

Diego Pirillo, Berkeley Book Chats, February 20, 2019

Timothy Hampton: Welcome to Berkeley Book Chats. I'm Timothy Hampton, director of the Townsend Center for the Humanities.

Berkeley Book Chats showcase a Berkeley faculty member engaged in a public conversation about a recently completed work. This popular series highlights the richness of Berkeley's academic community.

Today's conversation features Diego Pirillo of the Italian Studies Department discussing his book *The Refugee-Diplomat: Venice, England, and the Reformation*.

He is joined by Kinch Hoekstra also of the Department of Political Science.

Kinch Hoekstra: Thanks Tim, thanks very much. In the wake of the news about those Ticketmaster-necessary events, it's a great pleasure to welcome the *duri e puri*, the scholars who've gathered here today. I'm really pleased to introduce, very briefly, Diego Pirillo and his wonderful new book, *The Refugee Diplomat: Venice, England and the Reformation*. As many of you know, Diego is an Associate Professor here in Italian Studies, having made his way westward after his doctorate from the Scuola Normale Superiore. He's the author of another book on philosophy and heresy in the late 1500s, and he's the editor of a book on Giordano Bruno. He's also the author of over 30 articles and chapters on Tasso, Campanella, Paolo Sarpi, the Readers of Machiavelli, and things like neostoicism, tyrannicide, Republicanism, magic, the political and religious aspects of the encounter with the new world, and much else besides.

Kinch Hoekstra: It's very rich work that treats and often combines history, philosophy, politics, and religion. Rather than attempting to summarize the book, which is not what you came for, I'm going to turn immediately to asking Diego just a few questions so that the person with the greatest relevant expertise can talk about it. Diego, my first question really has to do with the striking fact that this book on refugees was written at the time of a crescendo in what's been called the refugee crisis. We're confronted with news on a daily basis about refugees in our current world, and even some of the simplest facts are pretty overwhelming. According to the UN, there's 68 million forcibly displaced people in the world. 25 million or more of those are characterized, are classified as refugees. 45,000 people a day forced from their homes because of persecution and fear of violence.

Kinch Hoekstra: I just wondered in that context, reading your book resonated in all sorts of ways, both because of that situation and also because of the varied political responses that we see from host nations and from those who refuse to be host nations, and the politics of all of that. I was just wondering why in this moment did you write a book on refugees, and what, if anything, do you take your contribution to the refugee question in the book to be?

Diego Pirillo: Thank you Kinch for the question and for the introduction. Let me start by saying also that I am delighted to be here. It's a great honor to present my book at the Townsend Center and thank you for all of you for being here today. I want

to start very briefly by tracing the history of this book, and then I'll go back to your question.

Diego Pirillo: My interest in religious refugees and religious heterodoxy is not new; it started a long time ago in Pisa, where I was a student. And yet, I want to emphasize that this book was conceived and written at Berkeley. In my time at Berkeley, where I was so lucky to have interlocutors such as yourself, such as Tim Hampton, who is hosting us today and who was absolutely crucial in the writing of this book, and many other friends and colleagues. Albert Ascoli supported this project throughout its different stages. Ethan Shagan could not be here today because of teaching obligations, but he was also a very important interlocutor.

Diego Pirillo: Also, I cannot list all the colleagues and friends who supported me, but let me say thank you at least to the REMS (Renaissance and Early Modern Studies), to the early modern community at Berkeley, to the Institute of International Studies, to the Hellman Family Foundation for their support, and also, last but not least to my department, Italian Studies, to my colleagues and to my students who gave me support and feedback in the past few years. Also, I want to mention also Mahinder Kingra, the editor-in-chief of Cornell University Press. As a book historian I know very well that a book is not simply the text, but it is printed in it. A book is also material object, and so I want to compliment Cornell for the final product.

Diego Pirillo: But, to go back to your question—why a book on refugees today? As you mentioned, refugees today are omnipresent in the news. According to United Nations, refugee agency, there are more people displaced today in the world than at any point since the second World War. An estimated 66 million are currently displaced, either within their home countries or abroad.

