to that of typical men. Fioretti's concept of the heroic therefore follows Torquato Tasso's, who, in his *Discorso della virtù feminile e donnesca* (Venice, 1582), limits the accessibility to the heroic status to representatives of imperial or regal blood.[26] In fact, Tasso insists that heroism generally lies outside the domain of civic virtue and that heroes therefore do not live in cities.[27] But while civic culture allows men sometimes to commit heroic deeds within public offices, civic regulations for women that confine them to the house eliminate any access to heroism. That such a concept of heroism lies at the foundation of Fioretti's literary analysis becomes clear from the fact that he exclusively focuses on male heroes. Rather than being an ethical model, the military hero therefore turns into a symbol of mainly literary perfection, demanding from its literary creator the highest rhetorical prowess.

Fioretti appended a collection of poems by anonymous members of the Accademia degli Apatisti to the third volume of the *Proginnasmi*, which suggest that the academy trained its members to read literature with a critical eye, avoiding models that are morally problematic through a deeply engrained system of ethical choices. The anonymous poem *Orlando vicino al suo furore* describes Orlando's

22 Niesely, Proginnasmi Poetici, Vol. 3, Florence 1627, p. 345.

23 These reminders occur frequently in Fioretti's text. See, for example, Proginnasmi Poetici, Vol. 1, Florence 1620, pp. 34–35: "Proginn. 11: Obbligo d'imitare altamente i costumi di persone principalissime."

24 Ibid., p. 22.

25 Ibid., p. 38.

26 Torquato Tasso, Discorso della Virtù femminile e donnesca (Delle Opere di Torquato Tasso; 8), Venice 1738, pp. 222–230.

27 Ibid., p. 224.

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reaction when he finds Angelica's and Medoro's carvings in the cave and on several trees that testify to their love:[28] the anonymous author compares the hero Orlando to a raging bull, who still cannot escape his fate; he compares Orlando's face to that of Gorgon. In order to emphasize the unrestrained wildness of the passion that grips Orlando, the author underscores his blindness and deafness and describes the physical intensity with which he fought against trees. It appears therefore that the Accademia degli Apatisti deconstructed the exemplarity of the figure of the male literary hero for its academic members by simultaneously underscoring the superiority as well as the unattainability of heroes and undermining the credibility of certain literary heroic figures.

This development ran counter to contemporary tendencies in seventeenth-century Florentine court culture, which displays a multifaceted and profound affinity with the heroic models offered by epic poetry.[29] The preference for the encomiastic rhetoric of chivalric and heroic imagery as the surroundings of the Medicean prince informed not only the court's theatrical culture but also the decoration of the prince's courtly habitat. During these years, Ferdinando II commissioned Pietro da Cortona to decorate the suite of the *Sala dei Planeti* at the Palazzo Pitti with scenes featuring ancient gods, heroic Roman and Greek statesmen, and mythological heroes such as Hercules. Cortona's frescoes testify that the traditional identification of the prince with the heroic model was fully functional within the aristocratic context and that Cortona's own Baroque stylistic idiom emphasized it additionally.[30] The interconnection between heroic contents of the ceiling decorations and the Medici family is also underscored by the *stucco* portraits of Medici family members inserted into the lower border in the *Sala di Venere* (Image 1).

Satirizing the Military Hero: Lorenzo Lippi's Il Malmantile Racquistato

Several written sources authored by members of the Academia degli Apatisti suggest that the academy considered the ethical model of the military hero as outdated and even morally dangerous during the 1640s and 1650s. An important document that illustrates this view is the mock-epic *II Malmantile Racquistato*

28 Udeno Niesely (=Benedetto Fioretti), Proginnasmi Poetici, Vol. 3.1, Florence 1695, p. 512.

29 There are several studies that underline the profound affinity between epic poetry and the Medici princes such as: Anna Maria Testaverde, Epica Spettacolare ed Etica Dinastica Alla Corte Medicea, in: Rossi / Superbi, L'arme e gli amori (Fn. 18), pp. 231–253.

30 Malcolm Campbell, Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace: A Study of the Planetary Rooms and Related Projects, Princeton, NJ 1977. Giulio Briganti, Pietro da Cortona o della pittura barocca, Florence 1962.

