

*Sotto i Portici: Life in Seventeenth-Century Bologna Through the Games of
Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1634-1718)*

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Introduction

Giuseppe Maria Mitelli was born in the porticoed city of Bologna in 1634 and died in that same city in 1718. The son of a painter and engraver, Agostino Mitelli, Giuseppe was brought up in an artistic family. He was trained to paint in oil and tempera, to engrave, and to sculpt with clay and wax.¹ He began his artistic career by studying the works of the masters of the Bolognese and Emilian painting schools and producing faithful reproductions.² He became so respected that he was named the first director of the Accademia Clementina, a fine arts academy in Bologna.³ However, Mitelli did not find much success as a painter and turned instead to engraving and etching, which turned out to be a lucrative choice. During his lifetime Mitelli developed into one of Bologna's most important and prolific graphic artists. His *oeuvre* fills a volume of several hundred pages, encompassing mainly what are most commonly dubbed "popular prints", but that description does not accurately convey the breadth of Mitelli's work.

Following his early start in painting, he engraved a number of studies of great works by artists such as Annibale Caracci, Titian, and Pietro da Cortona. He dreamed up fantastical alphabet series, sets of tarot cards, and intricate ornamental prints. Yet the vast majority of his works are more descriptive of everyday life: in *L'Arti per Via* he depicted the various street-sellers of Bologna, while *I Proverbi Figurati* illustrate a large number of common Italian or Bolognese proverbs.⁴ And so although Mitelli focused primarily on depictions of daily life in his home city, simply classifying Mitelli as a "popular" artist is problematic and doesn't do him or his vast, ingenious output justice.

In her article on Mitelli's work engraving commemorative prints for university thesis completions, Mariarosa Cesari gives a brilliant summary of the further-reaching importance of Mitelli and his work:

A cultured and versatile artist, Mitelli was already appreciated by his contemporaries for the extreme honesty which characterizes the entirety of his prolific engraving production. The didactic and moralizing purpose never becomes a dogma or a doctrine, and his serene and disenchanting vision of human nature brings out a complex and articulated world where in the microcosm of daily life is reflected the macrocosm of major events and key themes. Inner being and outward appearance, the private sphere and the social one are investigated and described with the same profound spirit of human sharing, of the constant denunciation of sin but equally soliciting pity for the sinner. Such humane depth is not surprising in an artist who, perfectly integrated in his time, lived with fantasy and was a lover of the arts and of life in all its forms.⁵

Out of the whole impressive catalogue of Mitelli's work, of particular interest to me are a group of thirty-three engravings of dice and board games that he created in the second half of his life, beginning in the 1680's and continuing almost until his death, according to the latest dated game from 1712. In his early biography of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, written in the first half of the eighteenth century, Giampietro Zanotti doesn't ascribe much worth to Mitelli's output as a painter, but among the few things that he mentions favorably are the "cheerful and delightful games" which likely still enjoyed popularity at the time.⁶ Through their depictions of everyday places and social situations in seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century Bologna, along with their inherent nature as items meant to be used in day-to-day interactions, these games provide us with an unusual and unique insight into daily life in Mitelli's Bologna. And if current extant numbers are any indication of usage, Mitelli's games were certainly popular during his time. Very few copies exist today, and these are mainly due to discerning print collectors. We unfortunately do not know how many copies were made of each of these

games during Mitelli's time, but I believe it is safe to presume that they were printed in quantities far greater than the handful which are still in existence. As Giorgio and Luciana Tabarroni note, "The prints of Mitelli, once numerous, are now far from common, and it is likely that what has come down to us does not represent the totality of his production...especially for the games, which were effectively used and consumed by his contemporaries."⁷

A note on a collection of games in the possession of the Biblioteca Classense di Ravenna sums up their broader importance: "They are in fact the events of the day, the activities of any sort, the inventions, the fashion, the characters of the time, which constitute the material ingeniously discussed in the games, for political or didactic means or as propaganda: we find ourselves therefore confronted with documents of not irrelevant historic and social importance."⁸ Another scholar, Emilia De Simoni, also puts the insight we gain into daily life through Mitelli's games into context:

Caillois says, "If the games...are factors and images of culture, it follows that, to some extent, a civilization, and within a civilization an era, can be characterized by its games." The output of Mitelli seems to lend itself to being considered from this perspective, not only because within it the game is expressed by looking to elements from the circumstantial reality, but also because the reinterpretation of the author provides further evidence of this reality, which represents the contemporary world through the subjective mediation of an artistic, versatile, and complex personality, participating in the spirit of the age and the legacy of the past.⁹

These games depict a wide range of themes, from silly gestures, hunting, and the follies of women to topics more specific to the city of Bologna, some of which have directions written in Bolognese dialect rather than standard Italian. Additionally, some of the games seem very topical for the time at which they were produced, commenting on wars and foreign conquests, while others are rife with satire, caricature, and humorous

commentary, something Mitelli was known for. In an article on Mitelli's prints dealing specifically with wars and similar kinds of topics, Giorgio Cencetti notes, "Directly after the liberation of Vienna...Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, son of the celebrated Agostino and professor at the Accademia Clementina, but also a great hunter, athlete and joker in the presence of God and men, was led to illustrating political events of his time."¹⁰

In Chapter One I will begin to examine the audience for these games, how wide their distribution was, and how they might realistically have been consumed. Games specifically about Bolognese topics or in Bolognese dialect would most likely not have been very popular or even legible much outside the environs of the city, and as of yet no evidence has come to light that Mitelli was well known far from his native town. However, these questions can better be answered by beginning with the history of both printing and the printed game, especially as the two developed within Bologna itself.

While Chapter One will establish the background history and context for Mitelli's production, in Chapters Two, Three and Four I will examine specific smaller groups of games in greater detail, taking them as a microcosm of life in Bologna in the seventeenth century, a lens through which we can gain insight into various aspects of Bolognese culture. Chapter Two will focus on a group of games which specifically utilize Bolognese dialect, indelibly linking Mitelli to the city of Bologna. *Zugh d'Tutt i Zugh* ("Game of All the Games"), *Al Zuogh d'la Città d'Bologna* ("Game of the City of Bologna"), and *Zuogh dal Cacciator* ("Game of the Hunter") allow us to address the usage and distribution of the regional dialect while also encouraging an examination of gaming and leisure culture as well as life in general within the city.

Chapter Three will be centered around three games which have topics very specifically tailored to the citizens and city of Bologna, as well as its cultures of food and hospitality, for which the city was renowned. *Il Gioco di Tutte le Monete di Bologna* (“Game of All of the Coins of Bologna”) provides us with a visual depiction of Bolognese currency in the seventeenth century, as well as insight into the economy and various aspects of the culture at the time. *Il Gioco della Cucagna* (“Game of Plenty”) focuses on Bologna’s fame as a pinnacle of gastronomy and the devotion of the city to all things culinary, while the *Gioco Nuovo di Tutte le Osterie che Sono in Bologna* (“New Game of All of the Taverns That Are in Bologna”) informs us of Bologna’s celebrated traditions of hospitality, as well as the social aspects of tavern culture in general.

In Chapter Four I examine a group of games whose topics are not specifically tailored to Bologna, but which nonetheless still provide us with priceless information on daily life in Bologna during Mitelli’s time. *Il Gioco de Mestieri* (“Game of the Trades”) and *Il Gioco Importantissimo del Fornaro* (“Very Important Game of the Baker”) enlighten us about the various roles that men could play in seventeenth-century Bolognese society. There were a wide range of occupations that men could hold and activities in which they could participate, based in large part on their social standing. And on the other side of the gender issue, through the lenses of *Il Gioco della Verità* (“Game of Truth”), *Il Giuoco Gustoso della Simona e della Filippa Compagne Fedele* (“Delightful Game of Simona and Filippa, Faithful Companions”), and *Il Gioco di Madonna Bernardina Mastra di Scuola* (“Game of Lady Bernardina, Schoolteacher”), we learn about women’s roles in this same society, as well as Mitelli’s view on what the

woman's role should be. These games also allow us to touch on another major aspect of Mitelli's work, the elements of humor and satire.

By examining a wide variety of Mitelli's thirty-three games and the assorted themes and aspects of Bologna he illustrates within them, we are able today to conjure up vivid images of what a day in the life of a Bolognese citizen might have been like in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, from the language they spoke to the food they ate, and even to the tavern to which they might have gone in order to play one of these very same games.

Chapter One: The History of the Printed Board Game

The history of the board game goes back thousands of years. Our knowledge of the earliest games comes from Egyptian temple paintings and archaeological sites from Mesopotamia, Assyria, Crete and Cyprus.¹¹ Checkers, as one example, has changed little since it was played in ancient Greece and Rome.¹² Games and gameplay are not always mentioned frequently throughout history, however, and for several hundred years there is not much documentation to be found on their creation and usage. If we move ahead to the Middle Ages in Europe, however, games begin to be mentioned more frequently by the tenth century, and primarily in religious contexts in which they were condemned as slothful activities.¹³ In Italy they were also thought to be encouraging of “blasphemy and drunkenness”, as taverns were a common gathering place for game play.¹⁴ With the start of the fifteenth century in Italy, a “distinctive leisure culture” was born, and with that came much more literature on the use and practice of games of all sorts.¹⁵ In his volume entitled *Recreation in the Renaissance*, Alessandro Arcangeli refers to the parlor game as “a very characteristic experience in the sociability of the nobility and urban middle classes of the Italian Renaissance.”¹⁶ Baldassarre Castiglione’s famous *Libro del Cortigiano* of 1528 talks about parlor games played by those same classes in Italy, and Giovanni Florio’s *Second Fruits* of 1591 provides English readers with one hundred pages of dialogue between two Italian gentlemen who spend a day together and discuss the various activities of which they partake, including a variety of table games.¹⁷ The playing of games was so wide-spread that it even merited mention by Giulio Cesare Croce, the sixteenth-century Bolognese writer of popular literature in the form of prose,

poems, songs, and short plays, in a poem called *Alphabet of the Game-Player in 'ottava rima'*.¹⁸ In this clever piece, Croce writes a verse beginning with each letter in the Italian alphabet from A to V, in which he explores the emotional and physical ups and downs that befall a serious player who gets caught up in the game: “anger, despair, joy, satisfaction, and again anger and despair.”¹⁹

Whereas earlier players likely memorized the rules of board games, with the advent of printing, manuals and listings of games and game-playing began to appear in the sixteenth century in greater numbers throughout Europe: Hierome Cardan (1501-76) wrote a book entitled *De ludis latrunculorum* which described several Italian board games, and books such as *Maison des Jeux académiques* and the *Compleat Gamester* began to surface.²⁰ By the seventeenth century, board games were a fixture of Italian society. Three games in particular were extremely well-known and frequently played by many Italians: the Game of the Goose, the Game of “Pluck the Owl”, and “Biribissi”.²¹

The first of these, *Il Gioco dell'Oca*, or the Game of the Goose (Fig. 1), is said to have been invented by Francesco dei Medici in Florence in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, from where it made its way to Spain, and by 1600 had spread to many other points in Europe.²² In his *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess*, H.J.R.

Murray lays out how the game is played:

The game is played on a spiral course of sixty-three points, consecutively numbered, which is set out on an oblong board. Any number of persons can play, each with a single man which is entered on 1 and borne from 63, the moves being given by the throw of two dice... Other points bear other signs and men reaching these points pay... and... incur other penalties: 6, a bridge, the man is advanced to 12; 19, an inn, lose two moves; 31, a well, wait until another man reaches this point and the two change places; 42, a maze, go back to 30; 52, a prison, wait until another man reaches this point and the two change places; 58, a skull, go back and start again.²³

The second game, *Pela il Chiù*, or “Pluck the Owl” (Fig. 2), was “much in vogue...reproduced according to clear popular inspiration and illustrated by characteristic types such as street hawkers, jugglers, artisans, allegoric figures. Under each square is abbreviated the gain or loss: T is to take from the pot, P is to pay; “Riffa” is the name for the combination of three equal numbers.”²⁴ A catalogue description from *Una Città in Piazza* elaborates further:

It is a typical board game, like that of the goose in having a path, in the sense that it has a starting point and a destination. In the game of “Pluck the Owl”, however, the throw of the three dice and the consequent points – and winnings – constitute the entire entertainment. Each space corresponds to a combination of points of the dice and... ‘sometimes you win, sometimes you lose’... ‘Whoever rolls triple sixes ... wins the game...’ The figures drawn in the squares make one think of the Bolognese balladeers, since they represent many of the recurring figures from Croce’s works, such as the fan seller, the wine merchant, the “donut man”, and others who frequented the city’s piazzas and roads.²⁵

Whatever the type, games have without a doubt played a major role in human history. In his catalogue of European board games, *Giochi a stampa in Europa dal XVII al XIX secolo*, Donatino Domini writes, “The game, thanks to the continuity which has always existed between the true recreational creativity of the child’s game and the *ludus* of the adult’s game, occupies a large part of human existence, enough to characterize it as one of the fundamental activities of human beings.”²⁶

For more insight into the usage of games at this time, we turn to Lodovico Frati. In his volume on life in the city of Bologna in the seventeenth century, Frati writes that “The life of the nobles was a continuous sport. In the summer vacations, plays, rides, pastoral balls, fireworks. In the winter the theater, public conversations, vigils, the Academy, games, masquerade balls.”²⁷ Frati goes on to elaborate on the ubiquitous

nature of the board game in noble households: “The passion for games was so widely diffused that there were not, one could say, conversations in the houses of noble families which lacked game boards, and they were not exempt from the interventions of the Cardinals. Games of chance and dice games were preferred, but prohibited.”²⁸ In *Il magnifico apparato*, Silvia Camerini makes the same point, writing that “every noble and bourgeois home owned a few game boards.”²⁹

As popular as games were with the nobility, they were not the only social class to enjoy this sort of playful activity. According to Arcangeli, playing with dice and cards was a typical folk pastime.³⁰ Camerini also writes, “In the eighteenth century in Bologna the passion for games was spread among all social classes. Aside from the numerous card games... certain board games were very frequently played, especially games of chance or gambling.”³¹ Even as some games came to be prohibited by law, “The repetitive and grave threats didn’t manage, in any case, to cool the ardor and the passion in the Bolognese citizens for the game: they continued to play games of chance more or less in secret.”³²

In fact, games enjoyed such widespread popularity that, depending on the social class of the participants, they were played virtually everywhere – which, according to Silvia Camerini, includes “Palaces... Private Houses, Shops, Taverns, Inns, Pubs, Town Squares, Streets and in any other place they liked.”³³ This point is seconded by Alberto Milano, who writes that these games were played “in homes, but also in the streets and at public theater festivals, and for this not only the paper was needed as support, but also a piece of canvas or wood, which had to be able to be folded or rolled up at the table.”³⁴ Michael Bury elaborates on this in his catalogue of Italian prints. When describing an

edition of *Pela il Chiù*, he notes that “the idea would have been to buy one of these prints and stick it down on to a hard surface of some kind in order to form a game-board.”³⁵

Although many citizens of lower classes often stuck to the *osterie*, *piazze*, or other public locations,³⁶ the nobles tended to play games in more private places, some of which were developed specifically for this purpose. In Bologna, there was the *Casino dei Nobili*, also known as the *Conversazione per la Nobiltà*, which Camerini describes as “a ‘public’ place (exclusively reserved, however, for the aristocracy) for entertaining oneself by playing games and conversing.”³⁷ Frati also mentions the *Casino* in *Il Settecento a Bologna* as a place where “you did whatever you liked, whether you wanted to chat with your lover, sing, dance, have coffee, or play a game. The first and the last of these occupations were the most commonly practiced.”³⁸ Frati goes on to provide some background history on the *Casino*, which, according to Guidicini as cited by Frati, was opened in 1723 in the Palazzo Casali on via Miola (now known as via Farina), but Frati is certain that “this public place of gaming existed long before.”³⁹ In fact, Frati cites the *Vita barocca* of Corrado Ricci, written in 1912, which claims that the marquis Luigi Paleotti used to frequent the *Conversazione di giuoco* in Palazzo Casali in 1695.⁴⁰ Either way, it is entirely feasible that, whether in 1695 or 1723, the nobility of Bologna could have convened at the *Casino dei Nobili* to play one of the many different board or dice games created by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli.

A parallel development to that of the game was the outright banning of some games, which occurred across Europe beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing up through modernity.⁴¹ In the sixteenth century, dice games were banned in England due to their “significant... opportunities for gambling and drinking.”⁴² Arcangeli writes

of a late sixteenth-century treatise on “forbidden games of chance” by an Augustinian friar, Angelo Rocca, in which the frontispiece reads: “A treatise for the salvation of souls and the preservation of goods and money against card and dice games, which are forbidden by the very holy councils, by canon and civil laws not only among Christians, but also among the gentiles...for the many sins and really horrendous cases that originate from such abominable games.”⁴³ In fact, according to the authors of *Una Città in Piazza*, the only game that was not outlawed was the *lotto*, or lottery, which was heavily governed by very specific regulations.⁴⁴ However, John Dickie indicates that board games specifically saw a surge in popularity in the seventeenth century “partly because dice and card games had become a source of tax revenue and an object of official censure...Board games were explicitly excluded from the law’s provisions. Some of the games invented to take the place of cards and dice were accident-filled races akin to snakes-and-ladders. Others involved penalties and rewards handed out according to the throw of dice.”⁴⁵ According to other sources it seemed commonplace for even regular board games to involve drinking and the exchange of money, often at taverns or early gaming houses; and so it seems unlikely that board games were always such innocent sources of pleasure as Dickie makes them out to be.

Also of importance is the place of the game – and of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli – in the history of printing. Mitelli used the technique of etching, a type of intaglio printing in which the metal plate is covered with a ground into which the design is drawn. The plate is then submerged in acid to enforce the design rather than being cut into with a metal tool, as in engraving. Although there are also some technical and creative restrictions imposed by the etching technique, etchings are generally understood to be simpler to

create than engravings, and according to Antony Griffiths, “etching has always been the preferred medium of non-professional printmakers.”⁴⁶ In Italy, the processes of engraving and etching grew out of the locally used technique of niello for decorating precious metals.⁴⁷ However, the idea of using etching as a method of printing on paper did not occur until much later. The process was most likely first used for making prints around 1500, probably in Augsburg, and was first done on iron or steel plates, with copper beginning to be used around fifteen or twenty years later.⁴⁸ Antony Griffiths attests that the first etchings in Italy are attributed to Parmigianino and date to the mid-1520s.⁴⁹ David Landau and Peter Parshall, however, believe that Marcantonio Raimondi was the first Italian artist to work in the medium, and may have even taught Parmigianino.⁵⁰ But no matter which statement is more accurate, it is indisputable that by the 1520’s, etching had taken a firm role in Italy’s artistic production and flourished over the next several hundred years.

The seventeenth century has been referred to as the “golden age of etching”, in which the technique was exploited by artists all over Europe.⁵¹ And by the beginning of the eighteenth century, engraving had taken Italy by storm, so much so that engravers were even admitted to the prestigious Accademia Clementina alongside painters and sculptors. This was a direct consequence of the fact that “this art form flourished in Bologna and in other Italian cities as never before. Engraving happened everywhere, in the workshops of painters, architects, theater designers...in the offices of engravers, at typographers, in printing shops...”⁵²

As for why Mitelli might have chosen etching as his preferred medium for his games and many of his other prints, according to Michael Bury in his volume on the

history of the print in Italy, “The costs of pure etching were lower than for engraving...etching could be done very much more quickly.”⁵³ He also points out that in the seventeenth century, copper, which was commonly used as the medium for the etching plate, was not a particularly expensive material.⁵⁴ Antony Griffiths confirms that “there was a significant use of etching for popular or run-of-the-mill prints, where its relative speed of manufacture as against engraving gave it an advantage commercially.”⁵⁵ There is no doubt that Mitelli was additionally influenced by the large output of etchings by Agostino and Annibale Carracci, artists who also hailed from the city of Bologna.⁵⁶ The popularity of the technique and its relative ease and lesser cost of creation when compared to engraving could all have factored into why Mitelli chose etching as the preferred medium for his games.