Diego Pirillo: My first goal as an historian was to engage with the current refugee question, but also to challenge our present approach to the refugee question. I wanted to show it in this book also, the refugee question is not something unprecedented. It is in fact an historical phenomenon. Our epoch is not the first to struggle on how to define the status of the refugee or how to manage refugee flows. In fact, let me just mention that the word *refugee* comes into the English at the end of the 17th century as a translation of the French word *refugae* that indicated the French Protestants, the Hugonots, who have been expelled from France by Louis the Fourteenth.

Diego Pirillo: And so, in my book I try to argue that the refugee question has a very long history, in that we can look at the age of the Reformation as the age of refugees. There are other historians for example, a Canadian scholar, Nicholas Terpstra, who suggested to reframe the age of the Reformation, and to reconsider the reformation as the moment in European history in which the refugee became a mass phenomenon. And so, in this perspective, I think it's very interesting to rethink the Reformation and to look at this moment in European and world history, not simply as an attempt to rediscover the origins of Christianity, but also as Europe's first grand project in social purification.

Diego Pirillo: While I'm trying to create that dialog between past and present, I want to be clear. I'm not saying that history should be considered *magistra vitae*. This is not what I'm saying. I just believe that by a better knowledge of the promises past can be useful today and also to rethink the future of international relations. In the end, I think that the diplomacy is shaped not only by its present form, but also by our awareness of its past and by our expectations about its futures.

Kinch Hoekstra: All right. Thank you. One of the things I found most striking in the book was your focus on the question of the agency of the refugee. That, to me, is very striking in our current political moment, because it seems to me anyway, that those I who would characterize as anti-refugee, typically are perfectly happy to ascribe agency to refugees, but it's agency of a particular kind. It's a villainous agency, it's a criminal agency. Whereas, those who would promote a more humanitarian politics towards the refugees or even a substantial politics of the inclusion of refugees within citizen bodies of host countries, tend more to regard refugees or present refugees as passive, as subjected to the forces of persecution and fear, and as a matter of necessity being expelled or fleeing from those forces.

Kinch Hoekstra: I wonder if you could say a little bit more about your reconstruction or recapturing of the agency of these particular refugees, perhaps by illustrating this with an example or a few examples?

Diego Pirillo: Absolutely. That's also a central point in my book. With this book, I also tried to challenge one of the dominant representations of refugees today in the media, but also in academia. As you mentioned, one of the most common ways in which we frame refugees, we think of them as passive subjects of state powers, as victims. And that's not only the case of the news industry; that's also been the case in academia. I'm thinking especially of Georgia Agambin, who looked famously at refugees as the symbol of their life, *la nuda vita*—as the subjects, victims of bio-political power.

Kinch Hoekstra: Yeah.

Diego Pirillo: In this book, I also try to challenge this narrative and I try to recover the agency of the refugee—the limited agency that refugees exercised, especially on international relations in the modern period. Let me give you a couple of examples just to clarify what I'm saying.

Diego Pirillo: There are three areas of early modern diplomacy in which I believe refugees were especially influential. Information, transculturation, and communication. First: information, and by information, I mean intelligence gathering. There was a common place in the Renaissance in the early modern period for which the ambassador was presented, first of all as an intelligencer, as someone who was supposed to gather fresh news and transmit this information to his prince and to his government.

Diego Pirillo: We can see that for example in this beautiful portrait by Sebastian del Piombo, a portrait of Ferry Carondelet, the famous Habsburg ambassador. And here, Ferry Carondelet is shown next to his two secretaries, opening reports, reading reports, or dictating reports that he was supposed to send back to his court. So the ambassador in the Renaissance in the early modern period was first of all an intelligencer.

