

An annotated list of Italian Renaissance humanists, their writings about Jews, and involvement in Hebrew studies, ca. 1440-ca.1540

This list, arranged in chronological order by author's date of birth, where known, is a preliminary guide to Italian humanists' Latin and vernacular prose and poetic accounts of Jews and Judaic culture and history from about 1440 to 1540. In each case, I have sought to provide the author's name and birth and death dates, a brief biography highlighting details which especially pertain to his interest in Jews, a summary of discussions about Jews, a list of relevant works and dates of composition, locations of manuscripts, and a list of secondary sources or studies of the author and his context arranged alphabetically by author's name. Manuscripts are listed in alphabetical order by city of current location; imprints, as far as possible, by ascending date.

Abbreviations:

<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario biografico degli Italiani</i> (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1960-present)
Kristeller, <i>Iter</i>	Paul Oskar Kristeller, <i>Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries; Accedunt alia itinera</i> , 6 vols (London: Warburg Institute; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963-1991)

Simon Atumano (d. c. 1380)

Born in Constantinople and became a Basilian monk in St John of Studion there. Bishop of Gerace in Calabria from 1348 until 1366, and Latin archbishop of Thebes until 1380. During his time in Thebes, which was the capital of the Catalan duchy of Athens, he studied Hebrew and in the mid- to late-1370s he began work on a polyglot Latin-Greek-Hebrew Bible dedicated to Pope Urban VI. This project was left incomplete, but he did finish a Hebrew and Latin translation of the New Testament and a Latin and Greek translation of part of the Old Testament. He taught Greek in Rome during 1380-81 and was praised for his learning, although at the end of the century Coluccio Salutati criticised his literal translation of Plutarch's *De remediis irae* in a letter to Cardinal Pietro di Tommaso Corsini.

Works:

Greek translation from Hebrew of part of Old Testament (part of *Biblia Triglotta*) (c. 1475-80), Venice, BN Marciana, MS Greco VII [not seen]

Studies:

Giovanni Mercati, *Se la versione dall'ebraico del codice veneto greco VII sia di Simone Atumano, arcivescovo di Tebe: Ricerca storica con notizie e documenti sulla vita dell'Atumano*. Studi e Testi, no. 30 (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1916)

Kenneth M. Setton, 'The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 100/1 (Feb. 1956): 1-76 (at 47-52)

Paolo Veneto [Paolo Nicoletti] (c. 1380-1429)

Augustinian hermit and teacher of philosophy at Padua. Apparently a master of **Ludovico Foscarini** and **Pietro Tommasi**. His *Quaestiones* based on medieval polemical works like the *Pugio fidei* of Raymond of Martini (c. 1280) or the *Postilla* of Nicholas of Lyra on the Bible (1322-31), and mentioned by Cristoforo Barzizza in his funeral oration: 'Sed quid illum de probatione legis nostre adversus judaicam perfidiam dicemus subtilissimum libellum? quo illorum ieiunias et inanes tēgnas aperta claritate demonstrat!'¹

Works:

XXII Quaestiones de Messia adversus Judaeos utrum scripturis et autoritatibus veteris testamenti possit convinci Christum esse verum Messiam (c.1410-20?), Venice, BN Marciana, MS Lat. XII. 67, fols. 27-108²

Studies:

Giovanni Gentile, *Studi sul Rinascimento* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1923), 76-86

Percy Gothein, 'Paolo Veneto e Prosdocimo de' Conti maestri padovani di Lodovico Foscarini', *La Rinascita* 5 (1942): 236-43

Felice Momigliano, *Paolo Veneto e le correnti del pensiero religioso e filosofico nel suo tempo. Contributo alla filosofia del secolo XV* (Udine: Gio. Batt. Boretti, 1907)

Pietro Tommasi (c. 1375/80-1458)

Physician who studied at Padua before 1392 and was influenced by **Paolo Veneto**. He taught at Padua (1407-08) and practiced in Venice with stays elsewhere, including Crete. He was close to **Leonardo Giustiniani**, and with **Francesco Barbaro** and Lauro Querini he visited **Giannozzo Manetti**, then Florentine ambassador, in 1448 in Venice.³ Collected manuscripts and had a library of more than 130 volumes.⁴ **Ludovico Foscarini** wrote to him recalling the bloodshed and cruelty of the Turkish assault on Constantinople and attacking Turkish superstition and idolatry. Foscarini expressed the hope that the Christian princes would retake the city. In the same letter Foscarini meditated on Christ's sacrifice and St Peter's foundation of the Church. He compared the position of Constantinople in the Asian empire with that of the captivity of the Jews: 'ad Judeorum [sic] similitudinem inservitutum dabimus natos, natorum & quod nascentur ab illis.'⁵

Studies:

¹ See Momigliano (1907), 145.

² *Ibid.*, 155-56.

³ Giannozzo Manetti, *Dialogus in domestico et familiari quorundam amicorum symposio Venetiis habitus, dum ibi Florentini populi nomine legatione munere fungeretur, ad Donatum Acciaiolum*, in Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana MS Plut. LXXXX sup. 29.

⁴ Susan Connell, 'Books and their Owners in Venice, 1345-1480', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 35 (1972): 163-86 (at 177-82).

⁵ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 441, fols. 71r-77r.

Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 434-36

Fantino Dandolo (1380-1459)

Archbishop of Candia (Crete) from 1445, and bishop of Padua from 1448, he was praised by **Ludovico Foscarini** because he had denounced Jewish rabbi for causing deaths of Christian patients with his medical skills and damning their souls.⁶ In his *Compendium* (written c. 1445-59) he provides fifteen brief chapters covering essential matters for the salvation of souls for the use of clerics, especially priests. In clear and basic Latin Dandolo outlined the three ages of the world and their duration: first, that of nature, which lasted 3579 years until the time of Moses, then the age of written laws, which were given to Moses principally as the Ten Commandments, and lasted 1610 years until the advent of Christ. He noted that the age of Grace, ushered in by Christ, offered spiritual rewards in place of the bodily rewards of the previous age and that it was not known when it would end.⁷ However, he later noted that at the end of the world the Antichrist will proclaim himself Messiah and that the Jews would believe in him before he was defeated and all Jews converted in preparation for the 'one flock and one shepherd' (John 10: 16) formed in fulfilment of scripture.

Works:

Compendium catholicae fidei (Venice: Reynaldus de Novimagio, c. 1486-88)
Manuscripts of *Compendium* dating to fifteenth or sixteenth century listed in Kristeller, *Iter 2*: 282, 287 (dated 1474)

Giovanni Cirignani (fl. 1440s)

Lawyer. He wrote a poem (c. 1441-2) in praise of Ciriaco d'Ancona. **Poggio Bracciolini** addressed a letter to Giovanni Cirignani from Rome on 7 November 1444 in reply to one of the latter's in which he praises the orations made by Poggio in favour of Leonardo Bruni.⁸ Cirignani's Hebrew studies were disparaged by Leonardo Bruni in a letter probably dating to 1440-44, edited by **Giannozzo Manetti** and added to his collection of letters after Bruni's death. In this letter Bruni replied to Cirignani's (now lost) explanation for his study of Hebrew by noting that St Augustine, St Basil, and many others did not know Hebrew, that key parts of the Old Testament had already been translated, and that there were dangers in giving oneself to Jewish 'barbarity', so different from Greek and Latin studies. Bruni saw no need, he wrote, to explore different interpretations of Hebrew texts, nor did he think knowledge of Hebrew necessary in seeking the highest good and knowledge of God. The Jews who knew Hebrew were the greatest and perfidious enemies of religion and of faith and so one can see that good does not necessarily lie in knowledge of Hebrew. Cirignani had stated in his

⁶ Foscarini to Francesco [Trevisan?] Carthusian, n.p., n.d., but c. 1459, in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 441, fol. 244v.

⁷ Dandolo (c. 1486-88), fols. 2v, 16r. Dandolo outlines the six ages of history at *ibid.*, fols. 2v-3r.

⁸ Bracciolini (1984), 2: 435.

letter to Bruni: 'At enim ... fundamenta rectae Fidei a Judaeorum libris existunt, qui etsi sint translati, melius tamen est fontes consecrari, quam rivis.'⁹ Bruni replied that the sources lie with us Christians and not with the Jews for the whole of the New Testament is ours, not theirs. Of the four evangelists one wrote in Hebrew while the others wrote in Greek, and of the letters of Paul only one was written in Hebrew and the rest in other tongues. Luke described the acts of the apostles in Greek. The revelation of John was in Greek, not Hebrew. Are these rivers or sources? Bruni enumerates the many Christian Doctors who knew Greek and Latin: Dionysius Areopagite, St Gregory of Nazianensis, St Basil, Chrysostom among the Greeks; St Augustine, St Jerome, St Cyprian, St Ambrose, St Gregory, St Thomas Aquinas, and others of the Latins. He asks Cirignani: What do you seek among the Hebrews which you cannot find in the councils of the Church? The fundamentals of the Christian faith lie with us and not in them. You say that there is much in the prophets and in other Hebrew books which confirms the Christian faith. But I say that these have now been translated and interpreted by many very learned men so that 'nichil lucri sit in illa magis hebraice legere, quam si latine legas.'¹⁰ Unless you disagree with Jerome and you understand these matters better than that learned man. Perhaps the study of Hebrew gives you pleasure but it has no utility. You may object that Jerome had Greek and freed us from the labour of translation; but Latins rather than barbarians translate Aristotle. Then: 'quid simile habet Graecorum eruditio cum Judaeorum ruditate?'¹¹ For Greek is the language of philosophy and of other disciplines and helps to promote literary studies in a way which Hebrew cannot, lacking as it does philosophers, poets, and orators.

Works:

Oration on behalf of Lucca (1466) noted in Kristeller, *Iter* 1: 71

Letters from Cirignani in Kristeller, *Iter* 1: 205; 2: 424 (to Aeneas Piccolomini), 438 (to Cyriac of Ancona, with poem)

Letters to Cirignani in Kristeller, *Iter* 1: 255

Source:

Leonardo Bruni, *Epistolarum Libri VIII*, ed. Lorenzo Mehus (Florence, 1741.

Facsimile edition, Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2007), 2: 160-64.

Studies:

L. Mancini, *Per la storia dell'umanesimo in Lucca. I. Giovanni Vanni Cirignani* (Lucca, 1937), 13-14

Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols (London: Constable, 1970), 2: 571-601

Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459)

Born near Arezzo, went into papal service, and pursued classical manuscripts and humanist studies. He disparaged his convert guide to Hebrew in a letter to Niccolò Niccoli written at Baden Baden on 18 May 1416. Here he refers to his last letter to Niccolò Niccoli as 'longiuscula, iocis referta ac salibus'. 'I said a good deal

⁹ Bruni (1741), 2: 161-62.

¹⁰ Ibid., 162-63.

¹¹ Ibid., 163.

about the Hebrew language, which I was studying, and I made even more jokes at the expense of my teacher, since he has the mental capacity of a typical convert from Judaism to Christianity. He is a trifling sort of man, with no sense of humor or stability. I made fun of his literary ability and his learning as being crude, rude, and rustic. But I am afraid that that letter and the other, which I wrote to Leonardus, did not reach you. For most certainly considering the careful attention which you devote to letter writing, you would have sent some answer right away or at least congratulated me on this new study of a new subject which you had often urged me to master. Although I see that this study is of no use in increasing our wisdom, it adds something to our study of the Humanities, particularly in this respect, that I have learned Jerome's method of translation.'¹² Poggio goes on to recount his journey from Constance down the Rhine to the baths. He describes the pleasures of the baths at Baden and the sports and relaxations of the visitors. Perhaps reflecting his study of Hebrew he compares the place to what the Hebrews call 'Ganeden', or a "hortum voluptatis" where the first man was created. 'For if pleasure can make life happy, I do not see what is lacking in this place for complete and perfect happiness.'¹³ During 1427-29 Poggio was in Rome and expecting copies of the two major works by Flavius Josephus – *De bello Judaico* (c. 75) and *Contra Appionem grammaticum* (c. 97) – from his friend Niccoli in Florence.¹⁴ He addressed a letter to **Giovanni Cirignani** from Rome on 7 November 1444 in reply to the latter's in which he praises the orations made by Poggio in favour of Leonardo Bruni.¹⁵

Sources:

¹² 'Dicebam multa de litteris ebraicis, quibus operam dabam, plura iocabar in doctorem ipsum, ut captus eorum est, qui ex iudeis christiani efficiuntur, virum levem, insulsum atque inconstantem; litteras vero ac doctrinam ut rudem, incultam atque agrestem facetiis quibusdam leviter perstringebam. Verum suspicior eam epistolam et itam alteram, quam Leonardo dabam, vobis redditas non esse. Nam medius fidius que tua est diligentia in officio litterarum, rescripsisses postmodum aliquid et vel saltem mecum gratulatus esses hanc novam nove doctrine disciplinam, ad quam perdiscendam me sepius es hortatus; quam etsi nullius usus esse conspiciam ad sapientie facultatem, confert tamen aliquid ad studia nostra humanitatis, vel ex hoc maxime, quia morem Hieronymi in transferendo cognovi.' Goodhart (1974), 24-25.

¹³ 'Nam si voluptas vitam beatam efficere potest, non video, quid huic loco desit ad perfectam et omni ex parte consummatam voluptatem.' Bracciolini (1984), 1: 133. The term *Gan'Eden* was translated into Greek as *paradeisos* in the Septuagint (eg. Genesis 2: 8). Rabbinic texts distinguish between an earthly garden and a heavenly one with the latter as the abode of bliss reserved for the souls of the righteous. The Hebrew equivalent of paradise, *pardes*, occurs three times in the Bible and in the Talmud the word is used in relation to celestial visions and the mystical ascent of the soul. See Jean Delumeau, *The History of Paradise: The Garden of Eden in Myth and Tradition*, trans. Matthew O'Connell (New York: Continuum, 1995).

¹⁴ Bracciolini (1984), 1: 184, 185, 190, 193.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2: 435.

Poggio Bracciolini, *Lettere*, ed. Helene Harth. 3 vols (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1984), 1: 128.

P. W. Goodhart, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: The Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974)

Alberto Berdini da Sarteano (c. 1385-1450)

Born at Sarteano, near Siena, joined conventual Franciscans, studied at Florence (perhaps with Guarino Veronese), and passed to the observant wing of the order. In 1422 he defended humanist studies in a letter to Niccolò Niccoli, noting their use in aiding comprehension of sacred scripture.¹⁶ Moved to Verona to study Greek with Guarino during 1422-23, and sent to Naples by the Medici to collect Latin and Greek manuscripts, his sermons were informed by classical orations. He went east for Pope Eugenius IV (1431-47) on a mission to the Byzantine emperor in preparation for the council of union eventually held in Florence, and then in 1440 to the Coptics with an invitation to adhere to the union, as well letters for Prester John, emperor of Ethiopia, and Thomas of the Indies (although he only reached Cairo).

Works:

Opera omnia, ed. F. Harold (Rome, 1688)

Studies:

F. Biccellari, 'Un francescano umanista. Il beato Alberto da Sarteano', *Studi francescani*, 10 (1938): 22-48

E. Cerulli, *DBI*, 8: 800-04

Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439)

Born near Forlì, entered Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence. There is some evidence for Traversari's encounter with the patristic anti-Jewish literature. In 1423-24 he completed his translation of Chrysostom's *Homilies against the Jews* where the patristic author attacked the Christians who were found at Jewish synagogues and Jewish festivals and suggested that the Jews merited their punishment as a consequence of their treatment of Christ.¹⁷ In 1432 Mariano Porcari in Rome gave Traversari a Hebrew manuscript of 'notable beauty' of the books of Psalms, Job, Daniel, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Esther, and other Old Testament texts, which pleased him greatly and which he intended to use in his Hebrew studies. He was also studying the historical roots of Christianity through the works of Flavius Josephus and Philo.¹⁸ A few years later Traversari wrote to Florence requesting a manuscript of Hebrew verbs as he began to undertake further studies and to teach a monk who wanted to acquire some facility in the language.¹⁹

¹⁶ Berdini 1688, 8. 174-6

¹⁷ Stinger (1977), 131-33.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 51-52, 144-45, 151, 175. See Traversari (1759), XI: 16 (17, 18 Feb. 1432), 48 (7 Nov. 1432); and *idem* (1985), 59-60.

¹⁹ Alessandro Dini-Traversari, *Ambrogio Traversari e i suoi tempi* (Florence: succ. B. Seeber, 1912), doc. no. 4.

Sources:

Ambrogio Traversari, *Ambrosii Traversarii Generalis Camaldulensium aliorumque ad ipsum, et ad alios de eodem Ambrosio latinae epistolae a Domino Petro Canneto Abbatae Camaldulensi in libros XXV tributae variorum opera distinctae, et observationibus illustratae. Adcedit eiusdem Ambrosii vita in qua historia litteraria Florentina ab anno MCXCII usque ad annum MCCCCXL ex monumentis potissimum nodum editis deducta est a Laurentio Mehus* 2 vols. (Florence, 1759. Reprint Bologna: Forni, 1968)

-- *Hodoeporicon*, ed. Vittorio Tamburini (Florence: Le Monnier, 1985)

Studies:

Charles L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977)

Leonardo Giustiniani (c. 1388-1446)

Educated with Guarino Veronese and Gasparino Barzizza. Political career in Venice, Veneto, and elsewhere in Italy. His verse and prose works, printed from about 1472 onwards, reveal spiritual interests. His verses beginning 'O rosa bella' enjoyed some popularity and were set to music by John Dunstable, Johannes Ciconia, and John Ockeghem, among others. In Rome in 1473 at a banquet offered by Cardinal Pietro Riario the ballad was sung to a *chitarino*.²⁰ It concludes with the lines: 'Oh, god of love, what pain is this, to love! / See how I die, constantly, for this Jewess!' ('Oy, dio d'amor, che pena è questa, amare! / Vide che io mor' tuto hora per questa iudea!') The term 'giudea' could mean both a Jewess and a cruel person or traitor, and in his later *laude* Giustiniani does refer to Judas the traitor and talks of 'wicked jews' and 'Jewish dogs'. Harrán notes that Rosa was not an uncommon name for Jewish women.

Sources:

Strambotti e ballate, ed. V. Locchi (Lanciano: R. Carabba, 1915), ballate II-IV, VIII, XI-XII, XIV-XV, XVII

Studies:

Berthold Fenigstein, *Leonardo Giustiniani (1383?-1446): Venezianischer Staatsmann, Humanist und Vulgärdichter* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1909), 135-39
D. Harrán, 'New Variations on *O rosa bella*, Now with a Jewish *Ricerca*', *Studi musicali*, 27 (1998): 241-86

Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 34, 383-85

Francesco Barbaro (1390-1454)

Leading Venetian patrician humanist of his generation, if not of the entire fifteenth century. He was active in monastic reform,²¹ and connected with the

²⁰ Harrán (1998), 272.

²¹ See his letters to Cardinal Francesco Condulmer during the 1440s in Barbaro, *Epistolario* (1999).

Carthusians in Venice.²² In fact, he acted as patron of the Carthusian monastery of San Andrea del Lido in Venice after the death of Niccolò Corner, and on 17 June 1443 he wrote to Cosimo de' Medici with a request that he act as patron of building works.²³ He wrote to the Carthusian monk Francesco (probably **Francesco Trevisan**) in 1447, and to the Carthusian monk Giovanni Francesco, probably the same person, on 22 September 1449.²⁴ In the latter letter he wrote: 'Pleni sunt libri, plena exemplorum vetustas principes Israel ad prophetas et filios prophetarum, qui nunc monachi nominantur, aut venisse aut missos esse ut salvum facerent populum suum, vel ut custodirent legem et providerent saluti et felicitati sue. Quare cum anceps et dubius sim propter pestilentiam, utrum mihi nunc in patriam redeundum, an adhuc consilium hoc differendum sit, in te reiciendam hanc deliberationem puto ut tu, qui sepe solus cum Deo loqueris sicut amicus ad amicum suum, invoces nomen eius magnum super me ut ipse notam faciat viam in qua ambulem, et doceat me facere voluntatem suam. Quod si minime respondendum mihi iudicares ne plus arrogare tibi vederis quam tribuendum censes, cum incaluerit cor tuum intra te cum aliis sanctis viris, qui tecum in monasterio sunt, ora Deum nostrum ut pie et misericorditer regat me. Et quia omnia serviunt ei, forte audiam linguam quam non novi, et consilium sequar quod credam placuisse magis in conspectu suo.' The next day he wrote to the Camaldolese monk Pietro Donà reflecting on human fragility and the emptiness of one's thoughts and goes on to note the example of those we read about in the Old Testament who privately or publicly consulted the prophets so that they may be better advised by such oracles. Since monks are called the sons of prophets who better to go to than Pietro Corso who lived in the monastery for so long and had given up earthly preoccupations. Barbaro hopes that they will all pray to God to help guide him.²⁵ He was in touch with Giovanni Capistrano whose friendship he sought, and with **Alberto Berdini da Sarteano** who preached in Brescia at his urging.²⁶ In his letter to the former, written from Venice on 15 March 1451, he writes of his love of Giovanni on account of his virtue and congratulates him on his work in Venice encouraging men to know and to love God.²⁷ On 1 April he wrote again to Giovanni thanking him for their friendship and for being remembered in his prayers and noting how Francesco's small gifts are valued by Giovanni for being from the heart rather than for their being great and honorific.²⁸ He was attracted by the preaching of San Bernardino da Siena. He corresponded with **Ludovico Foscarini** and Antonio Gradenigo.²⁹ On 22 January 1449 he wrote to Lauro Querini about his precious and close

²² He wrote from Udine on 1 September 1448: 'Iohanni et Augustino fratribus salutem dic. Sanctis autem monachis Cartusie nostre me commenda.' *Ibid.*, 581.

²³ Barbaro (1884), 114, no. LXXXXVIII.

²⁴ Barbaro (1999), 598-99, 660-61.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 662-63.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 214-16, 352, 703-04, 711-12.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 703-4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 711-12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 468-69, 470-71, 474-75, 487, 719-20

friendship with **Giannozzo Manetti**.³⁰ In a dialogue of c. 1452 **Ludovico Cendrata** has Barbaro speak of the authority and power of the Roman church.³¹

Sources:

Centotrenta lettere inedite di Francesco Barbaro precedute dall'ordinamento critico cronologico dell'intero suo epistolario, ed. Remigio Sabbadini (Salerno: Tipografia Nazionale, 1884)

Epistolario II. La raccolta canonica delle "Epistole", ed. Claudio Griggio (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1999)

Studies:

Benvenuto Bughetti, 'Alcune lettere di Francesco Barbaro riguardanti l'Ordine Franciscano', *Archivum Franciscanum historicum*, 11 (1918): 287-304

Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 33-34

Marco Lippomano (c. 1390-after 1446)

Licensed in arts in 1410 and awarded doctorate in laws and arts in 1417. He had an extensive political career, including trips to Candia (Crete). Francesco Filelfo notes Lippomano's interest in Hebrew studies in a satire of c. 1432, saying that the latter is learned in Greek and Hebrew but that he himself has no commerce with Jews unless he needs money. He therefore asks Lippomano not to respond Judaically (*iudaice*), i.e. in Hebrew or with the offer of a loan: 'Doctus es et cunctos superas, me iudice, rerum / notitia: tu nostra tenes, ti graeca tuosque / hebraeos penitus gaudes didicisse prophetas. / Nec solum eloquio exultas: diademate iuris / et divum atque hominum redimitus tempora, caelos / naturamque sagax omnem audes defendere causam. / Nam quid, amice, siles, quotiens te nostra requirunt / scripta per officium? Qui te premit undique fastus? / Iudaeos nunquam fateor didicisse, nec ulla / esse illis mecum commercia, nulla futura, / ni, cum forte velim nummos pensare, soluto / foenore, paupertas quod me solet aemula saepe / cogere. Pauperies mihi te facit improba surdum? / At neque iudaice mihi respondere necesse est! / Nam neque si dedero Scythicis mea verba figuris, / noveris, ingenium potius ridebis amici.' there is little surviving evidence of Lippomano's Hebrew studies although they were also noted by Flavio Biondo (c. 1448-58) and rather more extensively by the Florentine **Giannozzo Manetti** (c. 1448) whose own work he may have partly inspired.³²

Sources:

Flavio Biondo, *Italia Illustrata* (Venice: Philippo Pincio Mantuano, 7 May 1511)

³⁰ Barbaro (1884), 47.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 57.

³² Biondo (1511), 101; Christoph Dröge, "Quia morem Hieronymi in transferendo cognovi ...". Les débuts des études hébraïques chez les humanistes italiens', in *L'Hébreu au temps de la Renaissance*, ed. Ilana Zinguer (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 71; *idem*, "Zur Idee der Menschenwürde in Giannozzo Manetti's "protesti di giustizia"", *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 14 (1990), 119. Dr Daniel Stein Kokin is working on a rare surviving set of Lippomano's Hebrew notes.

Francesco Filelfo, *Satyrae I (Decadi I-V)*, ed. Silvia Fiaschi (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005), 26

Giovanni da Spilimbergo, *Oratio ad Marcum Lipomanum de congratulatione sue preture*. Padua, Biblioteca del Museo Civico, MS BP 1223, fols. 94-97 (at fol. 95)

Studies:

Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 389-90

Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459)

Born at Florence, studied under **Ambrogio Traversari** at the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in that city with Tommaso Parentucelli (elected Pope Nicholas V in 1447). He married in 1427, held public office and undertook embassies for Florence before becoming secretary to Pope Nicholas in 1453, and then serving King Alfonso of Aragon in Naples until his death. His orations were full of Old Testament citations alongside Aristotle and Cicero. The Greek and Hebrew vision of the world and man without knowledge of original sin or explicit promises of an afterlife and with an emphasis on behaviour on earth may have helped to shape his work on the dignity of man. He began studying Hebrew on 11 November 1442.³³ He collected Hebrew manuscripts in the same year,³⁴ and he cited (unspecified) Hebrew manuscripts in a dialogue on the lifespan of man set in Venice during his legation there in 1448.³⁵ The decline of the longevity of man was a topic discussed by Josephus in his *Antiquitates Judaicae*.³⁶ His enthusiasm for Hebrew was such that his son Agnolo, who later copied out his father's translation of the Psalms, was tutored in the language and wrote it so well that it was impossible to tell the difference between his writing and that of a Jew who was baptised at the instance of Giannozzo Manetti with the name Giovan Francesco in 1430 and accompanied Manetti on his legation to Venice during 1448-50.³⁷ The translation of the Psalms survives in eight manuscript copies and was as part of a projected translation of the entire Old Testament.³⁸ He was criticised, perhaps by **Poggio Bracciolini**, for attempting to

³³ De Petris (1976), 195 n. 3.

