

# Intellectuals for Hire: Iberian Men of Letters and Papal Politics in Bologna during the Thirty Years' War<sup>1</sup>

by *Fabien Montcher*

When Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) left Rome in 1634 to go work for King Louis XIII of France and Cardinal Richelieu in Paris, the international market to recruit men of letters in Europe was already in full bloom<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, the departure of the controversial Dominican for France was a symptom of broader intellectual circulations promoted by Late Renaissance conflicts. Many scholars took advantage of troubled diplomatic relations to sell their services to the most generous patrons during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), especially around the year 1635<sup>3</sup>. Their circulations reinforced the ideal of an international community of scholars (e. g. Republic of Letters) and proved fundamental for intelligence systems in need of updated and exclusive political information amid brutal and long-running conflicts. The frenetic pace of learned communications that ran parallel to open warfare required constant circulations of well-informed men of letters who acted as informal political agents<sup>4</sup>. Men of letters such as Campanella were recruited due to the experiences they had accumulated working for multiple patrons and governments, often at the same time<sup>5</sup>.

This article questions the meaning of such recruitments in the redefinition of Papal state politics during the Thirty Years' War. More particularly, it reflects on the writing tactics and the scholarly practices that "marginal men of letters," used for career-building at a time when Rome was reinventing its image as capital of the Catholic World. Using an actor-centered perspective, this article shows how now-forgotten men of letters secured protection at the heart of power politics even while ostensibly operating at its margins. Questions related to how they exploited their self-fashioning strategies and sense of communal belonging for professional gain will guide this exploration into the lives of men who contributed from situations of displacement – often exile – to securing political communication throughout the Republic of Letters during troubled times.

Fabien Montcher, Saint Louis University, Department of History; [fabien.montcher@slu.edu](mailto:fabien.montcher@slu.edu).

*Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica*,  
2/2019, pp. 179-210

ISSN 1125-517X  
© Carocci Editore S.p.A.

## I

**Men of Letters “On Probation”**

The recruitment of men of letters in Rome during the mid-seventeenth century offers a case of special interest for the analysis of intellectual enlistment campaigns during the Late Renaissance. Under Urban VIII's pontificate (1621-1644), the Holy See reasserted its profile as conflict mediator. Peace campaigns during the 1620s and 1630s generated opportunities for contacts between foreign men of letters and politicians working around the Pope. Such campaigns promoted the representation of the Pope as a neutral ruler anxious to secure for the Papacy a place in the European imperial order which was being renegotiated throughout the Thirty Year's War. Far from working on behalf of a coherent and unilateral form of Papal politics, recently recruited men of letters had to make their way through a complex and highly competitive environment. This environment was not limited to the physical boundaries of the city of Rome and these men were often first employed on the basis of other relationships of patronage they maintained outside Papal politics.

Numerous scholars served the Popes and papal interests from the late sixteenth century until the mid-seventeenth century. Together, they constituted a hive of intellectual workers whose analysis has too often been restricted to scholars who achieved social and political prominence in the very hierarchical Roman intellectual scene. The study of the lives of more “expendable” collaborators who worked next to such figures is important because it reveals a divided map of political communication across the interpersonal administration of the Papacy and the intellectual networks of the Republic of Letters<sup>6</sup>. Indeed, the period under scrutiny in this article (mid-1630s-early 1640s) has often been associated with a monolithic representation of Urban VIII's papacy, one that overemphasizes its anti-Spanish turn and does not take into account the contradictory political tendencies that affected the diverse members of the Barberini family during this time. At the end of the 1620s and early 1630s, a new generation of worker bees joined the papal “hive” – a metaphor which has often been associated to the pontificate of Urban VIII and more broadly to the Holy See over the *longue durée*<sup>7</sup>.

Among the many bees that were recruited, of special interest were those proceeding from the Iberian Empire (1580-1640), including both the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies. Baroque Rome measured its renewed aspirations to political universalism during the Thirty Years' War in contrast, if not in opposition, with those of the Iberian Empire, even

though it relied on longstanding intellectual collaborations with scholars who belonged to that empire. Around the year 1640, transcontinental conflicts and inner revolts weakened the undisputed supremacy of the Iberian Empire in Western Europe. Even though Roman authorities pretended to not take sides, Iberian – and particularly Portuguese – collaborations proved to be fundamental when Urban VIII tried to undermine the reputation of Spain through learned publications. In other words, during the 1620s and 1630s, Urban VIII (especially between the late 1620s, amid the war of Mantua and the late 1630s, when the tensions with Spain reached their apex) saw an opportunity to weigh in on the European balance of power by borrowing knowledge and scholars from the Iberian worlds.

For its part, the Spanish monarchy relied heavily on scholarly recruits proceeding from its Italian territories. More generally, the Italian Peninsula was perceived as an intellectual quarry by King Philip IV's prime minister, the Count Duke of Olivares<sup>8</sup>. Though the recruitment functioned in both directions, "brain drain" from the Iberian worlds to the Italian Peninsula is less well-known. Adding to the understanding of the other important component of these knowledge circulations is one of the principal goals of this article.

Rome may have been an important target for scholars looking for patrons, but not all men of letters who sought refuge in the city necessarily gained access to its prestigious institutions. In fact, the internal diplomacy of the Papal states was used by the Pope and his closest creatures to test potential new recruits, who were often sent elsewhere for a probationary period. Key cities such as Bologna provided an excellent laboratory in which new recruits familiarized themselves with Papal policies on the frontier<sup>9</sup>. Located at the northern end of the Pope's estates in the Italian Peninsula, Bologna was a strategic site where many exiles arrived to ask for protection, especially from northern, central and eastern Europe. Far more than a simple frontier town, Bologna operated as a center for scholarly recruitment. Many scholars arrived in the city and converted to Catholicism while hoping to serve the pope at the Vatican.

Bologna was also a strategic place from which Papal rivalries with powers such as Venice and Florence were cultivated. In addition, the city counted on a long tradition of intellectual exchanges with the Iberian worlds, including the Americas, since the early fifteenth hundreds. These exchanges played an important role in the triangular intellectual circulations between Northern Europe, the Italian Peninsula and the Iberian Worlds that contributed to promote Papal politics during the

mid-seventeenth century<sup>10</sup>. For these reasons, Iberian scholars recently arrived in Rome were often sent to Bologna to prove themselves worthy of attention and protection. During the mid-1630s, when tensions reached their peak between the Pope and the King of Spain, the presence of Iberian men of letters and political dissenters was especially welcome. These men were able to take advantage of longstanding intellectual exchanges between the Papacy and the Iberian Peninsula. While trying to neutralize and Romanize Spanish dreams of universalism, they were tasked to find a way out of the conflicts of jurisdiction that had plagued the relationships between the Catholic King of Spain and the Pope for centuries.

Thus, rather than conceiving of Bologna as a marginal space in relation to Roman politics, this city should be considered as one of the main centers through which the papacy received news from the world and transformed that news into political materials. Connected to port cities such as Ancona, Bologna operated at the core of the polycentric organization of the Papal states and in the middle of a hub of connections with Northern European and Mediterranean worlds<sup>11</sup>. The analysis of scholarly correspondences from and about Bologna unveils a more complex set of political and intellectual relations. This article uses the correspondence that the famous antiquarian and member of the Academy of the Lincei, Cassiano Dal Pozzo (1588-1657), maintained with the Portuguese scholar Vicente Nogueira (1586-1654), beginning just after the latter's arrival in Rome in 1635<sup>12</sup>. Other correspondences such as for example the one that Nogueira established with Cardinal Francesco Barberini will complement the picture presented by my analysis of the Dal Pozzo-Nogueira correspondence. Ultimately Nogueira's early Italian correspondences reveal the strategies he used in order to be recruited first by the Papal Legate in Bologna, Giulio Sacchetti, and then by Francesco Barberini.

## 2

### **Translating Iberian Credentials to a New Social and Political Context**

A few months after his arrival in Rome, Nogueira followed Cardinal Sacchetti in his legation to Bologna. Between 1636 and 1640, he maintained a sustained correspondence with Cassiano Dal Pozzo in parallel to the one he conducted with the Papal nephew, Francesco Barberini, trying to gain the latter's confidence to secure a return to Rome. Connected readings of his letters to Dal Pozzo and Barberini provide original insights on Sacchetti's legation and into the ways in which an Iberian scholar

experienced a town that he defined as “cold as purgatory” right after returning from his exile in Brazil (1633-1635)<sup>13</sup>. Between 1636 and 1640 in Bologna, Nogueira dealt with both internal and foreign affairs while trying to secure his way back to the “city of the afflicted (Rome)”<sup>14</sup>.

Before his exile from Portugal by the Holy Office in 1633, Nogueira spent his youth at the Spanish court of Philip II and Philip III of Spain. His father was a jurist/counselor of the council of Portugal which was created by Philip II after the union of the crowns between Spain and Portugal in 1580. At court, Nogueira received an education in laws and attended the most prestigious universities of Castile and Portugal. Not long after finishing his studies at Coimbra, he joined the judicial administration of the Kingdom of Portugal in the early 1610s. During this time, Nogueira made many acquaintances across the Republic of Letters. After his first troubles with the Inquisition in 1614 and renouncing to his career as a jurist in 1618, he decided to expand such acquaintances by dedicating himself to humanistic studies and literary patronage<sup>15</sup>.

The trajectory which led Nogueira from Iberia to Italy after an Atlantic exile parallels the experiences of other men of letters who during the 1620s opposed the Count-Duke of Olivares’ pro-war politics and suffered exile at the beginning of the 1630s<sup>16</sup>. During the late 1610s and 1620s, Nogueira joined the chapter of the Cathedral of Lisbon. This is when his enmities with Philip IV’s prime minister festered and reached a point of no return. Until that point, he received the support of influential friends who helped him remain safe despite his open criticism of the Holy Office and Olivares’ politics. Nogueira had also relied on literary patronage to defend his political opinions. Despite his efforts, and after the death of Baltasar de Zúñiga – Olivares’ uncle and Nogueira’s main protector – his “long ruin” began<sup>17</sup>. This ruin reached its climax in 1631 with his inquisitorial trial and subsequent exile to the São Tomé and escape to South America.