Diego Pirillo: And yet, I think what we tend to forget is that the information society in the early modern period was not centralized yet around a sovereign state. And so, there was a very complex information society organized around many competing knowledge communities. So refugees function precisely as such a knowledge community. They used the information to navigate the perils of exile, they used information to create bonds, ties with powerful patrons, and so on.

Diego Pirillo: The second area in which I think refugees were especially influential is transculturation. In this book I also look at refugees as key cultural intermediaries, between Italy and Protestant Europe. The culture of Renaissance

Italy arrived in Protestant Europe especially because of these refugees, but they also they mediated not only between south and north, but also between north and south. They introduced into Italy many Protestant authors—Martin Luther, John Calvin, James the First.

Diego Pirillo: And then, finally the last area of early modern diplomacy that I think demonstrates the active role played by refugees is political communication. In other words, refugees did not only serve Protestant patrons, providing them with information or books, but refugees also tried to influence, to affect Europe politics. The refugees used information in books to leverage more powerful actors, and to advance their own political agenda. As I tried to show in this book, many of these refugees, many of these Italian Philo-Protestants, believed that Venice could be transformed into an Italian Geneva. They believed that it was possible to produce a religious schism in the Republic of Venice. Venice, as you might know, because of its ties with Germany, was the gateway of the Protestant reformation into Italy. So for some decades this political and religious options was not only a utopia. And so, many of these refugees, I think they tried to bring the reformation into Italy via Venice.

Kinch Hoekstra: Just a follow up on the question of the agency of these refugees, do you think that we have a greater conception of their agency because of your selection of a pretty elite set of refugees, highly literate sort of refugees? Or do you think there's actually something about the framing of the refugee at that time versus this time?

Diego Pirillo: I think one of the ways in which refugees conquered an important role, a prominent role in early modern Europe was their cultural capital. The refugees of all the different case studies that I analyzed in my book, many of these refugees belong to the intellectual elite of early modern Italy, and so they used their cultural capital to integrate in the host countries, to present themselves, to create relationships with powerful patrons.

Diego Pirillo: In fact, if we look at many Renaissance Italian texts published in early modern England in the age of Shakespeare, Machiavelli, Tasso, Sarpi, and so on, most of these texts were in fact published and edited by refugees. I think even early modern historians, I think, tend to neglect the importance of these refugees in the translation of the Italian Renaissance abroad. But also, I just want to add one more detail. I think that one of the reasons why I decided to focus on refugees and why I think that these individuals were so interesting is that they did not simply publish or edit Renaissance texts abroad, but they also they tried to control their reception. So, adding prefaces, marginalia, marginal notes, and so on, they forced English and Protestant readers to read Italian texts in a particular way.

Kinch Hoekstra: The title of your book is the Refugee Diplomat. We've been focusing on the refugee part, but I wonder if you could say something about what you mean by this category of the refugee diplomat, and perhaps by situating that with regard to what you take to be how it sits with relation with diplomatic history? In your book you characterize what you call old diplomatic history, vis a vie, or versus new diplomatic history. You seem to be distinguishing what you're doing, not just from old diplomatic history, but in some ways even from new diplomatic history.

Diego Pirillo: With this book, I intended to enter the décor and debate on new diplomatic history. Diplomatic histories are very old historiographical genre, was born in the 19th century, mostly in Germany, and was also founded on the myth of the state, so many diplomatic historians, and scholars, philosophers—we think of

Hegel or Max Weber—they regarded the state, the modern state as the end of history. That was a central idea, central conviction for diplomatic historians: the state as the end of the history.

Diego Pirillo: Now, luckily history is not over yet, as we know, and we all know that today this paradigm is in crisis. Globalization has challenged this state in international relations, and today we are more familiar with the importance of non-state actors. In fact, scholars today, experts of international relations, speak of a shift from club to network diplomacy. In other words, scholars of international relations argue that the 21st century diplomat should be able to operate into two different worlds: one the one end, in the traditional world of club diplomacy, the traditional world of state powers, but, on the other hand in the new emerging network society, made by non-state actors, such as international organizations, secret society, social media, and news platforms.