³⁴ See the list of Hebrew texts, lexicon, and commentaries now in the Vatican Library given in *ibid.*, 195 n. 6. See also U. Cassuto, *I manoscritti palatini ebraici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana e la loro storia* (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1935), 44-47.

³⁵ Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana MS Plut. 90, sup. 29, fols 4v, 26r, 29v.

³⁶ On this, see **Daniel Stein-Kokin**,

³⁷ Vatican City, BAV, MS Urb. Lat. 5; Bisticci (1976), II. 353; and Giuseppe M. Cagni, 'Agnolo Manetti e Vespasiano da Bisticci', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 14 (1971): 293-312 (at 294-95, but providing no source for the date baptism).

³⁸ This figure, which includes possible sixteenth-century copies, is given by Dröge (1992), 85n46. One manuscript of the Psalms and the *Apologeticus* bears the arms of Federigo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, and was copied and decorated in the shop of Vespasiano da Bisticci. In 1461 Lodovico II Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, ordered a Bible in Hebrew from Bisticci, but was angered on learning that it had been transcribed without due regard for Hebrew punctuation: A. Luzio and A. Renier, 'I Filelfo e l'umanesimo alla corte dei

rival St Jerome who had been divinely inspired. He defended his translation from Hebrew (and not from Greek) in his *Apologeticus adversus suae novae Psalterii traductionis obtrectatores* where he noted that Jerome himself had made two translations, and that there many others produced in late antiquity. Manetti also undermined the story of the simultaneous translation of the Septuagint by noting that the same legend had been applied in relation to the definitive text of Homer. Manetti attacked Jews who claimed that the scripture used by Christians was incorrect and their interpretations false. He said that the Jews were ignorant of Latin and Greek, and the liberal arts, and he presented his Psalter as a way of confounding obstinate Jews and affirming correct Christian reading. His *Adversus Iudeos et Gentes*, mentioned in a letter to Pope Nicholas V on 4 May 1448, bypasses medieval texts to engage with the Fathers of the Church, especially Eusebius of Caesarea whose fourth-century *De praeparatione Evangelica* had just been translated into Latin by George of Trebizond. Manetti outlined the concordance of Mosaic law with natural morality and noted the superiority of the religion of Israel over other ancient beliefs and practices. He praised Moses highly as an orator and the Hebrew people were judged ancient and superior to Rome or Athens. He assessed ancient Israel positively (if only as prefiguring Christianity), and outlined the history of the world before and after the incarnation of Christ. His biographer Vespasiano da Bisticci mentions Manetti's knowledge of Hebrew at the outset of his biography but emphasises that this knowledge was 'solo a fine di sapere bene e' testi della sancta Iscrittura.'³⁹ He provided translations of some Hebrew works but had to defend them against jealous detractors. He also learned Hebrew as part of his disputation with the Jews, and participated in public debate at Rimini in 1447 at the court of Sigismondo Malatesta.⁴⁰ The fifteenth-century biographer Naldo Naldi provided further details, noting that to his knowledge of Greek Manetti added 'Syrian' (i.e. Hebrew) so that he could understand the divine origin of law and could write invectives against the Jews drawn on their own sources. A preceptor from Palestine, who knew both Hebrew and Latin, lived with him for two years and they conversed together about the sacred histories of the world from its origins, their commentaries, and philosophy. The Palestinian came to the house two hours before dawn and left at the third hour of the night (the curfew) and gradually Manetti acquired Hebrew. Manetti supported two Greek men at home, who always spoke Greek with him. At the same time the Palestinian had pledged himself to ascribe to (addixisset) the Christian religion.⁴¹ The 'Manuellus' mentioned by Naldi was probably Immanuel ben Abraham de San Miniato, a Florentine banker who may have been the author of a translation of, and commentary on the Psalms.⁴²

Works:

Gonzaga', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 16 (1890), 153.

³⁹ Bisticci (1970, 1976), 1: 485.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 64-65, 486, 504, 534-35; 2: 524-25, 557-58, 605-06, 612.

⁴¹ Naldi (1731), cols. 535-36.

⁴² 'Emmanuelis hebraei interpretatio et commentarii in libros psalmodum', originally from San Michele di Murano, and now in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. I. LXVII (= 2061).

Apologeticus, ed. A. de Petris (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1981)
De dignitate et excellentia hominis, ed. E. R. Leonard (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1975)

Letters from Venice in Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Pal. Lat. 931

Giannozzo Manetti, *Dialogus in domestico et familiari quorundam amicorum symposio Venetiis habitus, dum ibi Florentini populi nomine legatione munere fungeretur, ad Donatum Acciaiolum*, in Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana MS Plut. 90, sup. 29

Sources:

Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le vite*, ed. Aulo Greco. 2 vols. (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1970, 1976), 1: 485-538

Naldo Naldi, 'Vita Janotii Manetii v. cl. Fiorentini ab anno MCCCXCVI usque ad MCCCCLIX', in L. A. Muratori (ed.), *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores ...* (Milan: Ex typographia Societatis Palatinae in Regia Curia, 1731), vol. 20, cols 529-608

Studies:

P. Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti, and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 178-81

Giuseppe M. Cagni, 'I codici Vaticani Palatino-latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti', *La Bibliofilia*, 62 (1960), 1-43

A. De Petris, 'L' "Adversus Judeos et Gentes" di Giannozzo Manetti', *Rinascimento*, new series, 16 (1976): 193-205

Christoph Dröge, *Giannozzo Manetti als Denker und Hebraist* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1987)

-- "'Quia morem Hieronymi in transferendo cognovi ...". Les débuts des études hébraïques chez les humanistes italiens', in *L'Hébreu au temps de la Renaissance*, ed. Ilana Zinguer (Leiden: Brill, 1992)

-- 'Zur Idee der Menschenwürde in Giannozzo Manettis "protesti di giustizia"', *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 14 (1990): 109-23

G. Fioravanti, 'L'apologetica anti-giudaica di Giannozzo Manetti', *Rinascimento*, new series, 23 (1983): 3-32

-- 'Giannozzo Manetti, l'*Adversus Iudaeos et Gentes*, e l'altare del Corpus Domini a Urbino', in *Federico da Montefeltro. Lo Stato, le arti, la cultura*, ed. G. Cerboni Baiardi, Giorgio Chittolini, and Piero Floriani (Rome: Bulzoni, 1986)

R. Fubini, 'L'ebraismo nei riflessi della cultura umanistica. Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti, Anno da Viterbo', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 2 (1988): 283-324

Pietro da Montagnana (c. 1400-78)

Grammar teacher at the school of the cathedral of Padua from 1423 to 1433 or 1434 and later at a public school sponsored by the commune. He was also the rector of the parish of San Fermo. He had a collection of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Arabic manuscripts, and was praised for his knowledge of the first three languages.

Studies:

Federica Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci: Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 47-48

Paolo Sambin, 'Per la biografia di Pietro da Montagnana, grammatico e bibliofilo del sec. XV', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti*, 131 (1972-73): 797-824

G. Tamani, 'Piero da Montagnana studioso e traduttore di testi ebraici', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973): 349-58

Nigel G. Wilson, 'The Book Trade in Venice, ca. 1400-1515', in *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, ed. Hans-Georg Beck, Manoussos Manoussacas, and Agostino Pertusi (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1977), 2: 381-97

-- *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 115

Pietro Rossi (1403-59)

Sienese professor of philosophy who may have learned some Hebrew and wrote a polemic against Jews, which owes much to the Genoese Carthusian Porchetta Salvaggio's *Vittoria adversus Judaeos* (c. 1303, itself drawing on Ramòn Martí's *Pugio fidei* of c. 1280). In his commentary on the Old Testament he appears fond of allegorical interpretations and is apt to attack Nicholas of Lyra for his literalism in his *Postilla* on the Bible (1321-32), aiming swipes at 'judaizantes christiani' who are content with a literal interpretation of the Bible.⁴³ He also saw the Old Testament as anticipating Aristotle's insights. He attacks the carnal attachment of the Jews to literal interpretation on those grounds, and extends the field of Christological prefigurations. He also draws Christian truths from the Talmud. He relates the Old Testament to an astronomical and astrological understanding of the universe, relating biblical prophecy, as he interprets it with the aid of pseudo-Methodius and Joachim of Fiore, to astrological movements to prove a Christian chronology and elaborate an eschatology in which contemporary problems in Italy and advance of the Turks westwards indicate the imminent arrival of the Antichrist. He cites Porchetta's work and notes his own oral engagement with Jews, notably Guglielmo da Montalcino.

Studies:

G. Fioravanti, 'Pietro de' Rossi: Aristotele e Bibbia nella Siena del Quattrocento', *Rinascimento*, new series 20 (1980): 87-159

-- 'Alcuni aspetti della cultura umanistica senese nel '400', *Rinascimento*, new series 19 (1979): 117-67

Cardinal Basilios Bessarion (1403-72)

Papal legate in Venice he responded in December 1463 to a request from Doge Cristoforo Moro (1462-71) with regard to the status of Jewish privileges in Venice. This request may have been prompted by lobbying from the Carthusian prior **Francesco Trevisan** guided by the patrician **Ludovico Foscari** who had been outraged by reports by **Fantino Dandolo** of a Jewish rabbi who killed 1500 Christians with his medical skills.⁴⁴ The Council of Ten, which claimed increasing

⁴³ Quoted in Fioravanti (1980), 90 n. 1.

⁴⁴ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 441, fols 243v-250r;

authority over the affairs of the mainland empire, confirmed the judgment of Bessarion that Jews ought to be allowed to reside in Venetian territory, have some contact with Christians, and therefore licitly act as bankers.⁴⁵ Bessarion hoped that such contact would lead to Jewish conversions, and the Council of Ten doubtless judged Jewish bankers a convenient solution to the problems of financial liquidity and a good source of fiscal income. The collection of manuscripts which, persuaded by **Paolo Morosini**, he left to the Venetian state on his death contained no material in Hebrew, but did include the fragment of Greek translation of the Old Testament undertaken by his predecessor as archbishop of Thebes, **Simon Atumano**.

Source:

Cardinal Bessarion, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann: Funde und Forschungen*, ed. Ludwig Mohler. 3 vols. Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte 20, 22, 24 (Paderborn: Neudruck der Ausg., 1923-1942)

Study:

M. J. C. Lowry, 'Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library, Manchester*, 57 (1974): 128-66

Paolo Morosini (c. 1406-c. 1482)

Studied at Padua in c. 1431, refused the doctorate in arts. Served Venice at home and abroad in many offices. In c. 1459 **Ludovico Foscarini** wrote to Morosini about Turkish cruelty and the need for the secular princes of Europe to unite against the Turkish threat.⁴⁶ He persuaded **Cardinal Basilios Bessarion** to donate his books to Venice. Prince-Bishop Johannes Hinderbach of Trent wrote to Paolo Morosini in September 1476 to praise his work against the Jews (written c. 1464-71, published in 1473) and to ask him to call in the Venetian Senate for permission for Hinderbach to preach about Simon of Trent. He said that he believed that all the senators were individually favourable to the case but that together they did not talk about it.⁴⁷ Hinderbach narrated the tale of Simon and the miracles associated with him, offering the testimony of Fra Michele of Milan, the Franciscan who had recently preached before large crowds in Venice.⁴⁸ Some of the religious and philosophical themes addressed in Morosini's

Gianna Gardenal, 'Lodovico Foscarini e la medicina', in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983), III/1, 251-63.

⁴⁵ Archivio di Stato, Brescia, Archivio Storico Civico, MS 1525, 23 Feb. 1463 [m.v.=1464], fol. 23r-v. The text of Bessarion's letter is printed in Bessarion (1923-42), 3: 529-530.

⁴⁶ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 441, fols 15r-19v, 55r-57r.

⁴⁷ Wolfgang Treue, *Der Trienter Judenprozess: Voraussetzungen, Abläufe, Auswirkungen, (1475-1588)* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996), 120, 120 n. 49.

⁴⁸ Hinderbach to Morosini, no place, 13 Sept. 1476: Flaminio Cornaro, *Opuscula quatuor quibus illustrantur gesta b. Francisci Quirini. Accedit opusculum quintum de cultu s. Simonis pueri Tridentini martyris apud Venetos* (Venice: Apud Marcum Carnioni, 1758), pt. 2, 95-96.

work against the Jews are also evident in his *De fato seu praescientia divina et liberi humani arbitrii libertate*, dedicated to Pope Sixtus IV (c. 1476-77).⁴⁹

Works:

Pauli Mauroceni opus de aeterna temporalique Christi generatione in Iudicae improbationem perfidiae Christianae que religionis gloriam divinis enuntiationibus comprobata ad Paulum pontificem maximum incipit (Padua: Bartholomaeus de Valdezoccho and Martinus de Septem arboribus, 28 April 1473)

Two manuscripts of this work dating to fifteenth or sixteenth century noted in Kristeller, *Iter* 1: 174; 2: 330; 5: 595a (in vernacular, in Florence)

Studies:

Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 412-13

Francesco Trevisan (d. 1471)

Carthusian prior of San Andrea in Lido, confessor to a number of Venetian patricians including **Ludovico Foscari**, Doge Cristoforo Moro (1462-71), and possibly **Francesco Barbaro**. Prompted by **Ludovico Foscari** who had been outraged by reports by **Fantino Dandolo** of a Jewish rabbi who killed 1500 Christians with his medical skills, Trevisan wrote to Doge Cristoforo Moro with regard to the status of Jewish privileges in Venice.⁵⁰ At the doge's request **Cardinal Basilios Bessarion** confirmed that Jews ought to be allowed to reside in Venetian territory, have some contact with Christians, and therefore licitly act as bankers.⁵¹ Trevisan was instrumental in urging Bernardo Giustiniani to write the life of his uncle Lorenzo, which was dedicated to the Carthusian monks and published in 1475 as part of the campaign for Lorenzo's canonisation.⁵² Giustiniani also consulted the classical and spiritual manuscripts owned by Trevisan, and after the latter's death in 1471 he helped them through the Venetian press of Nicolas Jenson. These works, notably the *Luctus Christianorum*, are marked by anti-Jewish views. In this 'meditatione' on Christ's passion, seemingly aimed at women ignorant of Latin, Trevisan runs through the gamut of Jewish stereotypes and slurs: 'questi rapaci e perfidi cani zudei ... gli toxegati dragoni zudei perfidi & maledicti ... li perfidi e dispietati zudei commenciorno cum mazor instantia e cum piu alta voce e altissimi stridi domandando chel fusse crucifixo questo mal factor Iesu Christo ... li desfrenati leoni e rabiosi cani zudei'.⁵³

Works:

⁴⁹ Vatican City, BAV, MS Lat. 13157.

⁵⁰ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 441, fols. 243v-250r; Gardenal (1983).

⁵¹ The text of Bessarion's letter is printed in Bessarion (1923-42), 3: 529-530.

⁵² *De vita beati Laurentii Justiniani Patriarchae Venetiarum, ad Monachos Carthusienses* (Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, 10 May 1475). See also Alison Knowles Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 420-21.

⁵³ Trevisan (1471), fols 142r, 142r-v, 143r, 156r-v, 164r.

Questa e una opera la quale se chiama luctus Christianorum ex pass[i]one Christi. Zoe pianto de Christiani per la passion de Christo in forma di meditatione (Venice: N. Jenson, 4 April 1471)

Sources:

Letters to Trevisan from Ludovico Foscarini in Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 441, fols 37v-39r, 57r-58v, 110v-11v, 133r-35v, 166v-67v, 176r-79r, 194r-96r, 243v-50r

Studies:

Gianna Gardenal, 'Lodovico Foscarini e la medicina', in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983), III/1, 251-63

Martin Lowry, 'Humanism and Anti-Semitism in Renaissance Venice: The Strange Story of *Décor Puellarum*', *La Bibliofilia*, 87 (1985): 39-54

Ludovico Foscarini (1409-80)

Studied philosophy at Ferrara and in the arts faculty at Padua under **Paolo Veneto** before taking degree in canon law. Served Venetian state in many roles. His correspondence and his works (eg. *Gesta martyrum Victoris et Coronae*)⁵⁴ clearly reveal his pious concerns and acquaintances (including **Paolo Morosini**). He also composed orations to Pope Calixtus III (1455), against the Turkish threat (1459), and on the need for a crusade (1463). He addressed a number of letters to his confessor **Francesco Trevisan** (d. 1471), the Carthusian prior of San Andrea in Lido and in one he deploras admission of Jewish doctors to Venice and enjoins Trevisan to petition Doge Cristoforo Moro (1462-71) on the matter.⁵⁵ In a letter to Antonio Gradenigo, syndic to Candia (Crete), he dilated on disturbing Jewish behaviour, including ritual animal sacrifices, on that island.⁵⁶

Works:

Epistolae, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 441 (and see Kristeller, *Iter* 3: 61-62)

Sources:

Francesco Barbaro, *Centotrenta lettere inedite di Francesco Barbaro precedute dall'ordinamento critico cronologico dell'intero suo epistolario*, ed. Remigio Sabbadini (Salerno: Tipografia Nazionale, 1884)

Studies:

G. Dalla Santa, 'Due lettere di umanisti veneziani (Lauro Quirini e Ludovico Foscarini a Paolo Morosini)', *Nuovo archivio veneto*, 19 (1900): 92-96

-- *La Dieta di Mantova e la politica dei veneziani*. R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, *Miscellanea di storia veneta*, Ser. III, vol. IV (Venice: La Società, 1912)

Gianna Gardenal, 'Lodovico Foscarini e la medicina', in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca*. Biblioteca dell' "Archivum Romanicum", Ser. 1, vols. 178-

⁵⁴ Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 58-59, 387-88.

⁵⁵ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 441, fols. 37v-39r, 57r-58v, 110v-11v, 133r-35v, 166v-67v, 176r-79r, 194r-96r, 243v-50r (on petitioning Doge Cristoforo Moro).

⁵⁶ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 441, fols 269v-72v; Gardenal (1983), 261-63.

81 (= 4 vols. in 6; I, II, III/1, III/2, IV/1, IV/2) (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983), III/1, 251-63
Percy Gothein, 'Paolo Veneto e Prosdocimo de' Conti maestri padovani di Lodovico Foscarini', *La Rinascita* 5 (1942): 236-43
Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 33, 37, 374-77
Martin Lowry, 'Humanism and Anti-Semitism in Renaissance Venice: The Strange Story of *Décor Puellarum*,' *La Bibliofilia*, 87 (1985): 39-54
G. B. Picotti, 'Le lettere di L. Foscarini', *Ateneo Veneto*, 32 (1909): 21-48

Lilias Tifernas (1417?-86)

During 1479-81 he translated the complete works of the first-century Judaeo-Greek philosopher Philo Judaeus for Pope Sixtus IV, possibly with the aid of manuscripts owned by **Cardinal Basilios Bessarion**.⁵⁷ Among the works translated was a *Life of Moses* in which Mosaic theocracy is described. Tifernas compared Moses with the pope and listed functions shared by them – *regnum, summum sacerdotium, legislatio*. This interest in Moses as king, lawgiver, and priest served to highlight his traditional role as a type of Christ, and the frescoes of the Sistine chapel painted around 1481-82 underlined this fact by emphasising Christ's ministry rather than his miracles and by counterpointing the Christian cycle of images with episodes from the life of Moses. In the view of L. D. Ettlinger the frescoes also to point up the primacy of the pope in opposition to the conciliar claims made during the previous century in the sense that Moses was a 'typus papae' and also with reference to the apostolic succession and the rise of the church and pope as *vicarius Christi*. It is not known who provided the programme for the decoration of the Sistine chapel, but it is worth noting that on All Saints' Day 1482 Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal delivered a sermon in the papal palace comparing the sermon on the mount with the law-giving of Moses and also demonstrated the superiority of Christian over Mosaic law.

Works:

Translation of Philo Judaeus, 1479-81, in Vatican City, BAV, MS Lat. 180-183
See also Vatican City, BAV, MS Lat. 11600, MS Barb. Lat. 662

Sources:

Erwin R. Goodenough, *The Politics of Philo Judaeus: Practice and Theory, with a General Bibliography of Philo* by Howard L. Goodhart and Erwin R. Goodenough (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938)

Studies:

L. D. Ettlinger, *The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo: Religious Imagery and Papal Primacy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965)

Giovanni Mattia Tiberino (c. 1420-c. 1500)

Born at Chiari near Brescia and studied medicine in Pavia before moving to Trent to practice. Tiberino was also resident at the archducal court in Innsbruck and

⁵⁷ Goodenough (1938), 179 no. 322, 141 nos. 43, 46, 147 nos. 84, 87, and 180-81. A Greek version owned by **Giannozzo Manetti** is listed at *ibid.*, 140 no. 37.

dedicated a verse epic on the duke of Burgundy to Sigismund. His prose account of the death of Simon was written very soon after the arrest and interrogation of the Jews and is dated 4 April 1475. Although his tale is ostensibly in the form of a letter originally sent to inform his Brescian contemporaries, the account was probably elicited by Hinderbach, who certainly praised its style in his letters to Zovenzoni. It is clear that Tiberino had deep religious convictions as well as poetic aspirations. On 2 July 1475 he composed a poem ('Cum tua, sancte Symon, lux sempiterna Tridenti') which demonstrated satisfaction with the recent executions of the Jews, and he produced a number of other poems on the subject including one in the form of a prayer to Simon ('Salve, sancte Symon, Christi pendentis ymago'), which dates to some time in 1478. In that year Tiberino returned to the Bresciano, but he was back in Trent four years later following the death of his wife, his father, and his son Raffaele. On 5 September 1482 Tiberino's *carmen* in praise of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was published in Trent together with several prayers and his poem in praise of Lake Iseo (near Brescia). The following year he delivered an elegy in praise of St Francis before Hinderbach in the Franciscan church in Trent.⁵⁸ Like some other humanist writers on Jewish matters, Tiberino claimed some expert knowledge of Hebrew rites, and the text of his letter displays some of this basic understanding, albeit heavily reliant on the confessions extorted under torture. Most notable in the text is the emphasis placed on the ritual use of Christian blood by the Jews and their ritual denigration of Christ and other Christian enemies. This emphasis served Hinderbach's campaign against the Jews in Trent very well, but it also must have reminded Brescians of the danger in their midst, for in the Brescian council regulations against Jews during the preceding thirty years the Jews were often accused of devouring and draining the substance of the poor or sucking the blood of Christians by means of their usurious exactions. Tiberino's blood libel transformed this metaphor into reality. Tiberino's charge was based on a confused understanding of different Jewish rites, and especially on the belief that Christian blood and curses or insults against Jesus Christ were present in these rites. For example, at the ceremonial circumcision of Jewish children the *mohel*, the rabbi who performed the operation, cleaned the bloody end of the penis with his mouth and spat the blood out into a cup of wine which some women regarded as an aid to conception. Tiberino and the other writers published here probably drew on this rite to describe an assault on the penis of Simon by the 'priest' Moses, and it is worth noting that many of the images of Simon of Trent show him with an injured penis or in the process of being circumcised, or even castrated. Furthermore, as some of the writers imperfectly grasped, at *Pesach* (Passover) according to the *Haggadah* the ritual sacrifice of the lamb memorialised the sacrifice of Abraham and signified the promise of liberation from the enemies of the Jews. Tiberino also suggested that the Jews of Trent employed curses in their ritual:

Gathered all round, therefore, starting from Simon's crown and going down to his soles, they proceeded to pierce him with frequent blows, saying: *Tolle iesse mina elle parechief elle passusen pegmalen*. That is, "Let

⁵⁸ Antonio Fappani, 'In margine al processo ed al culto del beato Simonino di Trento,' *Brixia Sacra*, new series 7 (1972): 143-45, at 145 n. 4.

us butcher this boy just like Jesus, the Christians' God, who is nothing. Thus may our enemies be eternally confounded."

It is likely that these, and other curses recorded by Tiberino, were based on a distortion of the ritual maledictions or plagues intoned against the enemies of Israel at the *seder* feast, and drew on medieval Christian tales of the anti-Christian behavior and words of Jews supposedly encouraged by rabbis and Talmudic authorities. The tales from Trent can be considered part of the humanist contribution to hagiography or sacred biography for which an important model was the *passio*, or narrative of the passion of Christ. Tiberino frequently played on the analogy between Christ's passion and the fate of Simon. He reminded the reader that God's mother was called Mary, as was Simon's mother. He points out the parallels between the story of Christ's betrayal by the Jews to Pontius Pilate and the events in Trent. In Tiberino's tale the action takes place over three days, like the passion of Christ. Simon's mother Mary acts like the mother of Christ looking for her son among the neighbours (Luke 2: 44-45). Simon is also presented like another Christ: he is imprisoned, tortured, and found in the mire (prefigured in Psalms 69, 88) in his swaddling clothes (Luke 2: 12). The analogy was taken further in the emphasis placed by Tiberino on Simon's silence throughout his ordeal except when he calls for his mother (cf. Matthew 27: 14, John 19: 26). This device not only indicated the youth and innocence of the child but also served to remind Christian readers of the few words uttered by the meek and lamb-like Christ in his passion (Acts 8: 32, cf. Isaiah 53: 7). In contrast, the Jews gesticulate and shout like their medieval stage counterparts. They are rendered canine, bestial like the enemies of Christ at his passion (Psalm 22: 12-21), and they 'howl', 'pour forth loud cries', 'shout', 'babble', 'spew forth', 'rasp', and 'curse.'

