



## Theodor Zwinger's *Methodus Apodemica*: An Observatory of the City as Political Space in the Late Sixteenth Century

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### Abstract

With the *Methodus Apodemica* (1577) of the Basle philosopher and physician Theodor Zwinger travelling becomes an *ars* of great heuristic and formative value. Indeed Zwinger's book provides a modern method of analysis that predates the scientific Revolution of the Seventeenth Century. For the first time, the city is studied as political space. The city is the center of ethical, political, and civic values and the main arena of the human experience in history. The observation of the city by the travellers also assumed values of activity and a means of political investigation fundamental for the common good.

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1. In 1577 Theodor Zwinger published his *Methodus apodemica, in eorum gratia qui cum fructu in quocunque tandem vitae genere peregrinari cupiunt ... typis delineata, et cum aliis, tum quatuor praesertim Athenarum vivis exemplis illustrata* with Eusebius Episcopus in Basel. The work was immediately recognized as a model for the practice and theory of travel, and had a broad and long-lived success amongst treatises on travel<sup>[1]</sup>. The *Methodus apodemica* aimed at instructing the art of travelling and profiting from the experience, under a conviction of travel's great heuristic and formative value both on the individual plane and on that of learning. Method, practical experimentation and theory fused in the act of travelling, that thus became a real and proper *ars*. Nevertheless, as has been recently pointed out, the importance of the *Methodus apodemica* cannot be circumscribed by this aspect, fundamental as it may be. The compilation of a work of broad application in his time was also the means Zwinger chose to afford the greatest possible exposure of his philosophical concepts which were subversive of traditional

knowledge<sup>[2]</sup>.

In the four large books of the *Methodus apodemica* he furnished a scientific method with which all the practical (from aims to modes, to types, destinations, necessary precautions, etc.) aspects of travel could be analyzed as well as the speculative, as a moment of comparison of political, social, and cultural realities of one's own time. As an instrument of analysis of observed society, the examples presented were the models of four cities, Basel, Padua, Paris, and Athens, examined as to their political and institutional configuration, as well as the physical and cultural, as defined in the course of history. The description of the city became a central moment in the study of reality and more generally in the learning process, taking on the function of explanatory model and confirmation of the methodological principles of the *ars apodemica*. In his evaluation of the city, Zwinger participated in the fertile humanistic tradition that had made the *civitas* the center of ethical, political, and civic values, the place of formation and expression of free men engaged in furthering the public weal, and the object of an utopic projection that, founded on classical models, aspired to the realization of a higher, harmonious, and rational civil community<sup>[3]</sup>. Zwinger's particular contribution lay in connecting the analysis of the city from this perspective, to travel: through exploration of the city in its dimension as political space, in the *Methodus apodemica* travel also assumed in fact values of activity and a means of political investigation. This aspect of the *Methodus*, even though important, has not yet been approached in the not conspicuous literature about it; but it should be studied further, especially given historians and political historians growing interest in the city<sup>[4]</sup>. But not before having examined its context, because its genesis is interwoven with that of the *Methodus apodemica*.

### **The “*Methodus apodemica*”: genesis of the work and of the idea of travelling as political observatory.**

2. The author of the *Methodus apodemica* was Theodor Zwinger. The plan for the work, however originated from an intellectual association that had formed in Basel eight years before its publication, between the famous Basel naturalist, his student Hugo Blotius and the Spanish merchant Marco Perez. The figure of Pierre Ramus instead, formerly considered to be one of the fundamental designers of the initiative,<sup>[5]</sup> remains in the background. Zwinger would have then laid the theoretical plan, the form and substance of the original design, and then transformed it into the *Methodus apodemica*. The contribution of Blotius and Perez was however essential in the planning phase and, in part, the realization: that of Blotius, especially, in the development of the part relative to travel as observatory of political reality, while Perez most likely offered energy and financial support for the undertaking<sup>[6]</sup>.

The collaboration of Zwinger, Blotius, and Perez was the fruit of their common experience and intellectual and religious orientations. All three had experience of travel, were awake to the realities of their times, were characterized by strong antidogmatic, anticonroversistic attitudes, inclined towards scepticism and cultural relativism and by a courageous openmindedness, fruit of their Humanistic and Erasmian formation. All three expressed their ideas in far-reaching religious and cultural projects, also politically

and socially useful, under the sign of liberal cultural progress and religious tolerance. Perez, a wealthy and cultured merchant from Antwerp, *marrano* and Calvinist religious chief, tireless supporter of intellectuals, exiles, reformers and innovative publishing houses, planned to acquire religious freedom in the Low Countries from Philip II, and once in exile, to establish in Basel a large production of silk that would provide work for emigrants of all faiths.<sup>[7]</sup> Blotius, then a young student exile from Holland and with a notable interest in the analysis of political reality, was destined to become the creator of the Imperial Library in Vienna (as he understood it a *Bibliotheca universalis* included everything knowable according to Gessnerian principles) and a learned man with the widest of international relations, involved in realizing the extraordinary project of a *Bibliotheca generis humani* and of a *Museum generis humani* in an area untouched by war, with the final aim of arriving at a cultural and economic unification of Europe<sup>[8]</sup>. And finally Zwinger, who was, as is well-known, one of the more fascinating personalities of late Sixteenth century Basel. An immensely erudite intellectual, naturalist, and eminent teacher of Greek, ethics, and medicine in the University of Basel (of which he was twice rector), author of the monumental *Theatrum humanae vitae* and of a weighty scientific and philosophical literature, Zwinger was a man with a broad and complex intellectual profile<sup>[9]</sup>. The need for great liberty for his nature studies led him to join the most advanced notions of scientific learning, reached by the Paracelsian experimental method, with critically interpreted classical, Aristotelian, and Galenic thought. Aristotelian rationalism co-habited in him alongside a fascination with Platonic philosophy, alchemy, the Kabbalah, magic, and Hermetism. His dialogue with reformers and intellectuals of various confessions and cultures did not limit his openness towards the exponents of radical religious non-conformism – whom he rather protected and, as in the case of Sebastian Castellio, shared his engagement with the support for religious freedom – as he was solidly convinced of the substantially ethical nature of Christianity and of the harmfulness of doctrinal controversies. With his intellectual and religious activities Zwinger helped to keep alive the rationalist and ethical-religious inheritance of Renaissance thought and to open all that is knowable to unprejudiced knowledge, in a growing international *République des Lettres*<sup>[10]</sup>. A rigorous and unitary investigative method, applied to all disciplines, was, as we will see, the innovative instrument with which he pursued his aims and on which he founded his very advanced scientific and cultural projects. Zwinger was one of the figures most representative of the cultural and religious crisis in late Sixteenth century Europe and, at the same time one of the first to inaugurate the new century.

3. Contact with the world of travellers in the course of their academic or religious wanderings and sojourn in Basel had strongly influenced the cultural formation of Zwinger, Blotius, and Perez. Perez was an exile and protector of exiles; Zwinger and Blotius were itinerant students who, like many youths of the time, gained their education in a *peregrinatio academica* of the great European universities and the *Italienreise*<sup>[11]</sup>. The three met in Basel, a city famous, in the Sixteenth century, for its cosmopolitan character and tolerance. A crossroad of international traffic, Basel was a center of European attraction for its cultured and tolerant climate and for the presence of many printing houses, a prestigious university, and the Erasmusstiftung, the foundation conceived by Erasmus of Rotterdam and organized by Bonifacio Amerbach to aid the learned. exiled. students. and poor with no denominational or geographic

distinctions.<sup>[12]</sup> Zwinger and Blotius were among thousands who participated in the Erasmusstiftung's grand plan to realize and spread across Europe, through the institution's activities, Erasmian cultural and religious ideals.<sup>[13]</sup> The experience of living in a city of a cultural character like Basel, in the name of Erasmus, and contact with the variegated crowd that moved over European roads, ever increasing because of the religious, cultural, political, and economic transformations inside Europe and because of the growth of intellectual *curiositas* and the *peregrinatio academica*<sup>[14]</sup>, were some important motives behind the decision of Zwinger, Blotius, and Perez to plan an *ars apodemica* which would help travellers to approach the experience of travel better and more profitably.

However it was the intellectual stimuli to Blotius and Zwinger in the course of their academic wandering that furnished the ideas and theoretical instruments for the realization of the *Methodus apodemica*. For Zwinger the meeting with Pierre Ramus and Bassiano Landi was fundamental. Ramus most of all stimulated the development of his critical spirit towards modes and forms of traditional culture and his interest in Platonism. The very important works of Carlos Gilly have instead strongly redimensioned Ramus' influence on the Baselese naturalist both as regards to his reception of Ramus's anti-Aristotelian position and to the adoption, in the Zwingerian works (among which the *Methodus apodemica*) of his method and of the synoptic tables with double brackets that formed their graphic visualization<sup>[15]</sup>. The method and the tables adopted by Zwinger, much more innovative than those used by the Parisian master, had been discovered in Padua, where he studied with doctor Bassiano Landi<sup>[16]</sup>.