Diego Pirillo: Just to make an example, I want to mention Wiki Leaks—not a state, but still an important player in international relations today, as we know also from the investigation into the Russian involvement in the American election. But, to get to my point, so globalization has reshaped not only international relations, but also historical studies. Globalization was the origin of a new field of research called today new diplomatic history.

Diego Pirillo: This is a field of research that has questioned the traditional narrative about diplomatic history, has challenged the centrality of the state, and as recovered the multifaceted world of the agents, intermediaries, go-betweens, who engage in diplomatic activity on the ground together, or sometimes also competing with official representatives. My contribution to new diplomatic history in this book was to recover again the agency of refugees, hence the title, *The Refugee Diplomat*.

Diego Pirillo: In other words, by concentrating on apparently marginal figures, such as refugees, my book was an attempt to rediscover how diplomacy worked in the early modern period, not only within, but also outside of formal channels, looking at underground networks and individuals without a formal appointment were able nonetheless to move across linguistic borders. Often also adapting their own identities to changing political context.

Kinch Hoekstra: Focusing on the informal networks, rather than the formal I suppose is the background for the other pull in the title, or in the subtitle actually, which is the not that between the diplomat and the refugee, but that between Venice and England. Could you connect what you've just said with the choice to focus on Venice and England? Why look at England and Venice rather than Neapolitans and Spain or something?

Diego Pirillo: That's also a very important point, thank you for this question. My whole book is in fact focuses on a case study, on the history of diplomatic relations between Venice and England in the 16th and early 17th century. Why? We all know that Venice occupied a very special place in the English imagination, every reader of Shakespeare is aware of that. We all know that the Venice was very important in early modern England. The idea of Venice, of the Republic of Venice, as the idea constitution—we find that in James Harrington, William Penn, in many early modern English utopias.

Diego Pirillo: But what I think we do not know is that for many years, there were no official diplomat relations between Venice and England. My book is a study of diplomatic history, but in fact the book focuses on a long diplomatic crisis, on the suspension of diplomatic relation between the republic of Venice and early

modern England. In fact, the English embassy in Venice closed in 1556 and reopened only in 1603, almost 50 years later, only after the death of Queen Elizabeth the First. So for the entire reign of Elizabeth, there were no official diplomat contacts between Venice and England, mostly for religious reasons.

- Diego Pirillo: The Reformation was the main cause of this diplomatic crisis. What I tried to argue in this book is that diplomacy continued in the underground, behind the scenes, through the work of refugees. In the absence of official diplomatic representatives, refugees allowed diplomacy to continue in the underground. One of the large question that I tried to answer with this book is how do states communicate in the absence of formal diplomatic channels? A question that I think is still relevant for us today when we think of diplomacy between US and North Korea, US and Cuba—informal ambassadors are still important for us today.
- Kinch Hoekstra: With the lens of the old diplomatic history, someone who is told that you are focusing on the diplomatic history of Venice and England precisely at this time would think you're a very lazy historian or it was going to be a very short book, right? But, it's precisely *because* there are no formal diplomatic relations at that time that you're able to regard the informal channels really as the only ones that are counting, because there aren't the formal ones, right?
- Kinch Hoekstra: Focusing on that underground diplomacy, as you just called it, also makes me ask perhaps a final question here and then I'll open it up, which is about the range of sources that you therefore have to use. There are diplomatic relations that you look at, but they also look historical, marginalia, there are literary texts that are commented on, and on and on. There's a very wide range of sources, but perhaps the most intriguing to me is the focus on or the use of the archives with the Inquisition.
- Kinch Hoekstra: At first glance that may look surprising because you're talking about the relations between England and Venice, and Rome might be thought to be kind of pretty much off to the side. Perhaps you could talk about the importance of the view from Rome, but more particularly I'm interested in hearing you talk about your martialing of the different sources that you rely on in the book.
- Diego Pirillo: Thank you. While I was writing this book, I quickly realized that one of the problems that any scholar of diplomacy has to confront is the overabundance of sources. It's not a coincidence that the early modern period saw the creation of the archive, because there were closer contacts between states in the Renaissance in the early modern period produced an enormous amount of documents, of texts, of information. Already early modern governments had the problem of where to store and how to order this enormous amount of information.
- Diego Pirillo: I relied on three or four main group of sources. I don't want to take too much time—I want to leave time for the discussion—but let me mention a list of some of them. First of all, I look at diplomatic records, diplomatic letters between Venice and England. This is one of the few, there are not many, but one of the few letters that Elizabeth the First wrote to the Venetian Senate in the attempt to reestablish diplomatic channels—an attempt that ended up in a failure, but is still very relevant for the historian.
- Diego Pirillo: I also look at many letters and reports by Venetian ambassadors. *Relazione*, but also older reports. As you can see, many of them are in cipher, in code. Why? Because they contain very relevant, very important information. Luckily for the modern scholars, many of them were deciphered already in the 16th century by