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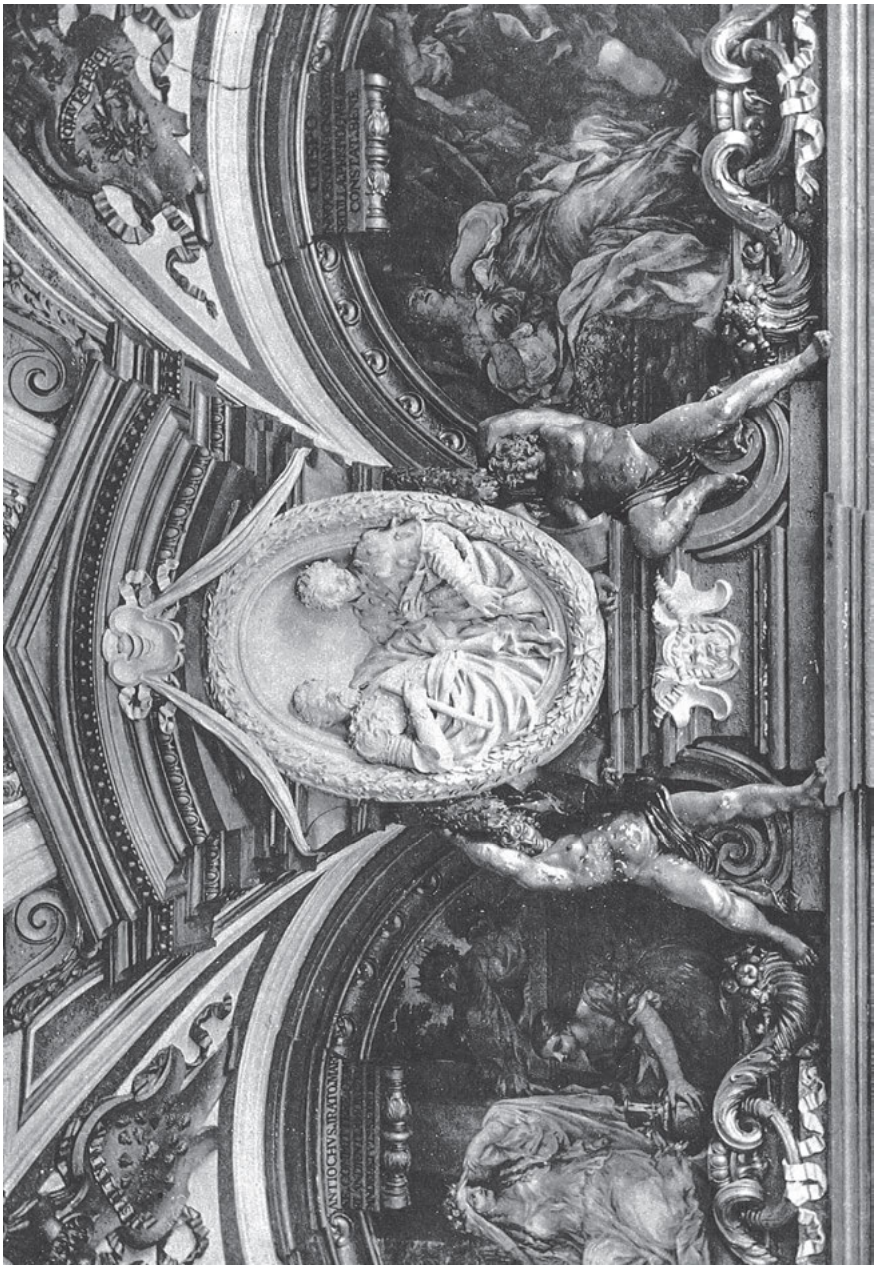

Image 1: Pietro da Cortona, Stucco portraits of Ferdinand I and Cosimo II, 1642, Sala di Venere, Palazzo Pitti.

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written by the Florentine painter Lorenzo Lippi (Image 2).[31] As has been long recognized, the academy had a significant impact on Lippi's art and poetry.[32] Lippi started writing the *Malmantile* in 1643–44, during a sojourn in Innsbruck in order to defeat his loneliness and also to entertain the Archduchess, Claudia de' Medici.[33] However, while the context of Claudia de' Medici's court in Innsbruck may have been the birthplace of the *Malmantile*, the contents and its protagonists are tightly connected to the Accademia degli Apatisti, where it was read publicly for the first time in October and November 1649.[34] The mock-epic's numerous lazy soldiers are portraits of Lippi's contemporaries, mostly members of the Apatisti, thinly disguised by anagrammatic names. The plot evolves in twelve cantos describing the conquest of Malmantile (which is also the name of a ruinous fortress from the fifteenth century near Florence) by the troops of General Baldone, who tries to reestablish the righteous reign of his cousin Celidora by overthrowing her usurper Bertinella with the help of an army of lazy, cowardly soldiers. These general features of the plot are as much a parody of epic poetry as the poem's protagonists satirize the literary ideal of the military, the princely hero, and his elevated actions. Lippi's burlesque picture of the chivalric world and its ethics seems to camouflage a critical view of war since the epic frequently alludes to the brutal reality of the Thirty Years' War. References to this bloody military conflict are always disguised through humorous wordplays. For example, in his military career prior to the battle of Malmantile, General Marchese di Gubbiano has "extinguished the French and buried the German" in the "conflitto della Magna", a term that plays on the similarity between the Italian words for Germany ('Allemagna') and eating ('mangiare').[35] Lippi's friend, the poet Antonio Malatesti, who appears as General Amostante Latoni in the mock-epic, left the calves of his legs in Flanders ("ha lasciato le sue polpe in Fiandra"), a formulation which simultaneously engages in a play of words with the Florentine mode of saying "matto spolpato", denoting a complete fool.[36]