In Landi's school of theoretic medicine Zwinger was won over by the rationalistic approach to Aristotle's thought that had been characteristic of the Paduan *Studio* since the education of Pietro Pomponazzi and that had there found a fertile conjunction with the empirical methodology of scholars like Landi, Andrea Vesalius, Gabriele Falloppia, Francesco Bonafede: such that the University of Padua was known as a unique and famous center of experimental research for all Europe<sup>[17]</sup>. Zwinger's enthusiasm for this happy synthesis of rationalistic Aristotelianism and experimental scientific inquiry is clear also in his preface to the *Methodus apodemica*, in which he praises the Paduan school and compares it to and warns young readers of his work against the Parisian. The study of new and fascinating sciences (ancient and oriental languages, the Kabbalah) as taught at Paris, he considered, left one "pregnant" with vast knowledge but vacuous ("hac inani specie Encyclopediae tumidi") as it was not laid on a solid Aristotelian foundation, from which solely could come apprehension of the scientific method necessary to the development of knowledge<sup>[18]</sup>. Aristotelian thought was considered by Zwinger to be the foundation of knowledge *par excellence*, even if he interpreted it critically and coupled it with other philosophical traditions, arriving at a very personal philosophical position which cannot be defined as of any school<sup>[19]</sup>.

4. The key to Zwinger's scientific activity is however the method he developed, the unifying element of his broad and varied intellectual production<sup>[20]</sup>. Zwinger, "real and true master of method", "ubi totus erat methodicus", according to Felix Platter and Johann Jakob Grynaeus<sup>[21]</sup>, thought it the heuristic method to explore and know every field of knowledge and also to "invent" new sciences. His notion was founded on an innovative concept of order, understood as a "double and inverse" process of learning

rounded on an innovative concept of order, understood as a double and inverse process of learning, which moved from the general to the specific and from the specific to the general through its articulation in "ordo inventionis" and "ordo doctrinae", tied respectively to human sensory and intellectual cognition; this order replicated that of the "via docendi" inherent in human nature<sup>[22]</sup>. According to Zwinger the rules of method were in fact dictated by nature, and were its soul, and reason had to extrapolate them and imitate them to comprehend reality ("ratio effingit et imitatur" the laws that "natura suggerit atque dictat")<sup>[23]</sup>. The methodological procedures were realized by direct experimentation in reality and found confirmation in history, conceived in the fullest sense of the actions of men in every field and time – Zwinger defined it "ocularis et sensata cognitio atque demonstratio"<sup>[24]</sup> – and identified it with experience. History and experience were contrasted with philosophical theory, even though all were sources of knowledge<sup>[25]</sup>. The coincidence of history and experience – entirely new even in its relation with theory – was the basis of knowledge and presupposition for the unitary character of it and of method. The *methodus unica* with its adherence to the natural cognitive procedures of mankind and to empirical reality, thus united deductive reason and inductive experience, theoretic and poetic moments with new and indivisible ties that allowed the acquisition of a real empirical and historical knowledge of every object, the organization of the growing quantity of ideas, their universal communication and not least, to extend the field of scientific inquiry infinitely, elevating even the "practical" sciences to the rank of scientific theory. All of reality, in its cultural, political, social, artistic, etc. aspects could be the object of scientific analysis. With this concept Zwinger gave birth to modern epistemology and to the modern classification of the sciences, taking his place with the fore-runners of Francis Bacon and the scientific revolution of the Seventeenth century.<sup>[26]</sup> Nevertheless, his admiration for Aristotle impeded him from, as Gilly notes, "cutting the cord between ancient and modern"<sup>[27]</sup>, as he continued to consider order and harmony to be the ontological basis of reality.

The scientific method and concept of Zwinger find their visual expression in the diagrams and tables, analytic and synoptic, that he used in great quantity, believing that the procedure "per schematismos" was the most apt to structuring logically the contents and giving an image that was both clear and complete, making mnemotechnique easier and above all realizing the natural method inherent in science<sup>[28]</sup>. The tables were in fact compared to an "arbor scientiae", since they reproduced the structure of a tree with its trunk, branches, leaves, and fruit for the procedure that they followed, replicating that of nature – "ita quoque dispositio per tabulas naturae aemula evadit" and in as much as they themselves were "natural indicators of the way" for the scholar, letting him orient himself in the vast and heterogeneous world of knowledge<sup>[29]</sup>. Thus Leibniz, in referring to him a century later, declares that the tables allowed movement "in generali tabula totam scientiae velut geographicam mappam"<sup>[30]</sup>. For the naturalist from Basel, as we will see, they will be useful also as an instrument for inquiry into political reality by travellers.

5. If with his scientific methodology Zwinger inaugurated the modern era, his search for a method is important also because of its consonance with the "spirit of the times". The question of method was in fact felt widely in the intellectual community of the late Sixteenth century, as can be seen in the great

reflect widely in the intellectual community of the late sixteenth century, as can be seen in the great flowering of *methodus* – in the political, juridic, and historic fields with Althusius and Bodin, in the scientific with Bacon, and in logic with Ramus<sup>[31]</sup>. Interest in the creation of methodological systems came out of the need to find an instrument for analysing, ordering, systemizing the growing amount of data available to men of the period from experience and knowledge, in order to arrive at a knowledge that was unitary, scientifically based, useful in education and to the progress of knowledge and to society. Thanks to his own trip from Paris to Padua, Zwinger could also observe the cultural, religious, and political world of his time and reflect on the significance of experience and of mankind's actions in history. When he returned to Basel loaded with that baggage of experience and ideas, Zwinger was ready to begin the first of the four editions of his monumental *Theatrum humanae vitae*, the most famous and innovative encyclopedia of the time, in which all the human disciplines were to be catalogued on the basis of the revolutionary concept of science as defined by the learned one from Basel – and later celebrated by Bacon<sup>[32]</sup>. But Zwinger was also ready to welcome the proposals of Blotius and to plan with him and Perez the *Methodus apodemica*.

In 1568 Blotius confided to his teacher his idea of composing a work describing the political reality of the times<sup>[33]</sup>. He had had the idea in Basel after observation of the transformations occurring in society made during his travels and above all with the encouragement of Zwinger's philosophical and methodological ideas which, as he said, had "opened his eyes"<sup>[34]</sup>. In the book planned by Blotius there would be the image not of an ideal Republic similar to that of Plato or More or based on speculative Aristotelian schemes like those offered by the medieval jurists, but rather a realistic and scientific description of one or more real "Respublicae" in order to provide a model for travellers to use in observing cities and states encountered during their wanderings<sup>[35]</sup>. The image of the city or state would emerge from a detailed and articulated arrangement of questions to which the traveller would respond using his empirical observation of the reality around him. The sum of the images resulting from this analysis would allow the recomposition in a single picture of the fragmentary and incoherent visions of the political entities of Europe and the acquisition, in this manner, of a solid and realistic base for the formation of the citizen and development of a scientific political vision. Travel thus took on a notably political character, aiming at an analysis of the structure and organization of States functioning for the comprehension of contemporary political reality and reflection on it. The final aim of this cognitive and speculative process was public *utilitas*, that is, to contribute, in accord with the most fecund lessons of Humanism, to the betterment of humanity and society.

6. Blotius' original project was transformed into the more innovative *Methodus apodemica*, realized years later by Zwinger<sup>[36]</sup>. Blotius however contributed to the compilation of the political part, supplying his teacher with a series of tables for the analysis of cities and regions, a model for analysis of the city using Basel as the example, a description of the city of Padua and bibliographical information about Venice and Padua. The descriptive model of Basel was laid out according to the Aristotelian categories of *corpus* and *anima* whose applicability to concrete reality Blotius had learned from Zwinger; it contained information on the administration, town-planning, and geographic structure of the city (*corpus*) and its churches,

university, modes and customs (*anima*), so that it provided an extremely precise image of it as political and social reality. It was Blotius' intent to multiply the tables, with the *exemplum* of Basel, by travelling and with the help of friends. This idea was made concrete by Zwinger in the *Methodus apodemica*, although in the context of a broader cultural design, that saw in intellectual cooperation and public dissemination of knowledge the "methodological hinge of intellectual activity"<sup>[37]</sup>. As for himself, Blotius then refuted the original idea of the great universal project of the *Museum generis humani Blotianum*, to which the entire European intellectual community would have contributed, brought together by the vision of a *République des lettres* at the service of culture and the State and by the sharing of higher values immune to political-religious conflicts and free of cultural prejudices. The plan remained in a utopic state, an admirable utopia.