As far as the printing of games specifically is concerned, one of the earliest references to the production and distribution of games in Italy comes out of the Roman printing shop of Andrea and Michel'Angelo Vaccari. As early as 1614 they were offering sheets of the following games for sale: *Scacchiero*, a game similar to chess (Fig. 3), *Pela Chiù*, the Game of the Goose, and the Game of the Shrimp (a game similar to the Game of the Goose, but including spaces depicting various crustaceans that, when landed upon, will instruct the player to return to the beginning).⁵⁷ The Vaccari example notwithstanding, however, Alberto Milano, in his writings on antique games on paper, expresses his belief that “between the end of the fifteenth century and the start of the sixteenth, there must have already existed a xylographic production of games based on dice combinations,”⁵⁸ or the creation of dice games by woodcut, probably in small numbers, and that the move to the mass printing of games on paper by engraving

techniques most likely followed soon thereafter. And indeed, by the sixteenth century printed games were starting to pop up throughout Italy.⁵⁹ Playing cards had a slightly earlier start, beginning to be printed in their earliest forms around the middle of the fifteenth century, but they truly flourished at approximately the same time as the larger-format printed board games.⁶⁰

However, as it relates to Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, the place of the printed game in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Bologna is of more interest here. The city of Bologna has a storied history when it comes to the adoption of movable type and printing presses. In the opening essay to his collection of the trademarks of printers in Bologna, Athos Vianelli traces the arrival of modern printing technology in Bologna in the fifteenth century. He writes:

Bologna was not among the very first European and Italian cities to know the advantages of printing with movable type, although it would be understandable to think that exactly the opposite should have happened... All of the previously mentioned elements had undoubtedly combined to confer upon Bologna a clear typographic vocation, but the... German printers ignored the city completely, attracted to the more flourishing European centers of international business, to particularly lavish patrons or.....relied on the very tight relations that were enacted between the abbots of the various towns.⁶¹

Vianelli does not mean to imply, however, that printing arrived very late in Bologna. On the contrary, the earliest experiments in printing were taking place in Bologna by the 1440's, within only a few years of Avignon and Bruges.⁶² And although the first typographies were opened in Rome in 1467 and Venice in 1469,⁶³ by October of 1470 the first typographic society was formed in Bologna, under the auspices of Giovanni II Bentivoglio.⁶⁴

It didn't take long for printing shops to flourish in Bologna and put out an impressive array of publications. Within approximately the first fifty years following the founding of that initial printing shop, around one thousand editions were published in the city, no small feat.⁶⁵ This is not terribly surprising, however, because as the home of the oldest University in Europe, there was a large academic population present in Bologna, receptive to and supportive of the new printing culture. Vianelli writes, "Bologna participated in this important event [the printing revolution] with the strength and prestige of its university, which had always influenced the local press, conferring upon it a humanistic mark which, ultimately, was the reflection of a particular environment, extraordinarily open to the progress of thought, art and science."⁶⁶

And things only grew from there: over the course of the sixteenth century, a large number of prestigious printers set up shop in Bologna and published many important texts and prints.⁶⁷ One source claims that from 1601 to 1605 there were only three printing shops in the city, while by the end of the seventeenth century there were at least nine continually in business.⁶⁸ Another history of Bologna claims that "in 1666 twenty-five booksellers, eight printers and fourteen paper mills were counted."⁶⁹ It is important to note that at the time, our modern clear-cut distinctions between "printer", "publisher", and "print dealer" did not exist. Rather, there were a variety of terms used which often overlapped in the occupations they described. The *inventore* was the artist who was responsible for the actual design of the print, and this person's identity was often signified on the print by "in." or "inv." The *intagliatore* was the person who executed the physical engraving or etching of the plate, and was often indicated by a Latin abbreviation, using either *incidit* or *fecit* to mean "incised", or, more often, simply the

letter “f”. Lastly, the *editore* was the publisher who owned the rights to the plate and often coordinated the entire process.⁷⁰

These titles did not define the various aspects of the process in black and white terms, however. In contemporary documents, the same publisher – a modern term – has been referred to as both *stampatore*, or printer, and *mercante di disegni*, or printseller. The same shops often sold the prints they produced.⁷¹ Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi states, “At the same time, merchants and collectors of prints were also the typographers, printers, and booksellers, motivated above all by professional reasons, but also by more exquisite personal interests.”⁷² No matter what term is used to describe them, the continued and highly visible presence of the printers, along with the paper mills and the booksellers, implies the existence of an overall vibrant printing culture. And once this culture began to thrive, it took a direction which would end up greatly benefiting the distribution of the work of Mitelli and his colleagues who also printed for the masses.

In her illustrated history of Bologna, Maria Gioia Tavoni writes, “The heavy constraints of censorship distanced the city [of Bologna] from the large European centers of production and led it to focus more on projects centered mostly on works of local character...all of the great undertakings of the [seventeenth] century...are texts that had a predominantly local market.”⁷³ As an artist who created mostly popular prints for the common citizens of Bologna, this type of market would have been greatly beneficial to Mitelli and his work. As a specific example, among the numerous printers making their livelihood in early seventeenth-century Bologna, “the Cocchi were undoubtedly the most famous because they printed and extensively popularized the works of Giulio Cesare

Croce,”⁷⁴ undoubtedly the most well-known writer of Bolognese popular and dialect literature and theater.

During Mitelli’s lifetime, as previously mentioned, he was responsible for quite a prolific output, totaling close to six hundred individual prints, some of which were parts of much larger series. From what we can tell from perusing his catalogue, none of them were printed with copyright privileges. What interests me the most is how these works might have been printed, marketed, and distributed within Bologna or, perhaps, on a wider scale. When examining Mitelli’s full catalogue of work, a few interesting points become apparent. Mitelli’s earliest recorded works were printed in the 1660’s. One of these is *L’Arti per Via*, a group of forty prints depicting the variety of street-sellers active in Bologna in 1660 and modeled after a similar work by Annibale Carracci. On the frontispiece to the series, it very clearly states that the prints were designed, etched, and sold by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli at the Neptune Fountain in the Piazza, while they were physically printed by Gio. Iacomo Rossi of Rome.⁷⁵

It is remarkable to me that, right from the start of his career, Mitelli was undertaking almost the entire printmaking process himself. I am also unsure why he had the series printed in Rome, and whether that had an effect on its distribution in places besides Piazza Maggiore in Bologna, but no evidence has arisen to either support or dispute this. Three years later, in 1663, Mitelli created a series of twelve prints entitled *L’Enea Vagante*, or *The Wanderings of Aeneas*. The frontispiece again provides us with information regarding the printing and distribution of this series. As before, Mitelli declares himself responsible for the etching of the prints, and once again had the series printed by Gio. Iacomo Rossi in Rome.⁷⁶

However, by the 1670's, things apparently began to change. Mitelli's next major series was entitled *Le Ventiquattr'hore dell'Humana Felicità*, or *The Twenty-four Hours of Human Happiness*, a group of twenty-four allegorical figures tied to the passage of time, printed in 1675. As with the two previous series, this one also has a frontispiece, but in a departure from the other series, here it only says that Mitelli invented, drew, and etched the prints. There is no mention of a separate printer, whether within the city of Bologna or abroad.⁷⁷ This seems to become a pattern which would be continued throughout the rest of Mitelli's career. In 1678 Mitelli again created another large series, this time of illustrated proverbs, *I Proverbi Figurati*. As with the previous series, the frontispiece to this series declares Mitelli as the inventor, artist, and etcher responsible for the works and does not mention a printer.⁷⁸

In fact, the prints of Mitelli do not seem to mention a third-party printer, much less one outside of Bologna, for the duration of his career. It is impossible to tell whether Mitelli did the printing of his works himself or just neglected to mention the printers who worked the presses, but it is certainly interesting that printing shops were credited in his early career and not later on. As time passed, Mitelli's signatures on his prints also became more abbreviated, often just signing a work "Mitelli I. e F." to indicate that he designed and executed the print. Whether he took "*fecit*" to mean solely the etching of the plate, or the etching as well as the printing, we cannot say. This is the signature that appears most often on the thirty-three games he created from the 1680's through 1712, with some very slight variations. Interesting, however, is an addition Mitelli placed on a handful of games, including the *Gioco de Mestieri* from 1698. The signature on this particular game reads, "*Mitelli In. e Fece 1698 Bologna*".⁷⁹ There are only a few games

where Bologna is specifically mentioned in in the signature, but Mitelli seems to be emphasizing that the print was made in his home city. It would seem to logically follow that these works were also physically printed in Bologna, whether by Mitelli or by a printmaker, and therefore most likely saw their greatest distribution within the city walls.

Even if he was responsible for the physical printing of the majority of his own work during his lifetime, Mitelli's genius did not die with him. The year 1720 marks an important point in the history of printing in Bologna as well as in the afterlife of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli's art. This was the year that Lelio dalla Volpe opened his shop in Bologna, first located on via Altabella, and later on the corner of via Clavature at the portico delle Fioraie.⁸⁰ Vianelli refers to dalla Volpe as "undoubtedly one of the best printers of the period, but he has been passed over by history."⁸¹ Tavoni also praises his work: "Lelio is without a doubt the most able editorial entrepreneur of eighteenth-century Bologna...He printed with care; his editions are the best that circulated in Bologna."⁸² Importantly, however, he did not only focus on high-quality editions of texts, but began by publishing things of minor artistic value such as posters, tickets, invitations, and assorted ephemera.⁸³

Lelio dalla Volpe did not set up shop until after Mitelli's death, but according to Angela Balletti, at this time, approximately twenty years later, "in Bologna the memory of the quirky personality of the artist was still alive, and his leaflets would still have had a wide circulation."⁸⁴ Whether due to the continued popularity of the artist's prints and games in Bologna even after his death – and therefore, the potential financial gain for the printer – or his own affinity for Mitelli's works, in 1736 Lelio dalla Volpe produced a "catalogue" of hundreds of Mitelli prints, and perhaps even his entire *oeuvre*. The top

three lines read as follows: “CATALOGUE: Of various figural Works, which are sold in Bologna, etched in Copper by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli Bolognese Painter. Whoever would like the entire assortment will enjoy the benefit of the prices noted here below.”⁸⁵

Listed below, in three columns, is quite possibly the full catalogue of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, grouped thematically and listed almost in descending price order. The most expensive were the full series Mitelli created of illustrated proverbs, *Le Ventiquattr'hore dell'Umana Felicità*, the *Alfabetto in Sogno*, and the works of the most famous Bolognese painters from Bolognese churches. Each of these cost multiple *paoli*. Underneath those were pieces that cost many *baiocchi*, down to those which cost only a few *baiocchi* for a single print. Ten *baiocchi* were equal to one *paolo*, so the more costly series were priced at upwards of ten times as much as the less costly pieces. The less expensive prints comprise the vast majority of Mitelli's work listed here, and include the “*Diversi Giuochi da Dadi in Foglio Reale*”. These games make up the group which is the last listed in dalla Volpe's catalogue.

Perhaps these prices were indicative of the accessibility of these games to a wide public, and their potential affordability, as opposed to the large series of fine art prints or proverbs which would seemingly have had a more select and discerning audience.

Michael Bury confirms that at least in the sixteenth century, drawings were much more expensive than prints, sometimes costing up to ten times more.⁸⁶ And, as was briefly touched on earlier, Giuseppe Maria Mitelli was above all a “popular” artist, devoted to creating works for the people of his beloved city, a point which is not lost on, but rather reinforced by, any scholar who ever writes about him. It would seem logical that Mitelli

would wish for some of his creations to be economically accessible to a large portion of that community.

Angela Balletti refers to Mitelli as a “commentator on local and international events”⁸⁷, who has in common with Giulio Cesare Croce “the abundant vein of expression, wit, imagination, and vivaciousness typical of the common people”⁸⁸, as well as an “interest in the cultivators of those traditions, which are considered above all to be the particularly popular facet, and which are also the most colorful and exciting.”⁸⁹

According to the authors of *Una Città in Piazza*, when describing one of a number of prints by Mitelli cited in their catalogue, “The engraving expresses a taste for the popular themes that characterizes a large part of the engravings produced by the artist, in which the press is a way in which to circulate ideas, social critiques directed mainly at the vices of men... The print is for Mitelli a sheet which delivers news, raises curiosity, makes one smile, reproduces and disseminates facts, or contains a moral lesson: the artist is informer and teacher at the same time. His audience is that which buys his prints on the streets from street vendors like those in the *Arti bolognesi*.”⁹⁰

And although Mitelli may have catered above all to the common populace of Bologna, it should not be forgotten that his prints, including the games, were consumed by Bolognese citizens of all classes. Giorgio and Luciana Tabarroni make this point quite clearly. “One could say that [Mitelli’s] work pertains as much to the popular press as it does to fine art, but you can add that Mitelli was conscious of this dualism and went back and forth according to the topic being dealt with... One could say that Mitelli speaks in dialect with the common people, and in the proper language with educated citizens.”⁹¹

Chapter 2: The City of Bologna and Its Language

Giuseppe Maria Mitelli was a product of his hometown of Bologna. It was where he was born and raised, as well as where he lived and died. The city, its architecture, and its people had a large influence on him and on the many works he created during his long and prolific career. The Bolognese citizens, across a variety of social spectrums, were his inspiration and his audience. Many of his circa 600 prints deal with topics specific to the city of Bologna and its people and places. The forty engravings that make up *Le Arti per Via* (1660) illustrate the various sellers and criers who roamed the streets of Bologna, peddling their wares, and *Le Arti di Bologna* (1703) depicts the tradesmen and merchants of Bologna as they would be dressed for an official procession. *Armi dei senatori bolognesi* (1703) is a grid in which the coats of arms of Bologna's most important families are represented. *Monasterii di monache che son in Bologna...* (1706) depicts all of the saints of Bologna and their festival days. Other prints are copies of some of the best-known paintings from Bologna's churches. He also illustrated important events taking place in Bologna as well as tourneys from cities in the environs of Bologna such as Modena and Ferrara. As pertinent to Bologna specifically as these works may seem, however, there is still a possibility that they may have enjoyed a wider distribution during Mitelli's lifetime or perhaps even after his death. The 1736 catalogue from Lelio dalla Volpe has shown that his works continued to be sold at least within the city limits as late as that year⁹². One main reason for this is that the titles, inscriptions, and any other text on virtually all of these prints are written in standard Italian. This could simply have been to appeal to the upper, more educated classes of Bolognese citizens who may have

had a higher appreciation for the pieces, especially those with a more fine art slant, or it could also be a sign of the popularity these prints may have enjoyed throughout wider parts of the Italian peninsula.

The major exceptions to this rule are three of the thirty-three board and dice games he created over the years. *Al Zuogh d'la Città d'Bologna* ("Game of the City of Bologna", 1691), *Zuogh dal Cacciator* ("Game of the Hunter", 1699), and *Zugh d'Tutt i Zugh* ("Game of All the Games", 1702) all contain Bolognese dialect which can be difficult to decipher even today with a Bolognese-Italian dictionary. For the "Game of the City of Bologna" and the "Game of the Hunter", even the directions are written in Bolognese. It is certainly possible that someone familiar with board and dice games of the period would have some level of understanding of how these games were meant to be played. Giampaolo Dossena even goes so far as to dub some of Mitelli's games "*giochi di dadi senza tavoliere*", or "dice games without a board", because "they are based on the pure roll of the dice. Whoever memorized the rules could play them without ever seeing the engravings to which they are dedicated. Here the engraving is not a game board, not an instrument of play as in games of dice *with* a board: it is a pure display of rules. The sheet of paper is a sheet of instructions. The "dice games without a board" of Mitelli are childish, elementary, because they are all based on individual rolls of the die or dice...There is missing...the connection between throws."⁹³ Dossena includes all three of these games in Bolognese dialect in his categorization of games that can be played without a board; in fact he classifies every game Mitelli ever created, with the exception of four, as games that can be played with only the dice, no print or game-board necessary.⁹⁴

And while this is certainly an interesting point and something to take into account, I believe a large part of the enjoyment of the game would be to sit around a table with friends or family, rolling the dice and seeing what clever vignette or phrase Mitelli has come up with to accompany each roll. For, as Emilia De Simoni reinforces, Mitelli's point in creating these games was for them to be played.

The opportunity to use these printed games, distributed in the streets by pamphlet sellers, seems to refer to a more daily and private context than one strictly festive and collective; besides the simple rules, the participation of the players is not extensive; the modest economic involvement of the wagered sums places them in a recreational environment free from the intensity of true games of chance. These games appear more as recreational instruments inserted into daily life, reinventing images taken from that life and reworking them with the dual intent of forming a basis for the practice of the game and of making any observers smile, even those who aren't playing.⁹⁵

To play such entertaining games without a board would seem to defeat the purpose. Maybe Dossena's point would be more applicable to truer versions of the Game of the Goose and Pluck the Owl, as those games and their respective boards tended to vary less across the centuries. But according to all evidence uncovered thus far, Mitelli was certainly unique in the specific types of games he was creating. He also expressed originality in the themes he portrayed, a point which Dossena himself, a scholar of board and table games, makes: "I believe that...the games of Mitelli considered here are the invention of Mitelli."⁹⁶ And as specifically concerns the games which include Bolognese dialect, it would likely have taken even more enjoyment out of the game not to be able to read and understand the witty phrases or clever rhyming couplets that Mitelli inscribed to correlate with each roll of the dice.

Here it becomes important to touch upon the usage and dispersion of the Bolognese dialect in the seventeenth century. In his volume entitled *Bologna, una città*,

Renzo Renzi makes an indirect and yet telling remark on the insular quality of regional dialects. In discussing Giulio Cesare Croce, the famous Bolognese author, he names Croce as one of the first writers in the Bolognese dialect. He continues, however, to note that “Croce also became famous outside the city for having written in Italian.”⁹⁷ This seems to imply that either there was no interest in the regional dialect outside its home city, or, as seems more likely, it was simply not understood, either in spoken or written form. Renzi goes on to discuss further the usage of the language, distinguishing it from the vernacular Italian.

The particular pronunciation had the ability to create, little by little, over the centuries, a new language, Bolognese, already formed and similar to today’s by the end of the Middle Ages. In fact, when Dante came to Bologna, the vernacular – which was spoken especially by the educated – differed completely from the Bolognese dialect, which was spoken by the common people. Moreover the vernacular, imported from Tuscany, found in Bologna not only the start of its transformation into a literary language, but also, through the University, the site of its greatest dissemination throughout the peninsula, since at that point the Bolognese university was the principal cultural center of Italy. In this way, having three languages spoken in Bologna – Latin, the vernacular, and dialect, the dispersion among the educated of the vernacular was impeded by those who wrote in dialect.⁹⁸

It therefore seems as though, in the time of Mitelli, the dialect was certainly in use and understood by a large percentage of the population, if primarily the lower classes. This is, again, indirectly implied by the work of Croce. As Hermann Haller wrote in his volume on the dialectic literary tradition in Italy, “Croce wrote on simple folks... Croce’s plays aim at providing genuine entertainment through real-world portrayals, removed from traditional literary schemes. Strikingly, and perhaps pioneeringly, different language registers identify social classes. The two peasants Mingon and Sandrone speak

in the Bolognese dialect, while the bourgeois characters use a remarkably modern-sounding regional form of Italian.”⁹⁹

Dialects also differed greatly, even within relatively small geographic areas. As Renzi points out, even today “there is a certain difference between the dialect spoken in the city and that which is spoken in the periphery...But the oldest distinction is that which is between the dialect of the mountains and the dialect of the plains...[or] between the dialect they speak to the east of the city, towards Romagna, and the dialect spoken to the west, towards Modena.”¹⁰⁰ Considering how widely the language could vary within the surrounding areas of just one city, it is unlikely that these particular games which have text in Bolognese dialect would have found a very wide audience outside of Bologna and its immediate environs.