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31 Lorenzo Lippi, Il Malmantile Racquistato: Poema di Perlone Zipoli, con le note di Puccio Lamoni, Florence 1688. On the *Malmantile*, see Arnaldo Alterocca, La Vita e l' Opera poetica e pittorica di Lorenzo Lippi, Catania 1914; Eva Struhal, "La Semplice Imitazione del Naturale": Lorenzo Lippi's Poetics of Naturalism in Seventeenth-Century Florence (Johns Hopkins University, 2007), UMI 2007; Maria Cristina Cabani, Testo e Commento nel Malmantile Racquistato, in: Elena Fumagalli [et al.] (Ed.), Firenze milleseicentoquaranta: Arti, lettere, musica, scienza, Venice 2010; Lucia Di Santo, L'eroicomico fiorentino di Lorenzo Lippi, Milan 2013.

32 See Chiara D'Afflitto, Lorenzo Lippi, Florence 2002.

33 On the circumstances of the creation of the *Malmantile*, see Paola Barocchi (Ed.), Filippo Baldinucci, Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua, Vol. 5, Florence 1974–75, pp. 264–266.

34 Gori / Salvini, Origine dell' Accademia degl' Apatisti (Fn. 1), p. 114; Alterocca, La Vita e l'Opera Poetica (Fn. 31), p. 23.

35 Lippi, Malmantile (Fn. 31), c. I, st. 36, p. 31.

36 Ibid., c. I, st. 61, pp. 49–50.

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Image 2: Frontispiece of Lorenzo Lippi's (known as Perlone Zipoli) *Il Malmantile Racquistato*, 1750, Florence.

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Lippi's armies are pitiful, disorderly groups of decidedly unheroic men: For example, an army of blind beggars in Canto I has collection boxes and crutches as their only weapons. They follow their guide dogs, recite prayers, and play rebecs.[37] In line with the deplorable state of the soldiers is the lack of moral integrity of their military captains, who Lippi equals to charlatans, astrologers, and other bluffers who seduce soldiers for their armies with their words. In consequence, these armies lack morale and decorum. For example, General Palamidone is followed by men dressed in clothes full of fat-splatters and crumbs from "ciambelli" (bakeries), who are purse-snatchers in their civilian life. These denigrating descriptions of soldiers may adhere to the reality of the Thirty Years' War as their visual predecessors – the prints of the French engraver Jacques Callot, which were well known and highly adored in Florence (Image 3) – were likely familiar to Lippi.[38] By conflating grotesque depictions of beggars with his ideas of the fallacy of military bravery, Lippi satirizes the low level of ethical behavior for which the mercenaries of the Thirty Years' War were known.[39] Lippi's soldiers decidedly lack military ethics and heroism: military bravery is easily capsized by hunger, which – as Lippi states in Canto IX – is more powerful than love or heroism.[40] Just like Jacques Callot in his series of engravings *Les Misères de la Guerre* (listed in the inventory drawn up at his death as *La Vie des Soldats*) documents the brutalities of the *soldatesca* during the Thirty Years' War, Lippi – albeit in a more humorous voice – highlights the negative side of the brave and glorious military hero (Image 4). Lippi's mocking descriptions of battles invert the epic canon and entertain through their burlesque nature. For example, during the invasion of *Malmantile* in Canto IX, women who are defending the castle throw down at the enemy everything they can lay hands on: bed sheets that have been urinated on and boiling hot laundry water. One of them invents a highly novel weapon in tying a cat by its tail to a rope and whirling it around against the hostile soldiers, who are thus scratched and bitten.[41] Another source for such a satirical presentation of chivalric ideals is Miguel de Cervantes' earlier mentioned *Don Quixote*, translated into Italian by Lorenzo Franciosini with the title *Dell'ingegnoso cittadino don Chisciotte della Mancia* (Venice 1622–25). Lippi's familiarity with this text is documented by his reference to Don Quixote's spear.[42] Thus,

37 Ibid., c. I, st. 38, p. 32.

38 Callot's life by the Florentine art theorist Filippo Baldinucci testifies the Florentine admiration of Callot, see Paola Barocchi (Ed.), Filippo Baldinucci, Notizie de' Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in qua, Vol. 4, Florence, 1974–75, pp. 372–390.