Works:

Stephen Bowd, (ed.), and J. Donald Cullington, (trans.), *'On Everyone's Lips': Humanists, Jews, and the Tale of Simon of Trent* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2012), Section I
Antonius Zingerle, *De Carminibus Latinis saeculi XV et XVI ineditis* (Innsbruck: Academicis Wagnerianis, 1880), 125-39

Sources:

Germano Jacopo Gussago, *Biblioteca Clarensis: ovvero notizie storico-critiche intorno agli scrittori e letterati di Chiari*, 3 vols. (Chiari: Tellaroli, 1820-1824), 1: 83-95, and nn

Studies:

Gaia Bolpagni, 'Giovanni Mattia Tiberino: l'itinerario culturale di un medico e umanista', in *Profili di umanisti bresciani*, ed. Carla Maria Monti (Travagliato-Brescia: Edizioni Torre d'Ercole, 2012), 231-300

-- 'Il carne De Sabino lacu di Giovanni Mattia Tiberino', in *Il libro fra autore e lettore. Libri e lettori a Brescia tra Medioevo ed età moderna (Atti della terza giornata di studi. Brescia, Università Cattolica, 21 novembre 2006)*, ed. Valentina Grohovaz (Roccafranca: Massetti Rodella, 2008), 41-73.

Lauro Querini (c. 1420-c. 1475/9)

Graduated from Padua in 1440 with a doctorate in arts. Studied canon law and received his doctorate from Padua in 1448. He knew **Cardinal Basilios Bessarion**, in whose house he stayed in Florence in 1441, and for whom he served as procurator in Crete over twenty years later. On 22 December 1448 he visits **Giannozzo Manetti** in Venice while he is ambassador from Florence there, and discussed philosophy. From 1452 he lived on Candia (Crete). In 1463 he protested as commissioner for 'quondam Zorzi Quirini' against two Jewish creditors, and in 1470 wrote to **Paolo Morosini** from Crete on the imminent fall of Negroponte.⁵⁹

Studies:

Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 419-21

K. Krautter et al. *Lauro Quirini umanista* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1977)

Ludovico Cendrata (c. 1420-c. 1497/98)

Born in Verona, educated by Guarino Veronese, before returning to take up public posts in his home town. He edited from (as he claimed) faulty manuscripts an edition of two major works by the first-century Jew Flavius Josephus supposedly translated from Greek by Josephus himself, published in Verona and prefaced by a dedicatory letter addressed to Antonio Donà, the *podestà* of Verona, dated 30 November 1480. In this letter Cendrata first enumerated the Venetian's virtues and suggested how he would find much to admire in the actions of the Roman emperors Vespasian (69-79) and Titus (79-81) whose wars with the Jews Josephus describes. He also invoked the deeds of Andrea Donà who had defended Verona against the *condottiero* Francesco Sforza, who later became duke of Milan (1450-66), some forty years earlier.⁶⁰ He noted that Josephus' work 'contra apionem' (not published in this edition) would furnish much evidence from the pagans, and show how from earliest infancy the Hebrew Josephus combined knowledge of sacred scripture with Greek. Josephus' work included an early version of the blood libel.⁶¹ Philo of Alexandria's own defence of the Jews against the accusations of Apion (for example, that they failed to worship statues of the Emperor Caligula [37-41]) is also mentioned, and he signaled Philo's own pagan learning by repeating St Jerome and the saying that 'Either Plato philonizes, or Philo platonizes.' Cendrata noted that Josephus' work brought before the eyes the towns of Galilee and the walls of Jerusalem, along with a multitude of other natural and man-made features. The Romans attacked the walls of Jerusalem and the Jews fought back with great spirit (*forti animo*), but the temples were destroyed, virgins raped, and husbands hanged. All of this cannot fail to bring tears to the eyes of those who hear that such a fine city was ruined and burnt. However, this was all prophesied by Christ. He wrote: 'Debemus profecto maxime tanto viro qui et Machabeorum composuit historiam:

⁵⁹ Krautter et al. (1977), 15, 258-9.

⁶⁰ Cendrata addressed a speech to Andrea Donà on 5 Nov. 1442: Palma (1979).

⁶¹ Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, II. 8. On the patchy medieval transmission of this text, and especially the key passage, see Gavin I. Langmuir, 'Thomas of Monmouth: Detector of Ritual Murder', *Speculum*, 59 (1984): 820-46.

et libris viginti ab initio orbis conditi usque ad annum Domiciani Caesaris decimum quartum accurate descripsit de antiquitatibus iudaeorum universa facinora: in quibus de Iesu Cstristo [sic] tam bene sensit: ut quae symbolo fidei comprehensa dignescuntur: eadem Iudaeus phlavius rectissime praedicaverit: et propter interfectionem Iacobi Apostoli cognomento Iusti hierosolymam dirutam: quem iudaei de pinnaculo templi trusum sulonico fuste ceciderunt.’ Cendrata praised Antonio’s son Girolamo in passing in his epistle and it is interesting to find this notable future humanist who translated Dionysius the Areopagite and was a friend to **Domenico Grimani** and **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola** provided an verse addressed to Cendrata, which was followed by one by the Veronese poet Giovanni Antonio Panteo.⁶² In general, Cendrata’s appreciation of Jewish history and culture, especially the work of Josephus and Philo, is positive although the destruction of the second temple is clearly presented as a fulfilment of the prophecy of Christ (Matthew 24: 1-3), and implicitly as a just punishment on the Jews who refused to recognise Jesus Christ as the Messiah.

Source:

Flavius Josephus, *De antiquitate Judaica. De bello Judaico*. Trans. Rufinus Aquileiensis, ed. Ludovico Cendrata (Verona: Petrus Maufer de Maliferis, 25 December 1480)

Study:

Marco Palma, *DBI* 23 (1979): 527-28

Leonardo Montagna (1425/30-85)

Born in Verona, where his father held a number of key offices, and moved to Rome around 1452 where he moved in the orbit of Lorenzo Zane, married, and in 1455 was appointed apostolic secretary by Pope Calixtus III (1455-58). He tried and failed to find favour with the rulers of Mantua and Ferrara after finding the ambiance in Rome unappealing. As secretary to Cardinal Bartolomeo Roverella he travelled widely in Italy and spent time in Spalato on the Dalmatian coast. In 1475 he transferred to Verona suffering from gout, mourning the loss of his wife, and soon bereft of his employer. However, in 1484 he was granted a benefice in Montorio by the Venetian government. He wrote love poetry and moral verses – including a defence of women – in vernacular Italian, and by 1474 he styled himself ‘poet laureate’. Around this time he comforted himself with a study of prophecy, the *Consolatio podagrae*,⁶³ and with an impassioned literary memorial for his wife, Zampolina. He was clearly concerned with the westwards advance of the Turks into the Friuli during the 1470s, which seemed to fulfil some of the ancient prophecies. He was also interested in the Simon of Trent

⁶² On Donà see *DBI* 40 (1991): 741-53; King, *Venetian Humanism*, 366-68.

⁶³ Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS Ashb. 269 (201), fols 45v-53r; printed in Biadego (1893), 334-47. His tombstone in Sant’ Elena, Verona, describes Montagna as ‘prophetarum studiosus’: quoted in *ibid.*, 313. In 1484 the leading Venetian humanist Ermolao Barbaro wrote to Montagna recording the appreciation he and Venetian senators felt for his prophetic writings: Ermolao Barbaro, *Epistolae, Orationes et Carmina*, ed. Vittore Branca, 2 vols (Bibliopolis: Florence, 1943), 1. 69-71.

case and addressed a poem to a Jewish woman, urging her conversion.⁶⁴ In his verse beginning 'Vengote a visitar, perla gentile' Leonardo describes how he discusses 'alta materia in stil basso et umile' in order to illuminate the 'black' mind of his beloved.⁶⁵ In particular, he invokes the example of Jesus Christ who is son of God 'vivo e verace' and offers peace and relief for one who is 'pertinace'. Leonardo's Jewish lover is described in fairly positive terms as possessing prudence and wisdom ('Tu sei prudente e savia e ben experta'), but her failure to grasp the plain truth about Christ is attributed to a mind kept ignorant ('la tua mente è stata inculta e negra / E mal tenuta') as a consequence of the Jews among whom she was born.⁶⁶ God may illuminate her heart and bring forth waters with which to wash away the filth of her beliefs ('la sordidezza'). He cited Isaiah and other prophets who announced that the son of God would die for men, and with the theme of conversion in mind he alluded to Christ's baptism at the hands of John ('E di Batista prese el batistero / Per cominciar la fede cristiana / Con tal esempio suo bono e sincero.')67 Before him all judaic, pagan, and barbarous or gentile sects full of false opinions fall. He calls on 'perla' to be baptised and to flee the cruel enemy. Christ's sacrifice, resurrection, and place in the Trinity are commemorated with great lyricism and he begs Perla to respond to God's call and go to him 'Bella, polita, monda et illustrata,' having passed through the holy baptismal waters. Finally, he called on Perla to leave her husband and marry Jesus Christ so that she may enter the 'gate of salvation' and as a scarlet rose shorn of her thorns may be a flower more sweetly scented than Damask rose ('Rosa vermiglia colta della spina / E de vil terra, parerai bel fiore / Olente piú che specia damaschina / Se te converti a Cristo redemptore.')68 This last image may deliberately recall **Leonardo Giustiniani's** poem 'O rosa bella', which was addressed to his Jewish beloved and set to music by a number of Renaissance composers.⁶⁹

Works:

Martirio di Simone da Trento (Verona: c. 1478)

Studies:

Giuseppe Biadego, 'Leonardo di Agostino Montagna, letterato veronese del secolo XV' *Il Propugnatore*, new series 6/1 (1893): 295-358; 6/2 (1893): 39-111
G. Fatini, 'Leonardo di Agostino Montagna scrittore veronese del sec. XV', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 74 (1919): 209-42, 75 (1920): 1-31

Paulus de Heredia (1427-1502)

A convert whose work contains citations of entirely invented cabbalistic texts. He aided **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola** in his studies. In the preface of his edition of the *Epistle of Secrets*, purporting to reveal Kabbalistic knowledge and

⁶⁴ Treviso, Bibl. Com., MS 42; printed in Biadego (1893), 105-11.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 105-06.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 106-07.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 108.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 111.

⁶⁹ D. Harrán, 'New Variations on *O rosa bella*, Now with a Jewish *Ricercare*', *Studi musicali*, 27 (1998), 241-86

dedicated to Count Mendoza, Paulus noted that true wisdom is that which refers to the truth of celestial and divine matters and that the science of active and moral virtues must be joined to divine wisdom in order to contribute properly to virtue. He wrote of the faithless and obstinate Jews who have denied the truths outlined by the Christian fathers and enunciated long before by the prophets. They deny that Christ is the true Messiah without reason or authority to do so, and they refuse to believe Greek and Latin writers of learning and holiness. In the main body of the text, Paulus provided his own explications or 'postilla' citing Hebrew authorities such as the kabbalistic book called *Zohar* ('Splendour') in support of Christian doctrines such as the Trinity.

Works:

Neumiae filii Haccanae epistola de secretis ad Haccanam filium (Rome?, c. 1490?), *The Epistle of Secrets*, trans. Rodney G. Dennis, ed. J. F. Croakley (Oxford: Jericho, 1998)

Matteo Bosso (c. 1427-c. 1502)

Born in Verona, educated in Milan, and entered order of Lateran canons in 1451. He then studied at Padua before moving through Italy and composing works on philosophical matters which tended to confirm Christian virtues. In his letters he admired doctrinal truth more than literary elegance. Fear of God was the beginning of wisdom, and prayer the best means of individual perfection. He was prior in Ravenna during 1474-75, and then in Mantua until 1479, and again in 1480-81, but moved frequently to other cities. Bosso preached in Pavia on the alleged Jewish murder there in 1479, and he issued anti-Judaic writings that were read by prominent Veronese citizens.⁷⁰ While at Mantua he wrote to his relation Adeodato Bosso about news received from Pavia about the Jews: 'Ex urbe Ticino mihi Mantuae litterae in causa nepharia Iudeorum redditae sunt: quas ad te mitto his alligatas ut agnoscas horum non dico hominum: sed canum rabiem & viperarum in christianum nomen & sanguinem: easque ostendas veronae quibus tibi visum fuerit Civibus nostris sed praesertim piisac religiosissimis viris & civilis iuris gloria insignibus Paulo andreae Benensi, Bernardoque Brenzono. quae est si ad Reverendissimum Tridentinum mittatur Episcopum: suae puto Dominationi omnique populo illi id quidem fore gratissimum. Illustris quoque noster hic Marchio princeps sane & religiosus & optimus multos istis ex Hebraeis profugos: qui Mantuae sese receperant, multos quoque antea vel inquilinos vel incolas paucis admodum servatis ad foeneris ac mutui commoda ex urbe quotidie eiicit mulctatque pecunia.'⁷¹ In the fifth dispute of his *De instituendo sapientia animo* he considers the pagans and Muslims who cannot see the truth of Christ and he wonders at the faithlessness of the Jews: 'Potest ne miserabilius, & monstruosius iudeorum perfidia inveniri facile

⁷⁰ Gian Maria Varanini, 'Società cristiana e minoranza ebraica a Verona nella seconda metà del Quattrocento. Tra ideologia osservante e vita quotidiana.' In *Ebrei nella Terraferma veneta del Quattrocento*, ed. G. M. Varanini and R. Mueller (Florence: Florence University Press, 2005), 149. Bosso's preaching is mentioned in Rovereto, Biblioteca civica, MS Cod. 22, fol. 5r.

⁷¹ Bosso (1498), sigs [bviv]-cr.

quicquam ...?'. What can one say of their vain and ridiculous mode of circumcision? Their superstitious abstinence from pork? He cites Paul's letter to the Galatians (4: 4) on Christ being sent to free men from the old law, and cites contemporary or pseudo-evidence for the existence of Christ: Josephus, *Antiquities* 20 on Jesus called Christ by some Jews; and the supposed letters of Lentulus to Tiberius, and Pilate to Tiberius describing Christ, as well as the authority of the ancient prophetic sibyls. Bosso accused the Jews of lying, blasphemy towards Christ and not content with having repudiated and crucified him they wished to close their eyes and ears to the prophets. He believed the accusations were made against them and considered them rabid dogs thirsty for the blood of Christians and not worthy of toleration by Christian rulers.⁷² In the eighth dispute of the same work Bosso praised Ermolao Barbaro and **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola**, asserted that Christ was the true saviour and damned the Jews.⁷³ In 1492 he praised Ferdinand the Catholic who expelled the Jews, although he noted the welcome accorded to the Jews in Naples and Rome.⁷⁴

Works:

Epistolarum tertia pars ... (Venice: Per Bernardinum Venetum de Vitalibus, 13 Aug. 1502)

Familiares et secundae epistolae (Vincentius Bertochius: Mantua, 1498)

Opera varia ... ed. Julius Ambrosinus (Bologna: Apud Victorium Benatium, 1627)

Recuperationes Faesulanae (Bologna: Franciscus [Plato] de Benedictis, 20 July 1493)

Dialogus de veris ac salutaribus animi gaudiis (Francesco Bonaccorsi: Florence, 8 Feb. 1491)

Giovanni Soranzo, *L'umanista canonico regolare lateranense Matteo Bosso di Verona (1427-1502). I suoi scritti e il suo epistolario* (Libreria Gregoriana: Padua, 1965)

Studies:

Claudio Mutini, 'Bosso, Matteo,' *DBI*, 13 (1971): 341-44

Ubertino Pusculo (c. 1430-1504)

Studied Greek at Ferrara under Guarino Veronese before travelling to Constantinople where he witnessed the events of 1453 and wrote a Latin poem about the city's fall. After being held prisoner for a year by the Turks he returned to Rome by way of Rhodes and Crete, and after a delay of three years he finally reached his native city of Brescia where he gave an oration in its praise. He also composed a (lost) verse account in seven books of the siege of Brescia in 1438-40 by the troops of the Visconti lord of Milan. He opened a school in Brescia and became a key member of the local humanist networks. In c. 1500 the Brescian humanist Daniele Cereto praised him for his knowledge of Greek and Latin. He was recorded among those eligible to be chosen for conciliar membership in Brescia in 1493, and was later buried in the church of San Francesco. It is likely that on his return to Brescia from Trent in 1478 **Giovanni Mattia Tiberino**

⁷² Idem (1627), 83-84.

⁷³ Ibid., 114-15.

⁷⁴ Bosso to 'Severinum', Rome, 1 Nov. 1492: *ibid.*, 292-93.

suggested to his friend Pusculo that he write about Simon. A reference to the papal bull of 1478 in Pusculo's text suggests that he may have begun composition of the work at this date and Pusculo seems to have received payments for his work from Hinderbach in 1479 and again in 1480. Tiberino appears to have urged Pusculo to finish his work, and when in 1481 Tiberino returned to Trent he brought a unique copy of Pusculo's verses to the prince-bishop. In a prefatory letter to the poem Pusculo declared that as soon as the prince-bishop had approved the text it should be made known to the public. One surviving version of the manuscript dating to c. 1481-2 was prefaced by an address to Maximilian, son of the emperor. This address was suggested by Hinderbach after he read the original draft, and it was composed with hints from Tiberino. Maximilian was probably singled out in this way as the local power to have greatest sympathy for the case. The ruler of the neighboring County of Tirol until 1490 was Archduke Sigismund (1446-90), who had called a halt to the Trent investigations at an early stage. Moreover, Hinderbach's personal relations with Emperor Frederick III (1452-93), who might have been considered a more exalted addressee, seem to have deteriorated after 1467, and the emperor forbade Hinderbach from obtaining promotion to the cardinalate. Frederick also intervened to stop the persecution of Jews at Endingen in 1470, and interfered again in favour of the Jews at Regensburg in 1476. Maximilian likewise intervened to assert imperial authority at a ritual murder trial in Freiburg in 1504, but he seems to have been a strong supporter of the cult of Simon as early as 1479 and subsequently erected a monument in his honour, ordered Simon's coffin opened to visitors, and displayed the relics of Simon in a procession in his honor when he became emperor in 1508. Hinderbach may have admired Maximilian's patronage of humanists and would probably have been pleased by Maximilian's role in the Reuchlin affair when in 1509 the emperor initially supported a campaign to confiscate Jewish books and examine them for anti-Christian sentiments. In composing his work Pusculo almost certainly read Tiberino's letter and other works, and he may have consulted Giovanni de Salis who returned to Brescia when his term of office as *podestà* in Trent finished in 1476. Salis was subsequently very active in his campaign against the Jews in Brescia, and is recorded kneeling at the feet of Bernadino da Feltre when he came to preach in the city in 1494. In a letter of July 1480 Salis told Hinderbach about his involvement in the Portobuffolè case (near Treviso) and mentioned the miracles associated with Simon that had taken place in the Bresciano. He went on to note that Pusculo had promised to emend and correct a work for Hinderbach. These close links probably explain why Hinderbach and de Salis receive such prominence in Pusculo's epic – much more than in the other works – and in this sense it can be classed as a panegyric epic. The subsequent history of Pusculo's work is rather obscure and the passage of the work to print may have been hindered by its length. Two complete manuscript versions survive in libraries in Parma and Vienna, while a manuscript preserved in the state archive in Trent includes material not in the other two manuscripts. The Trent notes do not conform either to classical Latin norms of scansion or the accentual rhythms typical of some Latin poetry, but are a very loose mixture of the two. The editorial directions there indicate that the author of the material in the Trent manuscript had the Viennese manuscript in front of him and intended these notes to be incorporated into a version of Pusculo's epic. The passages intended

for insertion emphasize the Jews' stinginess and resort to bribery, and also give great weight to miraculous events favouring Christian fortitude and belief. In addition, there are comments alongside these notes in a hand very similar to Hinderbach's, and, given its location in the episcopal files, it seems reasonable to surmise that this manuscript is connected with the work of review and emendation undertaken by Hinderbach when he received Pusculo's unique copy of the verses about Simon in 1481. The manuscript now in Vienna is a fair copy on vellum with two illuminated initials showing the murder of Simon by Jews and his mutilated body. This version does not include the additions in the Trent manuscript, nor does it include the address to Maximilian, which is in the Parma manuscript. There is a concluding verse with a reference to Sigismund, so it must date to the period before the archduke's death in 1496. The prefatory verse to Emperor Maximilian by Johannes Kurtz von Eberspach was probably added after the completion of the original manuscript, perhaps as much as three decades later. Maximilian visited Kurtz's home town of Augsburg in March 1508, shortly after he became emperor, and it may have been on this occasion that the humanist took the opportunity to present him with a work which would have been of interest to the emperor. In any case, Kurtz was enthusiastic about the poem and had it published in Augsburg in 1511, claiming that it had lain hidden for many years and that he had obtained the manuscript from Christopher Romer of Bolzano who had been given it by the humanist Dr Christian Umhauser. The scribal circulation of a poem in classicized Latin about a sensational case of ritual murder is hardly surprising, and it seems to have moved straightforwardly enough along a north-south route between Trent and Munich via Bolzano and Innsbruck. The publication in Augsburg may be explained by the fact that the city was the leading centre for printing in the empire, although it seems as if the printer did not understand some of the abbreviations used in the manuscript from which he was working, and in most instances where there is a difference between the Vienna manuscript and the Augsburg edition the former is better. In any case, the Augsburg publishers were probably aware of the anti-Jewish feeling at the heart of the Reuchlin affair which erupted in the empire and spread to the Universities of Paris and Louvain between 1507 and 1520. In 1510 an imperial commission recommended the confiscation of Jewish books suspected of containing anti-Christian sentiments, while several universities submitted anti-Jewish opinions to Maximilian. In contrast, Johannes Reuchlin reminded Maximilian that Jews had the same rights as Christians thanks to their position as subjects of the emperor, and he argued that the Talmud and the kabbalah, were worthy of study. Pusculo presented his work as a warning to Christians to avoid all contact with Jews, and it is not difficult to imagine how an edition of his account of the murder at Trent printed in the week preceding the commemoration of the passion of Christ in 1511 might have provided ammunition for the opponents of Reuchlin. In Book 1 of his work on the Trent case Pusculo attacks the 'savage race' of the Jews and contrasts them with the innocence of the martyred child Simon. The Jews, he says, had been chosen by God to receive his laws but they were guilty of bringing about the death of Christ. That crime, which had led to divine punishment, was compounded by Jewish obstinacy in the face of the revealed truth of God, which they continued to deny. The exiled Jews subsequently insinuated themselves into society by practicing usury or, as in the case of Tobias, acting as doctors who could pass freely through

Christian society. By contrast, Simon is presented by Pusculo as a young innocent with a simple vocabulary (the often repeated cry of 'Mama') and humble background with whom the reader is meant to sympathise. More than this, by denouncing the Jewish conspiracy in Trent and throughout Europe, and by describing in great detail the torture of Simon, Pusculo seems intent on dispelling any doubts about the case against the Jews, bolstering Simon's credentials as a martyr, and supporting Hinderbach's campaign of persecution and expulsion. In the second book of his verse epic Pusculo describes the struggle between 'justice and gold' which followed the death of Simon. On the one hand, the Jews turn to gold in order to bribe others to remove the corpse of Simon, to gain access to the authorities, or to pervert the course of justice. However, the *podestà* Giovanni de Salis is presented as a careful investigator of the affair, alert to clues, immune to bribery, and dogged in his pursuit of the truth to which he seems guided by divine inspiration. He acts with Hinderbach to bring about justice: the Jews' crimes are revealed in a series of confessions and punishment is swiftly executed. Meanwhile, the justice of Simon's cause as martyr is underlined by his mother's laments, the miracles associated with him, the attack by young boys on the papal envoy who is accused of corruption, and the climactic voluntary conversion of one of the Jewish women who is then consigned to the bonfire. Pusculo's work can be considered an epic in the Vergilian mould with many allusions to the *Aeneid* and a number of similar characteristics, including the hexameter form, artfully constructed speeches, descriptions of the town, and historical notes. As Martin Korenjak has pointed out the tale of the Jews' hatred for the Christians echoes the account of the enmity between Carthage and Rome in the Vergilian description of the love of Dido and Aeneas, while their rage and fury may be compared with the wrath of Juno. However, it should be noted that some classical allusions in the text may equally be related to scriptural passages, and Korenjak has concluded that the work may also be regarded as a Christian epic, indeed the very first martyr epic in neo-Latin literature, with the pagan Muse displaced explicitly by God and the Virgin as the source of inspiration.