In 1569, still waiting to *edit* the planned political work, Blotius prepared the *Tabula peregrinationis continens capita politica*, a text in the form of a questionnaire that travellers could use to describe the observed political situation using scientific criteria, and then fill in the relative tables<sup>[38]</sup>. There were two novelties in the *Tabula* as it was the first proposal of an empirical systemization of material collected while travelling and one of the first of a "private" nature, in the sense that the compilers and enjoyers of the resulting tables would be everyone who used it. Earlier works on the analysis and betterment of political and administrative structures – like those by Francesco Sansovino or Juan Ovando y Godoy and Juan Lopez de Velasco – had in fact a public and official destination that excluded the private citizen from access to the information, and were rather the expressions of the reorganization of the state system taking place during the century<sup>[39]</sup>.

7. Blotius' *Tabula* was divided into 117 questions, very detailed and precise. Grouped by themes relative to the basic elements that divided a State or a city into *corpus* or *anima*; the traveller was to use empirical observation in answering. The first twenty questions cover the political form, the town-planning, the system of weights and measures, the money, the geomorphological aspects of the city or State being analyzed. A very large number of the questions were about the religious aspects from both institutional and cultural points of view (with reference to the space for religious freedom, especially regarding Jews and Anabaptists), as well as the political, social, and economic (paying special attention to the effects of the Reformation, to the religious and organizational character of the churches and ecclesiastic personnel, to their rôles in the town or state). There were a few questions also about the educational system and especially the university's function. The space given to the real and proper administration of the city was very broad in order to give a precise examination of the power and structure of the judiciary, of the nature and prerogatives of the government organs, of the social extraction of government members, of the organization of the bureaucracy, of justice and of the principal offices (food, defense, etc.) and the management costs. The other questions covered various arguments, from public and individual rights (hunting and weights, inheritance, divorce, etc.) to natural catastrophies, to festivities, public aid, prevention of epidemics and fires to garbage disposal, etc. Blotius used the *Tabula* as a guide for the trip he took to Italy in 1571 and during which he wrote a long and detailed diary<sup>[40]</sup>: the text of the tables was published in the appendix of the third edition of the



and detailed diary, the text of the tables was published in the appendix of the third edition of the famous *Itinerarium Germaniae, Galliae, Angliae, Italiae* by the Humanist Paul Hentzer<sup>[41]</sup>. But, as we shall soon see, the contribution of Blotius is very clearly seen also in the chapter of the *Methodus apodemica* that is dedicated to the analysis of the political physiognomy of the city, even though re-elaborated in the light of Zwinger's scientific ideas. It was Zwinger himself who remarked on Blotius' contribution to the compilation of the *Methodus apodemica* in the preface.<sup>[42]</sup>

### **The *Methodus apodemica* and description of the city as political space**

8. When the *Methodus apodemica* came off Episcopius' press, two other fundamental texts on the *ars apodemica* had just recently been published in Germany: *Commentariolus de arte apodemica seu vera peregrinandi ratione* by the Humanist doctor Hilarius Pyrckmair and *De peregrinatione et agro napolitano* by the jurist Hieronymus Turler. Both were descriptions of the respective author's travels in Italy (and especially the cities), undertaken following Ramus' methodology. The intent and aims of these three works was the same: to favor the development of the individual and society by means of the scientific comparison of different realities, as Zwinger himself acknowledged in the preface to the *Methodus apodemica*.<sup>[43]</sup> Nevertheless, Zwinger's work stands out because of its innovation and the strength of its methodological and theoretical foundations.

The purpose and the structure of the *Methodus apodemica* were explained by Zwinger in the preface. His *ars apodemica* was born of the desire to help mankind undertake an activity, travel, that he considered inherent to human nature and that in mankind reached its highest degree of perfection.<sup>[44]</sup> Motion was part of the natural world, everything was in perpetual movement in man's works and through him, in God's ("In perpetuo motu sunt omnia propter hominem, homo propter Deum"), since man, created in the divine image, represented the point of conjunction between material and spiritual reality, between microcosm and macrocosm<sup>[45]</sup>. The whole preface is permeated by the hermetic philosophy acquired by Zwinger from Guillaume Aragosius' *De sole triplici*<sup>[46]</sup>, wisely integrated with his new idea of experience. The highest expression of man's movement was in his intellectual mobility that should render him "cosmopolitan", pushing him to explore the universe with his most important attribute: the "intelligendi munus"<sup>[47]</sup>.

According to Zwinger, however, cognitive action could not be separated from practical personal experimentation and historical experiences, which were identified and which, following the Hippocratic concept of *istoría* – revisited and amplified in the *Methodus apodemica* – involved all fields of knowledge. Travelling permitted, through experience, the necessary synthesis of practice and theory<sup>[48]</sup>. The valuation of the practical aspect by Zwinger in the *Methodus apodemica* – accentuated by his concomitant turn towards Paracelsism<sup>[49]</sup> – brought him, on the general philosophical plane, to a scepticism towards knowledge removed from reality and experience as he leaned strongly towards the new speculative models. Scepticism was the chief characteristic of Zwinger's intellectual activity, as he analysed all disciplines through that lens. As Gilly has mentioned, Scepticism and Hermeticism, in the



particular interpretation of “operative knowledge”, found a fertile synthesis of consequences for modern epistemology and for the break with traditional patterns of thought in Zwinger.<sup>[50]</sup> Practical experience was just as central to the development of Zwinger’s political concepts, since political doctrine found its primary base in direct and methodologically oriented observation of real cities and States, of the “vivas rerum publicarum formas”.<sup>[51]</sup> Significantly, Zwinger praised Machiavelli in his preface of *Il principe* edition’s published by Perna, because Machiavelli founded the political science on the observation of the historical reality.<sup>[52]</sup> The city represented the best place for experimental observation as it was the place in which human activity was most clearly expressed and where the traveller could most immediately perceive the motives and mechanisms present in the historic activity of the men who had created it.

9. But experimental observation was immediately translated, in Zwinger’s thought, into theoretical elaboration, in order to give life to his grand and utopian cultural project, which represented for him the aim of the cognitive process and fully expressed his cultural relativism and the methodological principles that marked his intellectual activity: the acquisition of all knowledge, disseminated like “precious merchandise” throughout the various “emporiums of the world” and meeting in a State or in a University or in a church, to then be again distributed into society like “Trojan horses”.<sup>[53]</sup>

For the realization of this project Zwinger called on all men of letters, in his conviction of the importance, for the renewal of science, of a gradual and not sensationalistic broadening of scientific research by single persons rigorously applying the experimental method.<sup>[54]</sup> The knowledge thus acquired – scattered fragments of truth present in all human cultures and disciplines, collected and made public by an ever widening intellectual community alien to religious, cultural, and political prejudices – would have fermented ideas and awareness, producing a slow but inexorable erosion of the traditional culture of the modern age.

This unprejudiced attitude in the face of tradition was reflected also in religious behaviour, which in Zwinger’s view inclined towards indifferentism and Nicodemism, especially in situations of conflict. In his *Methodus apodemica* he advised the traveller to be “deaf and mute” in the approach to religions of countries visited, so as to avoid futile involvement and to preserve one’s own integrity and intellectual superiority<sup>[55]</sup>. The gaze that Zwinger and his Erasmian colleagues rested on European realities was by now beyond the confessional and cultural barriers firmly placed by new and old orthodoxies to intellectual renewal of European society.

If the aim of travel was the enrichment of knowledge, the impulse to travel was equally, according to Zwinger part of man’s nature as “political animal”. This nature, given him by God, made him wish to become “totius mundi civis” and to communicate his knowledge to everyone, for better the human community. The need for collaboration and co-habitation was in fact reputed by Zwinger to be inherent in human nature, in its very constitution<sup>[56]</sup>.

Even in the preface to the *Methodus apodemica* the character of investigation of the forms of associated life attributed by Zwinger to travel emerged clearly. That desire to explore the world and transmit the newly gained knowledge moved people of all social classes and ages, from the young to the elderly, and

appeared to Zwinger's eyes to be ever more common in the society of his time. Travelling, however, was full of dangers and difficulties: Zwinger, who had had experiences during his wanderings, declared that he had written the *Methodus apodemica* in order to help the growing number of travellers to face these and to enjoy a positive experience<sup>[58]</sup>.