The “*Zugh d’Tutt i Zugh*”, or “Game of all of the Games” (Fig. 4), created in 1702, is one of these examples. This game does in fact have the instructions written in standard Italian, but the names of the games and sports being depicted are written in Bolognese dialect. There are two possibilities for how the usage of this game could be interpreted: on the one hand, as mentioned previously, it could take away something from the gaming experience for a player to not be able to decipher the names of the games on the board. On the other hand, it is quite likely that at the very least, the majority of the activities depicted within the engraving would have been easily recognizable to someone playing the game. The ease with which the games could be identified might make this entire question a moot point, and without concrete evidence of Mitelli’s works being sold outside of Bologna there is no way to answer it. This game could certainly have been marketed outside of Bologna with success, but by writing the names of the activities

depicted within the engraving in Bolognese dialect, Mitelli is simply giving a nod to his beloved city, and his audience of peers and neighbors.

This game also has a more important function here. By offering up to modern viewers visual depictions of a large number of seventeenth-century games, Mitelli has provided further evidence of how games might have been played, and by whom, during his time. Of course, there is always the possibility that Mitelli illustrated these games with a certain degree of artistic license, but I believe it is safe to assume that the games and activities depicted within the engraving were actual pre-existing games, not creations of Mitelli's imagination. In his essay on the games of Mitelli, Giampaolo Dossena helpfully takes his reader through each of the vignettes. As a game historian, his main focus is on how precisely each of the games was played, which only goes to provide further support for the supposition that Mitelli is indeed providing his viewers with a glimpse into daily life in Bologna at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁰¹

Within his exhaustive examination of these various table games and outdoor activities, Dossena makes some helpful observations which are useful to mention here. The first thing that struck me when reading his analysis of the games Mitelli illustrates was his notation of the social classes depicted in some of the vignettes. As regards the game of cards ("*Zuogh d'l'Cart.*") shown in the upper-left hand corner of the engraving, Dossena points out that there is a "woman with an artful hairstyle and luxurious clothing, identical to that of the women who play checkers ("*Dama*") and backgammon ("*Tuccatigli*")...In front of the lady, to the left, is a gentleman...They are seated (the gentleman on a chair with a back, the lady on a stool) at a table with only one turned leg,

identical to the table in the backgammon picture.”¹⁰² Dossena does not believe that this necessarily means that these particular games were *only* played by members of the higher social classes; rather, that they were *also* played by members of the upper class.¹⁰³ To illustrate his point, Dossena uses as examples some of the games and activities illustrated in other squares, such as “*Pallama*” (*pallamaglio*, similar to golf or croquet), “*Trucc*” (*trucco da terra*, a game played with a wooden ring and a type of club), and “*Ballon*” (*pallone con braciato*, a slightly confusing game involving a leather ball, a pump, and an armband covered in sharp teeth), which were known to also have high-class connotations, but which are illustrated by Mitelli as being played by lower class citizens, identifiable by their clothing.¹⁰⁴

One other interesting thing Dossena points out in Mitelli’s engraving – which cannot be either proven or disproven as to its accuracy – is that in fifteen of the twenty total squares, the only figures shown taking part in the activities, whether athletic or at a table, are men and boys.¹⁰⁵ Beyond the three squares just discussed, in the context of highlighting the luxurious clothing and hairstyles of the women who are participating, the only other two squares which include female figures are the ones which correspond to the throws of triple fives and triple sixes. The first of these, “*Da*”, is a dice game being played by one woman and two men at a cloth-covered table. Dossena ties this game back to what he calls Mitelli’s “dice games without a board”, or “one of the games...in which the rules have been memorized.”¹⁰⁶ The other square that includes a female figure is the one relating to a winning throw of eighteen, and is entitled “*Zuogh d’l’Amor*”, or the “Game of Love”. Not an actual game in the traditional sense, it simply goes to show Mitelli’s sense of humor, as well as his apparently high opinion of love.

Returning to the issue of language, the “*Zuogh dal Cacciator*”, or “Game of the Hunter” and “*Al Zuogh d’la Città d’Bologna*”, or the “Game of the City of Bologna”, being entirely in dialect, complicate matters more. Although the same argument could be made that Dossena argues for Italians already understanding or being able to memorize the rules of the games in general and therefore able to put those into practice or even play without the board in front of them, there is no evidence to suggest, nor is it inherently likely that these two games would have been very popular outside of Bologna or even marketed outside the city.

Keeping either possibility in mind, the “Game of the City of Bologna” (Fig. 5) can be seen from more than one point of view. Unlike the more traditionally formatted games which make up the major portion of Mitelli’s production, this game does not contain spaces or squares which correspond to a certain roll of the dice. Instead, the game is laid out like a map of the city, with the walls encircling the city, dotted by gates, and a variety of places noted in the center. The numbers are assigned to those gates and various sites within the map. The city map is oriented south to north, with south uppermost in a manner contrary to modern usage conventions. This type of bird’s-eye-view was apparently not an unusual way to represent the city at Mitelli’s time. A map of the city from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century is only one of many examples illustrating this sort of depiction. (Fig. 6).

As far as how the city relates to the game, on the one hand, the visual depiction of the city with the walls, gates, and most important buildings and monuments highlighted (including the Two Towers, the Palazzo Podestà, the Palazzo Comunale, the Mercato, the Palazzo Rusconi, and the Fontana Nettuno) could certainly be appreciated by people who

had been to visit Bologna or who had dreamt of traveling there, as Mitelli's engraving provides a pleasant view of the city to the informed observer and would have made a charming souvenir. However, the majority of people who might have played this game were likely Bolognese men and/or women who resided within or in the shadows of the city's walls and likely understood the particular dialect spoken within the city. The rhyming phrases which correspond to every roll of the dice are not easy to translate into their modern Italian equivalents even today, and Mitelli references other places in and around the city within these couplets which might not have been known to a casual visitor, but would have been understood by a resident of the city. For example, the *porta*, or gate, at the bottom right-hand corner of the game, *Porta dl Lamm*, or *Porta delle Lame* as it is known today, carries the following inscription along with its name:

*Pr andar al Trebb questa è la vera vie
Tira un quattrin da spendr all hustarie.*

The first line of this couplet loosely translates to, "To go to Trebbo this is the true road," meaning that for a traveler leaving the city through this gate and following Via delle Lame outside the city walls, they were on the correct road to what is today known as Trebbo di Reno, a small community to the northwest of Bologna. And if you rolled a four, which corresponds to this space or gate, you would take one *quattrino*, or a coin of minimal denomination comparable to a penny, "to spend in the *osteria*," or tavern. At *Porta d' Saragozza*, at the top right-hand corner of the game, Mitelli references the chestnut gatherers who return to the city from the mountains to the south:

*Pr sta porta i summar, ch vienin d'muntagna
Fan' intrar i marun cun la castagna.*

He also mentions, at *Porta Stra Mazor*, or *Porta Strada Maggiore*, at the left-center of the game, the old Via Emilia which, departing from Strada Maggiore will take you all the way to Forlì and beyond:

*Tirà un quattrin e aviav bell bell a piè
Ch fin a Forlì cun l'asn av'vien pò d'driè.*

One further example is located at *Porta S. Vidal*, directly below *Porta Stra Mazor*. Here Mitelli references “*i Mindicant*”, another name for the Chiesa di Santa Maria della Pietà at Porta San Vitale:

*Pagà un quattrin ch'an'u'n' arstarà piu tant,
E andav a cunsular ai mindicant.”*

As discussed earlier, it is certainly possible that somebody with a passion for board or dice games in a general sense may have derived some enjoyment out of playing this game, but without the understanding of the clever rhyming couplets scattered around the game surface as well as of the places being referenced within those phrases, the game just would not have been as interesting or as fun to play.

The third game which also uses the Bolognese dialect in a similar fashion to the “Game of the City of Bologna” is the *Zuogh dal Cacciator*, or “Game of the Hunter”. It was a well-known fact that Mitelli himself was a passionate hunter. This knowledge is due mainly to Giampietro Zanotti’s 1739 history of the Accademia Clementina, where Mitelli taught as a professor. He writes that Mitelli “played many instruments. He danced in his youth and leapt with agility and power. He played ball and soccer. He was a fencer, a fisherman, a birder, excellent at any type of hunting, which he delighted in well through old age.”¹⁰⁷ The hills surrounding Bologna would have been the perfect place for him to partake of such a hobby. In 1684, he even published a treatise called *La*

Caccia Giocosa, or “The Playful Hunt”, in which Mitelli describes and illustrates fifteen different hunting practices of “his own invention”. Some of them employ odd contraptions to capture birds, such as the two images illustrated here. The first image (Fig. 7) corresponds to number ten in the series, and in it Mitelli advises the hunter to devise a tree-like disguise for himself so as not to scare the birds. The second image (Fig. 8) is number fourteen out of fifteen in the series, and demonstrates how the hunter can build a large frame to catch birds in at night, under the cover of darkness.

Although the images from *La Caccia Giocosa* do not correspond exactly to the “Game of the Hunter”, the treatise may show us from where Mitelli may have gotten his inspiration, as the game was produced fifteen years later, in 1699. *La Caccia Giocosa* also helps us to decipher some of the odder hunting practices shown in the game (Fig. 9), since the treatise is written all in standard Italian while the game is, as noted above, in Bolognese dialect. And as previously mentioned with reference to the “Game of the City of Bologna” as well as the “Game of all of the Games,” it is possible that anybody with a working knowledge of how games were generally played, whether or not they understood hunting practices or Bolognese dialect, could have played this game. “Tira” and “Paga”, or “Take” and “Pay” are universally understood words in Italian, and the “T” and “P” used to symbolize each would have been quite clear to anyone who wished to play these games. However, as before, it seems that this game would have been most enjoyable to someone who spoke the local dialect, whether or not they were a hunter themselves. There would have been some higher level of amusement brought to playing a game such as this when it is in your own dialect.

As far as the modern perspective on this game goes, it is possible to tell from most of the images what sort of hunting practices are taking place. In the space corresponding to a roll of three, the hunter is having his dog chase a fox into a net. In the space corresponding to a roll of four, the hunter and his companion ring a bell and generally make noise to startle what appears to be a group of quails into a long, thin net. Some of the hunting practices are much simpler and more straightforward, involving a simple bow and arrow or a rifle. But whether or not we truly understand what prey is being hunted in each vignette, or by what method, and whether or not we can read the phrases that Mitelli has written, the simple existence of this game and the various hunting methods depicted within are sufficient enough to attest to the popularity of hunting as a sport or simply a leisure activity during Mitelli's time. This is supported by the existence of a manuscript entitled *Il cacciatore Bolognese*, or The Bolognese Hunter, written by Bartolomeo Alberti and published in Bologna in January of 1716, and which is brought to our attention by Lodovico Frati, who breaks down the format of the document in *Il Settecento a Bologna*. In the first part Alberti talks about various species of birds, in the second a number of artifices by which one can catch a range of birds and animals, including with nets and dogs, and in the third, other important and relevant information regarding the afore-mentioned animals.¹⁰⁸ From Frati's description, it seems like the methods described in part two of Alberti's manuscript would have much in common with those depicted in Mitelli's engraving, and were likely well-known and oft-practiced methods for hunting in the hills surrounding Bologna in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Chapter 3: Bolognese Culture and Tradition

It was not only through the usage of Bolognese dialect that Giuseppe Maria Mitelli showed his appreciation of as well as his connection to his native city. One example of this is the *Gioco di Tutte le Monete di Bologna* (1692), or “Game of All of the Coins of Bologna” (Fig. 10). This game, unlike the others referenced thus far, works more like our modern concept of a board game and takes after the earlier models of the Game of the Goose and “Pluck the Owl” – the players begin at square one and roll the dice, moving along the board and interacting with the various spaces and instructions they encounter along the way, until a player reaches the final space and wins all of the money from the pot. Notwithstanding the title of the print, these various illustrated figures, random items and places which alternate with the depictions of the coins are in actuality the true focus of the game. “[Mitelli] reserves his humor and his wit for the vignettes...The fun was to be entirely concentrated on what a player encountered between one coin and the next.”¹⁰⁹

The most obvious homage to Bologna comes in the second space where Mitelli draws a tiny vignette of the city, immediately recognizable to anybody familiar with the Bologna skyline due to the prominent placement of the familiar *Due Torri*. In this game Mitelli also inserts some more subtle references to Bologna. Many of the squares do in fact use Bolognese dialect; in fact, over a quarter of the spaces on the board contain words or phrases written in the local dialect. In square four is a “*fritlon*”, or someone who makes a mess and stains their clothing while eating. Square thirty-four, “*Lasn'carg d'or*”, translates to “The ass carries gold.” Some phrases are closer to recognizable,

modern Italian: in square six, “*a son gob*”, is clearly related to *gobbo*, or “hunchback”. In square eight, “*susptos*” is similar to its Italian equivalent, “*sospettoso*”, or “suspicious”. Square eighteen contains an important reference to one of the most important facets of Bolognese life – the food. This square contains a depiction of “*Ze Lasagna*”, one of the most famous foods to come out of the Emilian capital city. The connection between the various vignettes is not readily apparent; they do not tell a story nor relate to each other in any obvious way, but that most likely was not the point. Many of the spaces contain silly, comical, or satirical images. These games were simply meant to entertain, and these squares would give the players something comical and interesting to look and laugh at while they played.

The titular coins cannot, of course, be discounted. These coins are presumably ones which were commonly in use in the city of Bologna in the 1692, the year in which Mitelli created this game, and are depicted on the game-board in order of increasing denomination. And unlike many of the other items in this game, the names of the coins are not written in Bolognese dialect. Giorgio and Luciana Tabarroni have a theory as to why this is: “[Mitelli provides] the precise indication of their value, which often, especially for the classification of coins made of a low silver alloy, presents uncertainties. And for this reason Mitelli always uses Italian, even if instead of *due* (“two”), he uses the more antiquated *duoi* or *doi*. When it comes to money he never jokes: coins are a serious thing, especially for those who have very few.”¹¹⁰ Within the matrix of the game there are seventeen coins total: two of copper, two of silver alloy, ten of silver, and three of gold.¹¹¹

Beginning with the very first space on the board, Mitelli depicts one copper *quattrino*. Although the exact conversion is unknown, the *quattrino* was a very small coin of little monetary value. Mitelli dates the game on this coin, cleverly using its surface to display the date of creation of the engraving, just as a coin would often display the year it was minted. The next coin depicted, one *bagarone*, is equivalent to three *quattrini*. This coin is the exception to the rule of Mitelli using only Italian when naming the coins. *Bagarone* is an antiquated, all-but-forgotten Bolognese term used mainly by the common people, but any confusion would be cleared up by the fact that written on the coin itself is its more well-known name, *mezzo bolognino*.¹¹² As the players make their way along the game boards, they pass by coins of increasing denomination, going all the way up to the three final, gold coins, the *mezza doppia*, the *doppia*, and the largest coin drawn in the final and winning space, the *doblone*. There are also several coins bearing the image of Pope Innocent XII. As Bologna was at this point in history a part of the Papal States, this is not surprising.

However, two of these coins were not actually produced and circulated in Bologna at the time of the game's creation. According to Giorgio and Luciana Tabarroni, who wrote an article examining all of the coins in this particular print, one of these is the coin which occupies square fifteen. Though the *paulo*, bearing the image of Pope Innocent XII, is an imaginary coin, Mitelli was not trying to be deceptive by illustrating this coin in his game. As stated in the aforementioned article, "That Pope was elected July 12, 1691: it is therefore very likely that there were still very few coins bearing his name, his portrait, or his crest in circulation. Mitelli must have thought that the old coins minted under the preceding Pope would be repeated and he'd tried to imagine the

model.”¹¹³ However, the coins that actually were minted bearing the Pope’s image did not match up with with Mitelli’s imagined coin.¹¹⁴ The other imaginary coin is the one which occupies square twenty-three, the one worth “*trenta bolognini*”, also called a “*testone*”. As before, Giorgio and Luciana Tabarroni can offer up an explanation: “This is also a fantastical coin, because Innocent XII coined the *testone* with his portrait facing right only in the year 1700,” eight years after Mitelli’s game was produced, and “only on a very small number of coins, perhaps because, due to a defect with the balance, the coins came out very badly. At any rate, in this case the prediction of the unbiased engraver was mostly correct.”¹¹⁵

However, as far as our purposes are concerned here, the two imaginary coins are not the point of the game, nor should they be the focus. As mentioned, Mitelli meant no harm in making up the coins to complete the pathway of the game. He was simply following earlier models as to what he believed those coins would look like, and his main purpose was simply the pure entertainment of the Bolognese men and women who played the game. However, whether or not it was his intention, this game has another function. Mitelli has created a document which historians, numismatists, and economics scholars can turn to in reference. “We are in short supply of things from this time period which can give us an idea of the coins in circulation which, in any case, usually don’t provide us with the nomenclature. Thanks to Mitelli we have a range of identified and correlated coins with their corresponding values, for copper, alloy, and silver, expressed in *bolognini*...and for gold, in *scudi*...For better or worse, Mitelli has...given us a testimony, however valid, as to the circulation of Bolognese coins in Bologna at the end of the seventeenth century.”¹¹⁶

Another game that highlights Mitelli's connection to his Bolognese heritage is the *Gioco della Cucagna* (1691), or "Game of Plenty". This game is based on the long-standing popular tradition of a utopia known in Italian as the *Paese della Cuccagna*, or, more simply, *La Cuccagna* – i.e. the Land of Plenty. However, virtually every country in Europe had its own version of this earthly paradise: the Land of Cockaigne or Lubberland in England, Schlaraffenland in Germany, Cocagne in France, and Luilekkerland in the Netherlands, to name a few.¹¹⁷ There is a large body of scholarship on this tradition, although most scholars agree that while perhaps based in ideas of utopia which may date back to classical antiquity, the true Land of Cockaigne is traceable to a thirteenth-century Middle English poem.¹¹⁸

In 1703, following this well-established tradition, Mitelli created a print entitled *La Cucagna Nuova*, incorporating many standard notions of the Land of Cockaigne, but adding his own twists to make the earthly paradise more specifically descriptive of his home. (Fig. 11) One of the most renowned aspects of life in Emilia-Romagna, and especially Bologna, is its grand culinary history. As far back as the twelfth century, visitors to the fabled city were calling it "*Bologna la grassa*", or "Bologna the fat", and this nickname is still in use even today to describe the city.¹¹⁹ One of the first official references to "*Bologna la grassa*" seems to come from Francesco Petrarca, who wrote in the fourteenth century: "...And how great already was the fertility of the land and the abundance of all things that...Bologna was called the fat."¹²⁰

These references to Bologna's storied gastronomic history persisted through the centuries. In describing the culinary heritage of the city, Renzo Renzi wrote that Bologna had "been transformed...into the city of tortellini: a sort of dining car on the trip from

Florence to Venice.”¹²¹ In his writings on life in Bologna during Mitelli’s time, Ludovico Frati references a book by Vincenzo Tanara entitled *L’Economia del cittadino in villa*, or “The Economy of the Citizen in Villa,” a multi-volume tome which was “one of the most widely distributed culinary texts in Bologna in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; from 1644 to 1745 it went through more than twelve editions. In addition to the various precepts relating to the kitchen...Tanara... indicates the foods which are preferred in each month of the year.”¹²² Bologna’s fame due to its food within Italy itself has not ebbed over the years. Ippolito Nievo, a nineteenth-century Italian writer, once said: “You eat more in Bologna in one year than in Venice in two, in Rome in three, in Torino in five and in Genova in twenty.”¹²³

It seems appropriate, therefore, that when Mitelli devised his own take on the “Land of Plenty”, he filled it with countless Bolognese or regional specialties. He begins right in the title of the print, when, drawing upon one of the various Cuccagna traditions, he chooses to call this mythical place *Porcolandria*, or Land of the Pig – and Bologna is famous for nothing if not its wide variety of pork products. Bologna was even host to a feast day celebrating the suckling pig, the *Festa della Porchetta*, from 1254 up until 1796. It involved “the free distribution of bread, wine, and pork for all”, and included “a horse race...an enormous roasted pig...together with birds, poultry, bread, salami, sweets, cheese, and gold and silver coins.”¹²⁴ In his writings on the history of Italian food culture, John Dickie provides us with quite a visual account of this feast day:

Everyone in the city felt impelled, at whatever cost to personal safety and comfort, to find a place in Piazza Maggiore. Every order of Bolognese society was present...the aroma emanating from the kitchens of the Palazzo Comunale was good enough to wake the dead. The tantalizing wait came to an end only shortly before sunset. To a fanfare of fifes and trumpets, the source of the smell

made its ceremonial reappearance on the balcony...Now stuffed with spices, spit-roasted, garlanded with flowers, and mounted on a tray, the Suckling Pig was displayed to the multitude. A familiar game began. Musicians struck up. The crowd made ready with bags and sheets...a cauldron of broth was emptied over their heads...and they took their savory bath in excellent spirit...Then, at last, the music ceased and the Suckling Pig was tipped into the ragged melee to be torn apart amid flailing fists.¹²⁵

It comes as no surprise, then, that Mitelli would entitle his Land of Plenty *Porcolandria*.