Works:

Stephen Bowd, (ed.), and J. Donald Cullington, (trans.), *'On Everyone's Lips': Humanists, Jews, and the Tale of Simon of Trent* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2012), Section III

Constantinopolis, in *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, ed. V. Ellissen (Leipzig: Wigand, 1857)

De laudibus Brixiae oratio, in *Le Cronache bresciane inedite dei secoli XV-XIX*, ed. Paolo Guerrini, 5 vols (Brescia: Editrice Brixia Sacra, 1922-1932), 2: 3-44

Studies:

Stephen Bowd, (ed.), and J. Donald Cullington, (trans.), *'On Everyone's Lips': Humanists, Jews, and the Tale of Simon of Trent* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2012),

Introduction

Paolo Guerrini, 'Un umanista bagnolese prigioniero dei Turchi a Constantinopoli e a Rodi,' *Brixia Sacra*, 6 (1915): 261-71

Enrico Valseriati, 'Ubertino Pusculo tra Brescia e Constantinopoli', in *Profili di umanisti bresciani*, ed. Carla Maria Monti (Travagliato-Brescia: Edizioni Torre d'Ercole, 2012), 163-230

Antonio Bernardo (c. 1430– c. 1504)

Son of Andrea, born in Venice. In 1462 he was appointed extraordinary professor of civil law at Padua, and around same time entered public service as judge in a territorial dispute. He was appointed knight of the republic by Venice and was *podestà* of Vicenza during 1484-6. A public inscription there once recorded that among his good works for the city was the ejection of the Jews and the erection of the *monte di pietà* in 1486.⁷⁵ It seems as if feelings had been stirred by the death of Lorenzino, supposedly at the hands of the Jews, in neighbouring Marostica the previous year.⁷⁶ Bernardo was not simply being a dutiful public servant and, according to Luke Wadding, in 1492 the Franciscan preacher Bernardino da Feltre was aided by Bernardo in his work of ejecting a Jewish moneylender and erecting a Christian bank in Padua. In September 1500 at a meeting of the powerful Council of Ten in Venice Bernardo spoke against the Jews and called for them to be chased out of the world.⁷⁷

Sources:

Marin Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, ed. Rinaldo Fulin, Federico Stefani, Nicolò Barozzi, Guglielmo Berchet, and Marco Allegri. 58 vols (Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1879-1903. Facsimile repr., Bologna: Forni, 1969-1970), 3: 808

Studies:

M Caravale, 'Bernardo, Antonio', *DBI*, 9 (1967): 304-05

Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 339

Pietro Bruto (c. 1430-c. 1493)

Venetian by birth and priest of Sant' Agata, Venice, and rector of schools in San Marco district. He was later bishop of Croia in Albania and bishop of Cattaro. By 1477 he acted as regent and lieutenant to Giovanni Battista Zeno, bishop of Vicenza (1470-1501). Bruto was expressed his concerns about the Turkish menace and considered Venice a key defender of the faith.⁷⁸ In 1481 he was charged with investigating claims of the miracle-working powers of the body of Simon of Trent, supposedly murdered by the jews in 1475. He also aided

⁷⁵ The inscription ran: 'Antonio Bernardo Iuriscons. Praet. et patr. opt. ob. Rempubicam domi forisque foeliciter administratam urbe pontibus carcere foro templis exornata iudaeis ac noxis eiectis civitate in pristinam dignitatem et otium studiis et sancte moribus restituta monte pietatis fundato grata Vicentia posuit MCCCCLXXXVI.' Giovanni degli Agostini, *Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degli scrittori viniziani*, 2 vols (Venice: S. Occhi, 1752, 1754), I: 501.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 500.

⁷⁷ Sanudo (1969-70), 3: 808; Caravale (1967); King (1986), 339; Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum, seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum* (Rome: Typi Rochi Bernabò, 1731-36), 15: 7-9.

⁷⁸ Bruto to Oliverius Arzignanensis, Vicenza, 22 Dec. [1486]: Valerius Maximus, Gaius. *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, ed. Oliverius Arzignanensis (Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 8 Mar. 1487), unpaginated.

Antonio Bernardo with the expulsion of Jews from Vicenza in 1486. All of these activities contributed to the content and form of his published works in the *adversus iudaeos* tradition. Bruto wrote two works directed against the Jews: a brief 'epistola' published in 1477 and dedicated to Pietro da Firenze, a priest in Bassano, and a much longer work proclaiming 'victory' over the Jews, which had been ready for some time by 1481 and was finally published in 1489.⁷⁹ In the first work he deplored the 'mordacissimi isti canes', and recounted the dangers posed to Christians, including boys, who lived and worked among Jews. He grieved not only for the 'inhumanity' (*immanitate*) of the Jews whose books contained insults against the mother of Christ, but also for the 'impiety' (*impietate*) of Christians.⁸⁰ Noting that Jews tortured and eviscerated children he called for justice for the murder of Simon of Trent who was supposedly murdered by Jews in 1475.⁸¹ If they only wished to, the Jews could hear the calls of the prophets and their eyes might be opened.⁸² In his *Victory against the Jews* Bruto mentioned the Trent case, as well as some analogous incidents, and he again noted that the Jews eviscerated the bodies of Christian children and drank their blood, so that Christians were advised always to be vigilant to protect and preserve the faith.⁸³ Bruto explained at the outset of his *Victory against the Jews* that faith had been deemed by earlier generations a most certain and divine token for human salvation and that those who violated faith offended the gods, and so ought to be made to observe the faith, even to the point of death, as Marcus Attilius Regulus did (and as observed by St Augustine in the *City of God*). However, the ancients did not have a solid foundation of faith, but were full of errors and superstition until God no longer wishes men to live in shadows but participate in his immortality. The Gentiles and Jews think that Christians live blind and without the light of truth but in fact they are the enemies of faith who ought to be combated, and brought to the most plentiful fountain of salvation and most abundant nourishment of the Christian faith. Jews are animals of the worst creation and Bruto says he plans to offer words, eloquence, and firm reason against them. If the Romans believed that all things should be subject to them and their false religion then how much more should Jews be subject. The Jews take the goods of poor Christians, and the defence of Christian faith against them is a very worthy cause. The Jews are ignorant and in error with respect to scripture, and he outlines the five main errors of the Jews.

Bruto's arguments are therefore arranged in five central chapters, in which he proves that Christ was sent by God and born of a virgin; that Christ was God and man; that Christ, who was the one called Messiah by the Jews, opened the new law to men; that Christ's coming was the advent of the Messiah, as long predicted; and that Jesus son of Mary was the true Christ and Messiah whom all

⁷⁹ Bruto (1477) and Bruto (1489). The works are noted in a letter from Bruto to Barnaba Celsano dated 2 Dec. 1481: Athanasius, *Contra haereticos et gentiles*, trans. Omnibonus Leonicensis (Vicenza: Leonardus Achates de Basilea, 1 Feb. 1482),

⁸⁰ Bruto (1477), sigs av, a2v, [a8v] (on Jewish dogs); av (on inhumane Jews and impious Christians); [a8v] (on supposed Jewish insults against Mary).

⁸¹ Ibid., sigs av-a2r, a2r-v.

⁸² Ibid., sig. a3r-v.

⁸³ Idem (1489), sigs av ('[p]raefatio'), miiv-miir, sir.

prophets filled with the holy spirit prophesied. In these five chapters Bruto employed scriptural citations, largely drawn from the Old Testament, and applied Christian interpretations to them which were drawn, in part from Jerome, Nicholas of Lyra, Paul of Burgos, and other Christian commentators. Bruto also transliterated passages in 'Chaldaic', considered Jewish arguments based on the Talmud and other authorities including 'Rabbi Solomon' (the medieval French rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki known as 'Rashi'), and argued from reason. In these respects, if not in precise organisation, Bruto's work may be seen as bearing a close resemblance to that of **Paolo Morosini**.

The sense of the place of the author in a broader humanist community is indicated by accompanying verses by the Mantuan humanist Giovanni Benavides, among others, lauding Bruto's learning and claiming that the book would combat the frauds of those 'ravenous dogs', the Jews, and should be considered a gem more precious than gold and worthy to be brought to light by the printing press.⁸⁴ In return, Bruto addressed a letter to Benavides explaining why he felt it necessary to write this work and to battle with the Jews for so long. Bruto related how he studied for many years the works of the prophets with great diligence, and reading and rereading them saw 'our happy religion and the perversity of the Jews and their errors.' He compared his task to the design and building of a house (that is, religion), which one would not wish to enter unless solid and perfect according to the most learned and knowledgeable architects, but he saw that the Jews are evil and wished to destroy what Christians had built. They sent to Bruto letters and legates, were heard publicly by the wisest men, and when he saw the temerity of shameless and faithless men who go forth from camp armed against him, then Christian soldiers and knights must wage war. The testimony and doctrine of his ancestors, the oracles of so many prophets, and reason would vanquish them.⁸⁵

Bruto's work also bore the imprint of his involvement in the battle to expel the Jews from Vicenza and he praised the Vicentines for their pious actions in this regard at the end of his *Victory against the Jews*.⁸⁶ Here he compares the light of modesty, equity, prudence, justice, faith, integrity, and religion illuminating the state with the light of the early morning sun. The city of Vicenza has been liberated from the faithless and thieving Jews with the consent of Venice and in this way may be allowed to function in a Christian fashion. A plague has been expelled and the city may regain its health. The Jews were used to utter words against Christians which in Latin mean that 'the baptised shall have no hope and all infidels perish immediately.' They do this without fear of punishment or the laws of Christian princes but Vicenza with its excellent laws and highest virtues has liberated itself from the Jews. Bruto uses this example to laud the Platonic virtues of good government by serious and wise men who have a gravity that produces constancy and leads to victory and triumph. Just as David was constant against the Philistines and obtained victory so did other Old Testament figures. Nehemiah was not put off the construction of the city of Jerusalem although he suffered troubles. As it says in Matt. 24[:13]: 'but he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.' In Bruto's view the decline

⁸⁴ Ibid., unpaginated.

⁸⁵ Ibid., unpaginated.

⁸⁶ Ibid., sig. [uvi v]-

which follows the mutability of institutions, like the changes in a human body, are not evident in Vicenza where contancy and firmness are demonstrated although some who do not deserve the name of Vicentines meet at the corners of the squares and murmur that the Jews ought to be allowed to return to their homes in the city. Bruto thinks this would be a shame to the city and he rejects the thought that the city might be governed by the advice of adolescents or inexpert men rather than learned and more senior figures. He cites St Augustine's sermon on perseverance and his assertion that perserverance is rewarded. The reputation of Vicenza will spread throughout Italy, the riches of the city will not diminish, the poor will benefit, and the glory shall pass down to posterity. Finally, there is also some evidence that Bruto engaged in disputes with Jews and that some of the arguments which form the core of the work were honed in the course of this engagement with the enemy.⁸⁷ His *Victoria contra Judaeos* of 1489 circulated in manuscript form, was translated into vernacular, and was the basis for Fino Fini's arguments printed in 1538.⁸⁸

Works:

Petri Bruti Veneti Artium Doctoris Episcopi Catharensis epistola contra iudeos ad venerabilem virum presbiterum Petrum Florentium in Bassani oppido commorantem (Vicenza?: Leonardus Achates de Basileia?, 1477)

Victoria contra Judaeos (Vicenza: Simon Bevilaqua, 3 Oct. 1489)

A vernacular translation of 1499 by Fra Gregorio da Genova, of the Benedictine monastery of Padolirone, is in Mantua, Bibl. Com., 62 (A.II.31): *Pietro Bruto Veneto vescovo Catarense contro i Giudei sulla venuta del Messia*.

A fifteenth-century manuscript copy from a printed edition of the *Victoria contra Judaeos* for Abbot Raphael de Mercatellis in Holkham Hall, Norfolk, MS 168.⁸⁹

Studies:

Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 343-44

Fernando Lepori, 'Bruto, Pietro', *DBI*, 14 (1972): 735-37

F. Secret, 'Notes sur les hebraisants chrétiens', *Revue des études juives*, 124 (1965): 169-73

Fino Fini (1431-1519)

Notary and scholar born at Adria, near Rovigo, died at Ferrara. His work of polemic against the Jews, printed in 1538 and surviving in a relatively large number of copies, was based on **Pietro Bruto's** *Victoria contra Judaeos*, the commentaries on the Psalms by Jacobus de Valentia, and **Pietro Galatino's** *De arcanis*. He cited the kabbalah, to which a chapter is devoted, in order to 'prove' the truth of the Christian religion.

⁸⁷ Ibid., fols [IIIr], hiiiir, hvv-hvir, pir-v. He claims to have converted Jews: Bruto (1477), fol. a8r.

⁸⁸ Fino Fini, *In Iudaeos flagellum* (Venice, 1538), fols. aiiiv, ciir.

⁸⁹ Kristeller, *Iter* 4: 39. See Albert Derolez, *The Library of Raphael de Marcatellis: Abbot of St Bavon's, Ghent (1437-1508)* (E. Story-Scientia Ltd. Scientific Publishers. Ghent, 1979), 234-36, no. 43.

Works:

Fini Hadriani Fini Ferrariensis In Iudaeos flagellum ex Sacris Scripturis excerptum (Venice: Federico Torresano, Jan. 1538), fols 564 ff, 72, 80, 106, 109, 431, 443

Girolamo Squarciafico (Alexandrinus) (fl. XV)

Wrote on theological matters and worked for press in Venice from 1471 onwards. Wrote a life of Josephus which appeared with editions of the works issued in Venice in 1481 (and reprinted in 1486, 1499 and 1500). He provided other biographies (Boccaccio, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Sallust, Petrarch) during this time and in a letter of 1481 to the Venetian patrician Francesco Leone appended to the edition of **Poggio Bracciolini**'s translation of the ancient Greek historian Diodorus Siculus issued that year he describes a dream in which he saw the 'imago' of Francesco Filelfo who, in a letter, recounted a debate in Heaven about the merits of the printing press. Filelfo's injunction that his works be carefully seen through the press may ring true, but Squarciafico's satirical intent here may be signalled by his reference to the letter from Odysseus to Calypso in Lucian's *True History*.⁹⁰

In his 'Vita Iosephi', which appears at the end of *De antiquitate Judaica*, Squarciafico recounted how Josephus was the son of a priest born in Jerusalem at the time of the Emperor Tiberius (14-37) and that from the time of Jesus' crucifixion until the time of Trajan (98-117) they waged war with the Romans in Jerusalem. A certain priest in Jerusalem was skilled in prophesying, interpreting dreams, and reading omens and portents. Indeed at the time of Emperor Nero (54-68) heavenly armies clashed in the sky and strange clouds were seen, portending grave events, as Josephus recorded, and the Jews tried to break away from the Romans. Disturbed by the greed of the Romans the Jews killed the prefects and rose against Roman rule. As a result the province was devastated and Jotapata besieged. Josephus captured and then part of entourage of Titus whence he derived his *nomen* 'Flavius'. Squarciafico lists his works and notes what is left of them before concluding: 'Non ad commemorandum sumus admodum curiosi: sed a me hoc unum interpositum iri summo studio duxi in ignominiam iudaicae pravitatis: quando vir egregius optime de christo sensisse videatur cum inquit. Eodem tempore iesus vir sapiens: si tamen verum oportet dicere. Erat enim mirabilium patratior operibus qui libenter vera suscipiunt plurimos quoque tam de iudeis: quam degentibus sui sectatores habuit et credebatur esse christus cunque invidia nostrorum principum cruci eum pilatus addixisset: nihilominus qui eum dilexerant perseveraverunt.'

Works:

Flavius Josephus, *De antiquitate Judaica. De bello Judaico*. Trans. Rufinus Aquileiensis. Ed. Hieronymus Squarzafricanus (Venice: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, 23 Oct. 1486)

⁹⁰ Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothecae historicae libri VI*, tr. Poggio Bracciolini (Venice: Thomas de Blavis, de Alexandria, 25 Nov. 1481) [Consulted online at www.digitale-sammlungen.de/ on 29 Aug. 2012].

Bellua septicornigera / Liber theologie moralis iuris canonici iudicio roboratus (a verse treatise on the sins), Yale University Library, Marston MS 204, fols. 1r-34v⁹¹

Liber pastoralis (a poem), Yale University Library, Marston MS 204, fols. 40r-46v
Studies:

M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Classical Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy (1300-1800)*, 5 vols (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1962), 4: 3313-3314

Francesco Borsellino (Bersellinus) (fl. XV)

Otherwise unknown author of *Versus in Iudeos de beato Simone*.

Works:

Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, MS 582, fol. 134v

Source:

Diego Quaglioni, 'Propaganda antiebraica e polemiche di curia', in *Un pontificato ed una città: Sisto IV (1471-1484). Atti del convegno. Roma, 3-7 dicembre 1984*, ed. Massimo Miglio et al. (Vatican City: Associazione Roma nel Rinascimento, 1986), 246 n. 10

Giovanni Nanni (c. 1432-1502)

Dominican. In 1480 his *De futuris Christianorum triumphis in Saracenos, seu glossa super Apocalypsin* was published in Genoa and in it he argued that Mohammed was Antichrist and that the end of the world would take place when Jews and Muslims were converted. His *Questiones super mutuo Iudaico* is dated 1492 and addressed to Pietro Barozzi, bishop of Padua. It prefaces the *Pro Monte Pietatis Consilia* published in Venice in c. 1495 and rejects Jewish usury. His work *Auctores vetustissimi* includes discussion of Hebrew sources and history, and in an unpublished work he sought to correct Eusebius' chronology. He produced, under the pseudonym 'Joannes Annius of Viterbo' a book of forgeries which included a spurious work by Philo published in Rome in 1498 and reprinted in Venice in the same year.⁹²

Works:

Auctores vetustissimi (Rome: Eucharius Silber, 10 July 1498, 3 Aug. 1498)

De futuris Christianorum triumphis in Saracenos, seu glossa super Apocalypsin (Genoa: Baptista Cavalus, 8 Dec. 1480)

Questiones super mutuo Iudaico in *Pro monte pietatis consilia* (Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, between 1494 and 7 April 1498)

Sources:

Erwin R. Goodenough, *The Politics of Philo Judaeus: Practice and Theory, with a General Bibliography of Philo* by Howard L. Goodhart and Erwin R. Goodenough (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938)

Studies:

⁹¹ Kristeller, *Iter* 5: 288.

⁹² Goodenough (1938), 319-21.

R. Fubini, L'ebraismo nei riflessi della cultura umanistica. Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti, Annio da Viterbo, *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 2 (1988): 283-324

Marsilio Ficino (1433-99)

Ficino's *De Christiana religione* (1474) was marked by a philosopher's decade-long study of Plato and by a priest's sense of crisis in contemporary Christianity. Ficino believed that religion in its earliest form and among later civilizations, including the Hebrews, was characterized by the action of intellect and will as men naturally yearned for a closer union with the divine. This natural impulse drew on philosophical speculation, notably Platonism, as well as direct divine intervention such as God's revelation to Moses and the pronouncements of the Hebrew prophets. However, this early union of wisdom and religion had been shattered at some point in history and Ficino argued that philosophy should be liberated from impiety and sacred religion freed from ignorance.

On a metaphysical level Ficino aimed to find the unity in the world which the diversity of matter obscured, while on a more historical plane he sought to reconnect philosophy and theology in order to inspire priests and people with a new spiritual enthusiasm. Plato, who was characterized by Numenius, as a 'Greek-speaking Moses', offered Ficino the exemplar of a true philosophy.⁹³ This Platonic preference was prominent in Ficino's syncretistic approach to religion, which was based on his belief that ancient philosophies – *prisca theologia* – were largely in harmony with one another, formed a 'learned religion' or *docto religio*, and culminated in Plato. He believed that the neo-Platonic philosophers adopted and adapted the truths of Christianity and in this way Christianity, the purest, most reasonable and tolerant of beliefs, represented the climax of both the history of religion and the history of philosophy. The notion that wisdom might be found in the distant past was highly attractive to all humanists. In addition, a lack of clarity about the chronology of the different schools of Platonic thought combined with a sense that they generally stood in close relation with early Christian beliefs led humanists to search for Christian truths in the writings of Plato and in the theurgy of Plotinus, and Proclus. In the belief that Platonic wisdom derived from more ancient Egyptian teaching, notably that of Hermes Trismegistus, the Greek text of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (1462-63) was translated by Ficino at the urging of Cosimo de' Medici.

Ficino, unlike Manetti, also believed that Hebrew scriptures could provide the source of some of the opinions of both Zoroaster, a Persian contemporary of Abraham, and Plato. Indeed, he notes in *De Christiana religione* how some authorities suppose that Abraham taught Zoroaster the astrology he had learnt from the successors of Enoch. He also identifies Zoroaster with Ham, the son of Noah, and notes the way in which the sayings of Mercurio Trismegistus might derive from Moses.⁹⁴ In this way, in his *De Christiana religione* Ficino adopted a unilinear approach which was much less apparent in his other works, notably his commentaries on Plato. In these latter works he highlights the role of Hermes Trismegistus and suggests that Zoroaster was not indebted to the Mosaic

⁹³ Ficino (1575), 1: 29.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

tradition and was the head of a separate independent pagan line of transmission. This difference may be explained by the fact that the first work was governed by the need 'to subject philosophy to revelation' and was based on a common understanding of Christianity found in the classical patristic sources, while the Platonic commentaries and the *Theologica Platonica de immortalitate animorum* (1469-74) were based more securely on pagan traditions and therefore used concepts relating to the origins of *prisca theologia* current among pagan philosophers.

In addition, Ficino's unilinear and syncretic approach was shaped by his lack of knowledge of Hebrew. The longest chapter in *De Christiana religione* was a conventional enumeration of Old Testament prefigurations of Christ's incarnation by which Ficino intended to prove the superiority of Christianity.⁹⁵ Ficino generally felt that the consonance and harmony between Old and New Testaments was a clear sign of divine inspiration and where he did cite Hebrew sources, as Umberto Cassuto demonstrated almost one century ago, he did so partially or erroneously. Although Moses and Melchizedek, like Hermes and Orpheus, personified the combination of religion and worldly wisdom which he admired, and indeed may have provided a model for his Medici patrons, Ficino was hostile towards the later Jews who held many superstitious beliefs and accepted the absurdities of the Talmud.⁹⁶ If Ficino's concept of the history of philosophy was of a struggle between wisdom or faith, reason and eloquence, and if he wished to restore wisdom to philosophy and to save religion from ignorance producing 'learned faith' (*docta religio*), then it was his view that Jewish, and especially Talmudist, learning threw veils of ignorance over both philosophy and religion.⁹⁷ Ficino, like Leonardo Bruni and **Giannozzo Manetti**, regarded the Jews as lacking in wisdom and deprecated the Talmudic distortions of their religion. Presumably, the only role left to the Jews in Ficino's religion was to convert at the end of times and help fulfil Christianity's destiny.

Accordingly, much of the *De Christiana religione* reads like a typical example of medieval *adversus iudaeos* writing. Although he grants that the Hebrews attempted to maintain the unity of wisdom and religion and he cites the Pentateuch preserved as a record by the Jews, as well as the words of their prophets and the writings in 'Hebrew' of the apostles,⁹⁸ he contrasts the openness and purity of Christians (exemplified by Christ and the apostles) with the harmful, deceiving, and 'perfidious' Jews who deny the clear and universally acknowledged truth of Christ, put their faith in money and other more base concerns rather than the spiritual, and are punished by God with destruction, exile, and perpetual wanderings.⁹⁹ The Christians with the 'eyes of lynxes' have penetrated the divine mysteries.¹⁰⁰ The words of the prophets, the Sybilline oracles, and the miracles and prodigies sent from God all confirm the Christian truth. The Hebrew names for God contain Christian truths. By contrast, Jews

⁹⁵ Ibid., 1: 30-46.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 1: 11.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 1: 42 (citing 'Rabi Salomon' or Rashi).

⁹⁸ Ibid., 1: 1, 23, 26, 29-30.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 1: 9, 11, 12, 15, 17, 39, 47, 51-53, 77.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 1: 25.

deny what even the Muslims grasp and declare in the Koran: that Christ was sent by God as the word of the lord.¹⁰¹

Works:

De Christiana Religione (1474) in Ficino (1575), 1: 1-77

Della Cristiana Religione ad Bernardo del Nero (n.p., n.d. [Florence: Nicolaus Laurentii Alamanus, 1474 or early 1475])

Opera omnia (Basel, 1575. Facsimile reproduction, Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1962)

Studies:

Amos Edelheit, *Ficino, Pico and Savonarola: The Evolution of Humanist Theology 1461/2-1498* (Leiden: Brill, 2008)

Moshe Idel, 'Prisca theologia in Marsilio Ficino and in some Jewish treatments', in *Marsilio Ficino: His theology, his philosophy, his legacy* ed. Michael J. B. Allen and Valery Rees, with Martin Davies (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 137-58

Johanan Alemanno (c. 1433/34-c. 1504)

Completed medical studies under tutorship of Judah Messer Leon and like his teacher (the author of the *Sefer Nofet Zufim* printed in Mantua in 1474/5)¹⁰² he promoted the value of wisdom and eloquence, especially in Jewish leaders. He produced a commentary on the Song of Songs in which he praised Solomon as a scholar and orator and an ideal leader for his age skilled in magic and alchemy. **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola** and Alemanno were close from 1488 when he returned to Florence and worked as tutor to the sons of Jehiel da Pisa. Pico encouraged the work of commentary and perhaps inspired by Alemanno's allegorical explanation emulated the work of Christological exegesis in his *Heptaplus* (1491). Possibly inspired by Pico Alemanno himself explored themes including the immortality of the soul, the unity of truth, the dignity of man, and magic and neo-Platonism. His syncretic approach to the kabbalah, the degree to which he invokes a magical and neo-Platonic perspective is especially telling in this respect. As a result magic is the pinnacle of all human knowledge and Solomon one of its most distinguished practitioners.

Studies:

Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy 1280-1510: A Survey* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011)

B. C. Novak, 'Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Jochanan Alemanno', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982): 125-47

David B. Ruderman, 'The Italian Renaissance and Jewish Thought', in *Renaissance Humanism. Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*. Vol. 1. *Humanism in Italy*, ed. Albert Rabil, Jr. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 382-433

Girolamo Campagnola (1433/35-1522)

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 1: 50. See also *ibid.*, 1: 53, 75.

¹⁰² Judah Messer Leon, *The Book of the Honeycomb's Flow*, ed. I. Rabinowitz (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983).