39 For a description of the state of destitution of the soldiers active in the Thirty Years' War, see Bernhard K. Kroener, "The Soldiers Are Very Poor, Bare, Naked, Exhausted": The Living Conditions and Organisational Structure of Military Society During the Thirty Years' War, in: Klaus Bussmann / Heinz Schilling (Eds.), 1648: War and Peace in Europe, Vol. 1: Politics, Religion, Law and Society, Münster 1999, pp. 285–292.

40 Lippi, Malmantile, (Fn. 31), c. IX, pp. 419–461.

41 Ibid., c. IX, st. 17–23, pp. 431–435.

42 Ibid., c. VIII, st. 33, p. 395.

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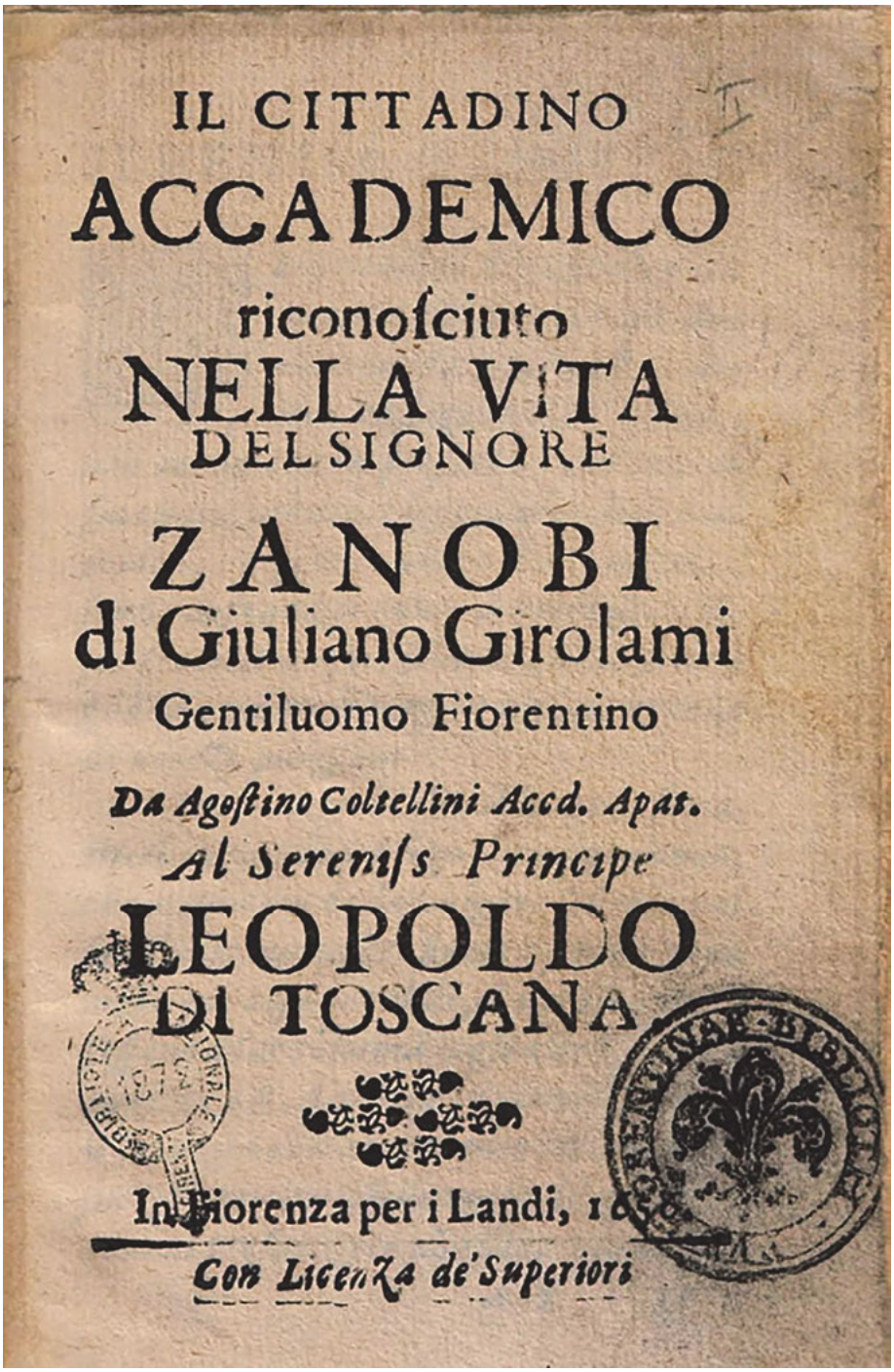

Image 3: Frontispiece of Agostino Coltellini's *Il Cittadino Accademico*, 1656, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence.