Although the term was not his invention, it is nonetheless an appropriate choice for a Bolognese Land of Plenty. As for the rest of the mythical country, the rivers here flow with precious wines and *moscatello*, and there is a lake of Emilian milk and honey.

There are mountains of cheeses, and dogs are tied up not with leashes or ropes but with links of sausage. It rains candied fruit, and even jewels and clothing grow on trees. As noted above, the idea of the Land of Cockaigne dates back many centuries, and so rivers of wine, lakes of milk and honey, and material goods growing on trees are not new ideas in and of themselves¹²⁶, but Mitelli has reworked the traditional depictions of this earthly paradise to make it specifically Bolognese.

Twelve years prior to creating this print, in 1691, Mitelli created the *Gioco della Cucagna* (Fig. 12). The overarching theme is the same as in *La Cuccagna* – one of abundance and plenty and delicious foodstuffs. He has even inscribed along the bottom the phrase, “Gioco della Cucagna che mai si perde, e sempre si guadagna,” or “Game of Plenty, in which you never lose and always win.” Something similar is indicated in the instructions, when he writes: “Game of Plenty, which contains the principal prerogatives of many cities of Italy regarding things to eat, in this game in which everybody always wins, some more, some less.” And this becomes quite clear upon simply looking at the engraving. The game itself is composed of twenty spaces, each corresponding to a roll of

the three dice required to play and representing a city of Italy and a specialty food or drink item it is known for. As John Dickie points out, “Through the late Middle Ages and into the Renaissance, an increasing range of products were becoming associated with different nodes in the Italian urban network – as happened with the medieval “branding” of Parmesan cheese by its identification with the city of Parma... Various cities in Europe became internationally famous for specific products.”¹²⁷

However, whereas in most of Mitelli’s other games, including those already shown, Mitelli uses a “T” to signify “Tira”, or “Take”, and a “P” for “Paga” or “Pay”, here there are no P’s – only T’s. Some spaces indicate that no money should change hands: in the top row, in the third space from the left Mitelli has inscribed, “*Rosolia* [sic] *di Torrino – annasa solo.*” *Rosolio* is a rose-scented cordial, and here you were meant only to smell the liqueur, not drink it nor win any money. Two spaces over are *pignoli*, or pine nuts, from Ravenna, which instruct the player to “*guarda solo*” – or only look at them. In the second row is *torrone*, a nougat candy, from Cremona, which the player is instructed to suck on (*succhia*). All the way to the right is cinnamon from Bergamo, which the player is only supposed to lick (*lecca*). In the third row there is also *verdea di Firenze*, a dry white wine, and here the player only drinks (*bevi*). It is not made clear anywhere on the board how much money should be put into the pool to start with to ensure there is enough for every player to win on virtually every hand, but perhaps that was left up to the players themselves to decide upon when they began to play.

Mitelli assigns the triplets, or the most important rolls of the dice, to other important Italian cities and their specialties and places them at key points of the board, in the corners and at the center. The triple ones are associated with *moscato*, a sweet white

wine, of Venice. The triple twos go along with *busecha* (*busecca*) from Milano, a tripe stew that is a specialty of the city. The triple threes are assigned to broccoli from Napoli. The triple fours correlate with *provature* from Rome, a fresh buffalo's cheese similar to mozzarella. The triple fives are associated with *persicata*, a peach candy from Ferrara. However, the most important space in this game, as far as Mitelli is concerned, is the center space, which correlates to the winning throw of three sixes. Here, of course, Bologna is represented, with its famous mortadella. “*Viva le mortadelle di Bologna – tira tutti!*” Nothing less would be expected of a devoted Bolognese such as Mitelli. As Giosuè Carducci wrote in the nineteenth century, “No visitor can claim to have known Bologna with having tasted its mortadella.”¹²⁸

More important, however, is the esteem in which mortadella was already held in Mitelli's time. Although the idea of mortadella actually came to Italy through France and was known at points in Venice and Tuscany, “within a few years of [Bartolomeo] Scappi's death [in 1577], Giulio Cesare Croce would write, in *The Excellence and Triumph of the Pig*, ‘What can I say about...*mortadella* and *salame*? They are foods for princes and lords. The city of Bologna's boast is that it makes them with all the distinction they deserve.’ And not long after Croce's death the word *mortadella* would become exclusively joined forever both to the kind of sausage we know today and to the city of Bologna.”¹²⁹ The first instructions for how to make Bolognese mortadella appeared in 1644, and within a few years laws were already being enacted to protect the makers of mortadella. In 1661, an official proclamation set strict controls as to what defined a true Bolognese mortadella, and would fine offenders and unauthorized producers of the sausage.¹³⁰ Therefore, by the time Mitelli created this game, in 1691,

the production of mortadella was already controlled by the government, and Bolognese mortadella presumably enjoyed great fame throughout Italy, and perhaps throughout Europe.

The final game in which Mitelli blatantly focuses on his home city is the *Gioco Nuovo di Tutte le Osterie che Sono in Bologna* (1712), or the “New Game of All of the Taverns That Are in Bologna.” (Fig. 13) As with the *Gioco di Tutte le Monete di Bologna*, the *Gioco Nuovo di Tutte le Osterie...* is formatted after the Game of the Goose, with a board that the player moves through in order, starting at square one and finishing at square fifty-nine. This game ties together a few of the other themes already mentioned, including the city of Bologna and its food, and also incorporates another important one – the history of the hospitality industry in Bologna. Perhaps due to its convenient location along the ancient Via Emilia and position as an almost halfway point between Florence and Venice, Bologna was a frequent stopping point for travelers, and therefore needed many places to house and feed them. Many of the *osterie* pictured in Mitelli’s game also served as hotels, where travelers could eat a decent meal and find a place to sleep, all under one roof. The history of this trade dates back to the end of the thirteenth century, when Bologna was one of the ten most populous cities in Europe. Scholars have estimated that in 1294, Bologna was home to fifty true hotels along with as many as 150 additional taverns. A century later, following the terrible outbreak of the bubonic plague in 1348 which decimated populations all over Europe, the number of taverns in Bologna declined drastically, but by the 1500s the number of taverns and hotels was again on the rise.¹³¹

One major factor affecting this change was the meeting in Bologna in the year 1515 between Pope Leo X and King Francesco I of France, who came with entourages of dignitaries and armed forces, all of whom needed housing in the city. Fourteen years later, in 1529, the coronation of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor took place in Bologna, and the city accordingly rose to the occasion to host such a prestigious event. Illustrious personages and curious people came from all over Europe to attend the coronation, and even more so than in 1515, accommodations needed to be made.¹³² This was the start of a new era in the life of the city of Bologna. Exact numbers of how many taverns and hotels were present in the city in the following decades differ according to the sources, but there is no doubt that numbers were on the rise. Antonio Masini, in his *Bologna perlustrata* of 1666, counted 110 *osterie*, but when Mitelli created his game in 1712, he illustrates only fifty-seven. We do not know for sure if this is representational of all the *osterie* that still existed in the city, or if he picked only a sampling to represent in his game.¹³³

No matter how many *osterie* existed in Bologna in 1712, it comes as no great surprise that Mitelli would dedicate one of his games to such a major part of life in the city. In his volume on the history of the *osteria* in Bologna, Alessandro Molinari Pradelli makes quite clear how important these establishments were to life in the Emilian capital: “...the vital presence of the *osteria*, the inn – the most intimate meeting place of the public...Bologna, above all in the case of the gastronomic tradition, merits special attention...It is not a minor history...These are not *minor* places (in the sense of lesser consideration), but they have the same level of importance as palaces, galleries and theaters. Also here did life pulsate.”¹³⁴

Mitelli has distinguished each *osteria* by its name, location within the city, its insignia, and what it was known for. Some Bolognese specialties show up, such as *mortadella* at La Tromba, *tortelli* at Il Melone, *raviole* at Il Leone, and *salami* at Li Tre Moretti. Some of the *osterie* were better known than others, and were sometimes cited by foreign travelers in their accounts of their journeys. Mitelli depicts three different *osterie* located in Via Mercato di Mezzo alone, now known as Via Rizzoli: *Li Quattro Pellegrini* (The Four Pilgrims, in square thirty-one), *Li Tre 'Re'* (The Three Kings, in square thirty-four), and *Il Moro* (The Moor, in square thirty-eight). According to Athos Vianelli in his volume on the streets of Bologna, Via Mercato di Mezzo was “long, spacious, porticoed in large part on the right side looking down it from its intersection with Piazza Nettuno and Via dell’Indipendenza. It is scattered with lovely shops of all sorts, banks, cafes and public places; it is traversed by intense traffic and by a continual flow of people.”¹³⁵

The final space of the game is dedicated to *Il Leon d’Oro*, which Mitelli cites as having “*tutto buono*”. He refers to an *osteria* in “*La Posta ne Veturini*”. What was once known as *Via Vetturini* is today *Via Ugo Bassi*, one of the main streets that runs through the center of the city. *Il Leon d’Oro*, however, was only one of many *osterie* on this stretch of road; in fact, Mitelli includes in his engraving no less than six *osterie*, along with countless others on nearby streets. This is no accident. According to a volume entitled *Le strade di Bologna*:

On this street, whatever it was called, were lined up the *Leon d’Oro*, where the Cardinal De Jouvri came in the seventeenth century, and later the Duke of Württemberg und Teck, with a large retinue of troops and servants; the *Angelo*, preferred by diplomats. The *S. Marco* was for nobles of high rank; Giovanni di Sassonia, no longer King, came there in 1838. *Il Pellegrino* had an incomparable

fame, especially among intellectuals, but the ‘jet set’ didn’t disparage it either: the palatine counts von Nueberg, the Landgrave of Hesse, Sophie Wilhelmine, Princess of Prussia and Margravine of Bayreuth, the future emperor Paul of Russia with his tutor Max Klinger, the poet Friedrich Matthisson, accompanied by the Princess Luisa de Anhart, went there from the 13th through the 22nd of December 1684, with several traveling companions. In the report one can read that the hotelier of the *Pellegrino*, a Milanese man, was a gentleman and extremely courteous, the hotel outfitted with all amenities.¹³⁶

Vianelli also notes the importance of this street in this history of the *osteria* in Bologna:

“The ancient hospitality trade requires a particular discussion, in connection with this road, because the best hotels or civic inns (some also well-known abroad) were right here, with their array of excellent services...and their illustrious culinary traditions: the *Leon d’Oro*, the *San Marco*, the *Pellegrino*, the *Angelo*, the *Tre Moretti*, the *Aquila Nera*, the *Cavallino*, and the *Brun*.”¹³⁷

Chapter 4: The Roles of Men and Women

Although not necessarily descriptive of life specifically within the city of Bologna, there is a third group of games in which Mitelli examines the various public and private roles of men and women, providing us with even further insight into the general ebb and flow of daily life in Italy in the seventeenth century. Two of these highlight the various roles a man could play within Italian society, as they are dedicated to the assortment of trades which men could participate in during Mitelli's time: *Il Gioco de Mestieri*, or the "Game of the Trades", and *Il Gioco Importantissimo del Fornaro*, or the "Very Important Game of the Baker".

The first of these, the "Game of the Trades" (Fig. 14), from 1698, is laid out like many of the other games we have seen from Mitelli. The board is arranged in a series of twenty squares, each corresponding to a roll of the dice, with some spaces causing the player to win money and some causing him to lose. In some of the other games we have examined, the most important spaces correlate to the throws of triplets, and the throw of three sixes wins the pot and the game. Although more money is won by the players here that throw triplets, it is difficult to ascertain whether we are supposed to place much stock in the trades Mitelli has chosen to occupy these spaces because, as a wry jest, he has assigned one of the triplet spaces not to a trade at all but to men who are playing a card game! And on the opposite end of the spectrum, he has placed all of the artistic trades he himself participates in at the bottom of the game, in losing spaces. This was most likely a joke he was making at his own expense, and not something we are meant to take seriously.

There may, however, be some logic behind Mitelli's placement of the trades within the grid of the game. According to Giancarlo Angelozzi's study on the social hierarchy of Bologna during Mitelli's time, some trades were certainly placed in higher esteem than others. Notaries, lawyers, doctors, and engineers were among the few professions which merited the respect and consideration of the upper class.¹³⁸ Angelozzi goes on to say that the most prestigious sector of the bourgeoisie was that of the professors of the University, based largely on the impact the University had had on Bologna's culture and economy.¹³⁹ While not viewed in quite as high esteem, merchants and bankers also carried some weight in Bologna's society and economy,¹⁴⁰ while professions such as artisans and merchants of lesser goods carried little weight and garnered little respect.¹⁴¹

Mitelli surely had these distinctions in mind when creating his game, but no matter the arrangement of the trades within the print, each vignette tells us something about the types of jobs men held in Bologna at the end of the seventeenth century, and how they might have interacted with their clientele. Each square also incorporates a short phrase in Bolognese dialect, providing a further connection between Mitelli and his Bolognese audience. Taking the dialect as a jumping off point, we can imagine that perhaps some of the Bolognese citizens depicted in some of these professions may have played this game themselves and gotten delight out of seeing their work displayed in front of them.

Starting in the upper left-hand corner of the game, Mitelli assigns the place of honor to "*Musici e Sonatori*", or musicians and singers. There are both women and men depicted here: a man and a woman are singing while accompanied by a woman on

harpsichord, a man on violin, and another man on cello. They are all well-dressed, especially the woman playing the harpsichord, who sports a luxurious dress and a very tall and elaborate hairstyle, similar to the women in the *Zugh d'Tutt i Zugh*. It would seem that men and women of this sort of social class didn't need to play instruments to make a living, but perhaps the word "trade" needs to be taken liberally here. They might also be costumed performers, employed perhaps by one of the local theaters.

Working down the row, the next square, correlating with the throw of triple fives, is occupied by the "*Avocato, Procuratore, e Notaro*", or lawyer, solicitor, and notary. As expected, these jobs are represented by three well-dressed gentlemen. The space for the triple fours is, as mentioned above, dedicated to two men playing cards and presumably gambling while they do so, as there appear to be coins on their table. A third man watches from the side. Unlike in the game of cards represented in the "Game of All of the Games", there are no women playing here, only moderately dressed gentlemen. The next square, with triple threes, depicts a dressmaker, or a man who creates "*Mode per le Donne*". While he is dressed as a normal everyday citizen, he displays in his arms and on the shop counter behind him luxuriously patterned fabrics and intricate headdresses, to beautify the well-to-do women of Bologna. The last square in this row is associated with triple twos, and displays the shop of a tobacconist, or "*Tabaccaro*". The man behind the counter holds up his scales while four well-dressed gentlemen wait in line presumably to pay for their tobacco.

Moving down to the second row, the final square associated with a throw of triplets, the triple ones, is located at the center. Here Mitelli depicts a "*Lardarolo*". While there is no exact translation for the term, the root "*lardo*" would incite thoughts of

animal products, and indeed, the merchant shown here seems to be selling a variety of meat and cheese products. The simplest thing would be to simply call him a butcher. The row is filled out by three more squares containing food-and-drink-related occupations: an "*Acquavitario*", or "eau de vie" seller, the "*Oste e Brentatore*", or tavern-owner and travelling wine-seller, and the "*Fornaro*", or baker. Each is depicted in their place of business, peddling their wares to common men and women. The last square in the row is occupied by a "*Mercante*", or cloth merchant, shown in his shop, surrounded by large bolts of cloth which appear plainer than the cloth shown in the dressmaker's shop.

The first square in the third row is occupied by the "*Medico, Speciale, e Barbieri*", or doctor, apothecary, and barber. They are shown attending to a sick man in his bed, and bring with them the various tools of their trades. The remainder of the third row, along with the fourth row, is devoted to artisans working in a variety of fields. They are no longer shown interacting with clients in their shops, but are represented with more than one trade per square. Continuing down the row, we come across the "*Orefice e Marzaro*", or goldsmith and haberdasher. Next are the "*Calzolaro e Sartore*", or shoemaker and tailor, followed by the "*Falegname e Magnano*", or carpenter and blacksmith, with the row ending with the "*Capellaro e Garzolaro*", or hat-maker and basket-weaver. Each is shown with their wares or tools of their trade clearly on display, and with the exception of the goldsmith, all of these men tend to be less well-dressed than their compatriots in the rows above.

The fourth row continues in much the same manner as the third. The first square on the left is occupied by the "*Cartaro e Libraro*", or stationer and bookseller, followed

by the “*Coramaro e Lanternaro*”, or leather-stamper and lantern-maker. In the middle square are the “*Stampatore et Indoratore*”, or printer and framer, with the next square occupied by the “*Tessitore e Ricamatore*”, or weaver and embroiderer. The row ends with the fine arts: “*Pittore, Intagliatore, e Scultore*”, or painter, engraver, and sculptor.

As mentioned above, although following society’s pre-established notions of respectable trades to a certain degree, we cannot necessarily read too much into Mitelli’s own placement of various trades in the top or bottom rows. It does seem apparent, however, by examining the figures within their shops, that there was a marked difference in class, for the most part, between the men who worked in more artisanal trades and those who held more professional jobs. This does not come as a surprise. It is interesting, however, that the men who work in the food industry are lumped with the higher-class trades, but perhaps in Bologna, where food was so appreciated and prized, this would have been the case.

It is also worthwhile noting that while the vast majority of the trades are named in standard, modern Italian, there are a few occupations which Mitelli has named in Bolognese dialect. “*Lardarolo*” is one of these words; from the root of the word and the illustration of the items in the man’s shop it is simple enough to figure out what he sells, but the word is not known in modern Italian. “*Magnano*” is a similar case; by examining the vignette and seeing the man with the hammer in his hand and a large anvil, it is easy enough to realize he is a blacksmith, but I was unable to find any direct translation of *magnano* in any dictionary I consulted. Perhaps it was a term of the period, or specific to Bologna. “*Coramaro*” is a word which seems to have fallen out of use most likely not long after Mitelli’s time, used to describe the stamping, and sometimes gilding, of leather

for interior decoration. And finally, “*Garzolaro*” is a Bolognese term related back to *canapino* and *canapa*, or hemp, meaning someone who weaves with the fiber. The mix of terms may not have been a conscious choice on Mitelli’s part; perhaps all of these trade names were simply part of the common terminology in Bologna in 1698.