Giovanni Britannico mentions the involvement of the Paduan notary and poet Girolamo Campagnola in the conversion and marriage of a Jewish woman in Brescia in 1491 or 1492. It is not at first clear why Campagnola might have taken a close interest in this conversion in Brescia, but he seems to have had some admiration for the city, and it was probably around this time that he wrote to fellow humanist Cassandra Fedele urging her to move from Padua to Brescia where she would find an ancient and now booming city with a flourishing society of the learned, artists, philosophers, jurists, and doctors.¹⁰³ Campagnola's involvement with the conversion makes more sense when his past is investigated since it turns out that he had 'form' when it came to dealing with Jews. In the aftermath of the Simon of Trent and Sebastiano of Portobuffolè (near Treviso) cases in 1475 and 1480, when the Jews were accused of torturing and murdering a Christian child for his blood, he penned verses and an unpublished oration addressed to the Venetian Council of *rogati* (the Senate) about the Jews.¹⁰⁴ In the oration, which must date to 1480, he praised Benedetto Trevisan, the *avogador de comun*, sent to Portobuffolè to pursue the case and the Venetian senate, which had reached a just verdict. He attacked those, including jurists and doctors at the University of Padua as well as an eloquent Venetian senator, who defended the Jews. He cited the Trent case and that of Padua when supporters of the Jews had found themselves defending an unjust and iniquitous cause promoted by usurious Jews. He noted approvingly that the bishop sent to investigate the Trent case had been stoned by boys in Verona. He also expatiated on the freedom to worship, political privileges and wealth enjoyed by the Jews and expressed disgust at the way in which meat handled by them and rejected came into Christian hands unknowingly.¹⁰⁵ He also accused the Jews of thirsting after the blood of Christian children which they used to combat their bodily stench. Campagnola's hatred of Jews seems to have been compounded by the arrogance he attributed to those he encountered in prison in Verona in the course of his legal activities there.¹⁰⁶ Ten years after he addressed the Venetian senate in trenchant and bloodcurdling tones about the threat posed by the Jewish presence he must have been pleased by the opportunity to deplete their numbers. This action may also be viewed along side his Italian translation of the penitential Psalms as a way of bearing away some goods from the synagogue to the church.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ His letter to Fedele is quoted in Capriolo, ([c. 1505]), fols IIIv-Vr.

¹⁰⁴ Sommariva, ([c. 1478]); [Bonelli], (1747), 278-82. One of Fedele's letters to Campagnola is dated to Jan. 1492: Fedele (2000), 70-71.

¹⁰⁵ On this practice see Ariel Toaff, *Il vino e la carne: una comunità ebraica nel Medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989), ch. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Bonelli (1747), 280-81; Ariel Toaff, *Pasque di sangue: Ebrei d'Europa e omicidi rituali*, 2nd edn (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2008), 39-40. Campagnola had a function in the Veronese chancellery in 1476: Wolfgang Treue, *Der Trienter Judenprozess: Voraussetzungen, Abläufe, Auswirkungen, (1475-1588)* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996), 297.

¹⁰⁷ 'Tui poenitentiales psalmi: quos ab Daviticis numeris ad maternam & Italicam linguam transtulisti Hieronyme: & ad me primo per munere misisti: pergrati mihi fuere: quos dum legam: tu mihi semper occures.' Matteo Bosso to Campagnola, Ravenna, 24 Nov. 1495: Bosso (1498), sigs hiir-hiiv. It is interesting

Works:

Giorgio Sommariva, *Martirio di Simone da Trento* [Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvise, c. 1478],

[Benedetto Bonelli], *Dissertazione apologetica sul martirio del beato Simone da Trento nell'anno MCCCCLXXV dagli ebrei ucciso* (Trent: Gianbattista Parone, 1747), 278-82

Letter to Cassandra Fedele in Elia Capriolo, *Chronica de rebus Brixianorum* (Brescia: Arundo de' Arundi, n. d. [c. 1505]), fols IIIv-Vr.

Sources:

Matteo Bosso, *Epistolae familiares et secundae* (Mantua: Vincentius Bertochus, 9 Nov. 1498)

Giovanni Britannico, 'Oratio matrimonialis', in Gregorio Britannico, *Sermones funebres vulgariter, litteraliterque pronunciandi. Item sermones nuptiales pulcherrimi* (Brescia: Angelus and Jacobus de Britannicis, 25 Mar. 1495), sigs liijv, liijr

Cassandra Fedele, *Letters and Orations*, ed. and trans. Diana Robin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 70-71

Study:

E. Safarik, 'Campagnola, Girolamo', *DBI*, 17 (1974): 317-18

Giovanni Perlanza dei Ruffinoni (c. 1433-1503)

Usually but obscurely called 'Calfurnio', was born in the Bergamasco but often referred to himself as Brescian, or was claimed as such by Brescian writers since he completed some of his studies in the city before taking up the post of professor of rhetoric in Padua in 1486. Calfurnio, who has been described as '[a]n honest plodder rather than a front-runner' among the humanists involved with the world of print, seems to have attached himself to Antonio Moretto, a Brescian publisher in Venice.¹⁰⁸ Between 1478 and 1481 Calfurnio edited works published in Venice, Treviso, and Vicenza. Calfurnio's *Mors et apotheosis Simonis infantis novi martyris* was published in Trent in c. 1481 and dedicated to the Venetian patrician Francesco Tron.¹⁰⁹ In 1476 the Franciscan preacher Michele Carcano had noted in a letter to Hinderbach that Francesco Tron and many other Venetian patricians ('cum multis aliis nobilibus Venetis') supported the cult of Simon in Venice.¹¹⁰ It is interesting to discover that Tron was sent as Venetian ambassador to Hinderbach in 1480 and it is likely that Calfurnio seized the

to note that Campagnola's teenage son Giulio (later an engraver and artist) had been taught Hebrew: *ibid.*, sig. [hviv].

¹⁰⁸ Martin Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 127.

¹⁰⁹ The poem was also printed, together with a poem in praise of Hinderbach, in Catullus, *Carmina*, ed. Giovanni Calfurnio (Vicenza: Giovanni da Reno and Dionysius Bertochus, 1481), sigs. y r-[y 3 v].

¹¹⁰ Carcano to Hinderbach, Trent, 6 Nov. 1476, in Paolo Sevesi, 'Beato Michele Carcano, O.F.M. Obs., 1427-84 (documenti inediti),' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 33 (1940): 366-408 (here 396).

chance to gain patronage from such an eminent patrician.¹¹¹ According to Calturnio, Tron had urged him to put his account of Simon's death down on paper. Calturnio duly composed his work in Venice and finished it by the time Tron had completed his tour of duty in Trent and had taken up a post serving the state at Riva del Garda. Calturnio praised Tron extravagantly, and the patrician may even have ensured that the work, which was sent to him at Riva del Garda, was printed at Trent by Giovanni Leonardo Longo. Calturnio's account of Simon's death is clearly based on the text of **Giovanni Mattia Tiberino**, and, while more self-consciously humanist in style than Tiberino's rather more plain or pious compositions, it adds few details and largely serves to flatter Hinderbach, Tron, and his brother with extravagant praise of their learning, virtues, and achievements.

Works:

Stephen Bowd, (ed.), and J. Donald Cullington, (trans.), *'On Everyone's Lips': Humanists, Jews, and the Tale of Simon of Trent* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2012), Section II Sources:

Elia Capriolo, *Chronica de rebus Brixianorum* (Brescia: Arundo de' Arundi, n. d. [c. 1505]), fol. LXXXr

Studies:

Virginio Cremona, 'L'umanesimo bresciano,' in *Storia di Brescia*, prom. and ed. Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri. Vol. 2, *La dominazione veneta (1426-1575)* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1963), 546-51

John Monfasani, 'Calturnio's Identification of Pseudepigrapha of Ognibene, Fenestella, and Trebizond, and his Attack on Renaissance Commentaries,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41 (1988): 32-43

Alessandro Nievo (d. 1484)

He acted as chief editor of legal texts for publisher Nicholas Jenson. In 1476 Nievo published a work on the status of contracts with Jews (composed c. 1440-55), which forbade lending. He wrote in explicit opposition to the tradition of the fourteenth-century jurist Bartolus represented by Angelo di Castro by which *commercium* between Jews and Christians was considered licit, denying that the Church had any power to impose sanctions on Jews, and permitting Jews keep shops open and lend money on Christian feast days. Nievo, who expressed disgust at the tolerant opinions of his fellow jurists, affirmed instead that the Jews sinned in acting as usurers and that the Church had every right to censure them.

Works:

Consilia contra Judaeos foenerantes (Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn, and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1476)

Consilia contra Judaeos foenerantes (Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1479)
[digital version of copy in the library of the Technische Universität Darmstadt available at <tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de>]

¹¹¹ Archivio di Stato, Venice, Senato deliberazioni secreta, reg. 29, fols 126r-v, 127r.

Felice Feliciano (1433-83?)

Born at Verona, copyist and compiler of classical epigraphs, friend of **Giorgio Sommariva**. In 1473 his attack on Jews, translated into vernacular, was published in Verona.¹¹² He met Johannes Hinderbach, prince-bishop of Trent, on his trip to Germany in 1474, and the following year he copied Johannes de Lübeck's anti-Jewish *Pronosticon super Antechristi adventu Judaeorumque Messiae* (printed in Padua in 1474). In this work the author appealed to the authority of the Pseudo-Ovidian *De vetula* (actually composed in the thirteenth century) in which it was claimed that many religious sects and prophets were affected by planetary conjunctions and by the influence (*influxum*) of superior bodies: 'Nam Iupiter sectas legesque prophetas essentialiter significat. Ex prima maiori Saturni Iovisque coniunctone [sic] post naturae legem almutaz [i.e. in Arabic *al-mubtazz*, or the planet with the most dignities] coniuntonis [sic] Saturno complexus iudaica risultavit fides. Saturnus frigidus & siccus melancolicus in septima spera [sic] super omnis planetas sibi applicantes. Ideo ipsi iudei nullam alienam fidem confitentes unum solum Deum simplicem adorando non in personarum trinitate. & frequenter ipsi sunt melnacolici: avari: cupidi: miseri: obscurique aspectus: plumbei coloris.'¹¹³ He noted an astrological conjunction for 1504, which would signify a change of religion and general destruction.¹¹⁴ He calculated that by diabolical intervention the Antichrist would be conceived of a Jewish woman in Eridu (*Erradiae*), an ancient city in the southern part of Babylonia.¹¹⁵

Works:

Copy of Johannes de Lübeck, *Pronosticon super Antechristi adventu Judaeorumque Messiae* in Trent, Bibl. Com., MS 1659

Studies:

G. Gerola, 'Codicetto trentino del 1475 a fregi silografati', *Accademie e biblioteche*, 8 (1934): 39-42

S. Spanò Martinelli, 'Note intorno a Felice Feliciano', *Rinascimento*, 25 (1985): 221-38

Raffaele Zovenzoni (1434-c. 1485)

Born in Trieste and studied at Ferrara under the eminent humanist Guarino Guarini Veronese before moving to Capodistria, the capital of Venetian Istria. In 1467 Zovenzoni was appointed chancellor of Trieste, and during his tenure of office the city was marked by Guelph (pro-Venetian) and Ghibelline (pro-imperial) conflict before passing into imperial control. Although he favoured Venetian rule and went into exile in Venice, Zovenzoni was crowned poet

¹¹² Spanò Martinelli (1985), 226.

¹¹³ Johannes de Lübeck, *Pronosticum Ioannis de Lubec Almani super Antechristi Adventu Iudeorumque Messiae* ([Padua]: Bartholomaeus de Val de Zoccho, [April 1474]), sig. ar.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., sig. a3r.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., sigs [a6v]-b2r.

laureate by Emperor Frederick III (1452-93) in Trent, probably at the behest of his friend Hinderbach whom he had known during his student days in Ferrara. Zovenzoni naturally responded very willingly to his old friend's request for support in his campaign against the apostolic commissioner sent to investigate the case. Zovenzoni already had some experience of serving a noble patron and of turning a newsworthy event into verse: he wrote verses for the Venetian patrician Jacopo Antonio Marcello, and his *carmen* about the fall of Negroponte to the Turks was printed in Venice in c. 1470. In a letter of October 1475 Hinderbach asked Zovenzoni to intervene with the ducal secretaries and other patricians in that city on his behalf, arguing that careful consideration should be given to the matter and that they should not act without hearing Hinderbach's views on the petitions of the papal legate, the *podestà* of Rovereto, and the Paduan doctors. Zovenzoni, who had been a corrector of texts for Venetian printers including Vindelino da Spira and Nicholas Jenson, also offered two poems on the case and ensured their publication in Venice along with Tiberino's account and a letter from Hinderbach. Zovenzoni subsequently visited Trent and dedicated his *Istriade*, a collection of verses in three books, to Hinderbach. The prince-bishop's copy of this work (which Hinderbach passed to Tiberino who admired it) included a portrait of Zovenzoni by the Venetian artist Giovanni Bellini. Zovenzoni's letters and poems dwell on the Jewish role in the passion of Christ, the details of Simon's torture, the virtue of Hinderbach, and the need for the Jews to be punished. There is every reason to suppose that Zovenzoni wrote with sincere belief in the cult of Simon and some personal animosity towards Jews: he introduces a highly personal note when he describes how his daughter was saved from death by means of a vow to Simon, and in his *Istriade* he included a poem in which he told Hinderbach about a Jew who had snatched away a friendship ring given to him by the prince-bishop.

Works:

Stephen Bowd, (ed.), and J. Donald Cullington, (trans.), *'On Everyone's Lips': Humanists, Jews, and the Tale of Simon of Trent* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2012), 36-7, 58-63, 104-07

La vita, i carmi, ed. Baccio Ziliotto (Trieste: Comune di Trieste, 1950), 13-63

Manuscript versions of his verses about Simon recorded in Kristeller, *Iter* 3: 160b, 665b, 698b; 5: 98b, 231a-231b

Studies:

Stephen Bowd, (ed.), and J. Donald Cullington, (trans.), *'On Everyone's Lips': Humanists, Jews, and the Tale of Simon of Trent* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2012), 27-28

Jennifer Fletcher, 'The Painter and the Poet: Giovanni Bellini's Portrait of Raffaele Zovenzoni Rediscovered', *Apollo: The International Magazine of the Arts*, CXXXIV/355 (Sept. 1991): 153-58.

Ambrogio Calepio (Calepinus) (c. 1435-1509/10)

Entered order of Augustinian hermits in 1458, novice at the convent of the Incononata in Milan, then elsewhere in Lombardy. He worked on a Latin dictionary/antiquarian encyclopedia from before 1487, and this was first published at Bergamo in 1502, translated into Italian, and reissued many times after this: notably at Venice in 1520 by Bernardino Benaglio.

Works:

Ambrosius Calepinus Bergomensis, dictionum Latinarum, et Graecarum interpres perspicacissimus, omniumque vocabulorum insertor acutissimus (Bernardino

Benaglio: Venice, 10 March 1520)

Studies:

G. Soldi Rondinini and T. de Mauro, 'Calepio, Ambrogio', *DBI*, 16: 669-70

Pellegrino Prisciani (c. 1435-1518)

Held a number of posts at the Ferrarese court and pursued artistic, astrological, antiquarian and poetic interests. He may have hosted a ritual circumcision performed in September 1498 (after he returned from his posting as ambassador to Venice) by Abraham Farissol.¹¹⁶ In a digression on the nature of the Jubilee of 1300 in Book 8 of his Ferrarese history, perhaps written as the Holy Year of Jubilee in 1500 approached, Prisciani noted his wish to go directly to Hebrew sources. He invoked the opinions of the ancient Romano-Jewish writer Flavius Josephus, the medieval biblical commentator Nicholas of Lyra, and the humanist papal librarian Bartolomeo Platina. Prisciani may have used the translation of Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews* (c. 94) by Battista Panetti. Drawing on Hebrew terms used in Old Testament, as well as on Pythagorean and Platonic sources, Prisciani argued for the significance of the number seven as the basis for the recurrence of Jubilee – in opposition to bull of 1470 which decreed that the Jubilee should recur every twenty-five years.¹¹⁷ The tomb of Prisciani's father at San Domenico, Ferrara (now at the Carthusian monastery), is decorated with horned tablets that recall those found in Cosmè Tura's Roverella altarpiece and interpreted by Stephen J. Campbell as having strong historical Jewish associations. He notes that Prisciani may have designed the tomb and may have been drawn to the horn as an antique feature and a play on his name 'Priscianus'. However, he also notes his connection with Farissol and his action as procurator in 1449 on behalf of the Jew Abraham concerning the poor state of a Christian fresco on his house.¹¹⁸

Studies:

Antonio Rotondò, 'Pellegrino Prisciani (1435 ca.-1518)', *Rinascimento*, 11 (1960): 69-110

Marcantonio Coccio (Sabellico) (c. 1436-1506)

Born at Vicovaro in the Sabine region (from which he derived his usual cognomen), educated in Rome by Pomponio Leto and Domizio Calderini he wrote poetry and was connected with the Roman Academy. He moved to the Friuli after c. 1472, and then to Venice in 1484 where he taught in the School of

¹¹⁶ David B. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew: The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1981), 28.

¹¹⁷ Rotondò (1960), 99-102.

¹¹⁸ Stephen J. Campbell, *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara: Style, Politics and the Renaissance City, 1450-1495* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 186-87 n. 139.

San Marco and continued the official history of Venice begun by Bernardo Giustiniani. His universal history called the *Enneades* (composed 1491-1504) includes books, completed and published in 1498, dealing with the history of the Hebrews and were extensively paraphrased from the Old Testament. Sabellico outlined the origins of some Hebrew practices like circumcision and prohibitions surrounding blood and semen, and he described key events and personalities in Hebrew history. These accounts, explicitly based on the work of the ancient writers Strabo and Josephus, are not marked by any critical comments and are interspersed with his description of the stirrings of Greek civilisation, which includes a note of the origins of philosophy among the Ionic Greeks and a discussion on the question of the invention of hexameter verse, attributed by some to the Greeks, by others (including Eusebius and **Polydore Vergil**) to Moses.¹¹⁹ He cites the Sybilline oracles and their prophecies of the advent of Christ and describes the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem.¹²⁰ In the seventh 'rhapsody' of his work Sabellico recounts the life of Christ. It is no coincidence that he appears in the seventh rhapsody since the seventh age would be that of the spirit, and the seventh day was that of perfection.¹²¹ Here he describes Christ as the light that dispels shadows, and cites the prophetic texts in the Old Testament relating to his birth.¹²² He later describes the destruction of Jerusalem and notes that it deserved this fate as a result of its impiety.¹²³

Works:

Enneades Marci Antonii Sabellici Ab orbe condito Ad inclinationem Romani Imperii (Venice: Bernardinum and Matheum 'li Albanesoti' Venetos, 31 March 1498)

Studies:

F. Tateo, 'Coccio, Marcantonio', *DBI*, 26 (1982): 510-15

Giorgio Sommariva (Summaripa) (c. 1437-c. 1500)

Son of a wealthy Veronese notary he participated in civic offices in Verona from 1468, and in 1471 he was appointed by Venice to oversee the fortifications of Verona. In 1480 he was fined and exiled from the Veronese for engineering a clandestine marriage and illegal contract. He spent some time in Treviso before he was appointed in 1482 to oversee the fortifications of the town of Gradisco which had endured Turkish assaults. He seems to have been in Venice from 1490 and may have remained there until 1498 when he returned to his beloved homeland. Sommariva produced Petrarchan love poetry and verses about his friends until his marriage in 1461 when he turned to rustic comic verse and to translation: producing a vernacular version of Homer's *Batrachomyomachia* completed in 1470 and published in Venice by Nicholas Jenson around 1475, and Juvenal's satires which he dedicated to Doge Pietro Mocenigo (1474-76) and presented to him in Venice on 3 May 1475. Around this time he also produced verses about Simon of Trent, some of which respond to works by **Girolamo**

¹¹⁹ Sabellico (1498), fol. XXVv.

¹²⁰ Ibid., fols LXXVr, CCCCXXVr-v.

¹²¹ Ibid., fol. CCCCVIIr.

¹²² Ibid., fol. CCCVIIv.

¹²³ Ibid., CCCCXXVr.

Campagnola and **Leonardo Agostino Montagna** with which they were printed. As he announced at the opening of one such work, in which the story of each of the accused Jews was outlined separately: 'Ecco il Martyrio: cum tutto il processo / Formati in Trento pel novel Symone / Da chan zudei tradito: & in croce messo.'¹²⁴ In 1480 he wrote about the case of Sebastiano Novello, supposedly murdered by the Jews at Portobuffolè (near Treviso), and in 1484 he provided a summary of the sentences and executions (by burning alive on the piazza San Marco in Venice) passed against the Jews after the case had been heard by the Venetian senate.¹²⁵ In much of his published and unpublished writings – including histories of Verona and Naples, comments on contemporary concerns like the invasion of King Charles VIII of France and the 'mal fronzoso' – there is evidence of his loyalty to Venice, his desire to return to Verona, and his despair with fortune and the morals of contemporary society.

Works:

Martirio di Simone da Trento (n.p., n.d. [Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvisè, c. 1478])

Martyrium Sebastiani (Treviso: Bernardinus Celerius, 12 May 1480)

Ecco il martyrio cum tutti il processo formato in Trento pel novel Symone (Treviso: Bernardinus Celerius, 14 July 1480)

Questo e il secundo eulogio e la sentenza contra gli hebrei (Treviso: Apud Fluvium Sylerem, 29 Sept. 1484)

Studies:

Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 448

V. Mistruzzi, 'Giorgio Sommariva rimatore veronese del secolo XV', *Archivio veneto-tridentino*, 6 (1924): 115-202

Giovanni Stefano Emiliano Cimbriaco (d. 1499)

Born in Vicenza, wrote poetry under name of Elio Quinzio Emiliano 'Cimbriacus' because he thought, wrongly, that Vicenza was founded by the northern European tribe the Cimbri. Moved to the Friuli where he taught Greek and Latin grammar and in 1468 assumed in Pordenone the direction of a school. Here he encountered Emperor Frederick III (1452-93) who gave him the poet's laurels and named him a count palatine. As a result, he produced many works, indebted to classical poets, and many in praise of Frederick and then his son Maximilian. He was part of circle around the noble Mantica in Pordenone. In 1489 he gave homage to Maximilian at Linz, and in 1493 spent time at the Austrian court. Around this time his humanist verses on the death and miracles of Simon of

¹²⁴ Sommariva (14 July 1480), sig. ar. I have not been able to trace the quarto *Deploratio* recorded by Mistruzzi (1924) as being in Rome, Bibl. Angelica, and in which he discusses Simon of Trent and castigates Christians who do not believe that the Virgin Mary was conceived without sin, but it may be identifiable with Sommariva (14 July 1480), or with Sommariva (29 Sept. 1484) where (at p. 4) it is suggested that the Talmud contains blasphemies against Christ and Mary.

¹²⁵ Sommariva (29 Sept. 1484). This work was dedicated to Jacopo Zeno, bishop of Padua (1460-81).

Trent, written in the first-person from the point of view of Simon, were published in Vienna. Died at Cividale del Friuli and was buried in a Franciscan church. He also wrote a 'rhapsodia de conceptione Beatae Mariae Virginis', now in Berlin, and an epitaph on Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512), now in Augsburg.¹²⁶ He also wrote in praise of Aquileia,¹²⁷ and produced a translation of John of Damascus's work on dialectic and theology.¹²⁸

Works:

Historia beati Simonis Tridentini (n.p., n.d. [Vienna: Johann Winterburg, c. 1493]), with prefatory verses by Caius Paulus Amaltheus, an Italian Franciscan lecturing at the University of Vienna, and Jacobus Pona

Studies:

A. Benedetti, 'L'attività educativa e poetica del Cimbriaco (1449-1499) e la sua influenza nel diffondersi della cultura umanistica in Friuli', *Atti dell'Accademia di Udine*, 7th series, 3-4 (1960-63), 125-26

M. Moschella, 'Emiliano, Giovanni Stefano', *DBI*, 42 (1993), 613-15

Giacomo Caviceo (1443-1511)

Born at Parma, legally educated, had a career in the church. He was the author of the *Libellus contra Hebreos*, written while in exile in Pordenone after a mission in Venice for the de' Rossi, in which he set out to refute Jewish errors. He dedicated this work to an unknown friend in 1493, who wrote to thank him for it, and then subsequently to Francesco Piccolomini (elected Pope Pius III in 1503), when he acted as vicar general in the latter's diocese around 1501-2. The humanist circle in Pordenone he frequented revolved around the jurist Princisvalle Mantica, who was also very friendly with **Giovanni Stefano Emiliano Cimbriaco**. Cimbriaco mentions Caviceo and his poetry in a letter, as well as the brothers Amaltheus who were part of the circle around Mantica.¹²⁹

Works:

Libellus contra Hebreos, Siena, Bibl. Com., MS G.VI.1

Studies:

Lorenza Simona, *Giacomo Caviceo: uomo di chiesa, d'armi e di lettere* (Bern: Herbert Lang; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1974)

Sebastiano Salvini (c. 1440/50-c. 1511)

Cousin of, and secretary to **Marsilio Ficino** and a member of the Florentine College of theologians. Ordained in 1475 or 1476. In 1477 he successfully sought Lorenzo de' Medici's aid to be appointed as priest in the chapel recently built by the Inghirami family in the church of San Lorenzo, but supplemented his income as a tutor to sons of Tommaso Minerbetti, among others. He also acted as a scribe, transcribing, among other works, a Latin translation of a medical work by

¹²⁶ Kristeller, *Iter* 3: 365, 456.

¹²⁷ Kristeller, *Iter* 5: 287.

¹²⁸ Kristeller, *Iter* 6: 54.

¹²⁹ Simona (1974), 98A.

Maimonides. He translated into Italian from Latin Rabbi Samuel, *Epistola contra Judaeorum errores* (published in Florence after 1479 and followed by nineteen incunable editions). He also produced a Latin version of the same work. He wrote to Nicolaus Bathory that he intended to write a work in his name 'contra perfidiam Judaeorum', and he noted the barbarous nature of previous versions of Rabbi Samuel's text.¹³⁰ He seems to have finished work on the Tuscan text, intended for those who could not understand Latin, not in November 1479 when he dated a dedicatory letter to Cardinal Raffaello Riario, a young relative of Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84) studying at the University of Pisa and swept up in Pazzi conspiracy and imprisoned, but in spring 1478 when Riario was still at Pisa and before relations between Rome and Florence broke down. The later dedication in the published version is a gesture of peace and goodwill. He received his degree of a master of theology in 1481 and thereafter styled himself 'sacre pagine professor'. In 1482 and again in 1487 when King Matthias Corvinus (1458-90) invited Ficino to Hungary to teach Plato's philosophy he tried to persuade Salvini to go in his place, and he dedicated his *De sacramento* and the revision of his translation of Rabbi Samuel's work to Nicolaus Bathory, bishop of Vac and a close counsellor to the king. In 1496 he was rector of the parish church in the diocese of Fiesole.