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Image 4: Jacques Callot, *Frontispiece of The Paupers*, British Museum (inv. X,4.211), 1622–23, ©Trustees of the British Museum.

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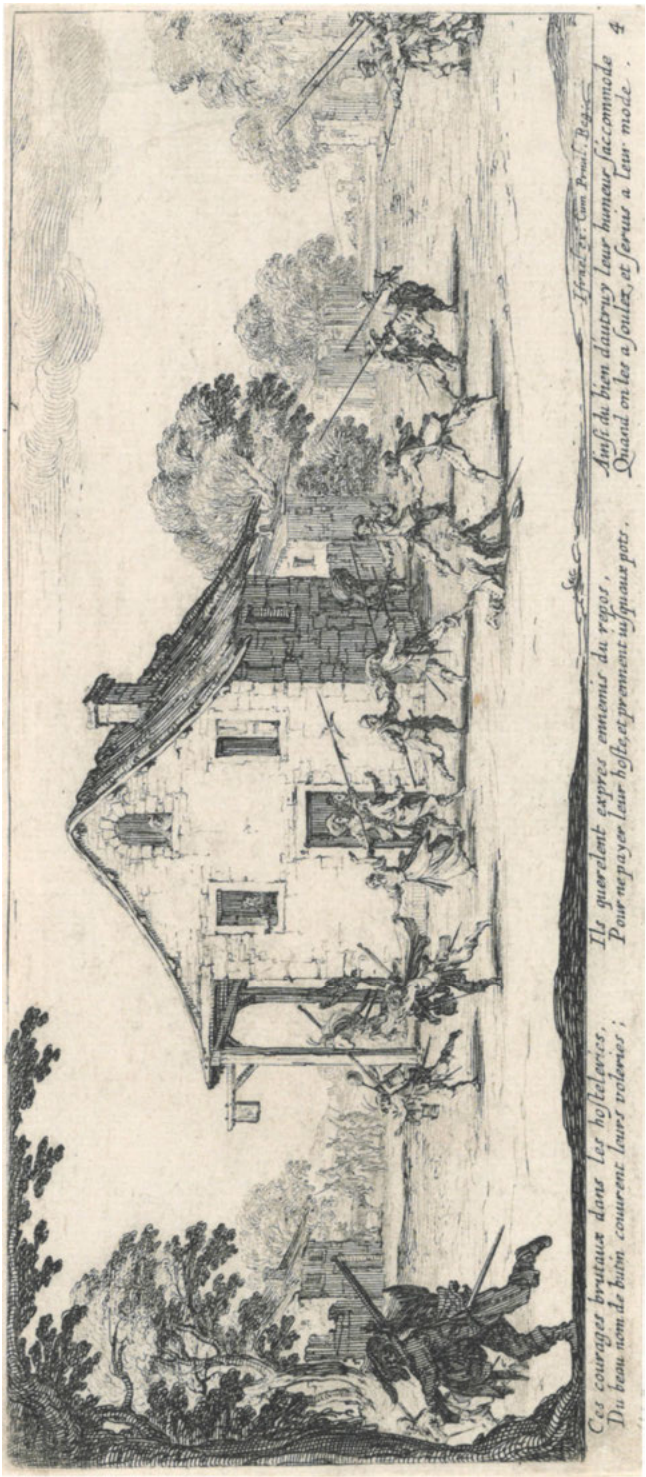

Image 5: Jacques Callot, *Village*, *The Large Miseries of War*, Plate 4: *Rogue Soldiers Escaping from an Inn They Have Just Looted*. c. 1633, British Museum (inv. 1861,0713.767), 1633, © Trustees of the British Museum.