Nogueira’s arrival in Rome coincided with Spain’s deepening involvement in the Thirty Years’ War. The French declaration of war against Philip IV and the attacks of the Dutch on Pernambuco in 1635 polarized anti-Spanish feelings all across Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic. Such tensions generated a propitious context for Iberian dissenters seeking their fortunes outside the Iberian monarchies. They were sought after by foreign powers who wished to obtain information from their enemy. From a Roman perspective, the opportunity to rely on Iberian men of letters was seen as beneficial for supporting mediation efforts between Spain and its enemies while maintaining a neutral though

distant relationship with the monarchy of Philip IV under Urban VIII's pontificate.

Upon his arrival in Rome, Nogueira wrote about the earlier acquaintances he had made in Spain and Portugal with representatives of Urban VIII's diplomacy. In his earliest Italian letters, Nogueira mentioned how he already knew Giulio Sacchetti, prior to accompanying him to Bologna. He claimed to have met or corresponded with the Cardinal when the latter was Papal Nuncio to Madrid between 1624 and 1626. In Madrid, he also met Giovanni de Medici (1567-1621), an art broker and political informant who introduced him to Galileo's works, and probably with Curzio Inghirami, the heir of a family of Florentine patricians (see allusions to this figure further ahead in this article), who visited Spain during the 1620s<sup>18</sup>. As in his political-personal publishing strategies in the Lisbon editorial market, such allusions proved useful since they allowed him to reveal in his letters multiple relations of patronage with Roman and Florentine subjects while presenting himself as full rights-bearing member of the Republic of Letters. Indeed, one of his main correspondents in Rome, the antiquarian Cassiano Dal Pozzo, had travelled in Spain with Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1626. The two men had been received in Madrid by Sacchetti while trying to convince the King of Spain to make peace with France in relation to Northern Italian conflicts. During their time in Spain, Barberini and Dal Pozzo made connections with Iberian men of letters. Such connections would have long lasting effects on the intellectual relations and diplomacy between the Spanish and Italian Peninsula during Pope Urban VIII's pontificate and even afterward under Pope Innocent X. Though Nogueira was probably in Lisbon when Francesco Barberini and Dal Pozzo arrived in Spain, the fact that he mentioned to Dal Pozzo having served Sacchetti when in Madrid worked as a proof of mutual involvement in overlapping networks of patronage<sup>19</sup>. As an Iberian newcomer who had just suffered an Inquisitorial condemnation and who had escaped to Brazil to avoid it – Nogueira, who first appeared in Rome under the pseudonym Francesco della Noia – needed to translate his credentials to generate some trust with his new correspondents.

During the months that followed his landing in Rome and subsequent departure to Bologna, Nogueira overemphasized his Iberian background and the connections he had established from there with Rome to avoid making unwanted references to his inquisitorial troubles and political break with the Spanish Monarchy. Like other Portuguese that lived in Rome during the period of the Iberian Union of the Crowns, Nogueira

was considered to be a Spaniard. It was thus crucial for him to keep active connections with the Iberian worlds. By doing so, Nogueira insisted on the fact that his troubles with the Inquisition in Lisbon had been the result of a conspiracy orchestrated by the Count-Duke of Olivares<sup>20</sup>. He wanted to let his Roman patrons know that he did not suffer from the taint of any infamy and that he had always been a loyal servant, ready to serve anyone other than Olivares.

In his attempt to downplay the loss of reputation caused by his inquisitorial arrest, revealing it for it “really was” – a political conspiracy – Nogueira explained to Dal Pozzo and Barberini how his Roman connections had played in his favor during his trial. Worried about the harsh competition among the inflated market of men of letters who in Rome wanted to serve members of the Papal family, Nogueira went back even further in time, beyond the 1620s, to establish a list of distinctions he received from Rome when residing in the Iberian Peninsula. In the first letters he wrote to Dal Pozzo and Barberini, he mentioned the license to read prohibited books “without any restriction” that Pope Paul V and Cardinal Robert Bellarmine granted to him in 1617<sup>21</sup>. Allusions to such a privilege constituted an occasion for Nogueira to strengthen his profile as a loyal servant. As a “Referendario” of the Roman *Cancellaria* and as someone who possessed a rare license to read prohibited books, Nogueira emphasized his merits, qualifications, and services on behalf of the Holy See, recalling that he defended it “with all his strength in jurisdictional matters, while doing on its behalf many other things that only the Papal collector in Portugal knew about”<sup>22</sup>.

While in Bologna, Nogueira often alluded to his original license to read prohibited books in order to obtain its renewal. This was part of a strategy which aimed to recover the privileges he lost after his inquisitorial condemnation. By alluding to the non-renewal of his license, Nogueira found a way to let his Italian correspondents know that this impediment to his scholarship fit into a broader set of injustices that needed to be corrected. At the time, the Papacy was concerned about the significance of Nogueira’s previous trial, since his arrest has been due, in addition to charges of crime of sodomy, to a conflict of jurisdiction that opposed the Bishop of Lisbon and the Holy Office, and that ultimately was related to Papal jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Portugal. On 28 June 1631, the Vatican sent a letter asking Philip IV of Spain and the Inquisitorial tribunal of Lisbon to deal with Nogueira’s case with care since he was a “*persona molto sospetta in fede e notoriamente malo in costumi*” and if treated too harshly he could damage the reputation of the Church just as



Campanella and Galileo's trials had done<sup>23</sup>. Was Nogueira aware of this letter when writing to Dal Pozzo and Barberini to argue about long-lasting connections he had already established with Rome prior to his expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula? It is difficult to know, but it is clear that when in Bologna, Nogueira built on such connections to recover the fame and patrimony he had lost since his inquisitorial arrest. Well aware of the tensions between Spain, Portugal and the Holy See, Nogueira showed that as an informal political informant, a jurist, and a man of letters working for the Pope's legate in Bologna, he could use to his advantage multiple Roman networks through which the politics related to these tensions were channeled and negotiated<sup>24</sup>.

Nogueira also mentioned to Dal Pozzo and Barberini that two years after receiving his Papal license to read prohibited books, he obtained the prestigious title of *Referendario* of the two signatures (Grace and Justice) at the Papal *Cancellaria* in 1619<sup>25</sup>. The mention of such title was a good reminder for his correspondents that he was first and foremost a "*juris utriusque sacerdote licentiate*". His experience working in the judicial administration of the kingdom of Portugal, should thus secure him an equal, if not even more special, treatment among the scholars that gathered around Sacchetti in Bologna. The Papal Legate needed jurists, in particular since his legation consisted of securing public safety, consolidating Papal criminal and civil jurisdiction, dealing with economic matters related to Venice, consolidating the prestige of the university, and promoting educational reforms concerning the young aristocrats of the city<sup>26</sup>.

For Nogueira, a stay in Bologna in close contact with Sacchetti's circle was an opportunity to access Venetian politics, as well as the book market and learned institutions of that city. Moreover, from the perspective of the Papal Legate, relying on a man such as Nogueira provided a way to organize learned polemics with the Grand Duchy of Tuscany or the Spanish diplomats who were well established in Bologna, Florence, Venice, and Milan. Far from being estranged from Roman politics, staying in Bologna proved to be the perfect place to launch a career that would ultimately end in the Vatican courts of justice and Roman learned institutions.

Despite what looks like an ideal situation and location, however, Nogueira never ceased to complain about the lack of attention from Sacchetti in Bologna<sup>27</sup>. Along with artists such as Pietro da Cortona (1596/7-1669), Guido Reni (1575-1642), and Giovanni Francesco Guercino (1591-1661), or scholars who worked at the university – like his



friend the philosopher Fortunio Liceti (1577-1657) – Nogueira was eager to take part in a vibrant intellectual community congregated around the Papal Legate<sup>28</sup>. By remaining close to this group of “bees,” Nogueira secured his participation in artistic and editorial projects promoted by the Pope and his family<sup>29</sup>. When Sacchetti was named *Prefetto della signatura* and called back to Rome in 1640, Nogueira would rely on his experience in the Papal dominions of Northern Italy to consolidate his inclusion in these projects. His return to Rome at Sacchetti’s side in the *Cancelleria* might have been motivated by the fact that both men counted on a long experience with Iberian affairs. In addition, after the beginning of the Portuguese restoration in December 1640, the presence of an Iberian jurist such as Nogueira in Rome was important for the informal diplomatic communications held between the new king of Portugal John IV and the Papacy, who did not recognize the former’s sovereignty until 1669, leaving space during almost twenty years for agents like him to play an important role in the political negotiations between the two powers.

### 3

#### **Strengthening the Political Profile of Intellectuals through the Networks of the Republic of Letters**

Once settled in Bologna, Nogueira had to prove himself worthy of Sacchetti’s attention, despite the fact that the two men might have corresponded or even met in Madrid a decade or so earlier. Nogueira used his correspondence with Dal Pozzo to map and reveal the extent of his friendships throughout the Republic of Letters. His earliest letters are plagued with name-dropping. He claimed friendships and connections with luminaries like the French polymath, Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc, the learned-libertine, Jean-Jacques Bouchard, and the Greek *scriptor* of the Vaticana, Leone Allacci, among others<sup>30</sup>. Nogueira knew that his letters were circulating among potential patrons in their manuscript versions or copies<sup>31</sup>. His ultimate goal was to reinforce the legibility of his skills and profile before a new audience. The letters constituted an excellent avenue to publicize his Iberian legal, linguistic, and historical expertise within a broader set of intellectual networks involved in papal politics.