10. Even though the first motive in publishing the work was practical, it comprised also in its author's intention a precise and elevated value on the theoretic plane: travel, like all other human activities, was pertinent to all philosophy and needed to be analysed using appropriate scientific instruments, supplied by method<sup>[59]</sup>. The selection of a *methodus unica* as Zwinger here strongly emphasizes, was necessary to the investigation of reality and transmission of knowledge.<sup>[60]</sup> Travel offered an optimal opportunity to comprehend the basic values of scientific research.

To render travel experience fruitful on the intellectual plane, Zwinger proposed the use of his tables, as the perfect instrument to guide the methodical learning process<sup>[61]</sup>. The structure and contents of the *Methodus apodemica* itself were illustrated in four tables in the preface<sup>[62]</sup>. The *Methodus* was divided into four books, dedicated respectively to the two aspects of the learning process: the *ενθύμησις* *universalis* and the *εγχείρησις* *particularis*. The books, with their contents "finis, efficiens, forma, materia", referred to the four Aristotelian "causae". In the preface, Zwinger had specified anyway that his work would follow the Aristotelian pattern, but aimed also at overcoming gnosis and praxis in general observations, using also the Hippocratic notion of *χειροτριβή*, practical, manual experimentation, which in the illustration of political reality lead to *εγχείρησις*, to the description of real, actually observed examples<sup>[63]</sup>.

The title of Book I is "De peregrinationum causis, accidentibus et speciebus", and following the Aristotelian model contemplates procedures of theoretical and practical analysis realized with reference to universal principles. Various aims and modes of travel are examined, their "substance", the types of travellers, the means for coping with various financial or health hazards, etc. The analysis ranged from linguistic, topographic, religious, military, health aspects to customs, notable things, mechanical arts and social relations. Book II, titled "De praeceptis peregrinationum tum universim, tum singillatim", moved from theory to practice, illustrating the "praecepta contemplationis et actionis" relative to practical aspects, moral and behavioral principles, and used examples. The third book was dedicated to the description of the four cities chosen as models. In the fourth book, as the title says "De particularium quorundam observatione", was advice as to the description of elements to be observed during travel. The tables were structured according to the Aristotelian categories of "locus, locatum" (the stable elements) and "actio" (the dynamic activities), and each of these was divided into subcategories, meant to describe in great detail every single aspect of the argument; these subdivisions were indicated in the tables by the brackets.

11. The third book carried out a basic function in the context of *Methodus apodemica*. The examples of the four cities were in fact intended to be the explanation and empirical verification of the universal precepts, in reality and in history, according to Hippocrates: "Quandoquidem [...] praecepta universalia exemplis singularibus explicanda sunt et veluti animandae: quid in urbe Basilicae, Perisicae, Patavinae et

exemplis singularibus explicanda sunt et veluti animalia: quid in urbe Basiliense, Parisiense, Patavina et Atheniense, vel observatum velut observandum sit, methodo mixta, respectu quidem locorum topicorum, respectu rerum pragmatica, utraque sane historica expendamus”<sup>[64]</sup>. These descriptions, above and beyond their specific functions, also carried a significance particular to the cognitive process according to Zwinger: they offered a grid for scientific analysis of the basic entity of associated life, or the city, giving an important impulse to the development of a science of *politeia* founded on direct observation of reality and of historical documentation. In the *Methodus apodemica* in fact was foreseen the careful examination not only of political institutions – important in itself – but also of *all* the components and structures of the city, physical and cultural, that permitted the exhaustive reconstruction of human settlements and the history of man’s application in his society to create social bonds, economic structures, political, religious, and cultural institutions, and transform them over time in relation to needs and ideas emerging from the body politic. The city thus became the best observatory of history and politics, of which it was the expression. And *politeia* regained its original and fullest meaning, to become the science of the exercise of human rights in as much as citizen and “political animal” of the human community. With this complete analysis of the city, besides the specifically political institutions, the *Methodus apodemica* showed itself quite fertile also on the plane of political thought, renewing the traditional Humanistic reflections about *civitas*.

The choice of cities to be analysed, to listen to Zwinger, depended on their ties with his personal formative experience: at Basel he had received his first rudimentary schooling, at Padua and Paris he had studied literature and medicine and philosophy; while Athens on the other hand represented the ideal formative place as it was the home of Aristotle and Plato, who were the originators of his sense of public duty (“publica θρόνηταιρα debemus”).<sup>[65]</sup> But it does not seem to me unfounded to assign a more general meaning to the choice. The *Methodus apodemica* indicates a reasoned itinerary for a path destined to form men and citizens responding to a precise cultural and political ideal, in which literary and scientific knowledge is joined with civic virtue and political and intellectual engagement; a path followed by Zwinger, but also indirectly proposed as a model for all his contemporaries.

12. In his description of the city, Zwinger used his own knowledge and the information sent to him by Hugo Blotius, Luca Iselius, and Simon Ostermann<sup>[66]</sup>. To strengthen the historical aspect he used *Epitome Historiae Basiliensis* by Christian Wursten, *Les antiquitez et singularitez de la Ville, Cité et Université de Paris* by Gilles Corrozet, the *Historia patavina* of Bernardo Scardeoni, the *De republica Atheniensium libri quattuor* of Carlo Sigonius and the two works of Pausanias, the *De tota Graecia libri decem* and the *De florentis. veteris Graeciae regionibus commentarii*<sup>[67]</sup>. His intention of providing historically accurate information to travellers is clear. As is the declaration that *apodemica* was a “choral” genre and in continuous progress because of the collaboration of travellers and scholars to the growth of knowledge<sup>[68]</sup>.

Each city was analysed according to the pattern set out in the synoptic tables. It was subdivided into the following points: the general and detailed configuration of the territory; the physiognomy of the city, considered from the point of view of genre and species, which in turn was divided into material and

formal elements; and within these latter were examined the ecclesiastic, educational, political, and economic structures: [Appendix I]<sup>[69]</sup>.

The analytic procedure included progressive phases of investigation and of specification: the single arguments were illustrated in a precise order of succession that, following a progressive selection of themes, became increasingly specific; in consequence every table generated others, more detailed and specific, thus making an "arbor scientiae". The synoptic tables were followed by an explanation that was often very detailed in the single points, with information drawn from history and direct observation, so that a real topographic, historic, and artistic map of the city was the result.

The description of the four cities proceeded followed a single pattern, even if for each city the more characteristic aspect was underlined and analysed more in detail: for Basle, the natural, town-planning, and cultural setting; for Padua the University with its illustrious faculty; for Athens, the political structure<sup>[70]</sup>. Paris was penalized by comparison, because as Zwinger warned in the foreword to its description, he had selected the information "non tam quae observata sint, quam quae a nobis, dum studiorum causa illic haereremus, observari debuerint"<sup>[71]</sup>: so that no specific aspect was pointed out, all were treated very synthetically, even the University, and the political aspect was entirely absent<sup>[72]</sup>.

13. Basel was examined in the two parts that made up the city, *Basilea maior* and *minor* according to an identical analytic structure, and in all its components; a very synthetic chapter was dedicated to the surrounding territory<sup>[73]</sup>. Let us take the description of Basel as a reference model for the other cities, and point out the differences. In the examination of the general configuration of the territory, one takes into consideration all the geographical, naturalistic, climactic, town-planning elements and the characteristics of the inhabitants, their number, physical, intellectual, social, professional aspects, the social, political, economic and religious structures that they had created. One of the tables was, for example, structured in this manner: [Appendix II]<sup>[74]</sup>.

The tables relative to the general physiognomy of the city, in the second chapter, followed an analogous pattern and in the part relative to the "res" inspected the geographical and human aspects in relation to nature, while in the part relative to the analysis of "homines" (included in "forma") indicated the motives for citizens' association in religious and political contexts (which however were not later analysed).<sup>[75]</sup>

In the third chapter there was the examination of the parts of the city which were "similar or different". Together with the "res", concerning the holy and profane (libraries, courts, ports, sewers, etc.) buildings, works of art, the flora and fauna, there were the "homines", always according to the three categories of "animus, corpus, fortuna" that here not only aimed at establishing physical characteristics, but the inclination to "theorica, practica, mechanica" activity and, in respect to social success, the entity of goods and honors and the qualities of everyday relationships<sup>[76]</sup>. In illustrating the points relative to human activities, Zwinger listed the figures in Basel who had distinguished themselves in letters (Bonifacius Amerbach, worthy heir of Erasmus, received special praise), in printing, and in warfare<sup>[77]</sup>.