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the *Malmantile* is also informed by an intertextual dialogue with Cervantes' influential text and is the result of the idea that the heroic canon is no longer in correspondence with contemporary life as upheld by Don Quixote. However, the relationship between both texts is a complex one. In line with the canon of the mock-epic, Don Quixote has been called a "hero-upside-down", or he has been situated between a hero and a fool.[43] However, Cervantes and Lippi create very different concepts of the hero. While Don Quixote is certainly a heroic figure in that he is courageous and endowed with extraordinary gifts, his misinterpretation of reality leads to the effect that his heroic action metamorphoses into the genre of the comic. Lippi's anti-heroes avoid any action that could be labeled as heroic and, by doing so, appear rational and act according to common sense. For example, in following the call for battle, Canto IV describes several soldiers going off to search for food rather than engaging in battle.[44] While the *Malmantile* and *Don Quixote* share a similar literary goal of undermining the predominant role of epic poetry, they go about this aim in very different ways. Although *Don Quixote* is conceived of as incorporating essential characteristics of the hero by transgressing the ordinary limitations of normal men, he cannot be a hero, because his vision of reality stands in constant conflict to a general understanding of the real world and the role he performs within it.[45] In a way, Lippi's characters take the process of deconstruction of the heroic model a step further than Don Quixote, since they are in no way 'superior' to other human beings and behave according to laws of natural instincts and self-preservation. Their behavior is the result of the realization that readers will not be able to follow the moral example of the heroic protagonists introduced by the literary body of epic poetry. The *Malmantile* and *Don Quixote* have, therefore, in common that their protagonists cannot serve as behavioral models for their readers. However, they profoundly differ concerning the empathetic structure established between literary protagonist and reader. While Don Quixote invites the reader's empathy, the lazy soldiers of Lippi's *Malmantile* are grotesque caricatures created by their author's brilliant use of Tuscan proverbs and phrases. They evoke laughter and derision, mixed with admiration for their creator's linguistic prowess. Despite these differences, both texts invite the reader to behave differently than the literary characters described.

One of the lazy and un-heroic soldiers is the author's literary self-portrait under an anagrammatic name of Perlone Zipoli. In the beginning of the poem, Perlone leaves the battlefield for a while, because he is hungry, only to return to hand out

43 J. M. Sobré, Don Quixote, The Hero Upside-Down, in: Hispanic Review 44, Issue 2, 1976, pp. 127–141. More recently on the complex combination of differing ideals of heroism in Don Quixote, see Stephen Rupp, Heroic Forms: Cervantes and the Literature of War, Toronto 2014.

44 Lippi, Malmantile (Fn. 31), c. III, pp. 130–186.

45 On general characteristics of the epic hero, see the still useful C. M. Bowra, Heroic Poetry, London 1964, pp. 91–131.

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the final blow against the giant Biancone.[46] He is therefore a hero, who performs a heroic deed only by accident. After pointing out that Perlone's character is extravagant and crazy, Lippi briefly describes his appearance: he is skinny, has long and thin legs, and wears an old ragged jacket which he claims dates back to a legendary Florentine hermit from the Quattrocento.[47] Perlone's lack of heroic ethics matches the lack of masculinity in his appearance. Lippi denigrates not only his exterior, but also describes his state of mind as confused. Lippi's *effictio* does not share the least parallel with the outward appearance or character of the male military hero. Instead, it is based on canonic conventions of auto-representations employed by burlesque poets. By emulating figures such as Socrates, whose brilliant mind surprised even more as it was masked by an unappealing exterior, they take up the basic idea of "piu savi ed ingegnosi li brutti che Ii belli" (the ugly ones are wiser and more ingenuous than the beautiful ones).[48] The self-representation of burlesque authors is therefore only seemingly humble. In reality, it is instead the proud claim of a subversive intelligence that by thinking along unconventional lines uncovers hidden and uncomfortable truths. Lippi's mockery of the heroic model likely has a moralistic dimension, which parallels the satire *La Guerra* in many aspects, which Salvator Rosa wrote contemporaneously during his stay in Florence.[49] Rosa bitterly condemns the lure of military glory and the violence of war that informs European politics. Rosa's third satire, which celebrates the Neapolitan popular hero, the fisherman Masianello who revolted against the Spanish occupation and aristocracy, was presumably a spontaneous response to the Neapolitan revolution. It is also a reflection on the general political situation of an Italy torn between the super powers of France and Spain. Much like Lippi, Rosa deplores the seductive power of the image of the military hero, which allured multitudes to participate in the massive bloodshed of the Thirty Years' War.[50] Rosa also explicitly vociferates against the ideal of the military hero, "who gives his blood, soul and body for a few coins".[51] In fact, Rosa is so bitter about the bloodshed brought about by this war that Peter Tomory characterized this satire as "a powerful indictment of war as a vehicle for hero worship".[52] While Rosa's condemnation of the violence of wars turns into a profound criticism of rulers, Lippi's

46 Lippi, Malmantile (Fn. 31), c. XI, pp. 491–520. The giant Biancone is Bartolomeo Ammanati's statue of Neptune from the Piazza della Repubblica.

47 Ibid., c. IV, st. 7, p. 190.

48 Silvia Longhi, Lusus. Il Capitolo Burlesco al Cinquecento, Padua 1983, pp. 113–137. All English translations, unless otherwise indicated, are my own.