Nogueira’s stay in Bologna coincided with a reform project of the intellectual landscape of the city and its university. Sacchetti was personally committed with the reconfiguration of the academic disciplines curricula

at the university. Nogueira's friend, Fortunio Liceti, who was a former colleague of Galileo and a regular correspondent of French book-hunters like Gabriel Naudé, had moved from Padua to Bologna as part of the university reforms promoted by Sacchetti. Nogueira notified Dal Pozzo about Liceti's move since both men knew each other and were committed to supporting one another. In 1640, while Nogueira continued to inform Dal Pozzo about his friend's recent renewal at the university, Liceti dedicated to Nogueira his *De Quaesitis per epistolas a Claris viris*<sup>32</sup>. The two men shared the feeling of solidarity of being part of a group of scholars, which had been recruited to support Sacchetti's reform of the political and intellectual landscape of the city. Such politics of recruitment and the friendship created between Nogueira and Liceti were part and parcel of the strategies promoted by the Papal Legate in order to create a spirit of solidarity, fellowship, and loyalty among its new recruits. These affective strategies gave coherence to the very diverse constellation of intellectual and political networks which were presented as if wholly articulated from Rome.<sup>33</sup>

Nogueira's presence in Bologna coincided with another level of service that transcended city politics. His correspondences with Sacchetti, Barberini, and Dal Pozzo, allowed him to work as an informant specialized in Iberian matters. Not too long after his arrival, Francesco Barberini redirected to Nogueira a letter/questionnaire that Peiresc had sent inquiring about the current status of languages, literatures, historiographies and many other areas of knowledge that Peiresc had difficulty accessing in Spain.<sup>34</sup> Barberini asked Nogueira to produce an updated report on the intellectual landscape of Spain from the reign of Philip II of Spain to the present. These commands represented an opportunity for Nogueira to show that – despite his exile – he was able to provide useful information about Spain based on both his past experience and on his active communications with the Iberian Peninsula.

Nogueira duly informed Peiresc – through Barberini – about the local languages spoken in the Iberian Peninsula, while giving him a sense of the most influential Spanish historians and writers. In this report, Nogueira also took advantage of the open channel into the Republic of Letters to communicate his criticism against the politics of the Count Duke of Olivares, who he held responsible for his disgrace. Nogueira stated his independence from Olivares explicitly, clearing up any doubt that he might be acting as a double agent in the Papal hive on behalf of Spain<sup>35</sup>.

The connection with Peiresc from Bologna through Barberini and Dal Pozzo shows that, from early on, Nogueira acquired a voice in the

Republic of Letters that both Roman and French officials relied on when trying to ease diplomatic communication between Rome and the French monarchy. Peiresc offered to Francesco Barberini a contact point with the representatives of French Gallicanism in Paris and ultimately to the workshops and political *milieux* that surrounded Cardinal Richelieu in Paris<sup>36</sup>. Nogueira was well aware that his voice would not only reach the three men involved in answering Peiresc, but contribute to integrating him deeper among the Barberini's bees as a learned informant.

Nogueira's report to Peiresc formed part of a broader set of learned communication and bibliographic exchanges between Nogueira and European representatives of the Republic of Letters. When in Bologna, he counted on the popularity of Spanish and Portuguese literature to secure his position as one of its main brokers in the Italian Peninsula. Works such as the Spanish and Italian editions (the Italian one dedicated to Cardinal Antonio Barberini) of the epistolary of John of Ávila passed through Nogueira's hands reinforcing the taste for Spanish mysticism that Italian Jesuits developed during the first part of the seventeenth century in Rome<sup>37</sup>. In his report to Peiresc, Nogueira praised the quality of the modern editions of the works of the Spanish jurist and expert in Arabic and Phoenician forgeries, Gregorio López Madera (1562-1649), and even older works by Ausiàs March (translated by Juan Boscán) and Juan de Mena (compared by Nogueira to Dante), or writings on King Pedro IV (1319-1387), as well as Castilian, Portuguese, Andalusian and Aragonese chronicles<sup>38</sup>. According to Nogueira, such editions were equivalent or even superior to the best ones crafted in the Italian peninsula. Next to Rome and Florence, Bologna still constituted at the mid-seventeenth century a key center for the reception of Spanish and Portuguese literature. Nogueira contributed to that reception by facilitating the circulations of the *Anotaciones a la poesía de Garcilaso* by the Poet from Seville, Fernando de Herrera (1534-1597), or books authored or sponsored by King Alfonso X (1221-1284) and the late medieval Castilian poet, the first Marquis of Santillana (1398-1458). These references constituted a corpus which would be paramount for any Italian patron who wished to remain in conversation with the literary canon (traditions and innovations) of Iberian Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque literatures across Western Europe by the mid-seventeenth century.

In one picaresque example, Nogueira ended up recommending above all the *Lazarillo de Tormes* to Francesco Barberini for his library<sup>39</sup>. Along with maps and books that contained sensitive political information, Nogueira commented on the craze that the *Lazarillo* had generated in Spain

and its importance for understanding current Iberian imperial hegemony. In his letters, he merged Spanish literature with displays of erudition and political advice, commenting that the blend of these ingredients should be part of any great library which aimed to distinguish the good taste of its owners beyond common and obvious references to classics. With such comments, Nogueira secured for himself a bibliographic market that assured that he would keep in touch with editorial novelties published in Spain and Portugal, as well as with a buoyant market of translated Iberian literature and erudition all over Europe.

Next to picaresque masterpieces, Nogueira added references to Spanish historiographical milestones such as the list of Andalusian aristocracy by the antiquarian and genealogist, Gonzalo Argote de Molina (1548-1596) or the manuscript of the archaeological *Viaje* of the royal historiographer of Philip II, Ambrosio de Morales (1513-1591). The introduction of such references in his report allowed Nogueira to orient the attention of his readers toward political matters concerning the functioning of the Iberian monarchies and information about his own situation while still living in Spain and Portugal, which served to buttress his reputation as a legal expert. For example, Nogueira mentioned how he and his friend, Tomás Tamayo y Vargas, one of Philip IV's royal historiographers, had plans to edit Morales's *Viaje* before Nogueira's inquisitorial arrest in 1631. Nogueira mentioned how Tamayo y Vargas was thinking about dedicating the end result to him. Beyond the value of such allusions to unpublished works and manuscripts, Nogueira found a way to communicate about his disgrace. After his trial and when in Bologna, these dedications were still performing as documentary evidence for Nogueira's self-fashioning strategies as a man of letters who suffered political injustices<sup>40</sup>.

Nogueira's bibliographical references also demonstrated that his knowledge about the collections themselves, their locations and owners, allowed his new protectors and friends to map Iberian resources from afar<sup>41</sup>. Nogueira informed Peiresc how the library of the canon of Seville, Luciano de Negrón was bought in 1606 by the III Duke of Alcalá, one of the most important bibliophiles and art collectors in the city<sup>42</sup>. Even though Nogueira never met Negrón or the Duke in person, he showed with this reference his extensive knowledge of libraries in Spain, and by default his capacity to access them if needed. Through the means of catalogues and references similar to the one concerning Negrón's library, European Republicans of Letters were eager to receive such information. News about the geographic location, contents, and ownership of libraries and archives all offered them the ability to survey

stocks of bibliographical materials that could be mobilized at a distance by agents like Nogueira.

The ability to map and circulate general images of libraries and archives through lists, reports, and catalogues – all contained in correspondences – contributed to the symbolic surveying of learned Spanish arsenals from a Roman perspective<sup>43</sup>. Much of Nogueira's activity in the Italian Peninsula consisted of offering to produce such lists for patrons and to organize bibliographic exchanges amid wars. This is how he and other scholars who had been recruited by Francesco Barberini generated political communication among political entities that could not formalize official alliances nor recognize each other, as was the case between the Pope and John IV of Portugal after 1640.

Bibliographical matters were highly political. Discussing the theory and practice of politics through the content and the form of books made possible professional stability for men like Nogueira. A baroque taste for control, representation, and preservation meant that foreign collections could be activated from afar if needed, through the aforementioned anecdotes, lists, and reports which Nogueira could access. In this context, library plundering and bibliographical transfers of second-hand books operated as both collateral damage in war scenarios and as an active commerce that fostered intellectual connections across the Republic of Letters. This explains why Nogueira insisted in his correspondence on presenting himself as a librarian who was able to survey and digest large amounts of information and convey that information in a comprehensive manner in his letters. In his correspondence, he explained how his ruin in the Iberian Peninsula had been accelerated by a treatise he wrote on how to organize libraries<sup>44</sup>. Nogueira compared himself to contemporary book-hunters and political theorists, such as Gabriel Naudé (both men shared overlapping friend networks and knew about each other), who like him served cardinals and who, unlike him, would end up consolidating themselves in prestigious positions as librarians. Nogueira wanted to position himself among an international network of librarians who circulated across courts, spreading theoretical and practical advices about books as a form of political expertise<sup>45</sup>.

His tactics of distinction were not limited to his Iberian background. He took great care to present himself as a scholar who could work anywhere and in line with a broader intellectual tradition which had its roots in late sixteenth-century cultures of knowledge in the Italian Peninsula. After hearing about the death of Peiresc in 1637, Nogueira wrote letters to Dal Pozzo and Barberini in which he compared the French scholar

to a modern Gian Vincenzo Pinello, Galileo's master. Nogueira showed his familiarity with scientists who had animated many early seventeenth century intellectual debates in the Italian peninsula. Slowly but surely, he was amplifying his familiarity with circles such as the one connected to the Lincei, to which Dal Pozzo and Galileo – who was also one of Nogueira's correspondents by that time – belonged or frequented<sup>46</sup>.

As a book-hunter and a would-be librarian, however, Nogueira needed to go one step further by comparing his resources and even competing in his correspondence with scholars who remained in Rome. He enquired several times to Dal Pozzo about Lucas Holstenius, another man of letters who had been recruited as the head librarian of the Barberini library<sup>47</sup>. Like Nogueira, upon his arrival in Rome, Holstenius travelled the Italian Peninsula in search of books and manuscripts for the library of the Barberini. Even Nogueira had relied on Holstenius to access the library and was well aware that the latter was better positioned than he was to take the direction of the library<sup>48</sup>. Though Nogueira rejoiced in his letters about Holstenius's promotion, he could not dissimulate his jealousy. Later in his correspondence with Dal Pozzo, Nogueira used Holstenius's example for leverage when asking for a similar promotion<sup>49</sup>. Allusions to Holstenius provided a precedent when asking Francesco Barberini for the salary that Nogueira claimed to deserve. Almost two years after Holstenius's appointment, Nogueira mentioned to Dal Pozzo the money that the former made with Barberini, pointing out a substantial difference of treatment between German and Spanish officials<sup>50</sup>.