The *Epistle of Samuel of Morocco* was purported to be a Dominican translation from Arabic which first appeared in 1339. The translator claimed that the work was written by the Jew Samuel on the eve of his baptism in c. 1000 and was addressed to another rabbi. In his letter Samuel considered the reasons for the unprecedented millennial exile of the Jews, the captivity known as 'desolation' (Daniel 8: 13), and speculated on the possibility of their redemption. Samuel suggested that the Jews had 'sold the righteous for silver' (Amos 2: 6). That is to say the Jews had sold Christ and that in order to be redeemed they must believe in Christ whose faith is spreading and whose sacraments are superior to those of the Jewish sacrifices. It was one of the most widely disseminated medieval texts in the *adversus iudaeos* tradition. It is known to exist in c. 300 separate manuscripts, of which 195 date to the fifteenth century. Nineteen incunable editions are known. Ora Limor has suggested that its 'popular' nature lay in the fact that the text avoided discussion of the tenets of Christian belief, such as the Trinity, and placed the central discussion of the historical situation of the Jews in the mouth of a Jewish figure. The preoccupation with exile and redemption was consonant with Jewish writing, although no post-Biblical Jewish sources were cited, but it was also a key element of Augustinian belief that a Jewish state would never arise again following the death of Jesus. Christian readers may have found a source of comfort in the reaffirmation of their superiority and reminder of the miserable exile of the Jews, while the Jews who may have come across the work would have found a Jewish speaker articulating their concerns about exile and redemption without the intrusion of Christian doctrines.

Salvini's decision to translate the work of 'Rabbi Samuel' probably reflects his sense of its dual utility, but he was also pleased to see action taken against the Jews and praised Francesco Soderini, bishop of Volterra, on these grounds

¹³⁰ Kristeller (1961), 224.

around this time.¹³¹ Salvini's edition of the *Epistle of Rabbi Samuel* is not only directed at a broad readership of those who do not know Latin, but also at a more select group including Antonio Manetti who is 'most skilled in the Tuscan tongue', and Florentine nobles including Stagio di ser Filippo Nasi and the house of Inghirami.¹³² In his preface to the translation and in the material which follows it, Salvini underscores the practical, pastoral and institutional ramifications of Samuel's realisation that it is for the sake of Christ, the righteous one (*giusto*) mentioned by so many prophets, that the Jews have been exiled.¹³³ He notes that in this tract (*tracta*) Samuel and the prophets say that 'the faith of Christ is the truth as he was true God and man'.¹³⁴ The testimony of the prophets shows that the true Messiah has come already and will not come again except to judge the living and the dead, 'as is sung in the Apostles' creed'.¹³⁵ Following St Augustine he says that no man may be liberated from death and sin without the mediation of Jesus Christ and therefore it seems fitting that every means of study (*studio*) should be employed to search for the mediator, and by this means find the way to salvation and eternal life. Having shown the path for the faithful he remarks on the 'faithless Jews' (*perfidi giudei*) who 'hearing may not hear, and understanding do not understand' and are left in confusion and controversy.¹³⁶ In a passage addressed to one 'optimo Daniello', who was related to Ficino and Salvini, Salvini explains the significance of another statement of Christian belief, the Athanasian creed, and its importance for the doctrine of the Trinity. He also enjoins Daniel to resist the temptations of the flesh and to derive strength through prayer to the Lord, invoking the image of the apostles found sleeping by Christ and reprehended by Christ: 'What, could ye not watch with me one hour?' (Matthew 26: 40).¹³⁷ The sense of a group of faithful struggling to find Christ in the manner of the disciples is further developed by the greetings Salvini sends to eleven 'discepoli nostri': Bastiano Foresii, Hieronymo di Romolo ('giovane humanissimo'), Christophano Veltroni, Andrea Minerbetti, Francesco Minerbetti, Lazero Brunacci, Iacopo da Collo, Giovanni di ser Agnolo Archangelo, and two women: 'smeralda nostra sirocchia' and 'mona Sandra'.¹³⁸ The apostolic number is completed by a second reference to Antonio Manetti 'uomo religioso' to

¹³¹ 'Nostram volat fama per urbem te munera iudeorum volaterris penitus respuisse. In foro n. veteri florentine civitatis contempta sibi munera visa sunt. Quid n. te movit Venerande pater ad munera iudeorum respuesta? nisi quoniam ut ulixes polifemum per undas aut achemenitem confugere decrevisti? ut bonum nomen potius quam divitias multas valeres tibi feliciter comparare. Non n. unicum oculum, ut polifemo in aspectum essem terrenorum sed celestium potius tibi esse voluisti.' Salvini to Soderini, c. 1478-80, in BAV, MS Lat. 5140, fols 35v-36r.

¹³² 'Antonio Manetti peritissimo nella lingua toscana'. Salvini (1479), sig. aiv.

¹³³ Ibid., sigs biiiv-[biiiir].

¹³⁴ '[L]a fede di christo e la vera & come lui fu vero dio & huomo'. Ibid., sig. aiir.

¹³⁵ '[C]ome nel symbolo della catholica fede si canta'. Ibid.

¹³⁶ 'Udendo non odo: & intendendo non intendo.' Ibid., referring to Isaiah 6: 9 (and compare Mark 4: 12).

¹³⁷ Ibid., sigs giiiv-[giiiir], [gvv]. At ibid., sig [gvr], Daniel is addressed as 'Nobil ciptadino Daniel del maestro Ficino cugino nostro.'

¹³⁸ Ibid., sig. [gvir].

whom Salvini addresses remarks on the role of Peter. Salvini quotes Christ's words to Peter about denying him three times and Peter's reply that he will die with Christ and not deny him (Matthew 26: 34-35). For Salvini, Peter is weak but he is the shepherd of the flock of disciples after Christ who, by weeping bitterly is baptised with his tears and becomes the rock (*pietra*), on which of course the Church was founded, strengthened by fear at the Passion.¹³⁹ Salvini widens the circle of disciples even further and asks Manetti to show this brief declaration to Giuliano di ser Simone, Bastiano di Lazero [Brunacci], and Piero Mazzi.¹⁴⁰ He concludes with a paraphrase of the Psalms addressed from the 'agro mugellano' on 10 October 1477 to 'nobile monna Bartholomea di Bernardo de Medici domna [sic] del nobile cittadino fiorentino Tommaso Minerbetti.'¹⁴¹

Works:

De sacramento (dedicated to the prior of Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence, Guido Lorenzo, c. 1487), cited in Kristeller, *Iter* 2: 332-33

Translation of Rabbi Samuel, *Epistola contra Judaeorum errores* (Nicolaus Laurentii, Alamanus: Florence, after 25 Nov. 1479)

Sources:

Letters, sermons, and Latin paraphrase of the Psalms (c. 1476-80) in Vatican City, BAV, MS Lat. 5140

Studies:

P. O. Kristeller, 'Sebastiano Salvini, a Florentine humanist and theologian, and a member of Marsilio Ficino's Platonic Academy', in *Didascaliae: Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda prefect of the Vatican Library presented by a group of American Scholars*, ed. Sesto Prete (New York: Bernard M. Rosenthal, 1961), 205-43

Ora Limor, 'The Epistle of Rabbi Samuel of Morocco: A Best-Seller in the World of Polemics', in *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics Between Christians and Jews*, ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1996)

Battista Spagnuoli Mantuano (1447-1516)

Carmelite poet, correspondent of **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola**, he copied passages from Pico's *apologia* for his *Conclusiones* relating to the four senses of the cosmos contained in the four Hebrew letters of the tetragrammaton into one of his published works, as well as the passage in Esdras on the origins of the kabbalah.

Works;

De patientia aurei libri tres (Josse Bade ab Jean Petit: Paris, 1505), bk 3, ch. 34, fol. LXVI

Giorgio Valla (1447-1500)

¹³⁹ Ibid., sigs [gvir]-hir.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., sig. hiv.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., sigs hiir-[viiiiv]. Note his Latin paraphrase of the Psalms dated 4 Aug. 1481 in BAV, MS Lat. 5140, fols 140r-65v.

Venetian philologist and friend of **Ermolao Barbaro**. He owned a number of Hebrew, Arabic, or Syriac volumes.

Studies:

J. L. Heiberg, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Vallas u. seiner Bibliothek', in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekwesen*, Beiheft XVI (1896), 126.

Ludovico Lazzarelli (1447-1500)

Born at San Severino Marche, drawn to poetry, studied Hebrew (as well as mathematics, astrology, and Greek) for two years with Giovanni Antonio Campano at Teramo (perhaps in 1464-66), and there engaged in a dispute using the Talmud and citing kabbalistic or pseudo-kabbalistic material of Christian origin with a certain Vitale who denied the Trinity. His studies influenced his poetry. For example, in his eclogue on the advent of Christ predicted by Old Testament prophets (the *Carmen bucolicum*, produced in Venice c. 1468). He was attracted by Hermetic studies and helped organise the appearance of Giovanni Mercurio da Correggio in Rome in 1484 to whom he sent translations of Hermetic works affirming that Hermes Trismegistus was a more ancient authority than Moses and showing how Hermeticism and Christianity could be harmonised. Lazzarelli's work on the dignity of man and his *Crater Hermetis* (completed c. 1492-94) show his knowledge of cabalistic and Talmudic sources, including Maimonides's code of religious Jewish law the *Mishneh Torah* (1170-80). Made in the image and likeness of God man, his soul being like the light of God, as the kabbalists say would naturally wish to return to the divine and be renewed. Following the *Sefer Yetzirah* ('Book of Creation') perhaps filtered through the work of **Johanan Alemanno**, he said he believed that men, guided by an adept master, were themselves capable of creating divine souls to serve God and could perform miracles, perhaps with the aid of a good demon; a form of spiritual regeneration by which the adept created souls as opposed to the animate idols of Hermes.

Works:

C. Moreschini, *Dall' "Asclepius" al "Crater Hermetis": Studi sull'ermetismo latino tardo-antico e rinascimentale* (Pisa: Giardini, 1985)

'Epistola Enoch' and 'Crater Hermetis', in *Testi umanistici su l'ermetismo*, ed. E. Garin (Rome: Bocca, 1955)

Ed. M. Bertolini, *Lodovico Lazzarelli. Fasti Christiane Religionis* (Naples: M. D'Auria, 1991)

The Hermetic Writings and Related Documents, ed. Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Ruud M. Bouthoorn (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005)

Fifteenth-century MS, perhaps by LL, with notes from Dionyisius Areopagite and reference to a book of the Talmud 'qui dicitur Abodazaia [i.e. *Abodah Zarah*]'.¹⁴²

Studies:

G. Arbizzoni, 'Lazzarelli, Ludovico', *DBI*, 64 (2005): 180-84

¹⁴² Kristeller, *Iter* 5: 213.

P. O Kristeller, 'Marsilio Ficino e Lodovico Lazzarelli. Contributo alle diffusione delle idee ermetiche nel Rinascimento', in *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1956), 221-47

David Ruderman, 'Giovanni Mercurio da Correggio's Appearance as Seen Through the Eyes of an Italian Jew', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 28 (1975): 309-22

Aldus Manutius (1449/52-1515)

Studied in Rome during 1467-75, then he moved to Ferrara where he may have met **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola**, and lived in Carpi from 1480-89 before settling in Venice as a printer-publisher. During 1498-99 he became interested in printing Hebrew, perhaps influenced by his contact with Pico, **Pietro Bembo**, Vincenzo Querini, and Tommaso Giustiniani who certainly studied the language, and possibly with the aid of the Hebrew printer Gershom Soncino. In 1498 he published a few word in Hebrew in Angelo Poliziano's *Opera* and in the following year in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. In c. 1500 Manutius issued a brief guide (by Gershom Soncino?) to Hebrew characters and words similar to the one he issued for Greek,¹⁴³ since, as he explained in the address to the 'studiosis', the Hebrew language was necessary for the understanding of sacred scripture. He also announced: 'Deinceps institutiones grammaticas, dictionarium, et sacros libros, si haec placuisse cogovero, deo volente, dabimus.' The pamphlet concludes with the '[t]itulus graece latine & hebraice in cruce domini.' He planned a trilingual Bible but his collaborator Gershom Soncino left Venice for Fano in 1501 and there remains only one page of Genesis printed in three languages.¹⁴⁴ In 1503 the German humanist Wilibald Pirckheimer wrote to Conrad Celtis that Manutius intended to use a convert in his printing house but was stymied in this plan by the failure to convert.¹⁴⁵

Works:

Introductio utilissima hebraice discere cupientibus [Venice: Aldus Manutius Romanus, c. 1500?] [a digital version of the unique surviving copy available online at < www.wlb-stuttgart.de/sammlungen/alte-und-wertvolle-drucke/bestand/inkunabeln/inkunabel-rarissima-und-unikate/aldus-manutius/>]

Studies:

P. Scapecchi, 'Aldo Manuzio alle origini della Bibbia poliglotta', in *La civiltà del libro e la stampa a Venezia: testi sacri ebraici, cristiani, islamici dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, ed. Simonetta Pelusi (Il poligrafo: Padua, 2000), 77-82

¹⁴³ Aldus Manutius, *Brevissima introductio ad litteras graecas* [Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, 1497]. Unlike the Hebrew *Introductio* this work lacks an justificatory address to the reader, but like the Hebrew work it does convey an ostensibly holy purpose by including both the Paternoster and Ave Maria in Latin and Greek.

¹⁴⁴ Announced in the *Psalterion*, ed. Justinus Decadyus (Venice: Aldus Manutius, not after 1 Oct. 1498),

¹⁴⁵ Pirckheimer to Celtis, 17 November 1503: H. Rupprich, *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis* (Munich, 1929), 541-2, no. 302.

Marko Marulic (Marullo) (1450-1524)

A Dalmatian humanist who dedicated an epic poem *Davidias* to **Domenico Grimani**. Marulic wrote a life of King David which adhered closely to his Old Testament source, but he embellished a number of portions and gave extensive descriptions of landscapes, and armies, and introduced sections of dialogue. However, the allegorical key of the work is underlined by Marulic in an appendix where he shows that the contents, figures, and events of the Old Testament prefigure those of the New. He provides a list of New Testament equivalents for Old Testament figures and events, and he often draws on the etymologies of Hebrew names to prove his point. David is equated with Christ, Saul with the Jews that persecuted him, Goliath the force of the devil, while David's marriage to Abigail is interpreted as the joining of the Church with its bridegroom Christ. Similarly, David's return to Jerusalem after the victory over Absalom is a prefiguration of Christ's entry into Heaven, and return to his father after confounding the Jews with his resurrection. In a similar vein, Marulic composed a Croatian work about Judith in 1501, which was published in Venice in 1521. Like the *Davidias*, but on a smaller scale, Marulic embellishes the story of Judith contained in the Apocrypha with accounts of her beauty and appearance, but he also makes some reference to the misdeeds of the Jews: 'No power was ever born that might touch / The towns or cities of the children of Israel; / Whilst Judith still lived in this world, / The earth was at peace, and for many years after, / They decreed that the day Holofernes was conquered / Should always be celebrated by them who had won, / Till they did place their necks beneath the yoke / After they had killed with the prophets, Messiah.'¹⁴⁶

Works:

Davidias, ed. Branimir Glavicic (Zagreb: Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium, 1974)

Judith, ed. and trans., Henry R. Cooper, Jr (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1991)

Ludovicus Valenza (Valentia) of Ferrara (c. 1450-96)

Born in Ferrara, he pursued a law degree before entering Dominican order at Bologna aged 22. He moved back to Ferrara to teach philosophy at the behest of Duke Ercole I d'Este (1471-1505), and he later taught theology at Padua. He apparently challenged **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola** to debate his famous 900 theses, which were presented in Rome in 1487, 'in aula pontificis' and impressed Pico with his powers of recall.¹⁴⁷ He took part in debate with the Jew Abraham Farissol organized in Ferrara in 1489 or 1490. He was appointed procurator general in 1491. His sermons for the papal court are 'good examples of how an effective compromise between thematic and epideictic preaching could be accomplished.'¹⁴⁸ According to John W. O'Malley this form dominated from the time of Popes Sixtus IV (1471-84) and Innocent VIII (1484-92) and began with a

¹⁴⁶ Marulic (1991), 147, lines 425-32.

¹⁴⁷ Totis (1496), fol. [2r]; Ruderman (1981), 59-60.

¹⁴⁸ O'Malley (1979), 107.

verse from scripture followed by an exordium and a prayer. The body of the sermon followed and this concluded with a peroration. A leading idea or sentiment, such as Christ's incarnation, could hold the oration together without too much consideration for technical matters or theological doctrine. In his sermon on the advent of Christ, which he delivered before Pope Innocent VIII in Rome, Valentia chose to begin with a verse from Isaiah 9: 6: 'For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given', and provided a New Testament messianic clarification of this passage by quoting John 3: 16: 'For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son'.¹⁴⁹ This consonance of sources, so familiar to the *adversus iudaeos* tradition, confirmed that God was in Man and Man in God. Valentia then underlined the insufficiency of the 'Law' and nature for man's salvation, and the absolute necessity of grace. He took a fairly positive view of the natural goodness of man, as his comment on the divine in man suggests, and he listed the wise counsellors who gave laws to men so that they might live well: Mercurius Trismegistus of Egypt, Minos of Crete, Lycurgus of Sparta, Solon of Athens, Numa Pompilius, and others.¹⁵⁰ Valentia may have been convinced of the harmony between reason and Christ's 'law', for he asserted that Jesus Christ initiated the precepts for a happy and immortal life.¹⁵¹ However, Valentia also noted that men remained sinners and were punished by God with the Great Flood which destroyed everything on earth. He then described the way in which men had turned to the cult of many gods, demonic oracles, and the soothsaying of augurs, observing superstitions with great reverence until an 'angel' St John the Baptist was sent to prepare the way.¹⁵² The spread of peoples around the world with the Roman empire provided the necessary conditions for the coming of the redeemer. He concluded his sermon by referring to those who still waited although Christ came and he invoked the prophet Hosea and the account of the harlotry, idolatry, and impiety of Israel which was offensive to God but might be redeemed. In reference to the conversion of the Jews at the end of times, Valentia cited Malachi's prophecy that God would send Elijah before the coming of the Lord and quoted the very last words of the canonical Old Testament: 'And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.' In order to make the reference clearer Valentia added: 'Permanebis ergo in perfidia tua usque ad novissimam senescentis mundi horam.'¹⁵³ O'Malley has suggested that a 'semi-Pelagian interpretation' is possible in some of Valenza's statements for he took a positive view of the natural goodness of man, or rather he was convinced of the harmony between reason and Christ's 'law', as can be seen in his sermon on the advent of Christ where he lists the wise counsellors who gave laws to men so that they might live well and asserts that Christ initiated the precepts for a happy and immortal life, thus presupposing the order and harmony of the universe.¹⁵⁴ In addition, he was confident that the Church's great teachers had defeated heresies and errors and that no philosophers, poets, orators, mathematicians,

¹⁴⁹ Valentia (c. 1494-96), sig. aiijr.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., sig. aiijr-v.

¹⁵¹ O'Malley (1979), 157-58; Valentia (c. 1494-96), sigs. aiijr-v.

¹⁵² Ibid., sig. [aivr], citing Malachi 3: 1.

¹⁵³ Ibid., sig. [avr], citing Malachi 4: 5.

¹⁵⁴ O'Malley (1979), 157-58; Valenza (c. 1494-96), sigs aiijr-v.

augurs, magicians or heretic would dare to attack the Christian faith. Valenza betrays a 'classicist mentality' common to the scholastic and humanists traditions which assumed stable and enduring 'standards of truth and excellence' to which men should conform without question.¹⁵⁵ Allied to this view was doubtless the particular emphasis placed by Valenza on the reading of scripture and Church fathers, but it should be noted **that he also cited ...**

Works:

Sermones V de adventu Christi (n.p., n.d. [Rome: Andreas Freitag or Johann Besicken and Andreas Freitag, between 1494 and 21 Sept. 1496])

Sources:

Timotheus de Totis, *Oratio de funere Ludovico de Ferraria* (n.p., n.d. [Rome: Eucharius Silber, after 4 May 1497])

Studies:

John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1979), 106-07, 156-58, 161, 176-77

David B. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew: The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1981), 59-60

Girolamo Benivieni (1453-1542)

Illness may have prevented him from following his chosen career and so he devoted himself to studies, including Greek and Hebrew, as well as to poetry. He was part of the circle around Lorenzo de' Medici, where he met **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola** and was close to him by 1482. They met together with Angelo Poliziano, **Johanan Alemanno**, **Matteo Bosso**, and **Battista Spagnuoli Mantuano** in Girolamo Savonarola's Dominican convent of San Marco, or in Fiesole. He turned to more spiritual concerns, produced a version of the Psalms of David in *terza rima*, and studies on Hebrew translation. Pico records that **Flavius Mithridates** expelled Benivieni from the room when he turned to teaching Pico the 'Chaldaic' language.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ O'Malley (1979), 161.

¹⁵⁶ 'Alphabetum chaldaicum quod petis, nec a mithridate impetrasses nihil per illum licet ut a me impetrare possis: a quo posses omnia. Nam ille docere me chaldaicam linguam nulla voluit ratione nisi adiuratum prius, & quidem conceptis verbis, ne illam cuiquam traderem: facere fidem huius rei tibi potest noster Hieronymus benivenius: qui cum adesset forte dum me ille docebat, furens mithridates hominem eliminavit. Sed ne frustra omnino scripseris vicarium habeas pro chaldaico arabicum alphabetum, quod mea manu tibi annotatum mittitur.' Pico to unknown, Florence, 10 Nov. 1486: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Opera Joannis pici: mirandule comitis concordie ...* (Johann Prüss: Strasbourg, 1504), fol. CIIIIr. The passage in question follows a discussion of references to Jesus Christ in Josephus and Pico's need to consult a Greek manuscript of the work in question. He also notes that he has been working with Mithridates on Jerome's commentary on Paul's letter to the Galatians (concerned with the supercession of the old Jewish laws by the new Christian law) and observes that the divine laws or Kabbalah were hidden by Moses and other in

Sources:

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Commentary on a canzone of Benivieni*, trans. Sears Jayne (New York: P. Lang, 1985)

Studies:

Cesare Vasoli, 'Benivieni, Girolamo', *DBI*: 8 (1966):

Aurelio Lippo Brandolini (c. 1454-97)

Economic exile from Florence to Naples after 1466. He was an orator, musician and poet who visited court of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary during 1489-90, but was 'hardly in the first rank of Italian humanists.'¹⁵⁷ After c. 1480 he lived in Rome. He put into heroic verse the histories of the Old and New Testaments, wrote in praise of the papal librarian and humanist Platina and Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84), paying attention to the building of new churches and other artistic projects in Rome, and he wrote a commentary on Vergil's *Georgics* (29 BC) that was influenced by Pomponio Leto. His *In sacram ebreorum historiam* was dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini (later, very briefly in 1503, Pope Pius III) and draws on the Old Testament and on Josephus for its sources. In the justificatory preface Brandolini remarks that studying the bible he found that the sublime content lacked an elegant style.¹⁵⁸ He therefore made an extract from the histories of the Old Testament in a good style to please a cultivated public, and under the auspices of the pope. Some churchmen objected to his work and argued that those not doctors of theology ought not to write theological works. The words of St Jerome, they said, ought not to be altered, and with such a reworking men would not read the Bible itself. Brandolini replied that the work should not be published without the agreement of the most learned doctors, but noted that theological arguments were daily published by those without a doctorate in theology. He noted the difficulty of reworking the Bible with its allegories and secrets, and affirmed that he did not touch these but only its words and style in the historical sections. His work comparing kingdoms and republics was written c. 1492/94 and dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici who probably found its anti-republicanism unappealing and impolitic. The work is an unusual confrontation of constitutional models couched in the form of a Socratic dialogue in which the anti-republican position triumphs decisively. The example of the Hebrews occurs at two points: first when he illustrates his argument in favour of the rule of one man with reference to the fact that the laws of Hebrews were handed down by Moses alone and instituted by God himself and not by a plurality.¹⁵⁹ Secondly, at the climax of the work he outlines a neo-Platonic philosophical position in which the rational soul governs all parts in man and thus affirms that the One may preside over a unity. In this way, he said, God has

Hebrew characters, as Esdras suggests.

¹⁵⁷ Hankins in Brandolini (2009), ix.

¹⁵⁸ Matteo Bosso praised Brandolini's eloquent preaching in Verona in c. 1493. Brandolini cited Greek philosophy, scripture, and Catullus and Pliny in the course of his sermon: Matteo Bosso, *Familiars et secundae epistolae* (Mantuae 1498), sig. hv-hiir.