The fourth chapter, very synthetic and with no plates, was given to "politia ecclesiastica" while the fifth has numerous plates on the "politia academica", which permitted the drafting of a very detailed and

exhaustive picture of the entire educational system, of its history and internal organization, with respect to the institutional organs, the faculty (whose characteristics and prerogatives were separated), and the disciplines, up to the modes, contents, and hours of the lessons<sup>[78]</sup>.

14. There were some tables in the sixth chapter describing the "constitutio politica" of the city<sup>[79]</sup>. These particular tables were very interesting both for their internal configuration and for the presence of explanations relative to details of analysis giving precise indications of the principles which, according to Zwinger, should inspire the representatives of civic power as they carried out their functions. The first table concerned the social structure of the city, which in Basel included the presence of nobles, *Hohenstuben*, and the "plebei", organized under the four larger (*Herrenzünfte*) and eleven minor (*Handwerkzünfte*) guilds. The second table, defined on the basis of an organic conception of the State with a Platonic matrix – according to which it was a large body animated by a "mirifica" harmony among the single parts, which however did not exclude a political hierarchy – showed the structure of the Baselese judiciary and the connotative features of their work. At the top of the hierarchical scale of civic authority was the "magistratus", the term Zwinger seems to have used in referring to the highest power, and in this case to the group that governed the city, which in 1521 was entirely made up of – like all the city's governing bodies – representatives of the guilds: in these were the so-called *Häupter*, or *Bürgermeister* and the *Oberzunftmeister*. The magistrate had to be outstanding in his caution in knowing and judging and in his ability to act practically; ("partim interna animi prudentia in cognoscendo et iudicando, partim externa corporis dexteritate et facultate in agendo"); the populations of both town and country were under his jurisdiction. The magistrate thus had a double duty, both to know and to act. The resolution of public affairs (the "agenda") was trusted to the internal consultation of the varying organs of political representation, the "democratic", "political", "aristocratic". The first was made up of the greater Council, composed of two hundred members, in which there were six delegates from each guild (the *Sechser*), the judge from the two parts of the city, four delegates for each of the three guilds of *Klein Basel*, and all the members of the lower Council, the "political" organ which was in turn made up of sixtyfour members, including the heads of the various guilds, a *Ratsherr* and the *Häupter*. The greater Council ratified legislative, executive, and judiciary decisions taken exclusively in the lower and had the right to consult in questions of general interest to the community, the proclamation of war and peace, and the stipulation of negotiation. The "aristocratic" was a group of thirteen people, chosen from within the lower Council. The judiciary had also the duty of the "acta", and above all the job of "iudicatio", which it carried out in concert with the competent institutional figures, the *iudices*, subdivided into functionaries for financial and civil causes; to the functionaries for civil causes were trusted the resolution of controversies generated by crimes relative to property or contracts (for these there is a model, also very detailed, in the following table). The magistrate was thus called on also for "actio", through "observation, listening, care" of all the elements necessary to maintain the State: his intervention could be "quietus", in order to conserve peace and tranquility, or "turbulentus" in facing situations that required force (as in fires, floods, war), and was assisted by specific institutional figures (*praefecti* and *signiferi Reipublicae centuriones*)<sup>[80]</sup> Zwinger's description of the magistrate's competences was very precise and detailed:

contenuto; Zwinger's description of the magistrate's competences was very precise and detailed, also detailed was the graphic illustration of the other civic institutions: [Appendix III]<sup>[81]</sup>.

15. The last table contained the complete description of the material "res" in Basel (libraries, fountains, forests, etc.)<sup>[82]</sup>. In the rest of the chapter Zwinger dutifully described the form of the *politia* of Basel, reviewing the highpoints of its historical evolution from the middle ages when the city was governed by a Bishop with monarchical powers, to the following battle for emancipation from his domination on the part of the nobles and populace – the one for the "desire for honor", the other "aspiring towards liberty" – which had led to an early form of oligarchic public representation, and then, after the birth of the Confederation, to a more democratic political organization, in which the people also had numerous representatives<sup>[83]</sup>. Finally there was examination of the *motus politiae*, by means of the description of the modalities for the election of magistrates and their system of alternating throughout history. In this context too, one had seen a process of democratization: the twelve counsellors who represented the nobility, knights, and patricians were joined by the thirty elected by the people; the consul or burgermaster, who was a knight nominated by the Council and confirmed by the Bishop, was later elected by the populace; and even the election of the political delegates, judges, and the "primary magistrates" passed from the patriciate and the Bishop to the peoples' Senate, in different ways according to the office. A limit to this process was in the lack of turn-over in the offices, which were generally held for life by all the members of the Councils, with a change in functions in alternate years<sup>[84]</sup>. The seventh chapter had no tables and was dedicated to the "oeconomica" of the Basel citizenry<sup>[85]</sup>.

Following a rather summary description of Paris, covering only the toponomastics and civil institutions (with the clear exclusion of the political ones), Zwinger moved on to describe Padua. His analysis concentrated particularly on the University, using many tables and copious information on its history, structure, organization, docents, lessons, academic customs, etc.<sup>[86]</sup> The greater attractiveness of Padua, Zwinger seemed to be saying to young travellers, lay in its Academy, made famous by well-known docents, by its exemplary organization, and by the wealth of scientific knowledge taught there. But one has the clear impression that the importance attributed to the Paduan Academy derived also from the fact that, in Zwinger's eyes, the institution fulfilled a greater role than just the strictly intellectual to become a fulcrum of the cultural and civic formation of future citizens, and that for this eminent political and civic role, the University was worthy of a central place in his description of the city. Zwinger placed the civic formation of man in various institutions of the city, all contributing to it, to a different degree in different times and places.

The other aspects of Padua, toponomastic, geographic, climactic, etc., were examined by means of tables analogous to those used for Basel, even if commented more summarily. Regarding the *politia*, Zwinger did not include tables and only gave some synthetic information about the citizens, colonies, ties federated by and subject to Padua, on the form of government and its political evolution since the middle ages<sup>[87]</sup>.

16. In the description of Athens, it is the political component that occupies most of the space. It is true

16. In the description of Athens, it is the political component that occupies most of the space. It is true that Athens, birthplace of the "divine Plato" and wetnurse to the "admirable Aristotle"<sup>[88]</sup>, was examined in all of its parts, with tables and erudite commentary; but it was the political structure that formed the center of interest for this city in the eyes of Zwinger. The emphasis given to the political constitution of Athens was one of the innovative aspects of the *Methodus apodemica*, since it contributed to that valorization of the Athenian republic that its beginnings saw before it became a myth in the XVIIIth century and famously contrasted to Sparta<sup>[89]</sup>. Differently from Rome and Sparta, taken up as ideal political models for reference and comparison, Athens, even though already celebrated by Bruni<sup>[90]</sup>, had not in fact become a myth nor had it been the object of Sigonio's scientific analysis, in his founding history of Greece and Athenian democracy, *De republica Atheniensium*<sup>[91]</sup>. Sigonio, like Postel before him – also author of a text on Athenian institutions, but of much less worth<sup>[92]</sup> – had been motivated by the desire to compare Athens and Venice, whose constitution had recently been illustrated by Donato Giannotti and Gasparo Contarini, with the intent of idealization<sup>[93]</sup>. But, even though the comparison was there, and to the disadvantage of the Athenian democracy, in his work the Modenese historian had tried to offer a complete and organic image of Athens, its history, and above all the characteristics and evolution of its judiciary, based on a lucid theoretical Aristotelian matrix, rigorous critical method, and on plentiful and selected historical documentation. In this way, and above all with the application of critical method in the reconstruction of the past, Sigonio revolutionized the study of Greek history, as he had already done for Roman and medieval history, contributing to its evolution in Europe, and also to the survival of Humanistic orientation in the Counterreformation, to whose censorial apparatus he indeed fell victim<sup>[94]</sup>. Thus, when Bodin in his *Methodus* (and again in the *Repubblica*) took up the theme of constitutions and compared the governments of Athens, Venice, and Rome, he found that Sigonio's text was a fundamental, if not inarguable<sup>[95]</sup>, reference. And so Zwinger found it, as he openly founded his description of Athens on it and so provided resonance for the Modenese author's cultural contribution all across Europe<sup>[96]</sup>.