Nogueira's Spanish background revealed his prejudices in some cases but it also operated as a business card when consolidating relationships with Roman patrons<sup>51</sup>. In his letters to Dal Pozzo, Nogueira alluded several times to the Dominican theologian, Niccolò Riccardi (1585-1639), known in Rome as father Mostro. Riccardi has been appointed Master of the Sacred Palace in 1629, which granted him direct power over matters related to the concession of licenses to read prohibited books. In addition to his involvement in Galileo's trial and opposition to Campanella, Riccardi had studied in Spain with Tomás de Lemos, the famous preacher of king Philip III in Valladolid. He was thus familiar with Nogueira's intellectual world when studying in the universities of Castile, especially Valladolid. Riccardi was an expert in politics related to bibliographic matters and certainly understood the significance of Nogueira's efforts to renew his old license and use it for leverage to advance his position in the Barberini hive. Like Nogueira, Riccardi had spent considerable time learning about history. He even wrote a synopsis of the History of the Council of Trent

against the Venetian historian Paolo Sarpi, and in 1638 collaborated with a committee in charge of preparing a version of the Bible in Arabic<sup>52</sup>. Nogueira's references to the work of Mostro in his correspondence with Dal Pozzo did not only emphasize career similitude and mutual interests for Arabic and history<sup>53</sup>. His allusions to Riccardi implied that he had sufficient personal connections that he could go serve other patrons at any time. Considering the fact that Riccardi was not on best terms with Francesco Barberini during Nogueira's time in Bologna, this is an example of how Nogueira used his correspondence with Dal Pozzo to put pressure on Francesco Barberini, who in addition to Sacchetti, could precipitate his good fate in the Italian peninsula.

When in Bologna, Nogueira did not escape the highly competitive settings that conditioned Bolognese and Roman learned sociability. He did his best to weigh in on such competitive relations, using his letters as devices to translate his Iberian experiences into a legible curriculum vita. His letters functioned as platforms through which political advice was channeled. Through them, Nogueira found a way to vindicate himself as a librarian attuned to intellectual traditions that transcended the particularities of the lives of intellectuals who during the 1630s sought refuge in Rome.

Instead of the unified world of knowledge congregated around the Barberinis, as it has been so often portrayed, the Roman world was politically divided and geographically fragmented. This explains the high degree of competition that Nogueira faced during his time in Bologna. His case is a reminder that Roman learned communities were well connected with other spaces and networks across the Italian Peninsula but also across the Republic of Letters. During his stay in Bologna, Nogueira relied on all the resources he had in order to consolidate his position in this complex world. In addition to his Iberian background and his participation in a broad Republic of Letters, he also needed to focus on regional logics, politics, and polemics, to make himself worthy of advancement in the *Città Eterna*.

#### 4 Expertise in Translation

Nogueira's recruitment strategy may appear rather abstract without considering the difficulties and economic challenges that he experienced prior to his arrival in Bologna, after two years of exile, travelling the seas and hiding out in sugar mills in Brazil. The financial aspect weighed a great



deal on scholarly strategies, and the theme is recurrent in his correspondence. For example, when serving Sacchetti in Bologna, Nogueira relied heavily on stipends from Rome. One way to make a claim for higher quantities depended on his ability to communicate about his skills as a jurist. In his correspondence with Barberini and Dal Pozzo, Nogueira kept repeating that he wanted to be considered as a jurist, arguing that his Iberian formation in law could be relevant in the Bolognese and Roman contexts. Nogueira was well aware that the challenges that Sacchetti faced during his legation were linked to legal intricacies. In order to solve such intricacies, Sacchetti needed to recruit men of letters capable of dealing with conflicts of jurisdiction inherent to Papal borders and politics at both the local and international level. The commerce of books, especially histories and genealogies, proved useful for Nogueira since they granted him the tools necessary to solve legal problems at both levels. Nogueira kept repeating that he wanted to be seated before Francesco Barberini, so that the cardinal could appreciate that his skills solving complicated cases were unparalleled by any other jurist working on behalf of the Pope<sup>54</sup>.

In addition to his statement about his legal expertise, Nogueira publicized his bad health with the hope of securing more funds. In his correspondence, he invoked familiar *topoi* of learned correspondence that aimed to present the pain-wracked body of the impoverished scholar looking for favors and benefits. As an exiled subject, Nogueira knew that he needed to diversify his sources of income. One way to do so was to argue that the Pope and the Church had power enough to restore the ecclesiastical status and the benefices he had lost after his inquisitorial condemnation. In relation to his economic needs, Nogueira hoped that due to his connections with Portugal and Francesco Barberini's status as Cardinal Protector of Sicily, Aragon, and Portugal (since 1626), he would obtain the rents of ecclesiastical benefices available there. When in Bologna, Nogueira did not obtain much from Portuguese benefices, but he was granted an affiliation to the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso in Rome, which was the Church of the Palazzo of the *Cancelleria*, the tribunal with which Nogueira would ultimately collaborate, after Sacchetti's appointment as prefect of the Signature in 1640<sup>55</sup>.

After a series of difficult first months in Bologna, Nogueira's incomes benefited from his residence near Sacchetti, who called upon his services for an affair of historical forgeries. This affair, known today as *The Scarith of Scornello*, offered Nogueira the opportunity to demonstrate his skills in matters of historical and legal erudition, while it also provided him with an opportunity to expand his scholarly network<sup>56</sup>. Sacchetti asked

Nogueira to write a preliminary report on the discovery of alleged Etruscan artefacts and rolls (*Scariths*) that a young aristocrat, Curzio Inghirami, whose family was well positioned at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in Florence, had unearthed around his estate in La Volterra<sup>57</sup>. Nogueira relied on his experience with similar cases in the Iberian context (in particular the Arabic lead books of Granada) to debunk the forgery thanks to a method based on the critical analysis of the material, linguistic, and philological contents of the unearthed artefacts<sup>58</sup>.

This is not the space to discuss such a method, even though the emphasis that Nogueira put on it demonstrates that such episodes were occasions for men of letters like him to debate scholarly matters, such as for example the use of sensory analysis in historical artefact authentication processes. This episode provided an excellent opportunity for Nogueira to show off and test scholarly skills that could be useful for political career building<sup>59</sup>. What is worth underlining here is the fact that in the report he wrote about Inghirami's forgeries, Nogueira constructed a parallel discourse in which he publicized autobiographical information related to his expertise as a jurist and an expert in languages<sup>60</sup>. His report was well received among his peers and soon enough, its contents was communicated beyond the limits of the Roman diplomatic networks<sup>61</sup>. If Nogueira obtained some fame across the Republic of Letters thanks to his report on the Scarith, his reputation was simultaneously put in jeopardy, given the political interests that lay behind Inghirami's historical joke.

The affair provoked one of Nogueira's first intervention in Papal politics. Even if he had already put himself at risk while living in a precarious position in Bologna, when it came to writing against a powerful Florentine family, Nogueira took advantage of the situation to reveal the long-lasting relationships that had been existing between him, his family, the Inghirami family, and the Grand Duke. By alluding to these other relationships of patronage that he or his father had established from Spain in Florence, Nogueira was looking for leverage to continue asking for promotion to Sacchetti and Francesco Barberini.

Nogueira conceived of his report as a preliminary piece which was not supposed to transcend the scope of Roman correspondences. His observations were meant to function as a repository of examples for men of letters who, like Leone Allacci or the Jesuit Melchior Inchofer, had been tasked to formulate printed answers to Inghirami's published discoveries. After circulating in the hands of Dal Pozzo, his report was leaked and the piece ended up fueling strong reactions on the Florentine side. Nogueira opposed Dal Pozzo's more tactful opinion that the main actor responsible

for the forgeries was the now-dead sixteenth century French polymath Guillaume Postel. Allacci and Inchofer, who ended up being behind some of the published treatises against the Scariths, also relied on Nogueira's opinion but they published their responses in foreign countries (Paris in the case of Allacci) and under pseudonyms (in the case of Inchofer)<sup>62</sup>. As a ghost writer but also as a straw man, Nogueira stuck to his conclusions even when passing through the eye of the storm. In his letters to Dal Pozzo, he complained that his report had been made "public" without his consent. He did everything he could to downplay his political contribution in the affair, for example by burning his archives or locking in his desk the most sensitive documents concerning the Scariths<sup>63</sup>.

Nogueira's participation in the learned polemics which surrounded the forgeries of La Volterra reinforced his voice as a scholar and his profile as a potential political counselor specialized in transnational conflicts of jurisdictions among his Roman and Bolognese acquaintances. He used his report to formulate a cautionary tale, reminding Dal Pozzo that King Ferdinand of Aragon (1452-1516) had been fooled by the historical forgeries of Anniius da Viterbo (1437-1502). The end result of such remarks was that Pope Urban VIII and Francesco Barberini should remain cautious when following Dal Pozzo's lead and blaming Postel for the forgeries. Nogueira took the side of contemporary Iberian scholars who opposed Anniius' forgeries and dedicated themselves to debunking their influence in contemporary legal affairs. Indeed, Nogueira had spent a considerable amount of time establishing friendships with the most acerbic critics of such forgeries while denouncing some of its modern followers, such as the Jesuit, Román de la Higuera<sup>64</sup>.

Nogueira's intervention in the affair of the Scarith increased his confidence when complaining about the retributions and the system of recruitment of men of letters organized by Francesco Barberini. In a letter to Dal Pozzo, on January 20, 1638, Nogueira gave his two cents on two new potential hires, Samuel Petit (1594-1643), a friend of Peiresc and a famous promoter of the unification project of the Catholic and Protestant churches in France, and Andrea Argoli (1570-1657), a professor of Mathematics in Padua<sup>65</sup>. In this letter, Nogueira reminded Dal Pozzo how famous members of the Republic of Letters – such as the Flemish genealogical broker, Robert Scheilder, and rabbis such as Rafael Cohen – praised his erudition in wide range of disciplines (except theology and medicine) as well as in languages such as Greek and Hebrew, implying that he should receive an equivalent salary to the one offered to Petit and Argoli. While comparing himself with these two scholars, Nogueira emphasized his skills

in Greek, informing Dal Pozzo that when a child, his father had hired for him a Greek teacher whose name was Constantino Sophia through the Spanish ambassador in Venice. Sophia acted as his tutor while working for the administration of the Spanish Monarchy as a translator, and before being hired at the university of Alcalá of Henares<sup>66</sup>. In addition to the fact that Nogueira boasted about his personal connections in his letters, he also complained about the fact that Protestants or those who had converted from Protestantism received more consideration in Rome while he himself was “an Old Christian,” who knew as much or even more than men such as Petit or Isaac Casaubon, who at the beginning of the century left France to serve the King of England. Nogueira used this strategy to erase any direct allusion in Rome to his New Christian roots.