experts; the Republic of Venice had experts who could decipher many different codes. I used some of these official diplomatic records.

Diego Pirillo: But, since my main focus was on refugees, I also I tried to expand the range of sources traditionally used by diplomatic historians. For example, I look at copies of Venetian diplomatic documents, copied and annotated by refugees. This I think is interesting for many reasons. First of all, because it shows how there was a market for information in the early modern period. The early modern period saw the transformation of information into a commodity. There was a market for news, for intelligence; information was a commodity that could be bought and sold. Many of these refugees made a career out of it.

Diego Pirillo: The refugees did not only copy and sell diplomatic documents; they also annotated diplomatic documents. As you can see for example from this example in which one of these refugee that I studied in my book, Giacomo Castelvetro, copied and then annotated *Relazione* by Venetian ambassadors. Looking at marginalia, marginal notes, we can also recover the political ideas, the expectations of refugees and of groups who were excluded from active politics, but who tried none the less to play an active role in pre-modern diplomacy.

Kinch Hoekstra: This is Castelvetro we're talking about Machiavelli?

Diego Pirillo: Exactly. Exactly, and so this is a great example, because it's Italian Philo-Protestant who is defending Machiavelli in Protestant Europe and from the black legend, arguing that Machiavelli is in fact a Republican author, who wrote *Il Principe* to unmask the logic of politics and to educate the cities in Europe on the actions of princes and governments.

Kinch Hoekstra: Excellent. Thank you very much Diego. I'd be keen to open up the floor. Perhaps I can recognize people and you can answer the question.

Diego Pirillo: Sure.

Kinch Hoekstra: Yes.

Speaker 1: It's very interesting. One thing I was wondering in terms of the sorts of documents you looked at, in terms of English-Venetian relations, one thing that comes to mind is that there were a lot of travelers, like Thomas Coryat, during that time who went back to England and published their extremely eccentric, at times, accounts of what they saw or the people they spoke to. I was wondering if that figured into your discourse on the diplomacy or even if there were other perceptions of the same texts in Venice where people like Coryat visited? I was wondering if that was a part of your discussion?

Diego Pirillo: I also used the in part travel accounts. Thomas Coryat is the most famous one, but there are some others that also very interesting. There is a *History of Italy* published by William Thomas, a Welsh scholar in the 1540s, I think. A very important guide book to Italy, which was very influential, was used by Shakespeare, and we know that there the history of Italy by Thomas was the most influential guide to Italy available to the readers. These travel accounts contain useful information, but many of these travelers visited Italy when the English Embassy was open. Thomas Coryat was hosted for example by Henry Wharton, the famous English ambassador, and we, historians used Thomas Coryat also to study the actions of Wootton, his attempt to spread Protestantism in Venice. But, when after the English Embassy closed in 1556, it was harder for, at least, English Protestants to visit Italy.