49 Uberto Limentani, La Satira nel Seicento, Milan 1961, pp. 180–189. On Rosa as satirist, see Wendy Wassyng Roworth, Pictor Succensor: A Study of Salvator Rosa as a Satirist, Cynic, and Painter, New York 1978.

50 Salvator Rosa, La Guerra, in: Satire di Salvator Rosa con le note d'Anton Maria Salvini, Amsterdam 1788, pp. 102–128.

51 Ibid., p. 113. My translation.

52 P. A. Tomory, Battles, War and Soldiers: Salvator Rosa as Moralist, in: Storia dell'arte 69, 1990, pp. 256–267, here p. 265.

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Malmantile, although denouncing similar ideals, ends on a more optimistic note: the lazy soldiers reinstate Celidora, the righteous queen of Malmantile, who marries their military anti-hero, General Baldone. Unlike Salvator Rosa's outright condemnation, Lippi's mockery of wars and military heroes does not fundamentally oppose political order as we know it. In contrast to Rosa's satires which were published posthumously and read in small literary contexts, Lippi's *Malmantile* was part of much wider 'public sphere', through public readings in the Accademici degli Apatisti.

Lippi's humor and his brilliant use of the Florentine dialect in his *Malmantile* are also a display of his self-fashioning and intellectual identity. Linguistic performance played an intrinsic role for Lippi's self-fashioning in a way that was far from common in the Early Modern era, since he was famous for entertaining his contemporaries with his "bizarre and capricious temper" and for his sharp-witted jokes during dinner parties.[53] He was also frequently active as an actor. His linguistic bravura is therefore part of the performative dimension of his masculine identity.

Il Cittadino Accademico: The Citizen as Hero

While Lippi's *Malmantile* only mocks the ideal of the military hero without offering alternative behavioral ideals, the writings of Agostino Coltellini, the academy's founder, outline alternate valuable prototypes of the heroic of creating masculine identity. This becomes apparent in Coltellini's adaptation of the concept of the 'illustrious' to Florentine 'everyday life'. In his treatise *Il Cittadino Accademico* (The Academic as Citizen), Coltellini expands the possibility of performing outstanding actions within everyday life by lauding the exemplarity of the Florentine intellectual and nobleman Zanobi di Giuliano Girolami.[54] He is blind and not a military hero, but Coltellini heroises his pursuit of knowledge and education in astronomy. He hails from one of Florence's old aristocratic families, glorified by poets and historians, and one of his forefathers was the 'Santissimo eroe', Saint Zanobi, Florence's first Bishop.[55] Coltellini's *cittadino accademico* is distinguished through God's gift of wisdom and is presented as a model in his pursuit of knowledge as a quasi-heroic, illustrious activity, which is an essential component in diminishing ignorance and helping Florentines to develop according to God's destiny for man, distinguishing him from animals. He also vehemently protests that academic knowledge is only of theoretical nature. For example, Zanobi puts his studies in agriculture and science to practical ends by improving the agricultural revenues of his villas. Zanobi is distinguished by many virtues, but never vanity. Similarly,

53 Baldinucci, Notizie de' Professori del Disegno (Fn. 33), p. 269.
54 Coltellini, Il Cittadino Accademico (Fn. 2).
55 Ibid., p. 19.

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when Girolami and his wife die unexpectedly from a fever, the process of heroisation and sacralisation is completed by transforming the *cittadino accademico* into an *academico del Paradiso*.[56] This new kind of hero acknowledges the exemplarity of mankind by learning to develop his God-given intellect. Turning the acquisition of knowledge into an illustrious activity for Florentine men, Coltellini promotes a behavioral model for young men that deviates from the ideals of masculinity associated merely with chivalric bravery on the battleground. Coltellini's construction of Girolami as a hero unites traditional elements such as aristocratic social status with novel ones such as the acquisition and implementation of knowledge. Coltellini therefore constructs the image of a complex hero, borrowing from literary, scientific, and religious models, through the evocation of Girolami's afterlife in paradise. As Barbara M. Benedict has shown, the culture of curiosity in educated circles of the seventeenth century encapsulated a tendency to represent scientific inquiry through a heroic optic and rhetoric.[57] This strategy was amply developed by Galileo Galilei, whose writings presented scientific disagreements through the lens of heroic military combat.[58]