In the end, Petit did not come to Italy and Argoli was hired with a less impressive salary than what was originally proposed<sup>67</sup>. Meanwhile, Francesco Barberini kept looking for an expert in law. The name of the jurist, publicist, and friend of Kepler, Besoldus (1577-1638) was considered for a chair in Bologna. Besoldus had come to Bologna from Tübingen after having converted to Catholicism in 1635. Even though Nogueira was well acquainted with Besoldus’ work on public finance and of his theory of federalism in the Holy Roman Empire, he complained to Dal Pozzo that he considered himself a better fit instead than Besoldus. All the while, Sacchetti and Francesco Barberini were actively recruiting scholars between Bologna and Rome, and Nogueira kept asking for a salary increase parallel to what he saw other scholars commanding, and which was a far cry from the pittance that Nogueira was making at that time.

## 5 The Way of Salvation: Bibliographic Business

Though Rome remained his ultimate goal, Nogueira ended up appreciating the relatively easy access to a wide array of intellectual *milieux* and traditions that he found in Bologna. Time spent in Bologna could play to his advantage when distinguishing himself from scholars who were making their way to the top of the Roman intelligentsia.

The Bolognese intellectual scene, including the university, facilitated Nogueira’s collaborations with high-profile scholars. For example, he mentioned to Dal Pozzo his involvement in editorial projects such as the posthumous publication of the unedited volumes of the natural history of the famous botanist and university professor, Ulisse

Aldrovandi (1522-1605)<sup>68</sup>. With his linguistic and etymological expertise, Nogueira contributed to the printing and diffusion of the volumes on *De quadrupedibus* (1637), *De Piscibus libri V* (1638), *De Quadrupedibus solidipedibus volume integrum* (1639), and the one on *Serpentum* (1640), among others<sup>69</sup>. Nogueira checked etymological points and discussed the display of the illustrations in their printed forms with the merchant and printer Marco Antonio Bernia, who in 1637 has been hired by the Senate of the city to continue the publishing project<sup>70</sup>. From the perspective of the editors and printers, the opportunity to rely on an Iberian man of letters who was familiar with natural history manuscripts and collections held in places such as the Escorial library in Spain – especially the materials that King Philip's II physician, Francisco Hernández, had accumulated about the Americas – constituted an added value to this Bolognese enterprise.

In Bologna and in relation with the posthumous publication of Aldrovandi's work, Nogueira positioned himself in line with a longstanding tradition of scientific exchanges between the city and the Iberian Peninsula<sup>71</sup>. The Bolognese natural history collections were well-furnished in relation to material artefacts proceeding from the Americas. Aldrovandi himself had been interested in the New World and tried to establish diplomatic connections from Bologna with Spain through Florentine representatives located at the court in Madrid. He followed from afar Hernández's work during the reign of Philip II, while tracing posteriorly, the circulation of manuscript copies of these materials in the Italian Peninsula, especially in Naples, among representatives of the Lincei<sup>72</sup>.

As a member of the Lincei, Dal Pozzo had inherited a multi-decade tradition of collective works dedicated to the natural history of the New World<sup>73</sup>. Among other works, the editorial project of the *Mexican Treasure* had become one of his main responsibilities. During Nogueira's stay in Bologna, however, the project was passing through a low point. Political tensions between Rome and Spain and the publication in Spain in 1635 of a competing natural history that also relied on Hernández's materials all marked a turn in the editorial process of the *Mexican Treasure* in Rome. Well acquainted with Spain, Dal Pozzo found in Iberian men of letters such as Nogueira an opportunity to merge the Iberian and Bolognese heritage within a series of scientific exchanges that fueled the *Mexican Treasure* project during the first three decades of the century. Nogueira's letters to Dal Pozzo and his involvement in Bologna with the edition of Aldrovandi's new volumes reflect this turn. After 1635, Dal Pozzo launched new collaborations to achieve the publication of the *Mexican Treasure*,

while continuing to collaborate with Iberian scholars on other projects related to natural history<sup>74</sup>.

Even though the *Mexican Treasure* ended up published in Rome in 1651 under Spanish sponsorship, Nogueira's involvement in the edition of Aldrovandi's *Encyclopedia* coincided with a moment during which Spain and the Papacy were competing in terms of reputation over the control of cutting-edge natural history research. By collaborating with Bernia and Dal Pozzo, Nogueira fueled learned rivalries between Rome and Spain amid the Thirty Years' War. Even though Nogueira was neither an expert in natural history nor art history, he oversaw the dedication of the volumes to preeminent figures in Bologna and Rome such as Cardinal Albornoz and to Sacchetti himself. He also made sure that Dal Pozzo received enough information about the project in order to harmonize it with his other natural history projects<sup>75</sup>. Rather than being broken, the scholarly collaborations that fueled such projects across the Western Mediterranean continued between 1635 and the 1640s, thanks to the mediation of Iberian intellectuals for hire who had settled in Bologna.

From Bologna, Nogueira familiarized himself with a political strategy which aimed to promote Rome's universal and spiritual hegemony over the Catholic world. Since the creation of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide (1622), Rome tried to establish direct connections with Iberian missions in Asia and the Americas. The goal was to overcome the Iberian royal *patronato*, a dispensation which had undermined Papal jurisdiction in Iberian territories since the late fifteenth century<sup>76</sup>. The Papacy still benefitted from Spanish diplomatic and missionary networks to access natural history knowledge<sup>77</sup>. However, since the early 1620s, the will, on one side, to use institutions such as the Propaganda Fide to limit the Spanish *patronato*, and, on the other side, to access knowledge related to the territories placed under such *patronato*, were techniques aimed to reinforce Rome's renewed dreams of universalism<sup>78</sup>. The intellectual networks of the Republic of Letters and the role of Iberian political dissenters in it both contributed to this project.

Nogueira relied on his bibliographic business between the Iberian and Italian peninsulas to keep in touch with this project. He promoted the circulation of Aldrovandi's volumes between Bologna, Portugal, and Rome<sup>79</sup>. After 1640, his involvement with the edition of the volume on precious stones and metals, in particular, gave him the occasion to diffuse the work of the naturalist in post-restoration Lisbon libraries<sup>80</sup>. Through Bologna, Nogueira promoted the Portuguese acquisition of natural history knowledge which has been conditioned by long-lasting

interactions between Spain and Rome. By facilitating such circulations, as well as the readings of such works by Portuguese elites, who collected them in their libraries next to Italian political theory books, Nogueira was tending intellectual bridges between the Italian Peninsula and Portugal. Through these bibliographic exchanges, Nogueira paved the way for discreet political interactions. In this case, natural history knowledge, previously monopolized by Spain and its empirical empire, was now circulating between Bologna and Lisbon, providing Rome with an alternative access to territories of mission under Portuguese jurisdiction. Such exchanges offered to the new king of Portugal, John IV and his political elites an opportunity to engage with Roman politics through bibliographic exchanges.

In addition to Aldrovandi's works, Nogueira circulated other books, such as those composed by Federico Commandino (1509-1575) – a specialist of Archimedes, François Viète (1540-1603), a French Mathematician and expert in ciphers that were used against Spain, Niccolò Tartaglia (c.1500-1557), an expert in ballistics and engineering, and older scientists, such as Aristarchus of Samos – the Greek astronomer who between 310 BCE and 230 BCE stated that the earth rotates on its axis and revolves around the sun<sup>81</sup>. With these references in hand, Nogueira reinforced his profile as a baroque library maker who cared as much for the design and display of a library as for its contents. Nogueira demonstrated his potential were he to be employed in the natural history and scientific projects orchestrated by Dal Pozzo while consolidating his reputation in the intellectual networks of the Republic of Letters and the political networks of the restored kingdom of Portugal<sup>82</sup>.

When in Bologna, Nogueira took great care in strengthening his reputation as book-hunter, following the path that Allacci or Holstenius had paved before being appointed to preeminent positions in Rome and at the Vatican. He kept an eye on book collections being sold in the city and its surrounding regions<sup>83</sup>. He complained numerous times to Dal Pozzo about the disastrous state of the Venetian book trade during the 1630s<sup>84</sup>. He criticized the monotonous circulation of works authored by “Malvezzi, Loredani, and Gabrieli,” suggesting that all of these authors have been infected by the ostentatious style of the Spanish poet, Luis de Góngora, notorious for his “gongorismos” (i. e. affected and learned)<sup>85</sup>.

Nogueira's interest was motivated by the fact that the city of Venice was a mine for someone interested in books on political theory. The recent history of the city, narrated by renowned historiographers such as the historian of the Council of Trent and of the “Venetian Interdict,” Paolo



Sarpi (1552-1623), provided vivid illustrations of the political doctrine exposed by authors such as Machiavelli. Nevertheless, Nogueira's trips to Venice from Bologna reinforced his political consciousness as well as his belief that Iberian authors had nothing to envy from Italian political philosophers. Speaking about Malvezzi and Machiavelli in Venice provided Nogueira with the opportunity to advocate on behalf of Portuguese authors such as Esteban Rodrigo de Castro, who he considered to be fundamental when dealing with questions related to Reason of State. According to Nogueira, unlike the works of Malvezzi, the ideas of Rodrigo de Castro had not been unduly influenced by the sponsorship of the king of Spain and his favorite, the Count Duke of Olivares. Nogueira insisted that Rodrigo de Castro had nothing to envy from Machiavelli in terms of political ideas.

For intellectuals and politicians in Nogueira's orbit, a stay in Bologna became synonymous with travels to other places such as Venice, as well as additional key knowledge-production centers such as Padua, Modena, and Ancona. From those sites, Nogueira accessed manuscripts related to the political history of Bologna and Venice that he thought would be of prime interest for Sacchetti when managing parts of the Pope's diplomacy with the Serenissima<sup>86</sup>.