- Diego Pirillo: Of course, there were many English Catholics, also active in Italy, but that's something that remain in the background of my book.
- Speaker 2: I'm struck by this quotation that you have up on the screen. In many ways you presented the relationship of these refugees as essentially a positive one, of being well received. I wonder though, how exactly that matches up with the idea of an open network, where, in fact, on the one hand they could be seen as a channel to communicate, but on the other hand they could be seen as spies, or they could be seen as secretly representing the Catholic position. It just occurred to me know that in some sense, these defenses of Machiavelli, which we tend to put into a history of the reception of Machiavelli, and then say these are two different ways of looking at it, but that in some sense the defense of Machiavelli is also a defense of themselves, because Machiavelli is so closely identified in the English public discourse with Italy, with the Papacy, with the sort of nastiness of Catholicism.
- Diego Pirillo: Absolutely. If I can start from your first observation, that's an important point. Many of the histories of the lives that I tried to recover in my book, did not end with success. In fact, that's an important point that I need to emphasize. All of these refugees in fact did not ever formal diplomatic appointment, so they did not have diplomatic immunity. That's why many of them ended up in the hands of the Inquisition. Their role was very dangerous; they really occupied a very dangerous position. But also, I agree. This defense of Machiavelli is in part at least also a defense of their own role. I think that the other thing that I would add is that I would say this is not only a defense of Machiavelli, but this citation perhaps suggests that at least some of these refugees wanted to influence the European public sphere, so to speak.
- Diego Pirillo: There was a very conscious attempt to unmask the *arcana imperii*. That's why I think they were interested in Machiavelli. That's why they write Machiavelli in this light.
- Kinch Hoekstra: Almost at the same time, Alberico Gentili is also giving us a very heroic Machiavelli.
- Diego Pirillo: Exactly, exactly. And so, Alberico Gentili is a very famous lawyer, a professor of civil law at Oxford, and these other refugee Giacomo Castelvetro was the editor of Alberico Gentili's famous *De iure belli*, the Treatise on the Law of War.
- Speaker 3: Thank you Diego, it's wonderful to see this bearing fruit, traveling between Venice and England diplomatically. But, let's try another consequence that one might take from your presentation, that this is not about the globalization of something, it's about the Italianization of the rest of Europe. After all, merchants, clergy, travelers of various times mention my old friend, the Exiled, in Italy, and the kinds of measures that were designed to control or manage them, all have their origins not in the Renaissance, not after 1453, as Garret Mattingly liked to say many years ago when I was an undergraduate, but in the Middle Ages. The *Tre corone* for example of Florence are all writing in exile, or at least, away from home. Certainly, Petrarch, certainly Dante and in a way, Boccaccio as well.
- Speaker 3: What do you do about this recovery of old patterns, of old styles, of old institutions of old connections rather than the creation of something new and different. In a certain way, you still privilege the Renaissance by starting your account there, rather than moving backward.
- Diego Pirillo: You mentioned Italianization of Europe. I think that's definitely something I try to clarify in my book. As I mentioned already, many of these refugees were



crucial in the spreading of, for instance, Italian culture, in Europe. One figure that perhaps is worth mentioning is Thomas Cromwell. We know that Thomas Cromwell spent time in Italy, in Rome, that he was connected with Florentine merchants, and so in fact my book starts with Thomas Cromwell and I argue that it is Thomas Cromwell with the idea of hiring refugees in order to deal with the diplomatic crisis opened by Henry the Eighth's break with Rome.

Diego Pirillo: I think Thomas Cromwell I would say is another intermediary, another crucial figure in this Italianization in this Anglo-Italian world. But, you also mentioned the problem of exile. No, exile was not a new phenomenon in the Renaissance, in the early modern period, *Le Tre corone* wrote in exile, and so perhaps another detail that I can highlight is the inscription that Castelvetro used to personalize his collection of Venetian *relazione*, so, Castelvetro used that famous citation from the first book of the *Aeneid*—perhaps one day you will delight in remembering these events.