The most important thing to take away from this game is simply the information it provides regarding the variety of trades, and the type of men who may have worked in them at the end of the seventeenth century in Bologna. These are not wandering street-sellers; they are established tradesmen and artisans with their own shops, surrounded by their equipment and the wares they peddle, and attract a certain type of clientele. Mitelli, known for his comedic illustrations and caricatures, has not depicted any of these men in that sort of a fashion. He is not making fun of any of these occupations. Aside from what I believe to be the joke about the men playing the card game in the top row, I believe these were all seen as respectable jobs, albeit to varying degrees, and were all honest ways for a Bolognese man to make a living in 1698.

Related to the “*Gioco de Mestieri*” is the “*Gioco Importantissimo del Fornaro, Banco che Mai Falisce*”, or the “Very Important Game of the Baker, the Stall Which Never Fails” (Fig. 15), printed in 1692. Below the title Mitelli has written, “*Chi ha’ robba da mangiar sempre ha’ moneta*,” or “He who has food to eat always has money.” As long as the baker is providing the people of Bologna with something necessary to their health, he himself will never go hungry. Once again, the centrality of food to life in general, and to life in Bologna in particular, is quite apparent, if Mitelli dedicated an entire print to the role of the baker within Bolognese society. Here the baker is

surrounded by many other members of that society, but he occupies by far the largest part of the game surface and is associated with the winning throw of three sixes.

Unlike the majority of the other games of Mitelli that we've seen, in this print Mitelli does not employ the standard "T" for *tira* and "P" for *paga*; instead, the directions here are more complex. Underneath each vignette is a short sentence which instructs the player how they are to proceed. For example, in the lower left-hand corner of the image is "*Messer Accqua e Vin. Brentadore,*" or the water- and wine-seller. His square is correlated with the throw of triple threes, and underneath his image is written, "*Voi havrete da ber, e due quattrini,*" or "You will have something to drink, and two coins." Very similar is the man associated with a throw of three twos, located in the lower right-hand corner of the game, "*Messer Gros e Tond. Tripparo,*" or "Mr. Fat and Round, the Tripe-Seller." If you land on his square, "*Vi do suppa e formaggio e tre' quattrini,*" or "I give you soup and cheese and three coins." In the upper right hand corner is an image of the "*lardarolo*", or butcher, as seen in the previous game. The instruction he carries is, "*Vi taglio la panzeta e vi do doi quattrini.*" In other words, "I will slice the pancetta for you and give you two coins."

Not every square contains specific instructions for the giving or taking of coins, however. In the second row, on the right side of the game, is a square containing an illustration of a painter. Underneath him Mitelli has written, "*Posso farvi il rittrato, se volete,*" or "I can paint your portrait, if you like." This obviously contains no indication that any money should change hands. Directly above him is a "*muratore*", or bricklayer. Underneath his image is written, "*Di martello e cazolla fo' il lavoro,*" or "With a hammer and trowel I do my work." Many games have spaces where the player must simply wait,

where nothing really happens, so perhaps these sorts of spaces are Mitelli's way of accomplishing the same thing – a pause in the excitement of winning or losing money on the part of the player.

There are also two women present within the illustrations of this game. This is admittedly not a high number, but the vast majority of Mitelli's games contain few or no images of women. Unfortunately, or perhaps comically, neither of the women depicted here are presented in a particularly sympathetic or attractive fashion. The first one occurs in the second row, to the left side of the game. Here we find a not especially beautiful woman singing, outfitted in a luxurious dress and overdone hairstyle. We can assume Mitelli absolutely meant to depict her in this way, especially when we take into consideration the caption that accompanies her image: "*Cantatrice Madonna Aragai*". "*Aragai*" is a Bolognese term which means "voiceless" or "hoarse" – and so we have "the Lady, Voiceless Singer". Clearly this was not a figure Mitelli meant us to place in too high esteem. The other female figure is in the bottom row, the third square from the right. Mitelli has dubbed her "*Signora Madonna Tintinaga*", which again is a Bolognese term, this time meaning "indecisive". The phrase written underneath her reads, "*Vi dono il fior, il cor, e doi quattrini.*" – "I give you a flower, a heart, and two coins." As described by her name, she is indecisive and cannot make up her mind as to how she should reward the player for landing on her space. This paints women in a fickle and irresolute light. But for all this, it is still just a game, one which I'm sure Mitelli meant to simply be entertaining and not to be taken so seriously.

Similar conclusions can be drawn from this game as from the *Gioco de Mestieri*. While Mitelli's satire, comedic wit, and talent for caricature which is inherent in these

games is certainly to be admired and appreciated, this game provides modern-day viewers with another glimpse, however subjective, into a day in the life of a Bolognese citizen at the end of the seventeenth century, and affords us some insight as to the types of characters he or she might encounter on a day-to-day basis, as well as the type of people who might fulfill those roles.

Women get a much broader, if not necessarily more objective, representation in a few additional games by Mitelli. It was no secret that women in seventeenth-century Bologna enjoyed an unusual amount of freedom, whether this was expressed through their visibility in society or through more material things such as their clothing and accessories. Renzo Renzi refers to Bologna as having “an old reputation as a pleasure-loving city, where women and love have always occupied a preeminent place.”¹⁴² In his volume on the history of Bologna, Giovanni Ricci references several commentators who, over the centuries, wrote about this unusual quality of Bolognese women. Regarding “the empowerment of women with regards to other cities”¹⁴³, in 1691 Maximilien Misson wrote that “the women aren’t locked up like in Florence; you encounter them frequently and they are very beautiful.”¹⁴⁴ In 1730 an anonymous Flemish pilgrim noted that the women of Bologna “don’t live hidden as in Florence.”¹⁴⁵

Another telling point on the status of women in Bolognese society is their interactions with the University. According to a history of the school, women were admitted to courses of study as early as the twelfth century, and one of the most famous female professors in the University’s entire history taught there in the early 18th century, only a few years after Mitelli’s death.¹⁴⁶ And according to Ricci, “the best confirmation of this privileged status is in the frequent presence of women in Bologna’s cultural

history.”¹⁴⁷ There are certainly important female artists and scientists who came out of Bologna, but unfortunately, further documentation of the level of freedom they purportedly enjoyed has proved elusive.

Operating under the assumption, however, that this greater level of freedom did indeed exist, it can be seen in the way Bolognese women dressed. They had such a history of dressing luxuriously, even to excess, that by the thirteenth century there were already a series of sumptuary laws in place to prevent them from tending towards too much excess in the way of clothing and jewelry.¹⁴⁸ Bologna was by no means unique in having sumptuary laws controlling the way men and women dressed and adorned themselves, but it was among the first Italian cities to have a need for such laws and to therefore enact them.¹⁴⁹

Over the centuries, the interest in dress and fashion did not wane. Frati mentions that travelers to Italy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries noted the dress of Bolognese women in their writings.¹⁵⁰ The preoccupation with fashion had the potential to get out of hand. In her volume on the history of Bologna as seen through its art and costume, Gida Rossi tells us that in the seventeenth century “women no longer had time to attend to their domestic chores. French fashions... receptions, gossip, plays, music, religious festivals, balls, trips to nearby villas, absorbed all of their time.”¹⁵¹

It was no doubt this aspect of Bolognese culture that Mitelli was responding to when he created “*Il Gioco della Verità*”, or the “Game of Truth” (Fig. 16). The format of this game is the simplest we have seen yet. Played with one die, there are only six spaces on the board. A throw of one through five will cost the player either one or four coins, while a throw of six will win the money in the pot, and the game. These six spaces are a

blatant commentary on how men and women should conduct themselves in private and in public. The five spaces where the player must pay are all for doing things that are frowned upon as a waste of time and money. The first space shows a woman fixing her elaborate coiffure and a man, presumably her husband, adjusting his long wig. The caption says, "*Spechiandosi si perde*," or "Looking at oneself in the mirror, you lose." The second space shows a woman standing in the doorway greeting a possible suitor, with the caption, "*Su la porta a discorere si perde*". This translates to, "Standing in the doorway in discussion, you lose." As if in contrast, a man is shown in the background going about his business, carrying something on his back, presumably to sell. He is not caught up in idle conversation nor wasting time.

The third space shows a man and a woman seated at a table playing cards, and clearly playing for money, as the coins are visible on the table. A second man stands behind the woman's chair. Interestingly for a man who created games as a part of his *oeuvre*, Mitelli's note on this square is, "*Chi gioca perde, e chi non gioca vince*," or "He who plays loses, and he who doesn't play wins." All three of these spaces will cost the player one coin if they roll the corresponding number on the die. The same amount will be paid if they land on the space associated with a roll of five. Here we find a woman outside with her small dog, another woman who may be a servant of some sort, and a well-dressed man who is presenting her with a flower. Although the younger woman's head is covered, she is still wearing an expensive-looking dress, fancy shoes, and jewelry. The caption reads, "*Fuor di casa sempre si perde*," or "Outside the house you always lose." Perhaps Mitelli thought that women should always remain indoors and usefully occupied in domestic activities – not, as we've seen, in front of the mirror or playing at

cards, or perhaps not in activities more equal to those of men, such as work or study at the University. However, this is only an idea we can infer from Mitelli's game.

The space corresponding to a roll of four is different from these four squares examined thus far, in that it will cost the player four coins. This vignette features a masked couple dancing at some sort of a party or ball. There are people watching and a musician accompanying them in the back. Mitelli's caption reads, "*Ballando perderai più, che non credi.*" This translates to, "Dancing you will lose more than you believe." Perhaps Mitelli meant this in jest, or perhaps he truly believed that dancing was a waste of time, but as referenced earlier, he himself danced in his youth. The more likely explanation is that he was attempting to provide an example of a model couple, engaged in worthwhile, modest, and honest pursuits. This is certainly exemplified by the winning space, associated with a roll of six. Here we find a family much more modestly dressed than the figures in the other five vignettes: a man sitting at a table who appears to be book-keeping, a woman sewing or embroidering, and a small child studying his alphabet. The text within the square reads, "*Chi attende a' fatti suoi sempre guadagna,*" or "He who attends to his own business always wins." No further explanation is really necessary; Mitelli makes quite clear the value he is placing on the value of hard, honest work, on the part of both the men and the women in Bolognese society.

Mitelli provides us with some additional satiric and social commentary on the activities of women in the "*Giuoco Gustoso della Simona e della Filippa Compagne Fedele*" of 1695, translated as the "Delightful Game of Simona and Filippa, Faithful Friends," (Fig. 17). This game uses three dice and is comprised of twenty-four vignettes in which Mitelli details the activities of these two women. In the process, he paints a

picture of silly, frivolous women who spend their time in idle activities. In a comedic twist different from the “Game of Truth”, however, both the squares in which a player wins coins and the ones in which they lose are by and large occupied by Simona and Filippa engaged in activities of little consequence. I don’t believe that Mitelli meant us to take the doings of these two women seriously, as there is hardly anything meritorious in any of their actions.

The clearest example of this comes in the square located at the top left-hand corner of the game, which is associated with a roll of triple sixes and is the winning space of the game. The caption reads, “*La Simona fa la nanna e non vuol esser svegliata.*” In other words, if you roll three sixes, you win the pot and the game because “Simona is taking a nap and doesn’t want to be woken up.” Mitelli would likely not champion such a display of utter laziness unless it was done for fun, and out of jest. And what were the games for, if not to be entertaining to the players?

There are, however, a few spaces for which the player is punished and has to pay, and these are sometimes associated with activities which most certainly should not be rewarded. The square next to the winning space is one of these, carrying a caption that reads, “*La Simona si è levata e nel specchio sta tre hore,*” or “Simona wakes up and spends three hours in front of the mirror.” For this square the player is penalized one coin. Further down the row we again find Simona, this time with a hand-held mirror. The caption here reads, “*La Simona si crede d’esser bella più dell’altre,*” or “Simona believes herself to be prettier than the other girls.” For this, again, the player must pay one coin. One last example comes in the third row, in the second square from the right. Here we find Filippa, almost unrecognizable without her fancy accoutrements, and two

gentlemen walking away from her. Here Mitelli has written, "*La Filippa è mal vestita e perciò nesun la guarda,*" or, "Filippa is badly dressed and so nobody looks at her."

The activities being undertaken by Simona and Filippa in the winning spaces are in large part no less frivolous and ridiculous. There are a few that involve their search for a mate. The square in the upper right-hand corner of the game, which corresponds to a throw of triple fives, finds Simona sharing the space with a well-dressed man. The caption reads, "*La Simona vuol marito ma a suo modo non lo trova,*" or "Simona wants a husband but with her methods doesn't find one." Down in the third row, in the third square from the right, we find Filippa again being ignored by two gentlemen, and in a similar state of discontent as before. Here the caption reads, "*La Filippa spesso piange per non esser riverita,*" or "Filippa often cries for not being revered." And finally, in the bottom row, in the third square from the left, Simona is pictured getting what she wants – a husband! Mitelli's caption reads, "*La Simona è tutta allegra che marito ha ritrovato,*" or "Simona is happy because she has found a husband."

There is very little these two women do that is really of any value. In fact, there are only two vignettes in which Simona is doing anything that could be seen as akin to work, and in both Simona is solely motivated out of the need to eat, not simply for the redemptive qualities of hard work. In the third row, in the second square from the left, we see her seated in a chair, plucking a bird. The caption reads, "*La Simona vuol mangiare, e polastri va pelando,*" or "Simona wants to eat and is plucking cockerels." Similarly, in the bottom row we find her sharing a vignette with a small crying child. Here Mitelli has written, "*La Simona si riduce a filar se vuol mangiare.*" This translates to "Simona is reduced to spinning if she wants to eat." This is a clear demonstration of

Mitelli's point of view. If Simona hadn't wasted her time with such frivolous activities, she would not have ended up in this position.

Although comedy and satire was a prevalent theme in much of his artistic production throughout his lifetime, this is the first one of the games examined where it is displayed so prominently. Perhaps in some of the other games there was a vignette or two which might have hinted at some wit, or included some clear caricatures among the portraits of men and women, but the entirety of this print is created as a satire, a commentary on how women choose to occupy themselves, and whether or not such occupations are worthwhile uses of their time. According to Renzo Renzi, "the most prolific and popular master [of satire]...the seventeenth-century Bolognese humorist, is Giuseppe Maria Mitelli."¹⁵² As Renzi points out, Mitelli was simply following in the footsteps of a Bolognese tradition which had already been established by the likes of Giulio Cesare Croce and the Carracci brothers,¹⁵³ but with Mitelli it reached new levels and modes of expression, such as in this game of Simona and Filippa.

One last game I would like to mention, which contrasts completely with the game of Simona and Filippa, is the "*Gioco di Madonna Bernardina Maestra di Scuola*," or the "Game of The Lady Bernardina, Schoolteacher," created by Mitelli in 1692 (Fig. 18). This game is not formatted like many of the other ones we have seen. It is simply an array of figures in a room, each accompanied by a number corresponding to the roll of the dice, along with instructions as to how many coins to take or pay, and is centered around the figure of Madonna Bernardina, the schoolteacher. The other ten figures are all students in her classroom, some of whom are working studiously, for which the player will be rewarded. Others are being naughty, and if the player rolls the number on the

dice corresponding to one of those figures, they will be penalized accordingly. The focus, however, is on Madonna Bernardina. She is associated with the winning throw of twelve, and in the midst of what has the potential to be chaos, she sits serenely. She is clearly in charge of her classroom, and is filling not only a necessary occupation, for someone must teach the children of Bologna, but also a clearly well-respected one. In his depiction of Madonna Bernardina, Mitelli has put in no artifice, no caricature. She is not dressed beyond her means but rather modestly, and is the model of hard work and decency.

Conclusion

Mitelli's printed games are an invaluable source of information on life in Bologna in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and provide us with seemingly limitless avenues for how we can approach and discuss that world and its various facets, as well as how gaming fits into that world. The logical place to begin is with the history of the game itself. As we have seen, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a surge in game-playing culture in Italy and throughout Europe, a trend Mitelli could not help but be aware of and which surely influenced his decision to start creating board games fairly late in life. As discussed, while the imagery within his games and the ideas behind many of them are certainly original, he is clearly modeling his work after pre-existing, well-known examples such as the Game of the Goose which already enjoyed widespread distribution across Europe. Generally speaking, whether created by Mitelli or other artists, games were played all over Bologna in these decades, from the taverns and the piazzas to private gaming houses strictly for the pleasure of the aristocracy. They were also banned in large part by the government – a sure sign of their popularity, as the government would not have wasted their time on something that was not a true problem.

Further important context comes from the history of printing in Bologna in general and of the printing of games specifically. Printing started in Bologna in the fifteenth century and steadily grew over the years. By Mitelli's time, it had become a thriving industry rivaling that of the most prestigious cities in Europe, encompassing books and documents as well as large numbers of engravings and etchings. Mitelli created his games by etching, an oft-exploited process in Italy at the time, especially with

popular artists as the costs were lower than for standard engravings. This translated on the consumer's end to more affordable prints, something which would have appealed to a predominately "popular" artist like Mitelli.

The middle- and lower-class Bolognese citizens are certainly the audience for a large part of Mitelli's output, including the first three games examined. *Zugh d'Tutti i Zugh*, *Al Zuogh d'la Città d'Bulogna*, and *Zuogh dal Cacciator* are all written in Bolognese dialect, the language of the common people. Although the upper classes of Bolognese citizens may have understood the regional dialect, they by and large spoke "proper" Italian, while the dialect was the language of the people, spoken in the streets, the piazzas, and the *osterie*. This seems to indicate a market for Mitelli's work primarily within the city walls and in the immediate environs, where these games in dialect would be most appreciated and understood, but it certainly doesn't preclude the possibility of a wider distribution.

The subject matter of the games also teaches us a lot about various aspects of daily life in Bologna during Mitelli's lifetime. *Zugh d'Tutt i Zugh* and *Zuogh dal Cacciator* provide us with a great amount of information about the types of games and leisure activities that existed at the time and the different classes of citizens that would likely participate in them. *Al Zuogh d'la Città d'Bulogna* gives us more information on the usage of the dialect within and around the city, along with an actual map of how the city appeared in 1691 and an idea of how people might have experienced the city and moved around within it.

The next group of games touched upon enables a further examination of Mitelli's connection to his home city as expressed through his games and the overtly Bolognese

themes he chose to depict. These three games focus upon specific aspects of Bolognese culture which were a major part of daily life in the city. The first of these, *Il Gioco di Tutte le Monete di Bologna*, is the most closely modeled after earlier game examples such as the Game of the Goose, and is essentially a study in miniature of Bolognese currency sprinkled with little vignettes featuring aspects of and characters from day-to-day life in the city.

The second of this group, *Il Gioco della Cucagna*, is an homage to the famous culinary history of Bologna, “*La Grassa*”. A game solely about food would not likely have been made in a city that didn’t have such a well-founded devotion to gastronomy. By placing mortadella, a cornerstone of that tradition, at the center of the game, Mitelli opens up a pathway for studying that entire aspect of Bologna’s history, and the importance of food within Bolognese society. By including the other regional specialties in the surrounding spaces of the game, he also teaches his viewers something about the noteworthy food and drink items from other Italian cities, as well as the development of regionalism.

The third game in this group, *Il Gioco Nuovo di Tutte le Osterie che Sono in Bologna*, is a logical choice to follow the *Gioco della Cucagna*, as food and drink also play an important role here. But the main focus here is on the tavern, and on the role that the tavern played in Bolognese history. As far back as the thirteenth century, Bologna was home to a thriving tradition of hospitality which was renowned throughout Europe and often commented upon by foreign travelers who stopped in the city. The inclusion of this game is doubly appropriate, however, when we consider the fact that taverns were often a location where people would commune and play board games – and so perhaps

Bolognese citizens might have taken this specific game into one of the taverns depicted on the board to have a glass or two of wine and maybe win some money!