From theory to practice, Nogueira used his time in cities such as Padua or Venice to act as a political agent for Sacchetti. He met with Venetian authorities on behalf of the cardinal legate. In 1639, when looking for the first edition of the *Opere vulgari* (Venice, 1470) and manuscripts of Petrarca, he established a good relationship with the Papal nuncio in Venice and met with the Venetian Doge<sup>87</sup>. Even though the exact topics covered during this meeting remain unclear, Nogueira did communicate to Dal Pozzo that he had met with the Doge, thereby adding more elements to his curriculum. Through all of these channels, he hoped to convince Francesco Barberini to hire him as a diplomatic broker under his protection in Rome.

In addition to Venice and Padua, Nogueira's stay in Bologna allowed him to travel to places such as Loreto and Ancona between 1637 and 1639. In Loreto, he established a friendship with the Jesuit Silvestro Pietrasanta. Between March and May 1639, Pietrasanta welcomed him at the Jesuit house of Loreto. As a former confessor of Cardinal Carafa, Pietrasanta had spent a substantial part of his life fighting Protestantism across Europe. Nogueira experienced first-hand Pietrasanta's testimony about his career as a priest and as an emblem expert in places such as the Spanish Low countries. Pietrasanta became for Nogueira a source of

political information concerning the “present”<sup>88</sup>. Both men shared similar experiences under the rule of Spanish kings and both had an acute sense of the main political reasons that motivated the circulation of men of letters within and beyond the Iberian monarchies. Ultimately, it was Pietrasanta who would recommend Nogueira for a position in Rome<sup>89</sup>.

During his stay in Loreto, Nogueira witnessed conversations about the recruitment and conversion of intellectuals coming to Ancona willing to serve the Pope and proceeding from all part of Europe and the Mediterranean. The Jesuit house played an important function in these conversions. For example, during his stay with Pietrasanta, Nogueira observed different methods of conversion that contrasted to those that he had criticized when thinking about the Iberian Empire and the violent politics of conversion the Holy Office there.

Nogueira’s experience with a broader Mediterranean world connected to Bologna came full circle when visiting Ancona in 1639. As an important port city of the Papal States, Ancona condensed a rich Mediterranean society in which men of letters like him could expect to find important collections of books, especially written in Hebrew and Arabic. The city’s Ghetto was a key site when looking for such kind of books.<sup>90</sup> Even though Nogueira had already consolidated friendships in Venice with figures such as the Rabbi and author of the *Riti Hebraici*, Leone di Modena, he took advantage of his trip to Ancona to expand his knowledge of the new Christians and Jewish Iberian diaspora across the Mediterranean as well as of their philosophical and political production. In Ancona Nogueira continued to promote his reputation as a self-proclaimed Christian Hebraist and “learned *libérin*”. At the same time, he also strengthened his discourse against the Iberian inquisitions that would become one of the defining aspects of his politics during his stay in the Italian Peninsula. All the connections he made during his time in Bologna and its surrounding regions constituted the roots of the political and intellectual choices he would ultimately make when acting as an agent of Francesco Barberini and as an informant of the restored monarchy of Portugal in Rome.

### Conclusion

Nogueira’s “exile” in Bologna appears at first as a challenge for someone who wanted to climb the highest ranks possible of the Roman intellectual scene. His stay in the city ultimately proved crucial for affirming his critical voice and his commitment to the service of his multiple patrons. Nogueira’s Bolognese episode came to an end with the celebration in

his correspondence of the good governance of Sacchetti. His patron had achieved his Bolognese mission successfully based on what Nogueira had told Dal Pozzo, and thereafter Nogueira returned to Rome and there continued to serve Sacchetti<sup>91</sup>.

The truth of the matter is that despite the fact that Nogueira would remain at the margins of Francesco Barberini's sphere of influence, he ultimately built his Italian career from this marginal position – a place which proved to be far from “peripheral”. The correspondence and connections which had started in 1637 because of his position away from the *Città Eterna* after his arrival in Bologna is in fact what ultimately granted him the relations and the instruments necessary to survive the election of a new Pope in 1644. Memories from Bologna would prove themselves useful even after his return to Rome. After all, it was from Rome that he continued to hunt in and around Bologna for rare books such as first editions of the prohibited works of Boccaccio<sup>92</sup>.

Though Nogueira's trajectory connected many enduringly prominent figures of the Republic of Letters during an intensive period of religious tensions and conflicts of sovereignty in Europe, Nogueira himself is neither typical nor exceptional. More than establishing a model, the diversity of the reasons and practices that motivated the recruitments of intellectuals for hire during this time constitutes a rich reservoir of experiences. The stories of expendable collaborators, such as Nogueira, need to be told in order to understand how the learned communication of the Republic of Letters left its mark on the history of early modern politics in a period of intense conflicts and rich intellectual exchanges.

### Notes

1. Research for this article was supported by the Investigation Project housed by the Spanish Council of Scientific Research (CSIC), the title of which is “Intercambios culturales personales tangibles e intangibles (ss. XVI-XVII): Historias, cartas y objetos” (reference number HAR2014-55233-P). I would like to thank Paola Volpini, Elena Valeri, Maria Antonietta Visceglia, and Sabina Brevaglieri, as well as the two anonymous reviewers of this article for their invaluable support and comments when preparing this work.

2. On Campanella's Parisian stay and how the ministers of King Louis XIII in France recruited scholars for propaganda purposes see Y. Nexon, *Le chancelier Séguier (1588-1672). Ministre, dévot et mécène au grand siècle*, Champ Vallon, Ceyzérieu 2015.

3. This year coincided with the start of the Franco-Spanish war (1635-1659). For an analysis of the circulation of information during wartime see the contributions and the introduction of the special issue edited by F. De Vivo and M. A. Visceglia, *Guerra dei Trent'anni e informazione*, in “Rivista Storica Italiana”, 130, 3, 2018, pp. 828-59.

4. See M. Keblusek and B. Vera Noldus (eds.), *Double Agents. Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2011; and S. Brevaglieri, *Science*,

*Books and Censorship in the Academy of the Lincei. Johannes Faber as Cultural Mediator, in Conflicting Duties. Science, Medicine and Religion in Rome (1550-1750)*, ed. by M. P. Donato and J. Kraye, Warburg Institute Colloquia, London-Turin 2009, pp. 109-33.

5. As Paul D. McLean points out: "Building a career depends not on rational action per se, but on socially and culturally embedded strategies, strategies that have to be derived from multiple identities and multiple network settings." See P. D. McLean, *The Art of the Network. Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence*, Duke University Press, Durham-London 2007, p. 34.

6. For a renewed vision of this papacy under the banner of a political neutrality or strategic and changing intellectual interactions with the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies during this period see M. A. Visceglia, *Convergencias y conflictos: La monarquía católica y la Santa Sede (siglos XV-XVIII)*, in "Studia historica. Historia moderna", 26, 2004, pp. 185-6; F. Cantù, *Il papato, la Spagna e il Nuovo Mondo*, in *Papato e politica internazionale nella prima età moderna*, coord. by M. A. Visceglia, Viella, Roma 2013, pp. 479-504.

7. On the presence of Iberian scholars among Barberini bees during this period see L. Allatii, *Apes urbanae*, Ludovicus Grignanus, Rome 1633.

8. On Olivares' relationship with the Bolognese Virgilio Malvezzi, "whom he would summon to Madrid in 1636 to chronicle the triumphs of his regime", see J. H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline*, Yale University Press, New Haven-London 1986, p. 17. On cultural and artistic interactions between Spain and Bologna during the seventeenth century see D. García Cueto, *Seicento boloñés y siglo de oro español. El arte, la época, los protagonistas*, CEEH, Madrid 2006.

9. On the importance of correspondence exchanges in the making of patronage networks between the Cardinal-Legate in Bologna and Rome, and on the diversity of channels through which such letters circulated, see N. Reinhardt, *Correspondances, clientele et culture politique dans l'État ecclésiastique au début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *La politique par correspondance: Les usages politiques de la lettre en Italie (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. by J. Boutier, S. Landi, and O. Rouchon, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes 2009, pp. 131-51.

10. On this kind of circulation, and more particularly, on the ones related to the intellectual scene of Bologna during the first part of the seventeenth century see N. Reinhardt, *Sotto il "mantello della religione." Camillo Baldi: un proto-libertino nello Stato della Chiesa*, in *La fede degli italiani. Per Adriano Prosperi*, ed. by G. Dall'Olio, A. Malena, and P. Scaramella, Edizioni della Normale, Pisa 2011, vol. 1, pp. 81-95.

11. About the importance of small states for the history of early modern diplomacy see E. Fasano Guarini and P. Volpini (eds.), *Frontiere di terra, frontiere di mare. La Toscana moderna nello spazio mediterraneo*, Franco Angeli, Milan 2008; and P. Volpini, *Los Medici y España. Príncipes, embajadores y agentes en la Edad moderna*, Silex, Madrid 2017.

12. On how early modern men of letters used correspondences as tools that fostered their embeddedness in multiple networks and as tactical writings that helped them express simultaneously their singularity and collective sense of belonging to a group see the useful observations made by Simona Cerutti and Alain Blum in their research on "petitions." A. Blum and S. Cerutti, *S'adresser à l'autorité en tant qu'individu singulier: parcours historiques croisés. Entretien avec Alain Blum et Simona Cerutti*, in "Tracés" 34, 2018, pp. 211-28.

13. Vicente Nogueira to Cassiano Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 16 June? 1637, Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana (BANLC), Archivio Dal Pozzo XII, vol. X, ff. 423r-27r.

14. Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, October 10<sup>th</sup>, 1638, *ibid.*, f. 460; See also the letter that Nogueira sent to Dal Pozzo speaking about the "*essilio di Bologna*." *Ibid.* 22 October 1639, f. 511r. On Rome as a refuge for intellectuals and migrants during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Irene Fosi explained that «per la città eterna si può parlare di una unità composita che riconosceva diverse appartenenze, lealtà, identità:

concetti che cambiano di significato nei primi secoli dell'età moderna perché anche la fisionomia delle comunità di stranieri che formavano questa multiforme società urbana era in continuo mutamento», see I. Fosi, *Convertire lo straniero. Forestieri e Inquisizione a Roma in età moderna*, Viella, Roma 2011, p. 25; – “Roma patria comune”. *Foreigners in Rome in the early modern period*, in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, ed. by J. Burke and M. Bury, Ashgate, London 2008, pp. 27-43. On collaborative research projects that explored the socio-cultural composite dimension of early modern Rome see *BABELROME. Babel-Rome. La nature du monde et ses langues dans la Rome du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* directed by Elisa Andretta and Antonella Romano, in <https://www.efrome.it/la-recherche/programmes/programmes-scientifiques-2017-2021/babelrome.html>.