Diego Pirillo: This is also a text that is about exile; it's about the wandering of the Trojans, is the moment in which Aeneas tries to encourage the Trojans after the shipwreck. I think there in Castelvetro and in many other exiles, there was a very an attempt to identify themselves. Not only in the *Tre corone*, but in other ancient texts that speak of exile.

Kinch Hoekstra: You're starting with Cromwell also suggests that a difference because of the religious persecution being a systemic feature going forward from a period of Henry the Eighth. There's that element of the reformation part of the subtitle, which is the one we haven't talked about, ends up being quite crucial for the periodization that you're proposing, I take it.

Diego Pirillo: Yeah, and so as I said very briefly, I think that the reason, the main course of this diplomatic crisis was the Reformation. The diplomatic crisis between Venice and England began with Henry the Eighth's break with Rome, and then culminated in the election of Elizabeth. Elizabeth was never fully recognized by Rome, by parts of Catholic Europe, and was even ex-communicated. And so, even Venice, which always had that degree of independence from Rome, but Venice could not have official diplomatic relations with England. So I think Venice sometimes very consciously also used these unofficial ambassadors to keep communication open with England.

Diego Pirillo: I focus on this case study, I decided to focus on Venice in England, but this is not something that is unique. We find other example of network diplomacy in the early modern period. For example, before the battle of Lepanto, Venice did not want to join the Holy League, had no intention of joining the Holy League, and wanted to stay on good terms with Ottomans, and so sent this Venetian merchant that you can see on the cover of the book to Constantinople in order to obtain peace treaty. This unofficial version was discovered by Papal diplomacy, and so as a result, Venice was forced to join the Holy League, and to participate in the war against the Ottomans. But, I think that something that I found extremely interesting is to recover the complexity of diplomatic interaction, the many layers in which diplomatic interaction took place.

Speaker 4: I was just wondering if you could speak more about the afterlife of the refugee diplomat in terms of your case study, and what happens to this informal network once formal diplomatic relations are re-established and have the formalization effects.

Diego Pirillo: That's a very important point, thank you. I decided to conclude my book with final chapter on the re-establishment of formal diplomatic relations, with James the First. I think there is a final moment in the early 17th century with Paolo Sarpi in which there is another hope of introducing the reformation in to Italy, but rapidly refugees realized that James had no intention of intervening into Italy, he wants to set up peace with Spain, and so the hopes of these refugees were met with a very profound disillusionment in the early 17th century.

Diego Pirillo: If I can add only one thing on hopes, one of the point that I tried to make it in this book is also to rethink diplomatic history, not only as the history of events, as political and military events, but also as the history of hopes. I tried to look at the early modern period as another present with hopes and expectations, trying to recover also the hopes that never materialized, such as the hopes of these refugees, of transforming Venice in an Italian Geneva.

Kinch Hoekstra: Great. I think we have time for one very brief question and answer. Yes.

Audience: Thank you for all of this. This is immensely interesting. I'm curious to know what the quality of the Protestantism was of refugees who are imaging that Venice would become a Geneva, particularly the Germans. Are they thinking of increasingly rigidifying official orthodoxies of German states? Or are they thinking more of the set of heterodox ideas that are more typical of the reception of Luther in Italy overall?

Diego Pirillo: That's an interesting problem. Throughout the book, I started in the 1530s and I concluded a century later, I had to examine refugees with very different religious beliefs. For example, in the 1540s, there was an Italian Philo-Protestant who was the secretary of the English ambassador in Venice, who was Lutheran, he corresponded with Luther, and Luther was his point of references. Later on in the century, other refugees of different religious beliefs and so, many of them like they were also sometimes they not always approved Calvinists. Many of them believe that only a strong political power could bring to an end the age of religious wars.

Kinch Hoekstra: Thank you Diego, and thank you for the book.

Timothy Hampton: We hope you enjoyed this Berkeley Book Chat and we encourage you to join us in person or via podcast for future programs in this series.