The last group of games provide a lens through which the various roles that men and women played in Bolognese society in the seventeenth century can be studied. The *Gioco de Mestieri* and the *Gioco Importantissimo del Fornaro* focus on the wide range of trades and occupations in which men were able to participate, based on their skills and also their ranking in society. Some occupations were held primarily by upper-class citizens, while other trades were open to men of any ranking, provided necessary skills were held. Certain trades were also held in higher esteem than others.

These two games provide hardly any information on the place of women in society, which is informative in and of itself, but the last three games studied here fulfill that role. The *Gioco della Verità*, the *Giuoco Gustoso della Simona e della Filippa Compagne Fedele*, and the *Gioco di Madonna Bernardina Mastra di Scuola* examine the roles of women in various aspects of society and relationships. In the *Gioco della Verità*, Mitelli makes a very overt statement on the proper behavior inside and outside the home through the roles of married men and women.

Although taking the husbands out of the equation, the *Giuoco Gustoso della Simona e della Filippa* continues Mitelli's commentary on how women should conduct themselves at home and in public, but he does it somewhat in reverse of the last game. While there is no room for confusion in the *Gioco della Verità* as to what point Mitelli is making, here Mitelli brings forth his love for humor and satire. Due to the way the game is laid out and the variety of activities that get rewarded within the game, it can only be assumed that Mitelli meant the game to be taken in jest. This in and of itself is

interesting and educational, as satire was a popular and developing art form in Bologna during the seventeenth century.

The final game examined, the *Gioco di Madonna Bernardina Mastra di Scola*, provides an image of the ideal woman in Bolognese society. A schoolteacher, Madonna Bernardina is humble, modest, self-sufficient, and working for the betterment of society through the education of its youth. What more could be asked of her?

In conclusion, by using the printed board games of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli as a microcosm of life in Bologna in the seventeenth century, and by thinking of them as objects of daily life which were used and consumed, we can learn much more about that life than we could from more standard sources. Through the choices of subject matter that Mitelli has made, he has unknowingly provided us centuries later with a slice of life in the Emilian capital city, from the games they played to the taverns they played them in, the food they might have eaten while they played, the types of coins they would have paid for everything with – and even the regional dialect that might have been spoken at that tavern table. And if Mitelli and his images are to be trusted, it seems as if it certainly was a *dolce vita* in Bologna at the end of the seventeenth century.

Illustrations

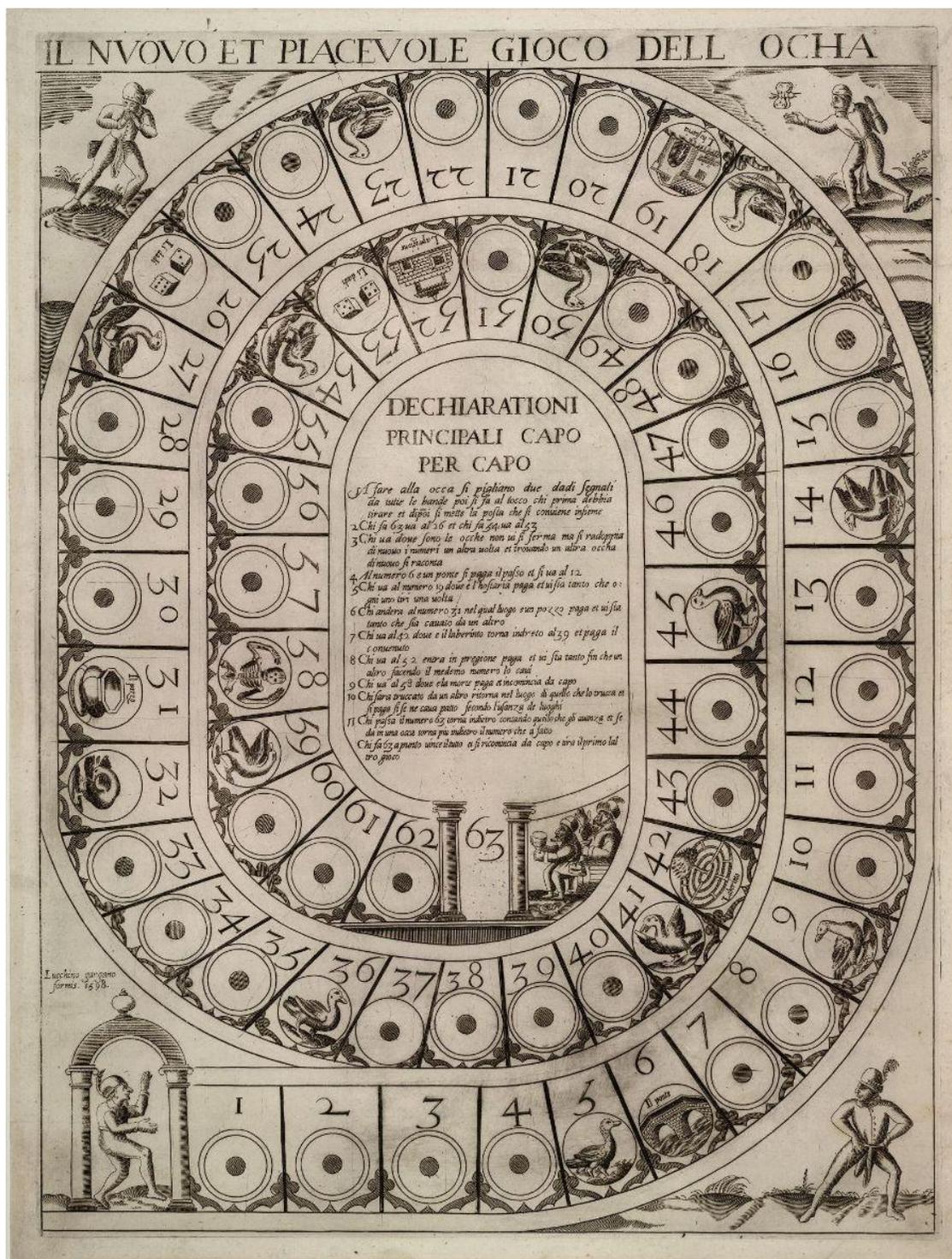


Figure 1 – Lucchino Gargano, *Il Nuovo et Piacevole Gioco dell'Ocha*, 1598. Engraving on paper, 507 x 378 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1869,0410.2465.

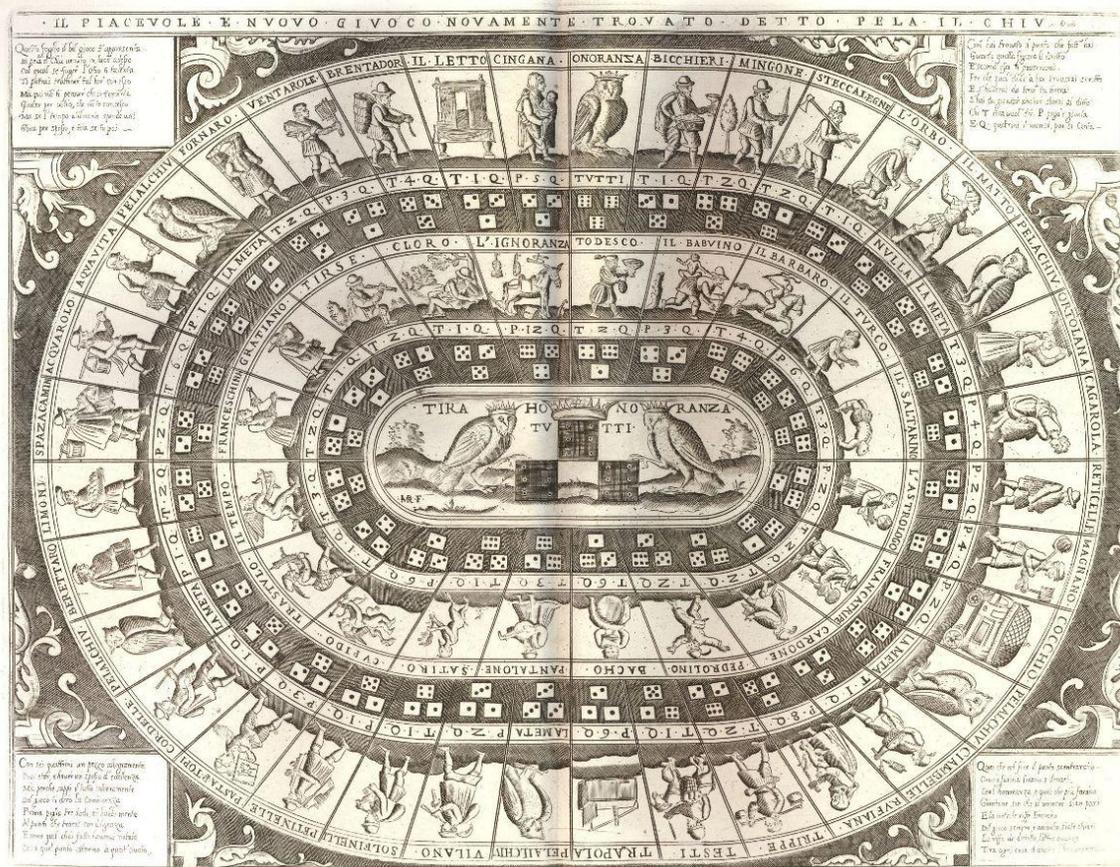


Figure 2 – Ambrogio Brambilla and Giovanni Battista di Lazzaro Panzera da Parma, *Il Piacivole e Nuovo Giuoco Novamente Trovato Detto Pela il Chiu*, 1589. Engraving on paper, 398 x 519 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1893,0331.32.

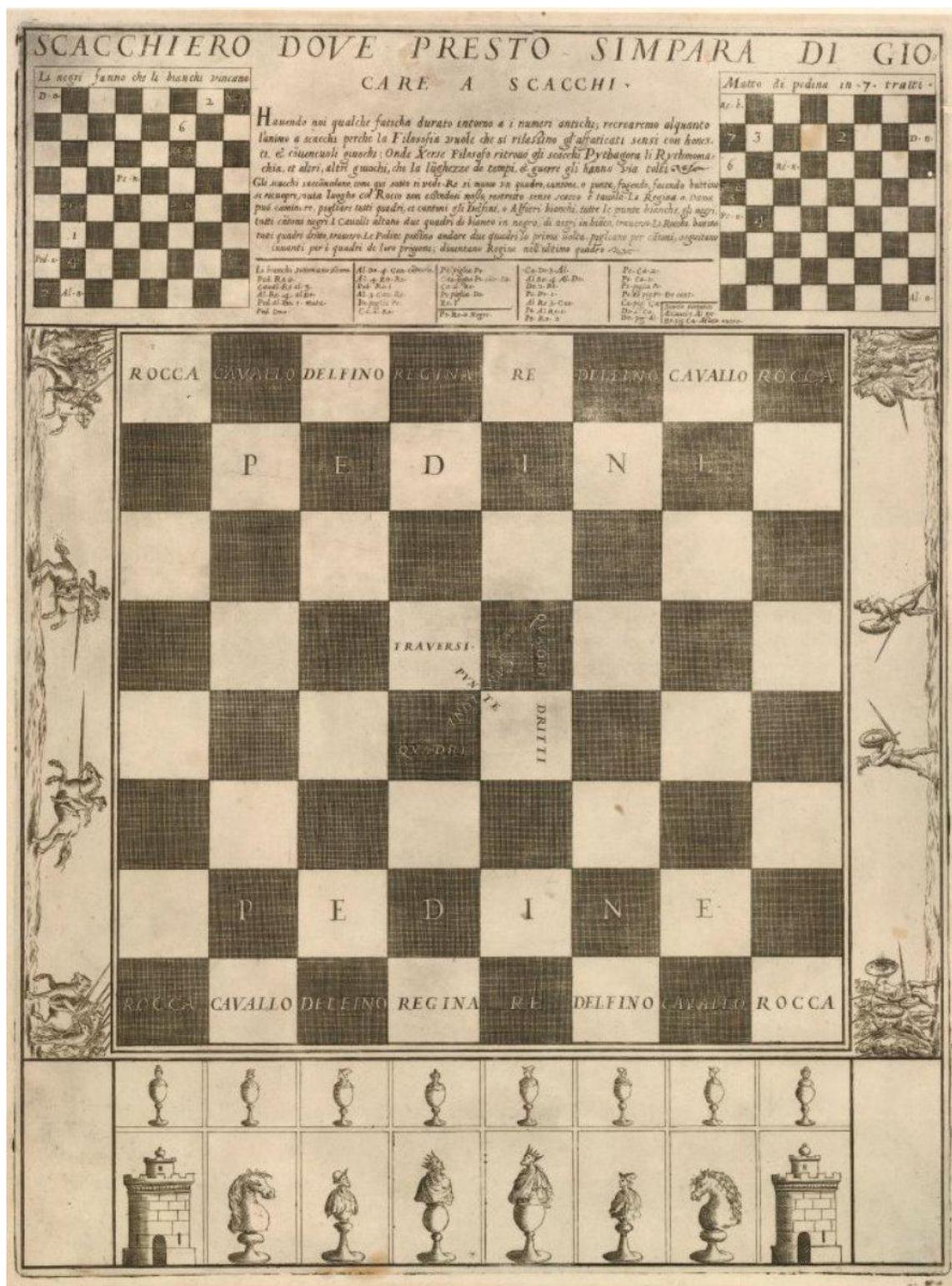


Figure 3 – Anonymous, *Scacchiero Dove Presto Simpara di Giocare a Scacchi*, 1590's. Engraving on paper, 505 x 376 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1869,0410.2462.



Figure 4 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Zugh di Tutt i Zugh*, 1702. Etching on paper, 277 x 400 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1893,0331.27.

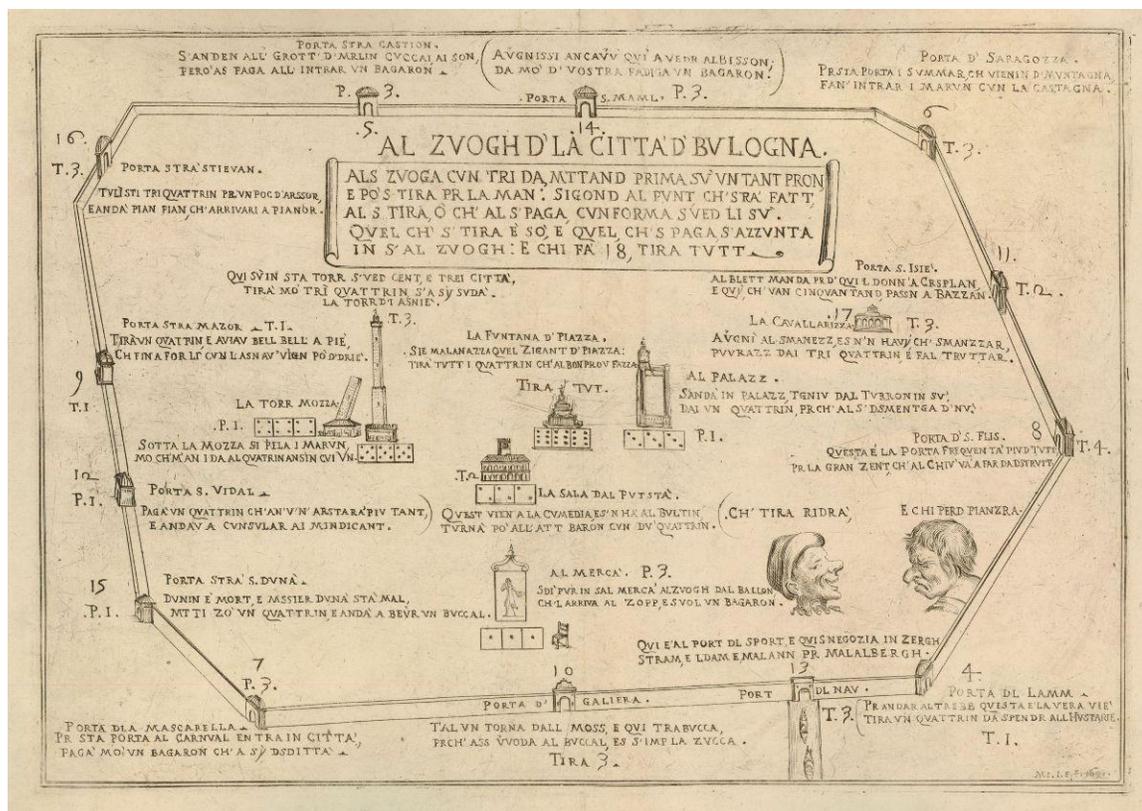


Figure 5 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Al Zuogh d'la Città di Bulogna*, 1691. Etching on paper, 316 x 451 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1852,0612.486.



Figure 6 – Matteo Florimi, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae/Bologna*, 1581-1613.
Engraving on paper, 400 x 500 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1947,0319.26.8.



Figure 7 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *La Caccia Giocosa, figura decima: Per tirar à favazzi, à tortore, è poi anche à qualsivoglia animale...*, 1684. Etching on paper, 139 x 193 mm. Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Raccolta Gozzadini 1, III 41.

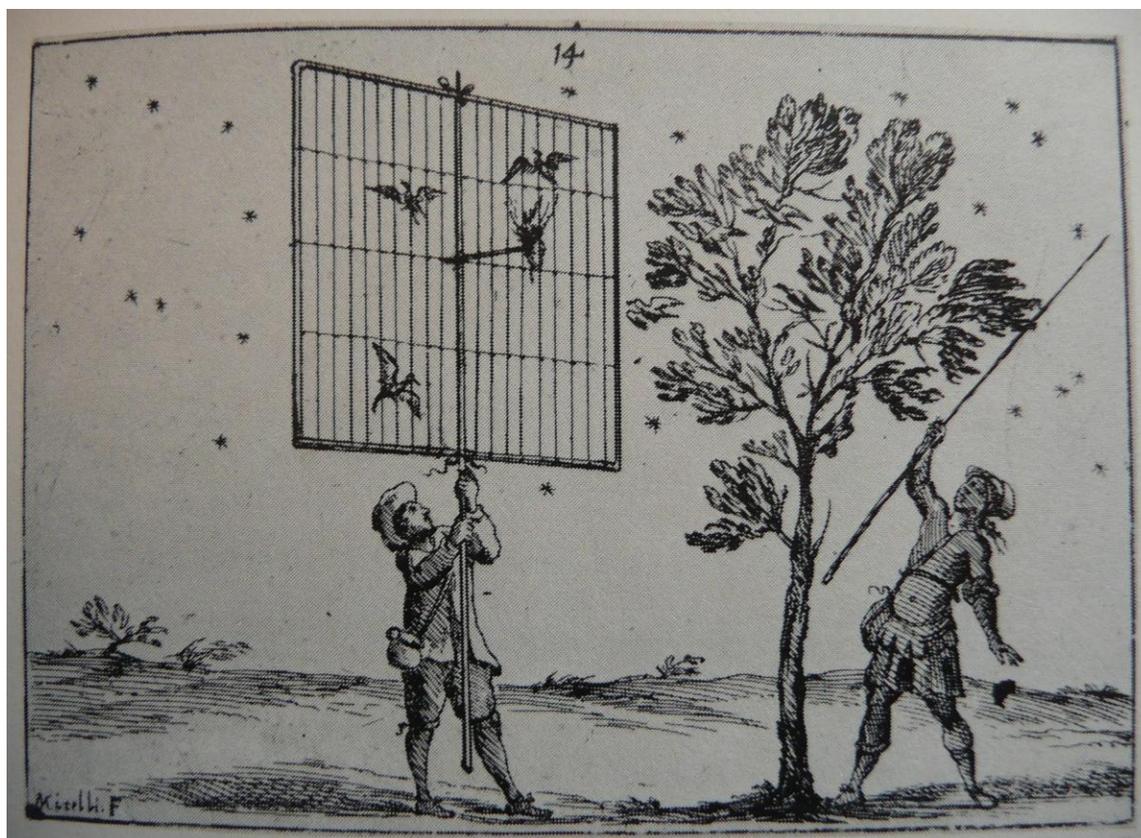


Figure 8 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *La Caccia Giocosa*, figura quattordicesima: *In tempo di notte, quando il cielo è più scuro...*, 1684. Etching on paper, 139 x 193 mm. Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Raccolta Gozzadini 1, III 45.