17. In the *Methodus apodemica*, more than thirty pages of the chapters on Athens were dedicated to the political aspect. The numerous explanatory tables, bearing the usual subdivisions, offered a grid for analysis of the public and private offices that represented the various functions of the "corpus" of the State, superior and inferior, which together cooperated to keep it healthy.<sup>[97]</sup> In this case as well, the explanation of the single "voices" of the tables with comments and historical notes enriched the knowledge of political doctrine. For example, in the first table, dealing with the "form" of political offices; that is, those which "hominibus ratione politica conveniunt", was illustrated the Platonic conception that the government of the State belonged to the wise men, since in the same way that the intelligence presides over the functions of the body, "ii qui intelligentia caeteris antecellunt, ex naturae instituto praeesse debent aliis"<sup>[98]</sup>. In another the various forms of government are carefully described, in relation to the ways of election of the magistrate (generically understood to be the wielder of supreme power): these modalities are easy to separate into "simple" republics, less easy into mixed republics with the



exception of those like Sparta where the political configuration was clear from the beginning, "ut quam maxime ex regno et democratia et aristocratia composita videretur, popularis tamen forma praecellebat"<sup>[99]</sup>. The magistrate was named either coercively or at the will of others: in this latter case, Zwinger distinguished the constituted powers "extra praesentem Reipublicae formam" and those "in praesentis Reipublicae forma comprehensos". The former were characterized by the attribution of power on the part of the family and from the successive change in the form of government – as happened for Saul and Pittacus, who had transformed the republic into monarchy and tyranny; Poland instead was brought forward as an example of the lack of coherence between the figure of the chief of the State and the structure of the State (the Polish elected a king destined to govern a kingdom "democraticus vel aristocraticus"). Power could instead be "supreme", as in the case of princes in monarchies, of the people in democracy, the Senate in an aristocracy, in that they constituted the source of the law. In another table, relative to the analysis of the *genus* magistrate, Zwinger gave a real and true synthesis of his own political conception, in which the Platonic ideas on the structure of government and its correspondence with the human body melds with the Aristotelian categories of analysis of political power<sup>[100]</sup>. The magistrate wrote Zwinger, in imitation of God, was superior to all others "qui imitatione Dei possit, sciat et velit aliis preesse") and as in the human body reason held a prominent role both in practical and speculative activities, so he must superintend analysis and practice, using consultation with his functionaries, of the questions to be faced and the means of resolving them, so as to carry out his duty which was that of "consulere, iudicare, imperare"; a conception that found its basis in the Aristotelian separation of political action into theoretical (itself subdivided into "agenda" and "acta") and practical action.

18. More in detail, the tables on Athens dealt with the following arguments. In the first was the usual subdivision of genre, species, cause, accidents, material, form, cause efficient<sup>[101]</sup>; the single voices were in turn divided into subcategories and illustrated in the following tables. In the second, there was the pattern of public offices in which "in rem agit propter hominem, et vicissim in hominem propter rem", dividing them into single and plural; the singles, into sacred and profane, and the profane into those used in the homeland or outside, or in peace or in war, with the means proper to the scope (here carefully indicated).<sup>[102]</sup> In the third table was reposed the analysis of man according to his soul, body, fortune, and in the fourth, the characteristics of public offices, structured on the basis of "cognitio" and "actio". The table for the magistrature was as follows: [Appendix IV]<sup>[103]</sup> In the fifth table were described the offices relative to the various sectors of public administration, with comparison to the holy institutions<sup>[104]</sup>. The next table regards the differences of the magistratures in respect to the "causa efficiens"; that is, in respect to who gave or received the office with its relative specifications: [Appendix V].<sup>[105]</sup> The sixth table diagrammed the reasons for change of the offices, in time and in space and for reasons internal and external.<sup>[106]</sup> The seventh gave, under the category of "genre", the synthesis of the political doctrines presented, while the eighth dealt with the difference between magistratures, simple and composite, essential (for the categories of "causa efficiens") and accidental (with respect to the

composite, essential (in the categories of "materia, forma, efficiens") and accidental, putting on to the following tables the analysis of the single "voices"<sup>[107]</sup>. The final two tables concerned the lower magistracies and their characteristics<sup>[108]</sup>.

The detailed description of the Athenian *politia* by means of these tables and the "Aristotelae methodi lumen", concludes with an equally long and ample explanation of the social and political structure of the Greek city, of all its sacred and profane judiciary and their characteristics, functions, prerogatives, and modalities of election<sup>[109]</sup>. The Athenian constitution thus emerged from the ancient texts to become the living model of reference just like the cinquecentese cities observed by the traveller wishing to know and act on the reality of his times, in a fertile synthesis of culture and experience. The *Methodus apodemica* offered itself as a guide for this fascinating voyage.

(translation by Amanda George)

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## Notes

[1] The work and its success have not yet been systematically and fully studied: the more important contributions are by Carlos Gilly, in his fundamental and more general work on Zwinger, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation: Theodor Zwinger und die religiöse und kulturelle Krise seiner Zeit*, I-II, "Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde", 77, 1977, p. 57-139; 79, 1979, p. 125-225, and the work of Justin Stagl on the *ars apodemica*, *Die Methodisierung des Reisen im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*, hrsg. von Peter J. Brenner, Frankfurt a.M., Suhrkamp, 1989, p. 140-176; *Eine Geschichte der Neugier. Die Kunst des Reisens (1575-1663)*, Wien, Köln, Weimar, Böhlau, 2002, p. 84-86 and 158-162 (with bibliography of his and others' texts at 365 ff.; english edition: *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel 1550-1800*, Chur, Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995). See also Paola Molino, *Alle origini della Methodus Apodemica di Theodor Zwinger: la collaborazione di Hugo Blotius, fra empirismo ed universalismo*, "Codices Manuscripti. Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde", LV-LVI, 2006, p. 43-68.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[3] Besides the fundamental studies of Eugenio Garin, *Scienza e vita civile nel Rinascimento italiano*, Bari, Laterza, 1965, p. 33-65 and of Luigi Firpo, *La città ideale del Rinascimento*, Torino, UTET, 1975, see Giorgio Simoncini, *Città e società nel Rinascimento*, Torino, Einaudi, 1974 and *Le ideologie della città europea dall'Umanesimo al Romanticismo*, ed. Vittorio Conti, Firenze, Olschki, 1993 (Il pensiero politico. Biblioteca, 20) (both have bibliographies).

[4] *Ibid.*; *Modelli di città. Strutture e funzione politiche*, ed. Pietro Rossi, Torino, Einaudi, 1987; *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, ed. by Anthony Molho, Kurt Raaflaub, Julia Emlen, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 1991; *Medieval City*, ed. by Anthony Molho, Kurt Raaflaub, Julia Emlen, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991; Marino Berengo, *L'Europa delle città*, Torino, Einaudi, 1999.

[5] Ramus' contribution, considered essential by Stagl (*Eine Geschichte der Neugier* cit., p. 84 ff.), can be excluded on the basis of Paola Molino's research, *Alle origini della Methodus apodemica* cit., p.53, which cites also a letter in which Blotius expresses his thanks to Zwinger and Perez (p. 49). For these figures see the following notes.

[6] On this project see *ibid.*

[7] See August Bernus, *Un laïque du seizième siècle. Marc Perez, l'ancien de l'église réformée d'Anvers*, Lausanne, G. Bridel, 1895, Paul J. Hauben, *Marcus Perez and Marrano Calvinism in the Dutch Revolt and the Reformation*, "Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance", 29, 1967, p. 121-132; Antonio Rotondò, *Pietro Perna e la vita culturale e religiosa di Basilea fra il 1570 e il 1580*, now in Id., *Studi di storia ereticale del Cinquecento*, Firenze, Olschki, 2007 (Studi e testi per la storia religiosa del Cinquecento, 15), 2 voll., II, p. 492, 496-500; Carlos Gilly, *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck bis 1600. Ein Querschnitt durch die spanische Geistesgeschichte aus der Sicht einer europäischen Buchdruckerstadt*, Basel, Frankfurt a. M., Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1985, p. 232-235, 409-426 and *passim*.

[8] Lacking a complete profile of Blotius, see Leendert Brummel, *Twee ballingen's lands tijdens onze opstand tegen Spanje. Hugo Blotius (1534-1608), Emmanuel van Meteren (1535-1612)*, Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1972, p. 1-80; Howard Louthan, *The Quest of compromise: Peacemakers in Counterreformation Vienna*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 53-84. Blotius' background has been carefully reconstructed by Paola Molino in her thesis, *"Die andere Stimme". La formazione di un intellettuale erasmiano del tardo Cinquecento: Hugo Blotius (1534-1575)*, Università degli studi di Firenze, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, a. a. 2004-2005.

[9] For a profile of Zwinger see Antonio Rotondò, *Pietro Perna* cit., II, p. 490-495 and *passim*: as Rotondò says, "the image of the man is in his abundant writing" (p. 490), which is still awaiting detailed exploration and publication. See also Carlos Gilly, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation* cit., and Alfred Berchtold, *Bâle et l'Europe. Une histoire culturelle*, Lausanne, Payot, 1990, II, p. 655-680.