¹⁵⁹ Brandolini (2009), 95.

set up Nature so that all parts relate to Him, and therefore monarchy is the best form of government and we can see that it is the most usual form, for example in the case of the Egyptians. 'Let's set aside the earliest men, concerning whom we rely a great deal on the sacred books of the Hebrews – whom, nevertheless, we find to have lived under the government of one man.'¹⁶⁰

Works:

'Epithoma in sacram Hebraeorum historiam' (Cremona, Bibl. Gov., MS III. The fair presentation manuscript, dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, is BAV, MS Ottob. 438. A draft version is BAV, MS Ottob. 121)

Republics and Kingdoms Compared, ed. and trans., James Hankins (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)

Erika Rummel, 'In defense of "theologizing humanists": Aurelio Brandolini's "In sacram ebreorum historiam ... prefatio",' *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 44 (1995): 90-106

Studies:

Giuseppe De Luca, 'Un umanista fiorentino e la Roma rinnovata da Sisto IV', *La Rinascita*, 1/1-2 (Jan-Apr. 1938): 74-90

John M. McManamon, 'Renaissance Preaching: Theory and Practice. A Holy Thursday Sermon of Aurelio Brandolini', *Viator*, 10 (1979): 355-73

Elisabetta Mayer, *Un umanista italiano della corte di Mattia Corvino: Aurelio Brandolini Lippo* (Rome: no publication details, 1938)

Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols. (London: Constable, 1970), 2: 601-613

Felix Pratensis (1460?-1559)

Trained as a rabbi but converted and became an Augustinian hermit by 1506. He may have studied at Padua and taught at Rome before moving to Venice. In the dedicatory epistle of his 1515 translation of the Psalter from Hebrew into Latin (reprinted in Venice in 1519 and Basel in 1524) he noted that it was commissioned by Cardinals Bernardino Carvajal and Marco Corner. He also observed that **Pietro Bembo** urged him to complete his new work, which was for the glory of Pope Leo X (1513-21). Although born into 'Judaica pravitate' he had been baptised in the church of Santo Stefano, Prato. He hoped that his translation would help to elucidate and spread knowledge of the Christian religion. In his address to the reader Felix noted that St Jerome had already translated the Psalms and that his own work of translation was inferior to this, but he wished to help in the understanding of the meaning and figures of the text in a common language. Bomberg provided a verse addressed to the reader: 'Hoc arcana dei lector studiose libello: / Veraque veridici carmina vatis habes. / Caldeos etiam passim mirabere sensus: / Queque probant nostram dicta vetusta fidem. / Non labor hic parvus: bene verbum reddere verbo: / Asevere testificor Felicis acumine nostri: / Non plus ter quina facta latina die.' In his marginal exegesis and main commentary on the Psalms he mentions kabbalistic interpretations (fol. 4r), the Talmud (fol. 6r), and explicates key Hebrew terms. He also notes typologies and prefigurations of Christ (fol. 13v, on David's

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 243-45 (quotation at 245).

description of Christ's persecution, passion, and victory in Psalm 22), and he castigates the Jews for their stupidity in not seeing this (fol. 14r). He also refers frequently to Chaldaic translation or Targum, the Aramaic paraphrase of the Old Testament (eg. fol. 20r), as well as to St Augustine's exposition of the Psalms (fol. 22r). He then aided **Daniel Bomberg** with his edition of the rabbinical Bible published in Venice in 1517-18. Pratensis edited the first rabbinical Bible (i.e. Hebrew text of Old Testament with *Targum* or Aramaic paraphrases, and standard commentaries by Jewish scholars including Rashi, Kimchi, and Nahmanides), and a single-volume edition of the Hebrew Old Testament. Dedicating the first work to Pope Leo X Felice 'cast his scholarship in humanistic terms', that is to say he stated that just as Greek and Latin learning had been renewed, so could the edition of the Bible aid Hebrew studies.¹⁶¹ Equally, he claimed in a letter omitted from some copies (perhaps intended for Jewish use) that Hebrew commentaries and the Targum would provide proofs of Christian truths. Felice returned to Rome and taught **Egidio Canisio of Viterbo** as well as working to convert Jews before returning to Venice to aid **Bomberg** with his edition of the Babylonian Talmud (1520-23, 1526, 1548) which omitted Felice's answers to Jewish objections to Christianity, to the displeasure of Pope Clement VII (1523-34).

Works:

Psalterium ex hebreo diligentissime ad verbum fere tralatum [sic] (Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 5 Sept. 1515)

Studies:

Paul F. Grendler, 'Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy, 1515-1535', in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 228-33

Paul Kahle, 'Felix Pratensis – a Prato Felix. Der Bearbeiter der ersten Rabbinerbibel, Venedig, 1516-17', *Die Welt des Orients*, 1 (1947): 32-36

Schlomo Simonsohn, 'Some Well-Known Jewish Converts in the Renaissance', *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 148 (1989): 17-52

Rosalba Zangari, 'Felice da Prato', *DBI*, (1996) 46: 42-44

Pietro Colonna (Galatino) (c. 1460-1539?)

Born at Galatina, in Puglia, and entered Franciscan convent there. In c. 1507 he wrote an exposition of the Tetragrammaton and he may have been drawn to Kabbalah as a means of expounding the mysteries of the name of Jesus in an eschatological key, or like Bernardino da Siena's veneration for the Name of Jesus. He then studied Hebrew at Rome, perhaps with Elijah del Medigo Levita and panegyric epigrams in that language were addressed to him. He was in the circle around **Egidio Canisio of Viterbo**, and studied the Kabbalah with Levita, who lived in Canisio's household during 1514-27. He also learnt Ethiopian with Giovanni Potken, and taught theology, philosophy and Greek at Rome. He was chaplain to Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci, and then Cardinal Francesco Quiñones. He may have identified with angelic pope and he was interested in prophetic signs of the end times. He corresponded with Johannes Reuchlin and, at the invitation

¹⁶¹ Grendler (2008), 232.

of Pucci, defended him in print in his much reprinted *De arcanis catholicae veritatis*, which several scholars noted was a plagiarism of Raymundus Martini's *Pugio fidei* (1272),¹⁶² and Antonio Possevino thought was based on Vittore Porchetto de' Salvatici's *Victoria adversus impios Hebraeos* (itself based on the *Pugio fidei*).¹⁶³ It seems to have been reliant on the work of **Agostino Giustiniani** published two years earlier, and he may have collaborated with Giustiniani and used Paulus de Heredia's *Epistola de secretis* (1487). In the work he described the Kabbalah in anagogical terms in contrast with the literal work of Talmudists and he expounded on the Tetragrammaton. He acted as one of the proof readers of **Santes Pagnini's** polyglot Psalter.

Works:

Opus toti christianae reipublicae maxime utile, de arcanis catholicae veritatis, contra obstinatissimam Iudaeorum nostrae tempestatis perfidiam, ex Talmud, aliisque hebraicis libris nuper excerptum, & quadruplici linguarum genere eleganter congestum (Ortona: Per Girolamo Soncino, 1518)

Studies:

Roberto Rusconi, 'An Angelic Pope Before the Sack of Rome', in *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period: Essays*, ed. Marjorie Reeves (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 157-87

Domenico Grimani (1461-1523)

A key figure in Venetian humanism who was interested in biblical scholarship, neo-Platonism, and perhaps Hebrew Kabbalah. He was connected with Elijah del Medigo Levita during his time at Padua in the 1480s, and he debated the unity of the intellect with him.¹⁶⁴ His personal physician Obadaiah ben Jacob Sforno practiced in Rome and tutored Johannes Reuchlin in Hebrew during 1498-1500. Grimani was also friendly with the doctor Abraham ben Meir de Balmes from around 1510. At Grimani's request Balmes agreed to translate works including a translation from Hebrew of the Arabic astronomical work of Ibn Heitham (or

¹⁶² Raymundus Martini, *Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros et Iudaeos ...* (Leipzig, 1687. Facsimile reprint, Farnborough, 1967). See Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, with Alastair Hamilton, *'I have always loved the Holy Tongue': Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 41-42.

¹⁶³ Vittore Porchetto de' Salvatici, *Victoria Porcheti adversus impios Hebraeos: in qua tum ex sacris literis, tum ex dictis Talmud, ac Caballistrum, et aliorum omnium authorum, quos Hebraei recipiunt, monstratur veritas catholicae fidei ex recognitione R. P. Aug. Iustiniani Ordinis Praedicatorj, epsicopi Nebiensis* (Paris: Guillaume des Prez, 13 July 1520).

¹⁶⁴ Joannes de Janduno, *Ioannis de Ianduno philosophi acutissimi super octos libros Aristotelis De Physico auditu subtilissimae quaestiones : in quarum singularum capite tituli earum ac conclusiones nuper ad legentium, & studiosorum co[m]modum in summas collectae conspiciuntur. Heliae etiam Hebraei Cretensis quaestiones, videlicet de Primo Motore, de Mundi Efficientia, de Esse & Essentia & Uno, cum eiusdem in dictis Averrois super eosdem, libros Annotationibus quàm castigatissimae leguntur* (Venice: apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1560), col. 581.

Avempace) as *Epistola expeditionis*.¹⁶⁵ As a favour to Grimani he taught **Daniel Bomberg** who posthumously published Balmes's Hebrew grammar, *Mikve Avram* with notes by Qalonymos ben David¹⁶⁶ In Florence in 1498 Grimani bought some of the library of his friend **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola** (whom he visited in Florence in 1489 using a false name and who mentions him in a letter to Pizzomano dated 1 March 1490). He acquired 123 manuscripts from Pico's collection, many of them biblical commentaries and some works of Kabbalah. He left a large part of his library to the Augustinian canons of Sant'Antonio di Castello in Venice, funded the construction of a library, and the Hebrew manuscripts were consulted by **Agostino Steuco** when he was appointed librarian. Grimani's combination of humanist philology and reforming piety, and patrician outlook have been associated with the *renovatio* of the republic's political, social, religious, and cultural life after the devastating wars of the League of Cambrai.¹⁶⁷ The Dutch humanist Erasmus wrote to Grimani about Hebrew studies on 15 May 1515 and in the dedication to the cardinal of the paraphrase of Paul's letter to the Romans he wrote of the need to free the text from all Hebraicism and render it fully Christian and Latin. Erasmus himself despised the exegesis of the schools, which seemed to him to be another sort of Rabbinic commentary.

Sources:

Pearl Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936)

M. Steinschneider, 'Une dèdicace d'Abraham de Balmes au Cardinal Dom. Grimani', *Revue des études juives*, 5 (1882):112-17

Studies:

Ronald K. Delph, 'From Venetian Visitor to Curial Humanist: The Development of Agostino Steuco's "Counter"-Reformation Thought', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47 (1994): 102-39

Antonio Foscari and Manfredo Tafuri, 'Sebastiano da Lugano, i Grimani e Jacopo Sansovino. Artisti e committenti nella chiesa di Santo'Antonio di Castello', *Arte Veneta*, 36 (1982): 100-23

Theobald Freudenberger, 'Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Domenico Grimani', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 56 (1936): 15-45

M. J. C. Lowry, 'Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library, Manchester*, 57 (1974): 128-66

Pio Paschini, *Domenico Grimani. Cardinale di San Marco* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1943)

Giuliano Tamani, 'I libri ebraici del cardinal Domenico Grimani', *Annali di Ca' Foscari* (serie orientale) 34/3 (1995): 5-52

-- 'Gli studi di linguistica ebraica a Venezia nella prima metà del Cinquecento', *Schifanoia* 3 (1987): 137-44

¹⁶⁵ Steinschneider (1882).

¹⁶⁶ *Peculium Abrae. Grammatica Hebraea una cum Latino nuper edita. Per doctiss. virum magistrum Abraham de Balmis artium & medicinae doctorem* (Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1523).

¹⁶⁷ Notably by Foscari and Tafuri (1982). See also Manfredo Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance*, trans. Jessica Levine (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1989).

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-94) [revise]

Nobleman who studied at Ferrara, Padua, and Pavia. Relied on Elijah Del Medigo Levita from Crete and public lecturer in philosophy at Padua, for the translation of Averroistic texts,¹⁶⁸ on Johanan Alemanno, and on **Flavius Mithridates** for a number of Hebrew, especially kabbalistic, texts. He sought the reconciliation of philosophy and theology and in his syncretic quest learnt Hebrew and became interested in the Kabbalah, as is clear in his *Conclusiones* (1486), which comprised the theses he had called for debate in Rome in 1486. Del Medigo was less inclined towards the Kabbalah – acknowledging its neo-Platonic roots but preferring the Averroist Aristotelianism then current at Padua, and preferring theology (Judaism) to philosophy when the latter appeared to contradict the former.¹⁶⁹ Pico offered a ‘cabalistic’ interpretation of Christianity and a Christian reading of the Kabbalah in his works. He touches on the Kabbalah in his so-called *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, which was written to introduce the *Conclusiones*, and he defends the thesis that ‘no science can make us more certain of Christ’s divinity than magic and cabala’ in his *Apologia* for his *Conclusiones* after it was condemned by the commission who thought it implied that the two carried greater weight than the Gospels. His *Heptaplus* (1489) is a sevenfold interpretation of the biblical account of creation with many cabalistic elements, although the Kabbalah is not mentioned explicitly. Christian Cabala offered a divine explanation for the mysteries of the Law, and the equivalent of Oral Law, and may have allowed Pico to reject the Talmud as a Jewish invention after the death of Jesus which could do harm to Christians. He condemned Abraham bar Hiya’s astrological predictions of messiah in his work against astrology. He encouraged disputations with Jews and tried to convert them. One disputation in Pico’s house was on ‘Do the prophecies in the Bible refer to Jesus or not?’¹⁷⁰ He collected Hebrew books and manuscripts and after his death over a hundred were found in his library, rivalled only perhaps by Federigo da Montefeltro and **Giorgio Valla**.¹⁷¹ These consisted largely of biblical and Talmudic texts and commentaries, with works of theology and philosophy (fifteen), science (nineteen), and cabala (twelve) also listed.¹⁷² He also owned works in the *adversus iudaeos* tradition, including Alfonso Spina’s *Fortalium fidei contra fidei Christianae hostes* (1458) and the *Pharetra fidei contra iudeos*, a medieval

¹⁶⁸ For example, note Del Medigo’s declaration that Pico prompted his translation of Averroes, *In meteorologica Aristotelis and Tractatus cui inscribitur litera L, seu Lamda ex libro Metaphysicae* (Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 21 Aug. 1488), sig. a2r. See also Kieszkowski (1964) and Motzkin (1987).

¹⁶⁹ Novak (1982).

¹⁷⁰ Marsilio Ficino to Domenico Benivieni, Florence, c. 1485-86, in Marsilio Ficino, *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1575. Facsimile reproduction, Turin: Bottega d’Erasmus, 1962), 1: 873, and translated in *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. Members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science, London, vol. 7 (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 2003), 26-28.

¹⁷¹ Kibre (1936), 38-39.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 39-48.

Dominican work incorporating portions of the work of Petrus Alfonsi and Theobald de Sézanne and Nicholas Donin's charges against the Talmud.¹⁷³

Works:

Heptaplus, trans. Douglas Carmichael (Indianapolis and Cambridge, MA: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1965)

Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486). The Evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems. With Text, Translation, and commentary by S. A. Farmer (Tempe, AZ: MRTS, 1998)

Sources:

Pietro Crinito, *Commentarii de honesta disciplina* (Florence, 1504. Lyons: Sebastian Gryphius, 1543)

Pearl Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936)

Studies:

B. Kieszkowski, 'Les rapports entre Elie Del Medigo et Pic de la Mirandole (d'après le ms. latin 6508 de la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Rinascimento*, 2nd series, 4 (1964): 41-91

A. L. Motzkin, 'Elia Del Medigo, Averroes and Averroism', *Italia*, 6 (1987): 7-20

B. C. Novak, 'Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Jochanan Alemanno', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982): 125-47

Shlomo Simonsohn, 'Giovanni Pico della Mirandola on Jews and Judaism', in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought* ed. Jeremy Cohen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 403-17

Chaim Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1989)

-- 'Liber Redemptionis: An early version of Rabbi Abraham Abulafia's Kabbalistic commentary on the Guide to the Perplexed', *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences*, 3/8 (1969): 135-49

Francesco Giorgio (Zorzi) (1467-1540)

A Venetian patrician who entered the Franciscan order, he explored the Kabbalah and attempted to synthesize it with Christian and philosophical truths. As Giulio Busi has observed: 'After Giovanni Pico della Mirandola ... Zorzi can claim second place [in the study of Jewish mysticism]'.¹⁷⁴ He may have studied Hebrew at Padua and he visited the Holy Land in c. 1493 leaving scattered accounts of his impressions of its monuments and environment.¹⁷⁵ He was in friendly contact with the Jewish printer Gershom Soncino around 1498-1502. Elected Franciscan superior at San Francesco della Vigna by 1500, he also came into contact with the cardinal protector of the order **Domenico Grimani**, and therefore may have gained access to Giovanni Pico's Hebrew manuscripts collected by the cardinal.¹⁷⁶ In 1528 he gave a sermon in the basilica of San Marco, Venice, on the occasion of the baptism of one Jacob, a Neapolitan Jew

¹⁷³ Ibid., 212, no. 688; 261, no. 1066.

¹⁷⁴ Busi (1997), 98.

¹⁷⁵ Vicentini (1952); Secret (1975).

¹⁷⁶ Sanudo (1969-70), 7: 40.

learned in Hebrew in the household of the Mantuan ambassador, possibly the same rabbi Zorzi claimed he had converted on the basis of arguments from Jewish literature.¹⁷⁷ He also had close contact with the convert Marco Raphael and discussed Jewish matters with the physician and translator Jacob Mantino in his 'chamber'. Zorzi produced a commentary on Pico's *Conclusiones*, published in the name of Arcangelo of Borgonovo in 1564. He also read the work of Johann Reuchlin and incorporated material in his *De harmonia mundi* (1525), and around the same time he probably came into contact with **Agostino Steuco** whose *Cosmopoeia* he influenced. His collection of Hebrew manuscripts, known to **Egidio of Viterbo** in 1513, included the Zohar, which made a significant impact on his *In sacram scripturam problemata* (1536) as a midrash to the Pentateuch. He also possessed a manuscript of the kabbalistic *Sefer ha-Peliah*, which was also copied in Venice in 1513 and 1516 by Isaac ben Moses ben Zerach (in the second case for one 'Messer Raphael'), and again by him in 1534.¹⁷⁸ Zorzi cites the 'Elchana', as he calls it, among his sources for the symbolism of the Hebrew alphabet in his *De harmonia mundi*. This work is a discussion of symbols in philosophical terms in which the Kabbalah provides one key to unlock their mystical meaning and in this way the hidden unities and harmony of the universe, which Hebrew contains in the graphical shape of each part – consonants, vowels, and accents. Here and in his *Problemata* and his *Elegante poema* Zorzi also explores the tripartite division of the soul, again drawing on neo-Platonic and Jewish mystical sources. Busi writes: 'His style, at the same time rich and accurate, develops a wide range of images, passing through a succession of symbolical themes ... *De harmonia mundi* is a systematic inventory of symbols'.¹⁷⁹ Each chapter introduces a symbol, discussed semantically with reference to ancient or medieval sources, and often including an exegetical discussion of the Hebrew which contained truths reflected in its graphic appearance as well as its semantic parts. His tripartite division of the soul is related to neo-Platonic and Hebrew sources and reflects his belief in the debt owed to Hebrew arcane wisdom by Pythagoras and the peripatetics. Zorzi's knowledge was applied to the matter of King Henry VIII of England's divorce in 1529-30, and again in 1535 when he produced a memorial for Doge Andrea Gritti prescribing the sacred dimensions for the church of San Francesco della Vigna.¹⁸⁰ His connections with **Pietro Bembo** and 'spirituali' in Venice have been noted,¹⁸¹ but Bembo considered his studies of the Kabbalah suspect,¹⁸² while

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 46: 440 (1 January 1527 [m.v. = 1528]). The baptism took place in the middle of mass before the doge, ambassadors, procurators, and pregadi of Venice and after his baptism as Camillo the convert received alms in the choir from the audience, including the doge who gave him one gold Venetian ducat.

¹⁷⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mich. 407; Moscow, Russian State Library, MS Guenzburg 377; British Library, MS Harl. 5515; and Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense MS 3154 (with many marginal notes in Latin).

¹⁷⁹ Busi (1997), 106, 107.

¹⁸⁰ Antonio Foscari and Manfredo Tafuri, *L'armonia e i conflitti: la chiesa di San Francesco della Vigna nella Venezia del '500* (Turin, 1983).

¹⁸¹ Cesare Vasoli, *Profezia e ragione: studi sulla cultura del Cinquecento e del Seicento* (Naples: Morano, 1974).

¹⁸² 'E stimo quella sua Cabala, della quale ha meco tenzonato lungamene [sic],

Gasparo Contarini responded to Zorzi's apologia for his *Problemata* with a short work recalling their youthful friendship and invoking the authority of scripture and the church councils in distinction to Hebrew sources on the matter of the creation of the soul.¹⁸³

Works:

De harmonia mundi totius cantica tria (Venice: Bernardino Vitali, 1525)

L'armonia del mondo, trans. and ed. Saverio Campanini (Milan: Bompiani, 2010)

Studies:

Giulio Busi, 'Francesco Zorzi. A Methodical Dreamer,' in *The Christian Kabbalah. Jewish Mystical Books and their Christian Interpreters*, ed. J. Dan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 97-125

Saverio Campanini, 'Francesco Giorgio's Criticism of the Vulgata: Hebraica Veritas or Mendosa Traductio?', in G. Busi (ed.), *Hebrew to Latin, Latin to Hebrew. The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism*, Berlin Studies in Judaism 1 (Turin: Nino Aragno Editore, 2006), 206-231

Saverio Campanini, 'Le fonti ebraiche del *De Harmonia mundi* di Francesco Zorzi', *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, XXXVIII/3 (1999): 29-74

F. Secret, 'Un pelerine oublié de Terre Sainte', *Revue des études juives* 134 (1975): 99-100

U. Vicentini, 'Francesco Zorzi e la Palestina', *La Venezia Francescana* 19 (1952): 174-76

Flavius Mithridates (fl. 1466-87)

Sicilian humanist and Orientalist who converted to Christianity in c. 1466 taking the name Guglielmo Raimondo de Moncada, possibly after his godfather. Studied at university of Catania, then Naples after 1470 with support, and acquired Sicilian benefices in 1474.¹⁸⁴ Accused of heresy in 1477. At court of King John II of Aragon (1458-79) in c. 1474 and took part in disputations with Jews (doing so again in Florence later in his life). Moved to Rome in 1478 and was protected by Cardinal Giovanni Battista Cibo (later elected pope and crowned as Innocent VIII [1484-92]), and lectured in theology. On Good Friday 1481 he preached before Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84) and the College of Cardinals on the sufferings of Jesus, and gave Christological interpretations of Jewish texts. His sermon tacitly relied on the *Pugio fidei* of Raymond Martini (c. 1280). He fled Rome in 1483 and was deprived of his benefices. He subsequently taught Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic in Italy, France, and Germany and was one of **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's** teachers for whom he translated a number of works in kabbalistic vein.

Works:

essere cosa molto sospetta e pericolosa.' Bembo to Federico Fregoso, Padua, 30 December 1533: Pietro Bembo, *Lettere*, ed. E. Travi (4 vols. Bologna: Tamari, 1987-93), 3: 475.

¹⁸³ Franz Dittrich, *Gasparo Contarini, 1488-1542: eine Monographie* (Braunsberg, 1885), 271-77.

¹⁸⁴ Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews: History* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1991), doc. 976.

Sermo de Passione Domini, ed. and intro. by Chaim Wirszubski (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1963)

Giulio Busi et al (eds) *The Great Parchment: Flavius Mithridates' Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version* (Turin: Nino Aragno Editore, 2004)

Saverio Campanini (ed.), *The Book of Bahir: Flavius Mithridates' Latin translation, the Hebrew text, and an English version* (Turin: Nino Aragno Editore, 2005)

Studies:

F. Secret, 'Nouvelles précisions sur Flavius Mithridates maître de Pic de la Mirandole et traducteur de commentaires de Kabbala', in *L'Opera e il pensiero di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nella storia dell'umanesimo* (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1965)

Giovanbattista Graziadei (fl. c. 1500)

Convert and doctor of laws who used his Aristotelian expertise to demonstrate the truth of Christianity reasonably and philosophically. His *Liber* is prefaced by a letter to Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal in which he declares it fitting that the matter of the Jews should be raised in the seventh year of the pope's reign since among the ancients the jubilee was celebrated every seven years and was announced with trumpets and the liberation of slaves. In the same way the Jews might be released from the servitude of their sins. Equally, Christians may discern the disagreements of rabbis in their writings on Hebrew prophets. In an epistle addressed to the Jews he writes that many friends asked him why he converted and he says that he was brought to Christ neither by a lack of good fortune before conversion, nor by the desire for wealth after it, nor by vanity of glory, nor by ignorance of Christian practices. He proposes to explain his thoughts as follows: he had dedicated himself to the Hebrew expositions of the Old Testament and to Talmudic doctrine. Then among the preaching religious at the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome he often went ('me diu versatum fuisse') and he often heard their preaching and exposition of the prophets and their words about the coming of the Messiah. Since he had been imbued from an early age hebraically he considered these expositions alien to the true sense of the prophets and empty of faith ('fidem vanam'). However, he daily began to have doubts and looking into the prophets he found the Christian expositions truer than those of the rabbi whose 'pravitatem' he detected. He began to detect the true faith in them: 'veritatemque in eorum [sc. *christianas expositiones*] fide inesse perspexi'.¹⁸⁵ In order to allow Jewish souls to embrace salvation he will point out the 'deformed errors and obstinacy which the rabbis impose upon' them. Thus the rabbis say that the Messiah has not come, but scripture is full of figures referring to the Messiah, which he goes on to explore.¹⁸⁶ Although the Jews are in captivity for the sale (of Christ) for thirty pieces of silver, nevertheless there shall be knowledge of the saviour across the whole world and, as the prophets say: 'unus pastor: et unum ovile.'¹⁸⁷ The Jewish

¹⁸⁵ Graziadei (1500), fol. iiv.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., fol. iiir-v.

¹⁸⁷ This eschatological hope would certainly have appealed to the dedicatee of the work Cardinal Carvajal: Nelson H. Minnich, 'The Role of Prophecy in the

doctors write many lies in the Talmud about the mysteries of the Messiah and talk of two messiahs: one of Joseph and one, yet to appear, who will be a son of David. He thinks that the literal sense of Hebrew shows up their depravity well and he will reveal the mystery of Christ hidden in the Mosaic authorities so that the unadulterated word of the Lord and his example may bring the Jews to the faith.