Figure 9 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Zuogh dal Cacciator*, 1699. Etching on paper, 252 x 432 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1852,0612.462.



Figure 10 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Gioco di Tutte le Monete di Bologna*, 1692. Etching on paper, 300 x 380 mm. Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Raccolta Gozzadini 1, I 129.

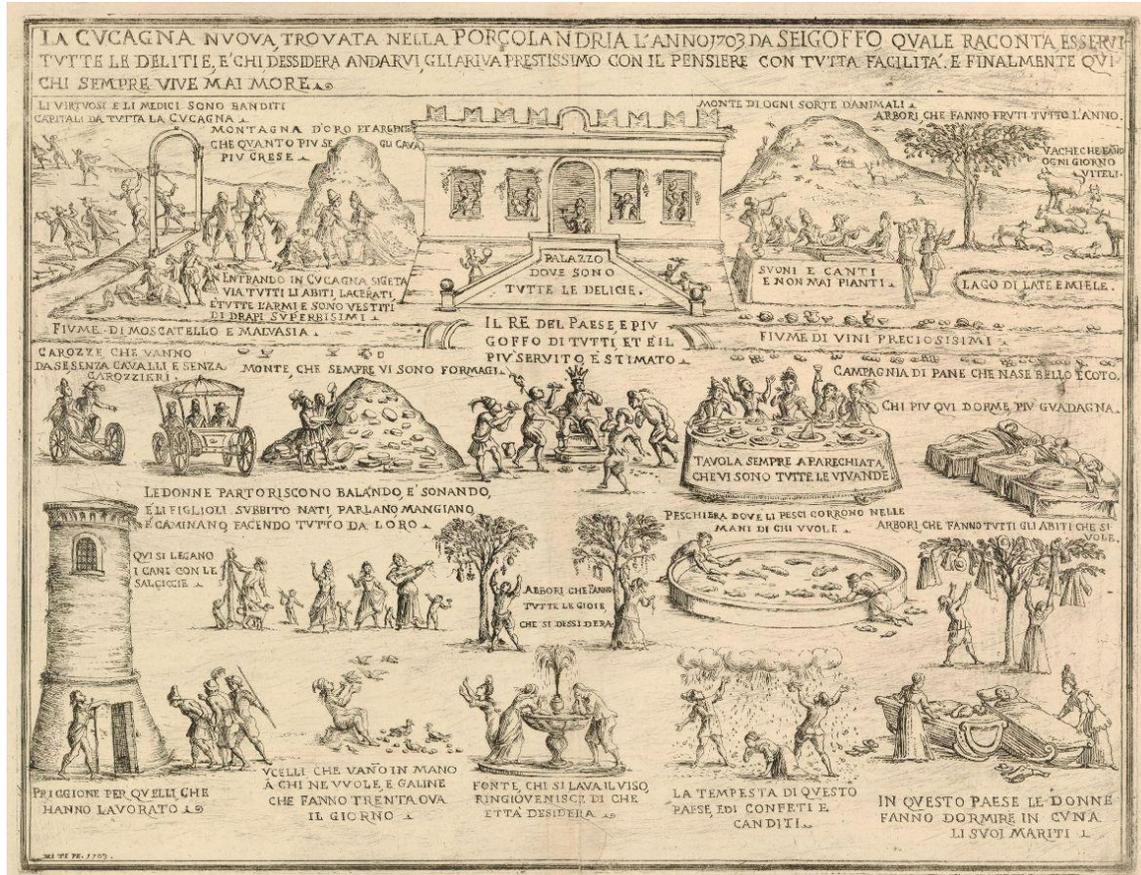


Figure 11 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *La cucagna nuova, trovata nella Porcolandria l'anno 1703 da Seigoffo*, 1703. Etching on paper, 333 x 433 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1852,0612.469.



Figure 12 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Gioco della Cucagna*, 1691. Etching on paper, 315 x 440 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1893,0331.19.



Figure 14 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Gioco de Mestieri a Chi Va Bene e a Chi Va Male*, 1698. Etching on paper, 322 x 435 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1852,0612.451.



Figure 15 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Gioco Importantissimo del Fornaro Banco Che Mai Falisce*, 1692. Etching on paper, 281 x 370 mm. Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Raccolta Gozzadini 1, I 132.



Figure 16 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Il Gioco della Verità*, 1688. Etching on paper, 300 x 403 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1852,0612.455.



Figure 17 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Il Giuoco Gustoso della Simona e della Filippa Compagne Fedeli*, 1695. Etching on paper, 382 x 540 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1852,0612.485.



Figure 18 – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Gioco di Madonna Bernardina Mastra di Scuola, Così Parla a Suoi Scolari*, 1692. Etching on paper, 290 x 381 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum, 1852,0612.453.

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Endnotes

¹ Angela Balletti, “La vita bolognese del Seicento nell’opera grafica di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. Parte prima,” *Culta Bononia: rivista di studi bolognesi* (1970): 34.

² Balletti, 169.

³ Balletti, 34.

⁴ For the complete catalogue of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli’s engravings, please see Franca Varignana, ed, *Le Collezioni d’Arte della Cassa di Risparmio in Bologna, Vol. 5: Le incisioni I: Giuseppe Maria Mitelli* (Bologna: Cassa di Risparmio di Bologna, 1978).

⁵ Mariarosa Cesari, “Giuseppe Maria Mitelli e Le Incisioni per Tesi Universitarie,” *Il Carrobbio* v. 21 (1995): 123-125. “Artista colto e versatile il Mitelli fu apprezzato già dai suoi contemporanei per la estrema onestà di cui è improntata tutta la sua fecondissima produzione incisoria. L’intenzione didascalica e moraleggiante non diviene mai dogma o dottrina e la sua serena e disincantata visione della natura umana porta alla luce un mondo complesso ed articolato dove nel microcosmo della quotidianità si rispecchia il macrocosmo dei grandi eventi e dei grandi temi. L’interiorità e l’esteriorità, la sfera privata e quella sociale sono indagate e descritte con lo stesso profondo spirito di umana condivisione, di costante denuncia del peccato ma altrettanto sollecita misericordia per il peccatore. Un tale spessore umano non stupisce in un artista che, pur perfettamente integrato nel suo tempo, visse con fantasia e fu amante dell’arte e della vita in tante diverse espressioni.”

⁶ Giorgio Tabarroni and Luciana Tabarroni, “Monete reali e immaginarie in una stampa del Mitelli (Bologna, 1692),” *Il Carrobbio* XVI (1998): 356. “Giampietro Zanotti ne ha scritto la prima biografia a vent’anni dalla morte: in verità egli è un po’ esitante e incerto nel tracciare il profilo del “pittore” G.M. Mitelli; ma fra le poche cose di lui che egli ricorda favorevolmente vi sono: “giocondi e dilettevoli giochi”, che certamente godevano ancora di grande popolarità.”

⁷ Tabarroni and Tabarroni, 356. “Le stampe del Mitelli, pur numerosissime, sono tutt’altro che comuni, ed è probabile che quelle giunte fino a noi non rappresentino la totalità della sua produzione...specialmente per i *Giochi*, che furono effettivamente usati e consumati dai contemporanei.”

⁸ Linda Kniffitz Ghiberti, “Brevi note intorno al fondo di stampe della Biblioteca Classense di Ravenna”, in *L’Arti per Via. Percorsi nella Catalogazione delle Opere Grafiche*, Giuseppina Benassati, ed. (Bologna: Editrice Compositori, 2000), 237. “Sono infatti gli avvenimenti del giorno, le attività di ogni natura, le invenzioni, la moda, i personaggi dell’epoca, a costituire la materia ingegnosamente trattata nei giuochi, a fini politici, didattici o di propaganda: ci troviamo dunque di fronte a documenti di non irrilevante importanza storico-sociale.”

⁹ Emilia De Simoni, “Corpo, cibo e quotidianità: dal riso della rista al sorriso dei giochi,” in *Costume e società nei giochi a stampa di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli* (Perugia: Electa Editori Umbri Associati, 1988), 57. “Afferma Caillois: “Se i giochi...sono fattori e immagini di cultura, ne consegue che, in certa misura, una civiltà, e all’interno di una civiltà un’epoca, può essere caratterizzata dai suoi giochi”. La produzione del Mitelli sembra prestarsi ad essere considerata in questa prospettiva, non soltanto perché in essa il gioco viene espresso ricorrendo a elementi della realtà circostante, ma anche perché la reinterpretazione dell’autore offre ulteriori segni di questa realtà, che rappresentano il mondo contemporaneo attraverso la

mediazione soggettiva di una personalità artistica versatile e complessa, partecipe dello spirito dell'epoca e dell'eredità del passato.”

¹⁰ Giorgio Cencetti, “Pace, Pace Non Più Guerra: Le Stampe di G.M. Mitelli e l’Opinione Pubblica Bolognese alla Fine del Secolo XVII,” *Strenna Storica Bolognese* v.11 (1961): 116-117. “Proprio dalla liberazione di Vienna – a quanto pare – Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, figlio del celebre Agostino e professore all’Accademia Clementina ma gran cacciatore, sportivo e burlone al cospetto di Dio e degli uomini, fu indotto alla illustrazione degli avvenimenti politici del tempo suo.”

¹¹ H.J. Murray, *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), 1-2.

¹² Kenneth Jackson, “Introduction: The Rules of the Game”, in *The Games We Played: The Golden Age of Board and Table Games*, Margaret Hofer (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 2003), 17-18.

¹³ Alessandro Arcangeli, *Recreation in the Renaissance: Attitudes Towards Leisure and Pastimes in European Culture, c. 1425-1675* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 16.

¹⁴ Arcangeli, 55.

¹⁵ Arcangeli, 1.

¹⁶ Arcangeli, 107.

¹⁷ Arcangeli, 92, 97, 107.

¹⁸ Giulio Cesare Croce, *Alfabeto de giuocatori in ottava rima, opera morale di Giulio Cesare Croce*, full-text available at <http://www.giuliocesarecroce.it/testi/alfabeto%20de%20giuocatori.xhtml>.

¹⁹ Pierangelo Bellettini, Rosaria Campioni, and Zita Zanardi, eds., *Una Città in Piazza: Comunicazione e vita quotidiana a Bologna tra Cinque e Seicento* (Bologna: Compositori, 2000), Catalogue no. 182, p. 235: “L’operetta è costituita di diciannove ottave composte sul tema del gioco: l’abilità del Croce si manifesta immediatamente nella costruzione degli endecasillabi che formano ognuna delle ottave, che cominciano con la stessa lettera danda vita ad un alfabeto poetico che dalla lettera A alla V descrive con la consueta vivacità i sentimenti che lacerano l’animo di chi è schiavo dell’azzardo: rabbia, disperazione, gioia, soddisfazione e poi ancora rabbia e disperazione.”

²⁰ Murray, 3.

²¹ Alberto Milano, “Antichi Giochi su Carta,” in *Come giocavamo: giochi e giocatoli 1750/1960*, Giampaolo Dossena ed (Firenze: Alinari, 1984), 21.

²² Murray, 142.

²³ Murray, 143.

²⁴ Silvia Camerini, *Il magnifico apparato: pubbliche funzioni, feste e giuochi bolognesi nel Settecento* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1982), 81. “Assai in voga era “il nuovo e piacevole gioco del pela il chiù” o della civetta: riprodotto secondo motivi di chiara ispirazione popolare e illustrata da tipi caratteristici quali venditori ambulanti, saltimbanchi, artigiani, figure allegoriche. Sotto ogni casella è abbreviatamente

segnata la vincita o la perdita: T è tirare dalla puglia, P è pagare; si chiama Riffa la combinazione di tre numeri uguali.”

²⁵ Bellettini, Campioni, and Zanardi, Catalogue no. 182, p. 236. “E’ un tipico gioco da tavolo, come l’oca che però è “di percorso”, nel senso che ha un punto d’inizio e una meta. Nel gioco del “pela il chiù” invece il lancio dei dadi (tre) e il conseguente punteggio – con vincita – costituiscono tutto il divertimento. A ogni casella corrisponde una combinazione di punti dei dadi e...a volte “si tira”, a volte “si paga”... “chi fa la raffa di disdotto (sei punti in ognuno dei tre dadi, per un totale di diciotto) vince il gioco et la honoranza se vi è il patto”. Le figure disegnate nelle caselle fanno in effetti pensare al cantimbanco bolognese, poiché rappresentano molti dei personaggi ricorrenti nelle sue opere, come il venditore di ventarole, il brentatore, il “ciambellaro” e gli altri frequentatori della piazza e delle vie della città.”

²⁶ Donatino Domini, *Giocchi a stampa in Europa dal XVII al XIX secolo* (Ravenna, Italy: Longo Editore, 1985), 7. “Il gioco, grazie alla continuità che sempre intercorre tra la creatività ludica propria del gioco infantile e il *ludus* del gioco adulto, occupa gran parte dell’esistenza umana tanto da caratterizzarsi come una delle attività fondamentali degli esseri viventi.”

²⁷ Lodovico Frati, *Il Settecento a Bologna* (Milano: Sandron, 1923), 24. “La vita dei nobili era uno spasso continuo. Nell’estate le villeggiature, le recite, le cavalcate, i balli campestri, i fuochi di gioia. Nell’inverno il teatro, la conversazione pubblica, le veglie, le Accademia, il giuoco, i festini mascherati.”

²⁸ Frati, 93. “La passione del giuoco era così largamente diffusa che non eravi, si può dire, conversazione in casa di nobile famiglia ove mancassero i tavolini per giuocare, e non erano alieni dall’intervenirvi anche i Cardinali. Erano preferiti, ma proibiti, i giuochi d’azzardo,...(e i giuochi) coi dadi.”

²⁹ Camerini, 81. “...ogni casa nobile e borghese possedeva qualche tavolini da gioco.”

³⁰ Arcangeli, 55.

³¹ Camerini, 81. “Nel XVIII secolo a Bologna la passione per il gioco era diffusissima a tutti i livelli sociali. Oltre ai molteplici giochi di carte...era assai praticati certi giochi da tavolo, preferibilmente giocati d’azzardo, o d’invito.”

³² Camerini, 81. “Le ripetute e gravi minacce non riuscirono, in ogni caso, a raffreddare nei bolognesi l’ardore e la passione per il gioco: più o meno di nascosto si continuava accanitamente a giocare d’azzardo.”

³³ Cardinal legato Giulio Alberoni, quoted in Camerini, 81. “Palazzi, ...Case Private, Botteghe, Ostarie, Locande, Bettole, Piazze, Strade e in qualsiasi voglia altro luogo...”

³⁴ Milano, 22-23.

³⁵ Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy: 1550-1620* (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), 152-153.

³⁶ Camerini, 81.

³⁷ Camerini, 81. “...un luogo ‘pubblico’ (riservato però esclusivamente agli aristocratici) per intrattenersi giocando o conversando.”

³⁸ Frati, 90. "...si faceva ciò che più piaceva, sia che si volesse discorrere col proprio amante, cantare, ballare, prendere il caffè, e giuocare. La prima e l'ultima di queste occupazioni erano le più comunemente praticate."

³⁹ Frati, 90. "...questo luogo pubblico di giuoco esistesse molto prima."

⁴⁰ Frati, 90.

⁴¹ For images of treaties and other legal documents banning games, see *Costume e società nei giochi a stampa di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli* (Perugia: Electa Editori Umbri Associati, 1988).

⁴² Arcangeli, 88.

⁴³ Arcangeli, 56.

⁴⁴ Bellettiini, Campioni, and Zanardi, Catalogue no. 182, p. 236: "...è questa vita di 'molti scandali, & inconuenienti'" che le autorità tentano di correggere emanando provvedimenti che proibiscono tutti i giochi d'azzardo...L'unico gioco permesso era quello del lotto che veniva regolato da norme precise."

⁴⁵ John Dickie, *Delizia!: The Epic History of the Italians and Their Food* (New York: Free Press, 2008), 143.

⁴⁶ Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An introduction to the history and techniques* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 56-57.

⁴⁷ David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 3.

⁴⁸ Landau and Parshall, 27-28.

⁴⁹ Griffiths, 60-61.

⁵⁰ Landau and Parshall, 264-266.

⁵¹ Griffiths, 62.

⁵² Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, "Libri Illustrati, Editori, Stampatori, Artisti e Connoisseurs," in *Produzione e Circolazione Libreria a Bologna nel Settecento. Avvia di un'Indagine. Atti del V colloquio Bologna, 22-23 febbraio 1985* (Bologna: Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, 1987), 313-314. "Il fatto che anch' gli incisori fossero ammessi all'Accademia Clementina è la diretta conseguenza...della constatazione che quest'arte fioriva a Bologna così come in altre città italiane come non mai. Si incideva ovunque, nelle botteghe dei pittori, degli architetti, degli scenografi teatrali...nelle officine calcografiche, nelle tipografie, nelle stamperie."

⁵³ Bury, 44.

⁵⁴ Bury, 29.

⁵⁵ Griffiths, 61.

⁵⁶ Balletti, 168.

⁵⁷Index of the Vaccari brothers as reprinted in Francesco Ehrle, *La pianta di Roma Duperal-Lafrery del 1577*, Rome, 1908. Cited in Milano, 21.

⁵⁸ Milano, 21. “E’ quindi probabile che già tra la fine del ‘400 e l’inizio del ‘500 dovesse esistere una produzione silografica di giochi basati sulle combinazioni di dadi.”

⁵⁹ For numerous early examples of the printed game in Italy, please see the following sources: Donatino Domini, *Giochi a Stampa in Europa dal XVII al XIX secolo* (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1985); *Costume e società nei giochi a stampa di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli* (Perugia: Electa Editori Umbri Associati, 1988); and Giampaolo Dossena, ed, *Come giocavamo: giochi e giocatoli 1750/1960* (Firenze: Alinari, 1984).

⁶⁰ Milano, 21.

⁶¹Athos Vianelli, *Marche di Antichi Maestri Stampatori di Bologna* (Bologna: Tamari Editori, 1970), 10-12. “Bologna non fu fra le primissime città europee e italiane a conoscere i vantaggi della stampa con caratteri mobili, sebbene sarebbe lecito pensare che avrebbe dovuto accadere proprio il contrario... Tutti gli elementi predetti concorsero indubbiamente a conferire a Bologna una chiara vocazione tipografica, ma gli stampatori tedeschi fuggiaschi la ignorarono completamente, attratti dai più fiorenti centri europei del commercio internazionale, da protettori particolarmente prodighi o... appoggiandosi alle strettissime relazioni che erano in atto fra le abbazie dei vari Paesi.”

⁶² Vianelli, *Marche*, 11.

⁶³ Vianelli, *Marche*, 9-10.

⁶⁴ Vianelli, *Marche*, 12-13.

⁶⁵ Athos Vianelli, *A Bologna fra cronaca e storia* (Bologna: Guidicini e Rosa, 1979), 93.

⁶⁶ Vianelli, *Marche*, 5. “A questo importantissimo evento Bologna partecipò con la forza e il prestigio della sua Università, la quale sempre influenzò la stampa locale conferendole una spiccata impronta umanistica che, in definitiva, era il riverbero di un ambiente particolare, straordinariamente aperto al progresso del pensiero, dell’arte e della scienza.”

⁶⁷ Vianelli, *A Bologna*, 93-96.

⁶⁸ *Alma mater librorum: nove secoli di editoria bolognese per l’università* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1988), 158.