[10] For this intellectual attitude see Hans Bots, Françoise Waquet, *La République des Lettres*, Berlin, De Boeck, 1997.

[11] Zwinger studied at Lyon, Paris, Padua, while Blotius had been in Louvain, Toledo, Orléans, Strasbourg and in many Italian cities.

[12] For Basle see Rudolf Wackernagel, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel*, 4 Bde., Basel, 1907-1924; Alfred Berchtold, *Bâle et l'Europe* cit. (with a good bibliography) and the useful synthesis by Hans R. Guggisberg, *Basel in the Sixteenth Century. Aspects of the City Republic before, during and after the Reformation*, St. Louis (Missouri), Center for Reformation Research, 1982. On the *Erasmusstiftung* see Lucia Felici, *Erasmusstiftung. La fondazione erasmiana nella storia culturale e sociale europea (1538-1600)*, Firenze, Centro Stampa 2p, 2000.

[13] The scholars swore to defend "the name and reputation of Erasmus": see the sixth disciplinary article *ibid.*, p. 207. Zwinger received his scholarship in 1559, Blotius in 1568.

[14] On the *peregrinatio academica* see Hans Bots, Willem Frijhoff, *Academiereis of Educatiereis Noordbrabantse Studenten in het buitenland, 1550-1750*, "Batavia Academica", I, 1983, p. 13-20; *Histoire sociale des populations étudiantes*, études rassemblées par Dominique Julia et Jacques Revel, 2 t. Paris, Editions de l'EHESS, 1989 and especially Dominique Julia, *Les étudiants et leurs études dans la France moderne, ibid.*, II. On the travel in Modern Age see Antoni Maczack, *Viaggi e viaggiatori nell'Europa moderna*, Bari, Laterza, 1992; Eric J. Leed, *The mind of the Traveler. From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism*, Basic Books, New York, 1991; Justin Stagl, *Eine Geschichte der Neugier* cit.; Daniel Roche, *Humeurs vagabondes. De la circulation des hommes et de l'utilité des voyages*, Paris, Fayard, 2003.

[15] Carlos Gilly, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation* cit., II, p. 230 ff., which cites a nice passage in which Zwinger discusses his doubts about Ramus. See also Jean Jehasse, *La Renaissance de la critique. L'essor de l'Humanisme érudit, de 1560 à 1614*, Paris, Champion, 2002, p. 111. Very much supporter of Zwinger's Ramism is Wolfgang Rother, *Ramo and Ramism in Switzerland*, in *The Influence of Petrus Ramo: Studies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Philosophy and Sciences*, ed. by Mordechai Fenigold, Joseph S. Freedman, Basel, Schwabe, 2001, p. 9-37; see also Guido Oldrini, *La disputa del metodo nel Rinascimento. Indagini su Ramo e sul ramismo*, Firenze, Le Lettere, 1997, p. 208. On Ramus see Walter J. Ong, *Ramus and the decay of Dialogue. From the Art of Discours of the Art of Reason*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1958; Reijer Hooykaas, *Humanisme, Science et Réforme: Pierre de la Ramée (1515-1572)*, Leiden, Brill, 1959; Cesare Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica dell'Umanesimo. "Invenzione" e "metodo" nella cultura del XV e del XVI secolo*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1967. On the diagrams see Manfred Welti, *Die europäische Spätrenaissance*, Basel, F. Reinhardt, 1998, p. 63-101 and the chapter "Illustrations and diagrams" in Ian Maclean, *Ideas in context. Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

[16] The importance of Landi's teaching was pointed out by Zwinger also in the preface to *Methodus apodemica* cit., p. g1v. In Padua, Zwinger became important as secretary of Latin letters for the German nation. He also began there his large collection of mortuary inscriptions, which permitted him to compose many epitaphs for his compatriots.

[17] On the University of Padua see *Storia della cultura veneta*, Vicenza, Neri-Pozza, 1976-1986, *ad ind.*

[18] Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus Apodemica* cit., *praefatio*, p. g1v.

[19] Cfr. Antonio Rotondò, *Pietro Perna* cit., p. 558 ff. ; Carlos Gilly, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation* cit., II, p. 136.

[20] His works ranged from the editions of texts by Galeno, Paracelsus, Ficino, Patrizi, Cattani da Diacceto, and Machiavelli, to the compilation of innovative works like the *Theatrum humanae vitae* and

the *Methodus apodemica*: see Carlos Gilly, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation* cit., II, p. 137-156.

[21] Felix Platter, *Vita Theodori Zwingeri* preface to the edition *Theatrum humanae vitae* of 1604 (posthumus); Johann Jacobus Grynaeus, *Ein Christliche Leichpredig, die gehalten worden, bey der Begrebnus des Ehrnvesten, Hochgelehrten und weit berühmten Herren Doctoris Theodori Zuinggeri; Medici, Philosophi, et Polyhistoris: zu Basel in S. Peters Pfarrkirchen den 12. Martij, im jar [...] M.D.LXXXVIII [...]*, Basel, Seb. Henricpetri, [1588], p. ij. Both cited with no other indications in Carlos Gilly, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation* II, cit., p. 137.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 141 ff.

[23] Letter to Jacob Horst, 21 March 1574, cited *ibid.*, p. 144.

[24] Theodor Zwinger, *Theatrum humanae vitae*, Basilea, P. Perna, 1571, p. 613 and edition of 1576, p. 3813. Cfr. Carlos Gilly, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation* cit., II, p. 165 ff.

[25] Theodor Zwinger, *Theatrum humanae vitae* cit., p. 5.

[26] For a comparison with thinkers of the Seventeenth century see Carlos Gilly, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation* cit., II, p. 142 ff. and in particular p. 149-151. More generally, see Robert Flint, *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum and a History of Classifications of Sciences*, Edinburgh-London 1904 (repr. New York, Arno Press, 1975); Siegfried Dangelmayr, *Methode und System, Wissenschaftsklassifikation bei Bacon, Hobbes und Locke*, Meisenheim a. G., Hain, 1974.

[27] Carlos Gilly, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation* cit. II, p. 151.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 146 ff.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 147 ff.

[30] Gottfried W. Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 6 Reihe, I, Berlin 1966, p. 295 ff., cited *ibid.*, p. 148.

[31] Johannes Althusius, *Politica methodice digesta* (Herborn, 1603) and *Iurisprudentiae Romanae methodice digestae libri duo* (Herborn, 1623); Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Parigi, 1566); Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum scientiarum* (Amsterdam, 1650); Pierre Ramus, *Dialecticae libri duo* (Parigi, 1556); but there were also minor works like those of Jacopo Aconcio, *De Methodo* (Basilea, 1558) and Johann H. Alstedt, *Methodus admirandorum mathematicorum* (Herborn, 1623). There is a method intended, even if not scientific, in the work *De Jesu Christo servatore* of Fausto Sozzini (1594). For the *artes sermocinales* see Cesare Vasoli, *La retorica e la dialettica umanistica e le origini della concezione moderna nel "metodo"*, p. 507-593 in Id., *Profezia e ragione. Studi sulla cultura del Cinquecento e del Seicento*, Napoli, Morano, 1978.

[32] On the *Theatrum*, which had two other editions in 1571 and in 1586, in which the contents were modified and considerably enlarged see Carlos Gilly, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation* cit., *passim* and Id., *Il Theatrum vitae humane di Theodor Zwinger: da una historia naturalis dell'uomo al novum Organum delle scienze in Magia Alchimia scienza dal '400 al '700. l'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto*

*Organum bene servare*, in *Hugio, Alchimia, scienza dal 1600 al 1700. L'Invasione di Ermete Trismegisto*, Carlos Gilly and Cis van Heertum, eds., Firenze, Centro Di, 2002, and Ann Blair, *Zwinger's Theatrum humanae vitae*, in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Gianna Pomata, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 2005, p. 269-296.

[33] See Paola Molino, *Alle origini della Methodus Apodemica* cit., p. 51 ff.

[34] See the letter from Blotius to Zwinger cited by Paola Molino, *ibid.*, p. 49. On their relationship, as witnessed by the correspondence in Vienna and Basel, see *ibid.* and Ead., *Sulle tracce di Hugo Blotius*, "Biblos", 54, 2005, p. 143-155, p. 144.

[35] The project is described in a letter from Blotius to Zwinger, 3 December 1569, cited by Antonio Rotondò, *Pietro Perna* cit., p. 492, and published by Paola Molino, *Alle origini della Methodus Apodemica* cit.