15. For a summary of Nogueira's early career see F. Montcher, *Politics, Scholarship, and the Iberian Routes of the Republic of Letters: The Late Renaissance Itinerary of Vicente Nogueira (1586-1654)*, in “Erudition and the Republic of Letters”, 2-2, 2017, pp. 113-232.

16. On the political criticism of Portuguese men of letters as a form of participation in the debates concerning the structure and future of the Iberian empire see P. Cardim, “*Todos los que no son de Castilla son yguales*”. *El estatuto de Portugal en la Monarquía española en el tiempo de Olivares*, in “Pedralbes”, 28, 2, 2008, pp. 521-52.

17. Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 1<sup>o</sup> October 1640, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 529r. For example, he promoted edition of texts such as *La Guerra de Granada* (Lisbon, 1627) by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and used its paratexts to feature *dedicatorias* that publicized a biographical narrative of his own life and accomplishments that could be used to defend himself from Inquisitorial allegations concerning his religious origins and sexual practices.

18. See B. Dooley, *Art and Information Brokerage in the Career of Don Giovanni de' Medici*, in *Your Humble Servant, Agents in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by H. Cools, M. Keblusek, and B. Noldus, Uitgeverij Verloren, Hilversum 2006, pp. 81-96.

19. *Ibid.*, 26 December 1637, f. 445r.

20. Nogueira referred to the legendary king of Rome, Numa Pompilius, as a “pygmy” while comparing him with the cruelty and bad governance of Olivares. While reading about “Spain's miseries” in newspapers in Bologna, Nogueira took great care to avoid the figure of Philip IV in his letters. He communicated to Dal Pozzo the idea that he served the interests of the Iberian empire and its King until his unjust inquisitorial condemnation. See *Ibid.*, 7 October 1637, f. 433r.

21. Nogueira to Francesco Barberini, Bologna-Rome, 20 July 1639, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Barb. Lat. 6472, f. 36r.

22. Biblioteca da Ajuda (BA), 46-XI-13, ff. 133v-34r. Nogueira used a similar strategy when asking for protection from the King of France, alluding to his services as a jurist on behalf of King Louis XIII's affairs in Lisbon. See the *Brevissimo apuntamiento de algunas calidades de don Vicente Nogueira*, The National Archives (London), State Paper Office, SP94/35, 31 December 1635, f. 375r.

23. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Segr. di Stato, Portogallo* 19, f. 67.

24. Nogueira pointed out to his Roman correspondents that the license had been originally granted for five years and was renewed continuously until his inquisitorial trial. He complained to Dal Pozzo about the fact that the two institutions in charge of renewing his original license, the Congregation of the Holy Office and the Master of the Sacred Palace in Rome did not grant him the mention “without restriction.” The ability to read Machiavelli was important for Nogueira, but above all, such complaints became useful when trying to maintain a flow of communication with those patrons in charge of his advancement in Rome. See Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Loreto-Rome, 13 and 20 April 1639; Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 14 January 1640, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 484r; ff. 489r-90v; and ff. 519r-20v. to support one

another at the university Gabriel Naudé, Papacyet of legal, linguistic, and historical expertise into a broader.

25. For the letter of concession and a copy of the title see BA, 46-XI-13, f. 133v-135r. On the title of “Referendario” see O. Poncet, *Antonio Barberini (1608-1671) et la papauté. Réflexions sur un destin individuel en cour de Rome au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in “Mélanges de l’école française de Rome”, 108, 1, 1996, p. 421.

26. I. Fosi, *All’ombra dei Barberini. Fedeltà e servizio nella Roma barroca*, Bulzoni, Roma 1997, pp. 114-5.

27. Nogueira complained about the fact he resided outside of Sacchetti’s palace and added that «nessun conto se faceva da me.» See Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 21 November 1637, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 439r.

28. On the connections that these men of letters maintained from Bologna with Iberian scholars and, more particularly, about the polemic that Liceti maintained with E. Rodrigues de Castro, a Portuguese physician working at the university of Pisa, see B. Roling, *De asitia: Fortunio Liceti, Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro und die universitäre Aufarbeitung der Magersucht im 17. Jahrhundert*, in *Zwischen Konflikt und Kooperation, Praktiken der europäischen Gelehrtenkultur (12.-17. Jahrhundert)*, ed. by J.-H. de Boer, M. Füssel, and J. M. Schütte, Duncker & Humblot, Berlin 2016, pp. 191-211.

29. Cfr. L. H. Zirpolo, *Ave Papa Ave Papabile. The Sacchetti Family, their Art Patronage, and Political Aspiration*, Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Toronto 2005.

30. Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 16 February 1639, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 476.

31. *Ibid.*, 23 July 1639, f. 501r.

32. F. Liceti, *Quaesitis per epistolas a claris viris [...]*, Nicolai Tebaldini, Bologna 1640.

33. P. Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2006, pp. 1-18 and 256-95.

34. On Peiresc’s letter see BAV, Barb. Lat. 6472, 5 January 1637, ff. 4r-9r. See also the detailed study of A. Morel-Fatio, *Vicente Nogueira et son discours sur la langue et les auteurs d’Espagne*, in “Zeitschrift für romanische philology”, 3, 1879, pp. 1-38.

35. Nogueira tried to convince Francesco Barberini to support one of his friends, Luis Tribaldos de Toledo, who at the Spanish court protected him despite the fact that he worked closely to Olivares as a historiographer and librarian. See Nogueira to Francesco Barberini, 7 October 1637, BAV, Barb. Lat. 6472, f. 45r.

36. On such *milieux* see the classic study of R. Pintard, *Le libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Slatkine, Geneva 2000<sup>2</sup>.

37. Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Loreto-Rome, 5 May 1639, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 491. More broadly on this topic, see the dissertation of V. C. Lamothe, *The Theater of Piety: Sacred Operas for the Barberini Family (Rome, 1632-1643)*, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill 2019. On the presence of the portrait of Juan de Ávila among learned and illustrated men of the Barberini library see C. Fortuzzi, *La bibliotheca Barberina. La raccolta libraria di Urbano VIII e Francesco Barberini*, in [https://www.academia.edu/35347717/La\\_Bibliotheca\\_Barberina.\\_La\\_raccolta\\_libraria\\_di\\_Urbano\\_VIII\\_e\\_Francesco\\_Barberini](https://www.academia.edu/35347717/La_Bibliotheca_Barberina._La_raccolta_libraria_di_Urbano_VIII_e_Francesco_Barberini) (consulted on-line, 22 June 2019).

38. See for example G. López Madera, *Discursos de la certidumbre de las reliquias descubiertas en Granada desde el año de 1588 hasta el de 1598*, Sebastián de Mena, Granada 1601.

39. Nogueira to Francesco Barberini, Bologna-Rome, 7 January 1637, BAV, Barb. Lat. 6472.

40. The contents of the dedications of Hurtado de Mendoza’s *Guerra de Granada* (Lisbon, 1627) or of the poems of Francisco de Figueroa (Lisbon, 1625) have been influenced by Nogueira himself. They contained a generic discourse that Nogueira reproduced in his



own correspondence from the Italian Peninsula. His letters reinforced the coherence and the legibility of his trajectory. Some copies of the works that Nogueira helped publish in Spain and Portugal during the 1620s ended up in the Barberini library during the following years.

41. On Nogueira's bibliographic activity with Portugal after 1640, see his correspondence with the Marquis of Niza edited by J. C. Gonçalves Serafim and J. A. de Freitas Carvalho (eds.), *Um diálogo epistolar: D. Vicente Nogueira e o marquês de Niza (1615-1654)*, CITCEM, Porto 2011.

42. For an updated study of the figure of Negrón and his library see G. Lazure, *Pratiques intellectuelles et transmission du savoir dans les milieux lettrés sévillans. L'archéologie de deux grandes bibliothèques, XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in "Dix-Septième Siècle", 266-1, 2015, pp. 55-76.

43. On the use of correspondences in early modern library management see P. Molino, *L'impero di carta. Storia di una biblioteca e di un bibliotecario (Vienna, 1575-1608)*, Viella, Roma 2017.

44. Nogueira to Francesco Barberini, Bologna-Rome, 21 November 1637, BAV, Barb. Lat. 6472, f. 29v.

45. On library making and political theory linked to concepts such as Reason of State see R. Damien, *Bibliothèque et État, naissance d'une raison politique*, PUF, Paris 1995.

46. See Nogueira to Galilei, Bologna-Arcetri, 28 October 1638. See Gonçalves Serafim and Freitas Carvalho, *Um diálogo epistolar*, cit., pp. 71-2.

47. Nogueira to Francesco Barberini?, 15 July 1636, BAV, Barb. Lat. 6472, f. 2r.

48. Nogueira wanted to know about Holstenius' whereabouts and bibliographic findings on behalf of Francesco Barberini. Knowing how Holstenius operated was useful information for Nogueira's positioning in Bologna and Rome. For references about Holstenius in Nogueira's letters to Dal Pozzo see the missives of 14 November 1637 and 28 December 1637, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 438r and f. 440.

49. When writing another letter to Dal Pozzo in December 1637, Nogueira suggested that Dal Pozzo, as an "Italian scholar", should assist Holstenius since "Italian scholars" were more careful and diligent than Germans when it came to book management. See Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 26 December 1637, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 444r.

50. Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 17 July 1638, *ibid.*, ff. 454r-55r.

51. *Ibid.*, 20 January 1638, ff. 446r-47v.

52. See M. Cavarzere, *Niccolò Riccardi*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 87 (2016), in [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/niccolo-riccardi\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/niccolo-riccardi_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/) (consulted on-line, 2 September 2019).

53. *Ibid.*, 26 December 1637, ff. 444r-445v.

54. On Nogueira's complaints about his skills as a jurist not being recognized by Sacchetti and Barberini see *ibid.*, Bologna-Rome, 16 June? 1637, ff. 423r-27r.