⁶⁹ Maria Gioia Tavoni, “Libri e Tipografi,” in *Storia Illustrata di Bologna Vol. 3*, ed. Walter Tega (Milano: Nuova Editoriale AIEP, 1989), 73. “...nel 1666 si contano ben 25 librerie, 8 stamperie e 14 mulini da carta.”

⁷⁰ Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 6-8.

⁷¹ Bury, 10.

⁷² Tomasi, 315-316. “Allo stesso tempo mercanti e collezionisti di stampe furono anche gli stessi tipografi, gli stampatori e i librai, mossi soprattutto da ragioni professionali, ma anche da più squisiti interessi personali.”

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- ⁷³ Tavoni, 73. “I pesanti condizionamenti della censura allontanano la città dai grandi centri europei di produzione e la portano a irrigidirsi su progetti editoriali incentrati prevalentemente su opere di carattere locale...tutte le grandi imprese del secolo...sono testi che hanno un mercato prevalentemente locale.”
- ⁷⁴ Vianelli, *Marche*, 19. “...i Cocchi furono indubbiamente i più famosi poiché stamparono e divulgarono ampiamente le opere di Giulio Cesare Croce.”
- ⁷⁵ Varignana, Catalogue No. 1, p. 205.
- ⁷⁶ Varignana, Catalogue No. 45, p. 222.
- ⁷⁷ Varignana, Catalogue. No. 138, p. 252.
- ⁷⁸ Varignana, Catalogue No. 167, p. 265.
- ⁷⁹ Varignana, Catalogue No. 548, p. 435.
- ⁸⁰ Vianelli, *Marche*, 20.
- ⁸¹ Vianelli, *Marche*, 20. “...indubbiamente uno dei maggiori stampatori della sua epoca ma è passato alla storia.”
- ⁸² Tavoni, 74. “Lelio è senza dubbio l’imprenditore editoriale più abile della Bologna settecentesca...Stampa con cura; le sue edizioni sono le migliori che circolano a Bologna.”
- ⁸³ Tavoni, 74.
- ⁸⁴ Balletti, 32. “...in Bologna era ancora vivo il ricordo della sua estrosa personalità d’artista e i suoi “fogli volanti” dovevano avera larghissima diffusione.”
- ⁸⁵ Franca Varignana, ed, “Catalogo di diverse Opere figurate che si vendono in Bologna, intagliate in Rame da Giuseppe Maria Mitelli Pittore Bolognese,” in *Le Collezioni d’Arte della Cassa di Risparmio in Bologna, Vol. 5: Le incisioni I: Giuseppe Maria Mitelli* (Bologna: Cassa di Risparmio di Bologna, 1978), 443-452. “CATALOGO: Di diverse Opere figurate, che si vendono in Bologna, intagliate in Rami da Giuseppe Maria Mitelli Pittore Bolognese. Chi vorrà il Sortimento intiero, goderà quale e vantaggio dalli qui sotto notati prezzi.”
- ⁸⁶ Bury, 55-56.
- ⁸⁷ Balletti, 23. “...il commentatore degli avvenimenti locali ed internazionali.”
- ⁸⁸ Balletti, 23. “...l’abbondante vena espressiva, l’arguzia, la fantasia, la briosità propria del volgo.”
- ⁸⁹ Balletti, 23. “...l’interesse dei cultori delle tradizioni, che in esse considerarono soprattutto l’aspetto popolare che è anche il più colorito ed entusiasmante.”
- ⁹⁰ Bellettiini, Campioni, and Zanardi, Catalogue no. 102, p. 195. “L’incisione esprime il gusto per il tema popolare che caratterizza gran parte della produzione incisoria dell’artista, in cui la stampa è modo per far circolare idee, critiche sociali rivolte soprattutto ai vizi dell’uomo...La stampa per il Mitelli è un foglio che dà notizie, desta curiosità, fa sorridere, riproduce e divulga un fatto, oppure contiene un insegnamento

morale: l'artista è informatore ed educatore al tempo stesso. Il suo pubblico è quello che acquista i fogli per strada da un venditore ambulante come quello delle *Arti bolognesi*.

⁹¹ Tabarroni and Tabarroni, 356-7. "...si potrebbe dire che la sua opera appartiene alla Stampa popolare come a quella d'arte ma si può aggiungere che il Mitelli era conscio di questo suo dualismo che si sdoppiava di volta in volta a seconda dell'argomento trattato... Si potrebbe dire che il Mitelli parla in dialetto con i popolani, in lingua con i concittadini colti."

⁹² Varignana, 443-452.

⁹³ Giampaolo Dossena, "I 33 (+18) giochi del Mitelli," in *Costume e società nei giochi a stampa di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli* (Perugia: Electa Editori Umbri Associati, 1988), 18. "Li definisco "giochi di dadi senza tavoliere" perché basati sul puro lancio dei dadi. Chi ne memorizzasse le regole potrebbe giocarli senza aver sott'occhio le incisioni ad essi dedicate. Qui l'incisione non è un tavoliere, non è uno strumento di gioco come nei giochi di dadi *con* tavoliere: è una pura esposizione di regole. Il foglio volante è un foglio di istruzioni. I "giochi di dadi senza tavoliere" del Mitelli sono puerili, elementari, perché sono tutti basati su lanci singoli del dado o dei dadi ... Mancano ... la concatenazione fra i lanci." (18)

⁹⁴ Dossena, "I 33 (+18) giochi del Mitelli," 19-23.

⁹⁵ De Simoni, 57. "L'occasione d'uso di questi giochi stampati, diffusi nelle strade dai venditori di avvisi, sembra riferirsi ad un contesto più quotidiano e privato che strettamente festivo e collettivo, inoltre le loro regole elementari, la partecipazione non ampia dei giocatori, il modesto coinvolgimento economico delle somme puntate li configurano in una dimensione ricreativa priva dell'intensità propria dei giochi d'azzardo. Essi appaiono piuttosto come strumenti ludici che si inseriscono nella vita di ogni giorno, riproponendo immagini tratte da essa e rielaborate nel duplice intento di fornire una base per l'esercizio del gioco e di sollecitare il sorriso di chi le osservi, anche al di fuori dell'azione ludica."

⁹⁶ Dossena, "I 33 (+18) giochi del Mitelli," 25. "Credo che i 31 giochi del Mitelli sin qui considerati siano invenzioni del Mitelli."

⁹⁷ Renzo Renzi, *Bologna, una città* (Rocca San Casciano, Italy: Cappelli Editore, 1964), 227. "Ma G. C. Croce diventerà famoso anche fuori della città per aver scritto in italiano."

⁹⁸ Renzi, 227. "La particolare pronuncia ebbe la capacità di creare, poco a poco, nei secoli, un nuovo linguaggio, quello bolognese, già formato e simile all'odierno fin dai tempi del Comune medioevale. Infatti, quando venne Dante, il volgare – che era parlato specialmente dalle persone colte – differiva completamente dal dialetto bolognese, che era parlato dal popolo. Del resto il volgare, importato dalla Toscana, trovò a Bologna non soltanto il principio della sua trasformazione in idioma letterario, ma anche, attraverso lo Studio, il luogo della sua più grande diffusione per tutto il resto della penisola, essendo allora lo Studio bolognese il principale centro culturale d'Italia. In tal modo, parlandosi a Bologna tre linguaggi, il latino, il volgare e il dialetto, la diffusione tra le persone colte del volgare impedì che si scrivesse il dialetto."

⁹⁹ Hemann W. Haller, *The Other Italy: The Literary Canon in Dialect*, 178.

¹⁰⁰ Renzi, 224.

¹⁰¹ Giampaolo Dossena, "I 33 (+18) giochi del Mitelli," 28-43.

¹⁰² Dossena, “I 33 (+18) giochi del Mitelli,” 28. “...una dama dalla pettinatura artificiosa e dagli abiti lussuosi, identica in ciò alle dame che giocano a dama e a tuccatigli...Di fronte alla dama, sulla sinistra, un cavaliere...Siedono (il cavaliere su una seggiola con spalliera, la dama su un panchetto) a un tavolino con una sola gamba, tornita, identica a quella del tavolino nella vignetta del tuccatigli.”

¹⁰³ Dossena, “I 33 (+18) giochi del Mitelli,” 28.

¹⁰⁴ Dossena, “I 33 (+18) giochi del Mitelli,” 28.

¹⁰⁵ Dossena, “I 33 (+18) giochi del Mitelli,” 28.

¹⁰⁶ Dossena, “I 33 (+18) giochi del Mitelli,” 28. “...uno dei giochi...di cui siano state memorizzate le regole...”

¹⁰⁷ Giuseppe Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna aggregata all'Istituto delle Scienze e dell'Arti* (Bologna: per Lelio dalla Volpe con licenza de Superiori, 1739), libro II, 183. “Sonava molti strumenti. Danzò in sua gioventù e saltò leggiadramente e con forza. Giuocò alla palla, e al pallone. Fu schermitore, pescatore, uccellatore in ogni genere di caccia eccellente, della quale si diletto fino all'estrema vecchiezza.”

¹⁰⁸ Frati, 86-87.

¹⁰⁹ Tabarroni and Tabarroni, 357. “Così egli riserva la sua ironia e la sua arguzia per le vignette...Il divertimento doveva essere tutto concentrato su ciò che si incontrava tra una moneta e l'altra.”

¹¹⁰ Tabarroni and Tabarroni, 357. “...la precisa indicazione proprio del loro valore, che talora, specialmente per la classificazione delle monete di bassa lega d'argento, presenta delle incertezze. E per esse Mitelli usa sempre l'italiano, anche se invece di *due*, usa il vecchio *duoi* o *doi*. Sulle monete non scherza: le monete sono una cosa seria, specie per chi ne ha poche.”

¹¹¹ Tabarroni and Tabarroni, 358.

¹¹² Tabarroni and Tabarroni, 359.

¹¹³ Tabarroni and Tabarroni, 363. “Tale Pontefice era stato eletto il 12 luglio del 1691: è quindi ben verosimile che di monete con il suo nome, col suo ritratto o col suo stemma ne circolassero ancora ben poche. Il Mitelli deve aver pensato che si sarebbero ripetute le vecchie monete coniate sotto i precedenti Pontefici e ha cercato di immaginarne il tipo.”

¹¹⁴ Tabarroni and Tabarroni, 363.

¹¹⁵ Tabarroni and Tabarroni, 364. “Anche questa è moneta di fantasia, perché Innocenzo XII conierà il testone con ritratto a destra, solo nell'anno 1700, e per di più in scarso numero di pezzi, forse perché, per difetto del bilanciare, la moneta riusciva malissimo. Ad ogni modo in questo caso la previsione dello spregiudicato incisore di massima era stata corretta.”

¹¹⁶ Tabarroni and Tabarroni, 365-6. “Siamo a corto di ripostigli di quest'epoca che possano darci un'idea delle monete in circolazione e che, in ogni caso, non ci fornirebbero la loro nomenclatura. Dal Mitelli abbiamo una serie ben precisata e correlata di monete col valore, per il rame, la mistura e l'argento,

esprimibile in bolognini...e per l'oro in scudi...Il Mitelli bene o male...ci ha dato una testimonianza comunque valida sulla circolazione della moneta bolognese a Bologna alla fine del XVII secolo.”

¹¹⁷ Frederick B. Jonassen, “Lucian’s ‘Saturnalia,’ the Land of Cockaigne, and the Mummings’ Plays,” *Folklore* Vol. 101, No. 1 (1990): 58.

¹¹⁸ For information on the Land of Cockaigne and its various European counterparts, see Campbell Bonner, “Dionysiac Magic and the Greek Land of Cockaigne,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 41 (1910): 175-185; John Minton, “Cockaigne to Diddy Way Diddy: Fabulous Geographies and Geographic Fabulations,” *Folklore*, Vol. 102, No. 1 (1991): 39-47; Frederick B. Jonassen, “Lucian’s ‘Saturnalia,’ the Land of Cockaigne, and the Mummings’ Plays,” *Folklore* Vol. 101, No. 1 (1990): 58-68; Malcolm Jones, “Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art I: Proverbial Follies and Impossibilities,” *Folklore*, Vol. 100, No. 2 (1989): 201-217; F. Graus, “Social Utopias in the Middle Ages,” *Past & Present*, No. 38 (Dec. 1967): 3-19; and Ross H. Frank, “An Interpretation of Land of Cockaigne (1567) by Pieter Bruegel the Elder,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 1991): 299-329.

¹¹⁹ Massimo Montanari, “Come nasce un mito gastronomico. Bologna fra localismo e internazionalismo,” in *Bologna Grassa: La Costruzione di un Mito*, Massimo Montanari ed. (Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice Bologna, 2004), 9-24.

¹²⁰ Francesco Petrarca as cited in Gabriele Cremonini, *CiBò* (Bologna: Pendragon, 2007), 9. “Francesco Petrarca, che scriveva: “...E quanto non era allora la fertilità delle terre e l’abbondanza di tutte le cose ... Bologna fu detta la grassa”.”

¹²¹ Renzi, 198. “...hanno trasformato Bologna nella città dei tortellini: una sorta di vagone-ristorante nel viaggio Firenze-Venezia.”

¹²² Frati, 69-70. “*L’Economia del cittadino in villa* di Vincenzo Tanara fu uno dei testi di arte culinaria più diffuse a Bologna nei secoli XVII e XVIII; poichè dal 1644 al 1745 ebbe più di dodici edizioni. Oltre a vari precetti relativi alla cucina, nel corso dell’opera il Tanara, nel libro VII, indica le vivande da preferirsi in ciascun mese dell’anno.”

¹²³ Renzi, 197. “Si mangia più a Bologna in un anno che a Venezia in due, a Roma in tre, a Torino in cinque ed a Genova in venti.”

¹²⁴ Cremonini, 11-12. “...la distribuzione gratuita di pane, vino e porchetta per tutti...un palio...una grossa porchetta arrostita...insieme a volatili, selvaggina, pani, salami, dolci, formaggi, monete d’oro e d’argento.”

¹²⁵ Dickie, 134-7.

¹²⁶ See note 107 for a variety of descriptions of the Land of Cockaigne.

¹²⁷ Dickie, 140.

¹²⁸ Giosuè Carducci, as cited in Cremonini, 30. “Nessun visitatore può sostenere di avere conosciuto Bologna senza avere assaggiato la sua mortadella.”

¹²⁹ Dickie, 140.

¹³⁰ Dickie, 141-2.

¹³¹ Giancarlo Roversi, *Bologna Ospitale: Storia e storie degli alberghi della città dal Medioevo al Novecento* (Bologna: Costa Editore, 2004), 11-12.

¹³² Roversi, 11-12.

¹³³ Antonio Masini, *Bologna perlustrata*, as cited in Roversi, *Bologna Ospitale*: 12.

¹³⁴ Alessandro Molinari Pradelli, *Bologna tra storia e osterie* (Bologna: Pendragon, 2007), 7-9. "...la presenza vitale dell'osteria, della locanda – il luogo più intimo del ritrovo pubblico...Bologna, soprattutto nel caso della tradizione enogastronomica, merita un'attenzione particolare...Non è storia minore...Non sono locali *minori* (nel senso di minore considerazione), ma hanno la stessa importanza di palazzi, gallerie e teatri. Anche qui la vita ha pulsato."

¹³⁵ Athos Vianelli, *Le Strade e I Portici di Bologna* (Roma: Newton Compton Editori, 2006), 66. "E' larga, spaziosa, porticata per buona parte del suo lato destro guardandola dall'incrocio con Piazza Nettuno e via dell'Indipendenza; è costellata di bei negozi d'ogni genere, agenzie di banche, caffè e locali pubblici, è percorsa da un traffico intenso e da un flusso continuo di gente."

¹³⁶ Fabio Raffaelli, Filippo Raffaelli and Athos Vianelli, eds., *Le strade di Bologna* (Roma: Newton Periodici, 1988), 81. "Su questa strada, comunque si chiamasse, s'allineavano il *Leon d'Oro*, dove scendevano nel secolo XVII il cardinal De Jouvri e più tardi il duca di Württemberg und Teck, con gran seguito di reggicoda e servitori; l'*Angelo*, preferito dai diplomatici. Il *S. Marco* era per i nobili di alto rango; Giovanni di Sassonia, non ancora re, vi capitò nel 1838. Il *Pellegrino* poi aveva una fama ineguagliabile, specie fra gli intellettuali, ma il 'jet set' non lo disdegnava: i conti palatini von Neueberg, il langravio di Essen, Sofia Guglielmina Landgravina di Bayreuth, il futuro imperatore Paolo di Russia con il suo precettore Max Klinger, il poeta Friedrich Matthisson, accompagnatore della principessa Luisa de Anhalt, scesero dal 13 al 22 dicembre 1684, con parecchi compagni di viaggio. Nella relazione si legge che l'albergatore del *Pellegrino*, milanese, era galantuomo e cortesissima persona, l'albergo allestito con tutte le comodità."

¹³⁷ Vianelli, *Le Strade...*, 116-117. "Un discorso particolare richiede, a proposito di questa strada, l'antica ospitalità alberghiera, poiché i migliori alberghi o locande cittadini (alcuni rinomati anche all'estero) erano proprio qui, con il lor apparato di servizi eccellenti...e la loro tradizione gastronomica illustre: il Leon d'Oro, il San Marco, il Pellegrino, l'Angelo, i Tre Moretti, l'Aquila Nera, il Cavallno e il Brun."

¹³⁸ Giancarlo Angelozzi, "Nobili, Mercanti, Dottori, Cavalieri, Artigiani: Stratificazione sociale e ideologia a Bologna nei secoli XVI e XVIII," in *Storia Illustrata di Bologna Vol. 2*, ed. Walter Tega (Milano: Nuova Editoriale AIEP, 1989), 51.

¹³⁹ Angelozzi, 53.

¹⁴⁰ Angelozzi, 54.

¹⁴¹ Angelozzi, 55.

¹⁴² Renzi, 211. “Una vecchia fama di città godereccia, dove le donne e l’amore hanno sempre occupato un posto preminente.”

¹⁴³ Giovanni Ricci, *Bologna: Storia di un’immagine* (Bologna: Arte Grafiche Emiliane, Edizioni ALFA, 1976), 178. “...la loro emancipazione rispetto alla condizione femminile di altre città.”

¹⁴⁴ Maximilien Misson, *Voyage d’Italie*, Amsterdam-Paris 1743, as cited in Ricci, 178. “Le donne non son tutte rinchiuse come a Firenze: se ne incontrano spesso e ce ne sono delle molto belle.”

¹⁴⁵ Ricci, 178. ““Le donne non vivono nascoste come a Firenze”, osserva verso il 1730 un anonimo pellegrino fiammingo.””

¹⁴⁶ Università di Bologna, “A Short History of the City & University”, <http://www.eng.unibo.it/PortaleEn/Students/User+guide+to+Campus+Branches/User+Guide+to+Bologna/history.htm>.

¹⁴⁷ Ricci, 178. “La migliore confera di questa condizione privilegiata sta nella frequente presenza di donne nella storia culturale bolognese.”

¹⁴⁸ Renzi, 212.

¹⁴⁹ Susan Mosher Stuard, *Gilding the Market: Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Philadelphia: Univeristy of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), accessed online at <http://www.upenn.edu/pennpress/book/toc/14208.html>.

¹⁵⁰ Frati, 17.

¹⁵¹ Gida Rossi, *Bologna nella Storia, nell’Arte e nel Costume* (Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969), 448. “Le donne non avevano più il tempo di attendere ai lavori domestici. Le mode francesi...i ricevimenti, i pettegolezzi, le recite, la musica, le feste religiose, i balli, le corse alle ville vicine, assorbivano tutto il tempo.”

¹⁵² Renzi, 241. “Ma il maestro più fecondo e popolare, un autentico divulgatore, l’umorista bolognese del Seicento, è Giuseppe Maria Mitelli.”

¹⁵³ Renzi, 233.