[36] For the differences between the two projects, see *ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[38] There is a German version of the *Tabula* in Justin Stagl, *Vom Dialog zum Fragebogen. Miscellen zur Geschichte der Umfrage*, "Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie", 31, 1979, p. 611-638.

[39] See Justin Stagl, *A History of curiosity* cit., p. 124, 127 ff. and Id., *Vom Dialog zum Fragebogen* cit., p. 611 ff., 615. Sansovino wrote *Del governo dei regni e delle Repubbliche* in 1561; the reports of Ovando y Godoy and Lopez de Velasco on the Spanish possessions in America were in the *Geografia y descripcio universal de las Indias*, published in 1572.

[40] For Blotius' travel diaries, see for now Paola Molino, *Istruzioni per un viaggio in Italia: "Hodoeporicum Hugoni Blotii earum rerum quas in Italia vidit et observavit"*, "Biblos", 55, 2006, p. 115-127.

[41] Paul Hentzer, *Itinerarium Germaniae, Galliae, Angliae, Italiae, cum indice locorum, terrarum atque verborum commemorabilium. Huic libro accessere nova haec editio: I monita peregrinatoria duorum doctissimorum virorum; itemque II incerti auctoris epitome praecognitorum historicorum, antehac non edita*, Nürnberg, Abraham Wagenmann, 1629, p. Zz 1-Zz 6.

[42] Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica, praefatio*, p. b1v.

[43] For these works, published respectively in 1674 and 1577, see Justin Stagl, *Die Methodisierung der Reisen* cit., p. 151 ff. and Id., *Eine Geschichte der Neugier* cit., p. 88-89. The two were also mentioned by Zwinger in his preface, p. b1v.

[44] Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica* cit., *praefatio*, p. a4v-b1r.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. a3r ff.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. a2r-b1v. Cfr. Carlos Gilly, *Il Theatrum humanae vitae* cit., p. 259 ff.

[47] *Ibid.* p. a2r a4v

- ...., p. a2r, a4v.
- [48] *Ibid.*, p. a4v.
- [49] Adhesion to Paracelsism was mentioned to Pietro Perna in a letter of 12 September 1577, published by Carlos Gilly in *Corpus paracelsisticum*, II, p. 745-822.
- [50] Carlos Gilly, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation* cit., II, p. 175.
- [51] Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica* cit., *praefatio*, p. b2r.
- [52] Werner Kaegi, *Machiavelli in Basel*, in Id., *Historische Meditationen*, Zürich, 1942-1946, I, p. 119-181. See Carlos Gilly, *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck* cit., p. 36, 39, 131, 239.
- [53] Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica* cit., *praefatio*, p. b1r.
- [54] Cfr. Carlos Gilly, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation* cit., II, p. 172.
- [55] Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica* cit., p. 48.
- [56] Id., *Methodus apodemica* cit., *praefatio*, p. a3v,b1v.
- [57] *Ibid.*, p. b1v.
- [58] *Ibid.*, p. a2v, g1v .
- [59] *Ibid.*, p. b1v.
- [60] *Ibid.*, p. b4v.
- [61] *Ibid.*, p. b2r.
- [62] *Ibid.*, p. b2v-b4r.
- [63] *Ibid.*, p. b2r.
- [64] Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica* cit., p. 159.
- [65] *Ibid.*
- [66] *Ibid.*, p. b2r.
- [67] Id., *Methodus apodemica* cit., p. 159. Wurstisen's work was published in Basel in 1577 by Sebastianus Henricpetri: presumably Zwinger saw the manuscript. Instead Scardeoni's remained in manuscript. Corrozet's text was published in Paris in 1555 in Groulleau's printing house, Sigonio's in 1564 at Bologna by I. Rubrius, those of Pausanius at Basel, respectively in 1550 and 1557, the former by M. Isengrin, and the latter by J. Oporinus.
- [68] Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica* cit., p. 159 f.
- [69] *Ibid.*, p. 161.
- ....



- [70] *Ibid.*, *praefatio*, p. b4v.
- [71] *Id.*, *Methodus Apodemica* cit., p. 226.
- [72] *Ibid.*, p. 226-252.
- [73] *Ibid.*, p. 161-226.
- [74] *Ibid.*, p. 188.
- [75] *Ibid.*, p. 186.
- [76] *Ibid.*, p. 186 ff.
- [77] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
- [78] *Ibid.*, p. 206 ff.
- [79] *Ibid.*, p. 213 ff.
- [80] *Ibid.*, p. 214 ff.
- [81] *Ibid.*, p. 216.
- [82] *Ibid.*, p. 187
- [83] *Ibid.*, p. 217.
- [84] *Ibid.*, p. 217 ff.
- [85] *Ibid.*, p. 218 ff.
- [86] *Ibid.*, p. 284-312.
- [87] *Ibid.*, p. 312 ff.
- [88] *Ibid.*, p. 319.
- [89] For the contrast between Athens and Sparta in the Eighteenth century see Luciano Guerri, *Libertà degli antichi e libertà dei moderni: Sparta, Atene e i philosophes nella Francia del Settecento*, Napoli, Guida, 1979. On the importance of the Greek tradition for modern political thought, see Eric Nelson, *The Greek Tradition in Republican Thought*, Cambridge, University Press, 2004 (with bibliography).
- [90] In the *Laudatio urbis florentinae* (1405) Athens is praised, on a par with Florence, for their analogous roles in defence of *libertas*, the one from the Persian threat, the other from the Viscount. More referred to Athens in *Utopia*: see *ibid.*, p. 19 ff. For Rome and Sparta, besides the standard Hans Baron, *La crisi del primo Rinascimento italiano*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1970, *ad ind.*, see *City States* cit., and especially A. Brown, *City and Citizen: Changing Perceptions in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century*, p. 93-111; for Sparta see also Saffo Testoni Binetti, *Immagini di Sparta nel dibattito politico francese durante le guerre di religione*, in *Ideologie della città europea* cit., p. 105-124.

- [91] This aspect of Sigonio's activity, left in the shade even in William McCuaig's fundamental, *Carlo Sigonio, The Changing World of the Late Renaissance*, Princeton, New York, Princeton University Press, 1989, has been reevaluated by Giovanni Salmeri, *La "Costituzione degli ateniesi" aristotelica, l'Atene di età imperiale e l'Italia del Sigonio*, in *L' "Athenaion Politeia" di Aristotele. 1891-1991. Per un bilancio di cento anni di studi*, a cura di Gianfranco Maddoli, Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche italiane, 1994, p. 43-61. Sigonio, in 1564, published also *De Atheniensium Lacedaemoniorumque temporibus liber* in Venice.
- [92] The *De Magistratibus Atheniensium* was published in Paris and Venice in 1541.
- [93] Giannotti's *Della Repubblica de' Veneziani*, was published in 1526-27, Contarini's *De magistratibus et Republica Venetorum* in 1543.
- [94] For the importance of Sigonio's work to the Counterreformation, see McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio* cit. For the censures it brought him, see Id., *The Ecclesiastical Censures of 1581-1583 against Carlo Sigonio and his Replies*, available for now on the site of the Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies of the University of Toronto (<http://crs.utoronto.ca/>), and Paolo Prodi, *Vecchi appunti e nuove riflessioni su Carlo Sigonio*, in *Nunc alia tempora, alii mores. Storici e storia in età postridentina*. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Torino, 24-27 settembre 2003, a cura di Massimo Firpo, Firenze, Olschki, 2005, p. 291-310.
- [95] See Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitione*, Amsterdam, J. Ravestein, 1650 (anastatic reprint, Aalen, Scientia, 1967), p. 171, 197 ff.; Sigonio's positions are criticised for their adhesion to Aristotelian concepts, on p. 157, 167, 174 ff. (where the notion of "magistratus" is rejected), 185, 188, 190, 190. I refer to the edition in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Magl. 4.8.6. In the *Repubblica* there are numerous references to Athens and some to Sigonio: see *I sei libri dello Stato*, a cura di Margherita Isnardi Parente e Diego Quaglioni, Torino, Utet, 1964-1997, 3 v., *ad ind.*
- [96] See above, p. 9.
- [97] *Ibid.*, p. 350.
- [98] *Ibid.*, p. 351.
- [99] *Ibid.*, p. 362.
- [100] *Ibid.*, p. 359.
- [101] *Ibid.*, p. 351.
- [102] *Ibid.*, p. 352.
- [103] *Ibid.*, p. 353 ff.
- [104] *Ibid.*, p. 355 ff.
- [105] *Ibid.*, p. 357.

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

[107] *Ibid.*, p. 360-363.

[108] *Ibid.*, p. 365 ff.

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 370-384.

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