While the Accademia degli Apatisti's move away from the traditional heroic model fits into the pattern of the general decline of the epic poem, it also exemplifies a search for a stronger overlap between everyday culture and heroic ideals that are considered typical for the seventeenth century. The reinforcement of such models for heroic behavior can be associated with demands for attainability and realism of heroic ideals that informs Lorenzo Lippi's deconstruction of the model of the military hero.[59] That the merging of heroism and education must have been a long-running theme in this academy is also demonstrated by Benedetto Averani's lecture entitled *Se nelle donne si trovi eroica virtu* (Is heroism to be found in women?) and presented at an unknown date several decades later to the Accademia degli Apatisti.[60] Averani suggests that neither social status nor gender should automatically prevent anyone from becoming a hero. Rather, it is necessary that the hero's soul be filled with *sovrumano furore* (superhuman furor).[61] Since heroism is a gift given by God, it can also be present in women. Like Coltellini, Averani considers education as a necessary precondition for heroism and concedes that if heroic vir-

56 Ibid., p. 26.

57 Barbara M. Benedict, Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry, Chicago 2001. See, for example, her discussion of shaping scientific discoveries and biographies within the framework of heroic narrative, pp. 116, 195.

58 See the excellent Hall, Galileo's Reading (Fn. 19), pp. 44–70.

59 In fact, several authors identify the literary genre of mock-epic as a specifically bourgeois literary genre. See Barbara Simerka, Discourses of Empire: Counter-Epic Literature in Early Modern Spain, University Park, PA 2003. See also Gregory G. Colomb, Designs on Truth: The Poetics of the Augustan Mock-Epic, University Park, PA 1992.

60 Lezzione Decimaterza di Benedetto Averani detta nell' Accademia degli Apatisti "Se nelle Donne si trovi eroica Virtù", in: Raccolta di Prose Italiane contenente Lezioni, Vol. 3, Venice 1730, pp. 111–114.

61 Ibid., p.112.

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tue is found less frequently in women, it is due to cultural custom to bar women from education.[62] Averani claims that not biology – but the cultural circumstance that women are not raised like men – is responsible for their lack of ability for rationale in discourse and the fact that they are less frequently found in the role of heroes. Like Coltellini's treatise, Benedetto Averani's presentation at the Accademia degli Apatisti highlights the connection between heroism and education, cautioning that if a city does not provide good education, men that distinguish themselves through outstanding, heroic actions, will be in decline.

Conclusion

A comparison of Fioretti's, Lippi's, Coltellini's, and Averani's texts, each formulated within the context of the Accademia degli Apatisti, highlights the development of normative ideals concerning heroism that increasingly focus on a deconstruction of the figure of the martial hero and instead embrace models of heroism that can be emulated by male and even female citizens. In comparison to Fioretti, who indissolubly ties heroic status to masculinity and social status, Coltellini and Averani define heroism as a mix of (God-given) disposition and characteristics that can be diligently developed by education. The fact that both academicians understand heroism to be achieved through superior innate qualities in combination with diligently developed education establishes a parallel between their concepts of the 'heroic' with that of 'genius'.[63] This junction pushes the concept of heroism onto an intellectual level that is consequently combined with the idea of social attainability for everyone. In many ways, institutions such as the Accademia degli Apatisti incorporate essential aspects described by Jürgen Habermas' establishment of the bourgeois public sphere.[64] Like Habermas' model, which suggests that the bourgeoisie replaced the court and undermined its monopoly of public representation, academies such as the Apatisti were key institutions in establishing a new 'public' based on a reorientation and transformation of traditional cultural patterns.

62 Ibid., p. 113. On the concept of 'heroic virtue' (*virtus heroic*), see Martin Disselkamp, Barockheroismus: Konzeptionen 'politischer' Größe in Literatur und Traktatistik des 17. Jahrhunderts (Frühe Neuzeit; 65), Tübingen 2002, pp. 24–54.

63 See for example the definition of 'genius' and its link with heroism in Philip P. Wiener (Ed.), Dictionary of the History of Ideas, Vol. 2, New York 1973, pp. 293–297.

64 Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, Cambridge, MA 1989.

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Image 1: Malcolm Campbell, Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace: a Study of the Planetary Rooms and Related Projects, Princeton, NJ 1977, ill. 22.

Image 2: Perlone Zipoli, Il Malmantile Racquistato colle note di Puccio Lamoni e d'altri, Florence 1750, Frontispiece.

Image 3: Agostino Coltellini, Il cittadino accademico riconosciuto nella vita del signore Zanobi di Giuliano Girolami gentiluomo fiorentino da Agostino Coltellini accd. apat. Al sereniss. principe Leopoldo di Toscana, Florence 1656, Frontispiece.

Image 4: Jacques Callot, Frontispiece of The Paupers, British Museum (inv. X, 4.211), 1622–23, ©Trustees of the British Museum.

Image 5: Jacques Callot, Village, The Large Miseries of War, Plate 4: Rogue Soldiers Escaping from an Inn They Have Just Looted. c. 1633, British Museum (inv. 1861,0713.767), 1633, © Trustees of the British Museum.

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