55. On Nogueira's request for a canonicate in San Lorenzo or Eustachio in Rome and ecclesiastical benefices in Portugal see *ibid.*, 9 September 1637, f. 430.

56. For a detailed analysis of the affair see I. Rowland, *The Scarith of Scornello: A Tale of Renaissance Forgery*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2004. On Nogueira's involvement in this affair see more particularly Chapter III "The Spy: 1638".

57. Nogueira discussed the affair thoroughly with Dal Pozzo and its resonances across the Republic of Letters. For example, see the letter in which Nogueira mentioned that other men of letters, such as Liceti, consulted and condemned Inghirami's book. Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, February 1638, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 444r.

58. For Nogueira's report see BAV, Chigi, 6-II-65.

59. On the polemics around the Scarith and modern interpretations that over-



emphasized the political dimensions of this affair see C. Callard, *Du bon usage des Étrusques dans l'Italie du Seicento. Les enjeux de la querelle des fausses antiquités de Volterra*, in *Welche Antike? Konkurrierende Rezeptionen des Altertums im Barock*, ed. by U. Heinen, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2011, vol. 1, pp. 445-60.

60. Across his correspondence with Dal Pozzo, Nogueira made several linguistic observations related to modern usage in the Italian Peninsula. Like the affair of the Scarith, these remarks were connected to learned polemics between Rome and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. See Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 20 October 1637, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, ff. 436r-37v.

61. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Dupuy 785, *Lettres de Mrs. Bouchard et Naudé écrites de Rome & autres lieux à Messieurs Dupuy depuis l'année 1636 jusqu'en 1652*, 20 January 1638, p. 785. See also the letter that Gabriel Naudé sent to Jacques Dupuy, Riète-Paris, 30 November 1637. Phillip Wolfe published this letter in his edition of the *Lettres de Gabriel Naudé à Jacques Dupuy*, Lealta/Alta Press, Alberta 1982, pp. 42-4.

62. For example, see Mechior Inchofer's printed answer to Inghirami, often attributed to Nogueira: B. Durkhundurkhi, *Pro Antiquitatibus Etruscis Inghiramiis: Adversus Leonis Allatii, contra easdem Animadversiones, Examen*, Georg Genselinum, Coloniae 1642. On the participation of Inchofer in the affair of the Scarith see T. Cerbu, *Melchior Inchofer, Un home fin & rusé*, in *Largo Campo di Filosofare, Eurosposium Galileo 2001*, ed. by J. Mongesinos and C. Solís, Fundación Canaria Orotava de la Ciencia, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria 2001, pp. 587-611. See also Leonis Allatii, *Animadversiones in antiquitatum etruscarum fragmenta ab Inghiramio edita*, Sebastianum Cramoisy, Paris 1640.

63. Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 18 July 1638, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 458r.

64. See Nogueira's report to Peiresc for his negative judgment on Higuera. Nogueira did not attack all the followers of Anniius. His friendship with the Spanish royal historiographer, Tomás Tamayo y Vargas, who promoted some false chronicles while criticizing others, is an example of the climate of doubt that overshadowed early seventeenth century learned cultures in relation to the study of Antique and Medieval pasts. On Higuera and the intellectual context surrounding debates about false chronicles in Spain, see K. Olds, *Forging the Past. Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain*, Yale University Press, New Haven 2015.

65. Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 20 January 1638, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, ff. 446r-47v.

66. *Ibid.* He also compared himself in matters of legal and historical erudition to the famous Spanish humanist, Doctor Navarro. Nogueira reminded Dal Pozzo that father Mostro convinced him to go to Bologna when alluding to the fact that he would receive a more than generous salary.

67. Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, February 1638, *ibid.*, ff. 448r-49r.

68. On Aldrovandi's work and the editorial and collecting scientific culture around his figure see P. Findlen, *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*, University of California Press, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1996; G. Olmi and F. Simoni (eds.), *Ulisse Aldrovandi. Libri e immagini di storia naturale nella prima età moderna*, Bononia University Press, Bologna 2017.

69. Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 16 February 1639, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 476.

70. On the publication of Aldrovandi's Encyclopedia in Bologna see C. Duroselle-Melish, *Center and Periphery? Relations between Frankfurt and Bologna in the Transnational Book Trade of the 1600s*, in *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World*, ed. by M. McLean and S. K. Barker, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2016, pp. 31-58.

71. See L. Laurenchich-Minelli, *From the New World to Bologna, 1533. A Gift for Pope Clement VII and Bolognese Collections of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, in "Journal of the History of Collections", 2011, pp. 1-14; and G. Olmi, 'Things of Nature' from the New World in Early Modern Bologna, in *Images Take Flight: Feather Art in Mexico and Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. by A. Russo, D. Fane, and G. Wolf, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2015, pp. 229-38.

72. For more details on the sixteenth and early seventeenth century history see G. Olmi, *L'inventario del mondo. Catalogazione della natura e luoghi del sapere nella prima età moderna*, il Mulino, Bologna 1992; and G. Olmi, F. Simoni (eds.), *Ulisse Aldrovandi. Libri e immagini di storia naturale nella prima età moderna*, Bologna University Press, Bologna 2017.

73. D. Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx. Galileo, his Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2002; M. E. Cadeddu and M. Guardo (eds.), *Il Tesoro messicano: libri e saperi tra Europa e Nuovo mondo*, Olschki, Florence 2013; S. Brevaglieri, E. Andretta, *Storie naturalia a Roma fra antichi e nuovi mondi. Il "dioscorides" di Andres Laguna (1555) e gli "animalia mexicana" di Johannes Faber (1628)*, in "Quaderni Storici", 142, 1, 2013, pp. 43-87; and S. Brevaglieri, *Natural desiderio di sapere. Roma barroca fra vecchi e nuovi mondi*, Viella, Roma 2019.

74. It would be worth exploring whether Dal Pozzo's reaction was motivated by the increase of Spanish conflictual relations across Europe and the publication of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg's *Historia naturae maxime peregrinae* in 1635. On this interpretation and on Nieremberg's presence at the Jesuit *Colegio Imperial* of Madrid during this period see J. R. Marcaida López, *Arte y ciencia en el barroco español. Historia natural, coleccionismo, y cultura visual*, Fundación Focus-Abengoa and Marcial Pons, Sevilla-Madrid 2014, p. 129.

75. On Pozzo's Iberian connections related to other natural history projects see F. Montcher, *Citrus Craze: For a Political and Intellectual History of Fruits Circulations Across the Western Mediterranean during the Late Renaissance*, in "Pedralbes" (forthcoming).

76. See G. Pizzorusso, *Governare le missioni, conoscere il mondo nel XVII secolo. La congregazione pontificia de Propaganda Fide*, Sette Città, Viterbo 2018.

77. Brevaglieri and Andretta, *Storie naturalia a Roma*, cit., pp. 74-5.

78. On the Propaganda Fide and its relation to the Spanish *patronato* see Visceglia, *Convergencias y conflictos*, cit., p. 182.

79. In Rome, many cardinals were waiting for the volumes. By organizing the sending of the volumes, Nogueira aimed to obtain favors from these men while generating opportunities through his correspondence with Dal Pozzo to learn about how patronage was achieved at the papal court. See Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 11 December 1639, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 497.

80. Nogueira to the Marquês de Niza, Rome-Lisbon, 17 February 1648, Biblioteca Pública de Évora, cód. CVI/2-II, f. 635r.

81. Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 2 October 1638, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 460.

82. In addition to his affiliation with the Lincei, Dal Pozzo collaborated with scholars such as the Jesuit G. B. Ferrari on natural history projects dedicated to flowers and citrus during the 1630s and 1640s. See Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, cit., part III. More research needs to be done to unveil the contributions made by Iberian agents who like Nogueira brokered empirical observations accumulated during the period of the Iberian Union of the Crown between Spain and Portugal (1580-1640) beyond the Empire.

83. Nogueira was looking for Greek manuscripts in Bologna. After the extinction of the family in 1634, Nogueira visited the palazzo Ruini since he had heard about old Greek texts held there. Nogueira to Francesco Barberini, Bologna-Rome, 24 October 1637, BAV, Barb. Lat. 6472, ff. 21r-4v.

84. This observation corroborates observations made by historians of the history of the book, who have identified a period of decline in book production in Venice during this period. See F. Barbierato, “*La rovina di Venetia in material de’ libri prohibiti*” *Il librario Salvatore de’ Negri e l’Inquisizione veneziana (1628-1661)*, Marsilio, Venezia 2007.

85. Among the few books worth being mentioned when visiting Venice, Nogueira alluded to an edition of Machiavelli’s *Opera Omnia*. He referred to this edition as well as to other political works to Dal Pozzo, pushing for the renewal of his license to read prohibited books. See Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 5 August 1639, and 24 September 1639, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 505 and ff. 509r-10v.

86. On how Nogueira sent manuscripts to Rome concerning the nobility of Bologna and Venice and daily life in Bologna between 1400 and 1508 see Nogueira to Francesco Barberini, Bologna-Rome, 21 November 1637, BAV, Barb. Lat. 6472, ff. 25r-9v.

87. See Nogueira to Dal Pozzo, Bologna-Rome, 20 July 1639 and 27 July 1639, BANLC, Archivio Dal Pozzo, vol. X, f. 499 and 503r.

88. *Ibid.*, 9 April 1639, ff. 486r-87r.

89. *Ibid.*, 20 April 1639, ff. 489r-490v.

90. *Ibid.*, 9 April 1639, ff. 486r-87r. Nogueira became interested in the manuscript works of Isaac Abravanel and Maimonides. On the complex, heterodox, and multicultural world of Ancona during this period see V. Lavenia, *The Holy Office in the Marche of Ancona*, in *The Roman Inquisition. Centre versus Peripheries*, ed. by K. Aron-Beller and C. Black, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2018, pp. 161-92; and G. Calafat and C. Santus, *Les avatars du ‘Turc’: Esclaves et commerçants musulmans à Livourne (1600-1750)*, in *Les musulmans dans l’Histoire de l’Europe. I. Une intégration invisible*, ed. by J. Dakhli and B. Vincent, Albin Michel, Paris 2011, p. 504.

91. *Ibid.*, 1640, f. 529r.

92. Nogueira to the Marquis of Niza, Rome, 17 February 1648, Biblioteca Pública de Évora, cód. CVI/2-II, f. 636v.