Work:

Liber de confutatione hebrayce secte (Rome: E. Silber, 14 May 1500)

Egidio Canisio da Viterbo (1469-1532)

Born at Viterbo, entered Augustinian order in 1488, studied at Padua where he grew hostile to Averroist Aristotelianism, and met **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola**. Transferred to Rome and became prior-general of his order in 1507. He wrote of the 'Aramaic age' in his oration for Pope Julius II (1503-13) in 1506, firmly supported Johannes Reuchlin, and described the revival of Hebrew studies in his theological-symbolical-historical work *Historia viginti saeculorum* (1513-18). His last years, in particular, were dedicated to Hebrew studies, though he also knew Syriac, Arabic, and Aramaic. His early Hebrew teacher may have been **Felix Pratensis**. He made a transcription of the Jerusalem *Targum* in 1504, and asked the Venetian Augustinian Gabriele della Volta to find oriental manuscripts, and (in 1514) a copy of the *Zohar*, which he transcribed. He played host to Elijah Del Medigo Levita in Rome and commissioned him to produce transcriptions, translations, and commentaries. In 1517 he completed an introduction to the cabala dedicated to Giulio de' Medici (later Pope Clement VII [1523-34]).

Works:

J. W. O'Malley, 'Fulfilment of the Christian Golden age under Pope Julius II: Text of a Discourse of Giles of Viterbo', *Traditio*, 25 (1969): 265-338

Scechina e libellus de litteris Hebraicis, ed. F. Secret, 2 vols (Rome: Centro internazionale di studi umanistici, 1959)

Studies:

C. Astruc and J. Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux du cardinal Gilles de Viterbe', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 23 (1961): 551-54

J. W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform* (Leiden: Brill, 1968)

F. Giaccone and G. Bedouelle, 'Une lettre de Gilles de Viterbe (1469-1532) à Jacques Lefèvres d'Étaples (c. 1460-1536) au sujet de l'affaire Reuchlin', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 36 (1974): 335-45

Tommaso de Vio Cajetan (1469-1534)

Joined Dominicans in 1484, defended theses in 1494, taught at Padua, Pavia, and Rome, served as papal legate, and was made a cardinal in 1517. His *Ientacula Novi Testamenti ... praeclarissima sexagintaquatuor notabilium sententiarum Novi*

Career of the Enigmatic Bernardino López de Carvajal', in *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period: Essays*, ed. Marjories Reeves (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 111-20.

Testamenti literalis expositio (Rome, 1525) gave literal explanations of sixty-four passages of the New Testament and was followed, with the aid of Jewish and Christian scholars, by a number of commentaries, including commentaries on the Psalms (1527) which he provided in Latin translation based on Vulgate, Hebrew Bible, Greek Septuagint, and four modern versions based on Hebrew, the Pentateuch (1531), the historical books of the Old Testament (1533), and the book of Job (1535), which were all devoted to a literal rather than allegorical, tropological, or anagogical, interpretation to aid Christian readers in understanding religion, in leading pious lives, and aiding a reform and renewal of the Church. His commentaries departed from the Vulgate version on a number of occasions and he cited Hebrew as an authority for his own reading leading to criticism by the Faculty of Theology in Paris in 1533 and an attack by Ambrogio Catarino Politi in 1535 for departing from Jerome.

Studies:

Paul F. Grendler, 'Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy, 1515-1535', in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 251-63

Michael O'Connor, 'A Neglected Facet of Cardinal Cajetan: Biblical Reform in High Renaissance Rome', in *The Bible in the Renaissance: Essays on Biblical Commentary and Translation in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. Richard Griffiths (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 71-94

Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi (1469-c. 1540)

Born in or near Pavia, studied law, and joined regular clerics of St Augustine (called the Lateran Canons). He was in Rome by 1512 and was charged by Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal with meeting Lebanese delegation to Lateran council and verifying orthodoxy of Maronite ritual of the Mass in Syriac. He learnt Hebrew from several Jews including the doctor and teacher of grammar Abraham ben Meir de Balmes, and Joseph Zarfati (son of a doctor to Pope Julius II), and he studied other oriental languages. He left Rome in 1527 and then moved to Pavia after stays in Reggio Emilia and Ferrara. He organised the printing of his rather disorganised work on oriental languages, which he dedicated to his uncle Afranio – the inventor of the musical instrument called the Phagot – and in which he presents characters of each alphabet and discusses development of different languages.

Works:

Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, atque Armenicam, & decem alias linguas. Characterum differentium alphabeta, circiter quadraginta, & eorundem invicem conformatio. Mystica et cabalistica quamplurima scitu digna. Et descriptio ac simulachrum Phagoti Afranii. Theseo Ambrosio ex comitibus Albonesii iuris utriusque doct. Papiensi canonico regulari Lateranensi, ac Sancti Petri in coelo aureo Paiae praeposito, authore (Pavia: Giovanni Maria Simonetta, 1 March 1539)

Studies:

G Levi della Vida, 'Albonesi, Teseo Ambrogio degli', *DBI*, 2 (1960): 39-42

Pietro Bembo (1470-1547)

Venetian poet, humanist and cardinal. As papal secretary he urged the convert **Felix Pratensis** to complete his translation of the Psalter from Hebrew to Latin. In 1545 his library contained copies of works by **Santes Pagnini**, as well as a good range of other Hebrew material, including grammars and lexical manuals by Elijah Del Medigo Levita and Sebastian Münster, a copy of the fourteenth-century biblical concordance edited by Isaac Nathan ben Kalonius published by **Daniel Bomberg** in 1523 (and owned in 1529 by one 'Isaak Spatarius Hebraeus'), the polyglot Bible of Alcalá de Henares (1514-17), some *adversus iudaeos* texts including Gerardus Veltwyck's *De Iudaicis disciplinis et earum vanitate* (Venice, 1539) (again by Bomberg), and works on the Kabbalah by Recanati, Gikatilla (in the freely translated version of 1516 by **Paulus Riccius**), Johannes Reuchlin, and **Francesco Zorzi**. Despite this, Bembo considered the studies of the Kabbalah by **Francesco Zorzi** suspect, expressing his suspicions in a letter to **Federico Fregoso** (who was also criticised for his studies of the Kabbalah by Gasparo Contarini and Gregorio Cortese).¹⁸⁸

Source:

Massimo Danzi, *La Biblioteca del Cardinal Pietro Bembo* (Geneva: Droz, 2005)

Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (1470-1533)

Nephew of **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola** he was tutored in Hebrew by **Santes Pagnini** who published in Lyons in 1528 a Latin translation of the entire Bible based on the original Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. In this work he criticised the confusion of scholars who called themselves Platonists, Pythagoreans, Academic sceptics, Stoics, Cynics, Aristotelians, Averroists, Thomists, and Scotists, and he claimed to have given up rhetoric for divine studies. The work includes two letters dated 1518 and 1521 from his pupil Gianfrancesco Pico, who would have been highly sympathetic to this view. There is also a reference to 'noster Pico' in his *Thesaurus linguae sanctae...* of the following year.

Sources:

Santes Pagnini, *Utriusque instrumenti nova translatio* (Lyons: Antoine du Ry impensis François Turchi; Dominici Berticinium and Jacques Giunta, 1528)

Idem, *Thesaurus linguae sanctae...* (Lyons: Sébastien Gryphe, 1529)

Mario Equicola (c.1470-1525)

Lived in Rome from c.1482-84 until c.1492-94 and was associated with Pomponio Leto. After travelling to Naples (and possibly Ferrara) he was in Milan for Cardinal Ippolito d'Este's installation as archbishop. His *De Religione Libellus* and *De Passione Domini oratio* were composed on this occasion and possibly with

¹⁸⁸ 'E stimo quella sua Cabala, della quale ha meco tenzonato lungamene [sic], essere cosa molto sospetta e pericolosa.' Bembo to Federico Fregoso, Padua, 30 December 1533: Pietro Bembo, *Lettere*, ed. E. Travi (4 vols. Bologna: Tamari, 1987-93), 3: 475.

a view to securing courtly patronage in Ferrara or Mantua. The former work provides a chronological account of religion from its origins in the common human belief in some numinous force manifested in Egyptian and Roman paganism and Jewish monotheism to the advent of Jesus Christ and the rise of a universal Christian church. Equicola united these diverse traditions in a neo-Platonic way. Indeed, in the dedication to Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga of Ambrogio Flandino's *Quadragesimalium concionum liber* (Venice, 1523) he writes of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples as his 'preceptor meus optimus et eruditissimus', but also mentions his admiration for **Egidio da Viterbo, Pico, Erasmus, and Francesco Zorzi.**

Sources:

De Religione Libellus [Ferrara: Lorenzo de' Rossi, not before 1498]

De Passione Domini oratio [Ferrara: Lorenzo de' Rossi, after 29 March 1499]

Study:

S. Kolsky, *Mario Equicola: the Real Courtier* (Geneva: Droz, 1991)

Agostino Giustiniani (c. 1470-1536)

Born at Genoa, spent time at Valencia in business, and in 1487 entered the Dominican order at Pavia before receiving and giving instruction in the Bolognese *studium* where he acquired expertise in Hebrew, Greek, and other languages. In Bologna he met Giovanni Francesco Pico (nephew of **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola**), Filippo Beroaldo, and Iacopo Antiquari who noted his fame among humanists in 1506. In his first published work on Hebrew he gave a list of the seventy-two attributes which define divinity in its relations with creatures, and he then developed a series of reflections – marked by neo-Platonic and Dionysian elements – on divine nature. Aiming to bring Christian truth to Greeks, Muslims, Jews, and others he worked on a polyglot version of the Bible, which he hoped Cardinal Bandinello Sauli would fund, and in 1516 published the Psalter in six languages with the Targum paraphrase and commentaries dedicated to Pope Leo X (1513-21). Two thousand copies were printed and about five hundred were sold. In the commentary there is a preponderance of citations of post-Talmudic rabbinical comments (notably the medieval *Midrash Tehilim* or *Midrash to Psalms*), and some use of medieval Hebrew commentators including the medieval French rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki known as 'Rashi', Moses Maimonides, and David Kimhi although he dismissed medieval Jewish scholars as hostile to Christianity in contrast to the ancient Hebrews who were favourable to it. He also cited the kabbalistic book called *Zohar* ('Splendour') and gave it a Christian interpretation, as he did to many of the Psalms in traditional medieval terms. Paul F. Grendler has suggested that his citation of patristic commentators, including Origen and Eusebius, rather than any medieval commentators was a sign of his humanist approach.¹⁸⁹ He also mentioned the voyages of Christopher Columbus, a fellow-Genoese who opened up the world to Christianity. He attended some sessions of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17) and supported a crusade against the Muslims. In 1518 he was invited to teach Hebrew at Paris by King Francis I (1515-47), and there he edited volumes of Hebrew works

¹⁸⁹ Grendler (2008), 236.

including Kimhi's Hebrew grammar, Maimonides' twelfth-century *Guide for the Perplexed*, a medieval work on the truth of the Trinity contained in the Hebrew word for God, as well as Latin translations from Hebrew of Job, Ruth, and Lamentations of Jeremiah for the use of students. In 1517 the Dutch humanist Erasmus attacked his *Psalter* in the *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*, especially for his use of Jewish, kabbalistic, Talmudic, and rabbinical authors and questioned his knowledge of Greek and Latin, as well as his work of translation into other languages. He met Erasmus in 1518 and then travelled to England. He spent time in his diocese on Corsica during 1522-28, and 1532, and wrote an account of the island. In his last years in Genoa he also edited the annals of the city.

Works:

Precatio pietatis plena ad Deum omnipotentem composita ex duobus et septuaginta nominibus divinis, Hebraicis et Latinis una cum interprete commentariolo (Venice: Alessandro Paganini, 1513?)

Psalterium Hebraeum, Graecum, Arabicum et Chaldeum, cum tribus Latinis interpretationibus et glossis (Genoa: Petrus Paulus Porrus, 1516)

Ed. M. Kimhi, *Hebraicae grammaticae rabbi Mosse Chimchi aureus libellus* (Hagenau: Thomas Anshelm, 1519)

Ed. M. Kimhi, *Liber viarum linguae sanctae rabbi Mosse Quimchi* (Paris: apud Jean, Robert, and Gilles de Gourmont, 1520)

Libellus Ruth, Libellus Lamentationum Hieremie, Libellus de Numeris Hebraice omnia (Paris: Pierre Vidoué, Gilles de Gourmont, 1520)

Liber beati Iob (Paris: In aedibus Gilles de Gourmont, 1520)

Ed. Victoria Porcheti *adversus impios Hebraeos in quo tum ex sacris literis, tum ex dictis Talmud, ac Cabalistarum, et aliorum omnium auctorum, quos Hebraei recipiunt, monstratur veritas catholicae fidei* (Paris: Guillaume des Prez: Gilles de Gourmont, 1520)

Trans. Maimonides, *Dux seu Director dubitantium aut perplexorum* (Paris: venundantur Josse Bade, 1520)

Exploring the Edge: Giustiniani's Account of Columbus in the Margins of the 1516 Polyglot Psalter (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993)

Sources:

C. Gesner, *Bibliotheca universalis* (Basel: Apud Christophorum Froschouerum, 1545), fols 104v-105v

Studies:

Aurelio Cevolotto, *Agostino Giustiniani: un umanista tra Bibbia e Cabala* (Genoa: Edizioni culturali internazionali, 1992)

Paul F. Grendler, 'Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy, 1515-1535', in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 233-40

Santes Pagnini (c. 1470-1536)

Born at Lucca, entered Dominican order in 1487, lived at Fiesole and then in the Dominican house of San Marco in Florence, and possibly directed by the Dominican friar Girolamo Savonarola to study Hebrew with Spanish convert and former rabbi Clement Abraham. Pope Leo X (1513-21) asked him to teach in

Rome and there he published his polyglot Psalter dedicated to the pope and containing the first twenty-seven Psalms. In the dedicatory letter he cited **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola**, **Ermolao Barbaro**, and Angelo Poliziano who had remedied bad translations and he wished readers to know the language of God better. He asserted the utility of languages to spread culture, as Egyptian wisdom had spread to Greece and from there to Rome. If one believed Eusebius and St Justin even older was the Hebrew nation and source of the propagation of letters and cognition of the highest matters. Translations were not entirely reliable due to the passing of time and ignorance, as St Jerome himself lamented. **Pico** had found many errors in Averroes's commentary on the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle when he compared it with the Greek original, while **Barbaro** and Poliziano might have done much in this respect if they had not died prematurely. How much worse was a poor translation of the word of God? Especially as this could offer aid to heresy. In cases of doubt St Augustine and Jerome had advised that one should refer to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New, so Pagnini declared that he had learnt Hebrew and now presented a version of the Psalter with the Hebrew text, Latin translation, and the comments of the medieval Jewish commentators Abraham ibn Ezra and David Kimhi, then the Targum version in Aramaic with Latin translation and notes, and finally Greek and Latin translation with comments by Christian authorities. His own interest in the words and meaning of the texts led towards proofs of Christian truths.¹⁹⁰ In 1523 he published a Talmudic lexicon with the support of the Florentine Fra Tommaso Strozzi who was prior of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. Aramaic words from the Targum were translated into Latin, explained, and compared with Greek, Arabic, and Persian words. Having gone to France in the service of the dedicatee of this last work two years earlier Pagnini published in Lyons in 1528 a Latin translation of the entire Bible based on the original Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek – the first since Jerome – which inspired Antonio Brucioli's Italian Bible published in Venice in 1532. In this work he criticised the confusion of scholars who called themselves Platonists, Pythagoreans, Academic sceptics, Stoics, Cynics, Aristotelians, Averroists, Thomists, and Scotists, and he claimed to have given up rhetoric for divine studies. The work includes two letters from his pupil **Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola** dated 1518 and 1521. His work was criticised in 1529 by **Agostino Steuco**, who noted passages which departed from the Vulgate in absurd ways and gave the enemies of Christianity, especially the Jews, the impression that Christians were weak in their faith. In his *Thesaurus*, dedicated to **Federico Fregoso** who made a contribution, and mentioning 'noster Pico',¹⁹¹ he explained the literal meanings of Hebrew words and quoted Old Testament, rabbinical source, Kimhi, Church fathers, and ancient pagan classics in order to do so. In his *Isagogas* he discussed literal and mystical interpretations of Scripture.

Works:

Enchiridion expositionis vocabulorum Haruch, Tharghum, Midrascim, Berescith, Scemoth, Vaicra, Midbar Rabba, et multorum aliorum librorum. Nuper editum, per

¹⁹⁰ An illuminated copy on vellum belonging to the Contarini family was sold at auction in London in 1789: Morisi Guerra (1987), 14 n. 7.

¹⁹¹ Pagnini (1529), fols 2v, 3r.

reverendum patrem magistrum Sanctem Pagninum Lucensem, concionatorem aposto. Ord. praedicatorum Congregationis Ethruviae: Hebraicae linguae aliusque libris apprime commodum (Roma, impensis Tommaso Strozzi, 1523)

Utriusque instrumenti nova translatio (Lyons: Antoine du Ry impensis François Turchi; Dominici Berticinum and Jacques Giunta, 1528)

Institutionum Hebraicarum abbreviatio (Lyons: Sébastien Gryphe, 1528)

Thesaurus linguae sanctae... (Lyons: Sébastien Gryphe, 1529)

Isagogas ad sacras literas, liber unicus. Ejusdem isagogae ad mysticos Sacrae Scripturae sensus, libri decem et octo (Lyons: François Juste apud Hugues de la Porte impensis Thomas Guadagnus, 1536)

Studies:

Timoteo M. Centi, 'L'attività letteraria di Santi Pagnini (1470-1536) nel campo delle scienze bibliche', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 15 (1945): 5-51.

Max Engammare, 'Sante Pagnini, traducteur *ad litteram* et exégète *secundum allegoriam* de l'écriture (1520-1536)', in *Philologie et subjectivité. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée per l'Ecole nationale des chartes, Paris, 5 avril 2001* (Paris: Ecole des chartes, 2002), 41-52

Paul F. Grendler, 'Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy, 1515-1535', in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 240-47

Anna Morisi Guerra, 'Incontri ebraico-cristiani. Il salterio poliglotta di Santi Pagnini', in *Itinerari ebraico-cristiani: società, cultura, mito* (Fasano: Schena, 1987)

Polydore Vergil (c. 1470-1555)

Born at Urbino, educated at Padua and possibly Bologna before moving to England. His work *On Discovery* (1499) was produced in Urbino, and he added five more books (published in 1521) on the origins and inventions of Christian practices and institutions. His veneration for the Romans led him to find the origins of many discoveries and inventions with the ancient Hebrews rather than with the Greeks who largely succeeded them. His chronology, which placed most mythic and historical figures of the Greeks in the post-Mosaic age, was derived from Eusebius who was translated by St Jerome and published in Venice in 1483. Eusebius' *Preparation for the Gospel* (c. 313) expanded on his chronological points. His reading of sacred history is reliant on Josephus, especially his *Jewish Antiquities* (c. 93) and his swipes against Greeks in *Against Apion* (c. 96-100). Like **Marcantonio Coccio (Sabellico)** (whose work on discoveries he knew)¹⁹² he discussed the veracity of myths and gods and intermingled their deeds with those of historical figures. When Greek and Roman authorities disagreed he was apt to attribute inventions to the Hebrews, basing his view on scripture as mediated by Josephus, Eusebius, and others. In *On Discovery* he notes that man originated among the Jews in the form of Adam (1.3.6), and he attributes to the Hebrews the foundation of the priesthood which was conferred by God on Aaron (1.5.8), the discovery of letters (1.6.6, Moses teaches letters to the Jews according to Eusebius; 1.6.7, the children of Seth, Adam's son, write down the knowledge of the heavens on two pillars, according to Josephus, and see 1.17.5,

¹⁹² Vergil (2002), 7.

or letters were invented by Abraham, as Philo says). He says, following Eusebius, that Moses invented poetry in hexameters before the Greeks, and note also David, Solomon and the beauty of the Psalms (1.8.4-5). The Hebrews, and especially Moses, composed the first histories, according to Josephus (1.12.2), and the first lyre (1.14.4, 1.15.6), and Moses the first trumpet according to Josephus (1.15.11). Moses established the first asylum (3.12.2), and was among the first who used weapons of war (2.11.3). He also prohibited effigies of God (2.23.1). According to Eusebius philosophy originated with the Hebrews, 'as did almost all the other disciplines.' (1.16.2) Plato derived much from the Hebrews (1.16.4). Abraham brought arithmetic and astrology to the Egyptians (1.17.3, 1.18.2). Moses was the first lawgiver (2.1.8), and all nations originate from the Hebrews who invented democracy (2.2.5) slavery (2.2.9), the census (2.3.15), the year of twelve months (2.4.3, 10), book publishing (2.7.2), parchment (2.8.4), possibly treaties (2.15.3), possibly perfume (2.18.1), possibly metal working (2.19.5), rings and jewels (2.21.5), the first cultivation of land and improvement in grain (3.2.8), and the art of buying and selling (3.16.4). Olive was first used by the Hebrews (3.3.14), not the Greeks, as was linen (3.6.2), shoes (3.6.6), the first temple (3.9.6), and wells (3.9.8). Vergil was less complimentary about the Jews who, he wrote in c. 1521, introducing his discussion of the beginnings of Christian institutions, had 'coloured over, varnished and misrepresented' the law which Christ came to strengthen. [I]n the end whatever they had made lax, he made strict, where they had brought in more ceremony with less piety, he wanted more piety and less ceremony.¹⁹³ Moreover, divorce first appeared among Jews (1.4.10-11) and animal sacrifices (3.5.2).

Works:

On Discovery, ed. and trans. Brian P. Copenhaver (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002)

Gian Francesco Burana (1475/80-)

Born in Verona. Attended lectures in Padua and copied out Greek works. He was taught by Girolamo Surian, who had some knowledge of Arabic and Hebrew. His teacher Girolamo Bagolino praised his knowledge of Hebrew, and he worked with the Syriac-Arabic-Hebrew Great Commentary of Averroes on Aristotle by Calo Calonimo.

Studies:

Giorgio Stabile, 'Burana, Giovanni Francesco', *DBI*, 15 (1972): 386-89

Alberto Pio da Carpi (1475-1531) [to finish]

Prince of the county of Carpi (near Modena), nephew of **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola**, tutored by **Aldus Manutius** and Pietro Pomponazzi, he had a great interest in scripture and intervened on behalf of Johannes Reuchlin with Pope Leo X (1513-21).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 21.

Studies:

Nelson H. Minnich, 'Alberto Pio's Defense of Scholastic Theology', in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 277-95

Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1547)

Studied at Ferrara then Rome in household of Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa from c. 1498, appointed papal secretary in 1513 and bishop of Carpentras in 1517, and became cardinal in 1536. He wrote commentaries on the Psalms, John 3: 1-23, 20: 17, and work linking Isaiah 53 (Jewish wickedness and lack of faith rebuked) with Mark 15: 28 and Luke 22: 35-39, both referring to Isaiah during the crucifixion and Christ's advice to the disciples respectively. In his work on the Psalms he was fairly hostile towards Hebrew scripture and to Jewish law, cultural practices, piety and scholarship. He used St Jerome's Gallican Psalter and Hebrew Psalter as well as the Greek Septuagint (based on Hebrew) and preferred the commentaries of the Greek fathers to the scholastics (although he did cite Nicholas of Lyra) since they live in a holy fashion, were closer to the New Testament age and had greater knowledge of ancient wisdom. Sadoleto's Psalm exegesis was 'more moral than theological ... freer and more literary' than those of his fellow humanists and aimed to move pious readers, much to the disgust of the theologians of the University of Paris in 1535.¹⁹⁴

Works:

Interpretatio in Psalmum, Misere mei Deus (Rome: In aedibus Francesco Minizio Calvo, 1525)

In locum Evangelicum de duobus gladiis interpretatio in *Opera*, 4 vols (Verona: Joannis Alberti Tumermani, 1737-38), 4, 377-90

Studies:

Paul F. Grendler, 'Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy, 1515-1535', in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 263-70

Agathius Guidacerius (1477?-1540)

He seems to have been of Calabrian origin, and although 'not a scholar of great distinction' he issued in Rome a Hebrew grammar dedicated to Pope Leo X (1513-21), based on David Kimhi's *Sefer mikhlol* (Hebrew grammar) and containing a preface in which he explains why the study of Hebrew is worthwhile.¹⁹⁵ He claimed to have studied Hebrew for seven years with Rabbi Jacob Gabbai. He was in Avignon in 1518 and he applied for post teaching Hebrew at Trilingual College in Louvain. He was a Hebrew teacher in Rome by January 1522, and two years later published commentary on the Song of Songs. He also studied Hebrew commentaries on Psalms and on Job by Abraham ibn-Ezra in 1526. After the Sack of Rome he went to Avignon and then in 1531 accepted lectureship in Hebrew at Collège de France and defended study of

¹⁹⁴ Grendler (2008), 266.

¹⁹⁵ Quoting Galliner (1940), 86.

Hebrew. In his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5: 3-11) he emulated St Gregory of Nyssa in presenting a moral and spiritual exhortation rather than a work of great grammatical, historical, or philological content. He also made a case for the study of Hebrew, which had happily been wrested from Jewish possession and would help France in its battle with heresy.

Works:

Grammatica Hebraicae linguae (Rome: Etienne Guillery, 1520)

Nova expositio in septem maxime contra omnia adversa Psalmos Penitentiales per Agathium (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1523. Repr. 1524, 1525, 1526, 1536)

Nova commentaria in Canticum canticorum Selomonis [sic] per Agathium clericum (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1524)

De laudibus, et materia psalorum. Et in primum psalmum, secundum veritatem Hebraicam expositio (Paris: Pierre Vidoué, Gilles de Gourmont, 1529)

Institutiones grammaticae Hebraicae linguae (Paris: Pierre Vidoué, Gilles de Gourmont, 1529. Repr. 1546)

Canticum canticorum nuper ex Hebraeo in Latinum versum (Paris: ex officina Gérard Morrhy, 1531)

Ad christianissimum regem et reginam Galliae. In verba domini supra montem explanatio (Paris: apud Chrestien Wechel, 1531)

In V Psalmos secundum Hebraicam veritatem recens expositio (Paris: François Gryphe, 1532)

Alphabetum Hebraicum. Adjectus est et Abdias propheta (Paris: apud Chrestien Wechel, 1533. Repr. 1534, 1539)

De literis Hebraicis, de punctis, de accentibus, de quantitate syllabarum deque vera linguae Hebraicae pronuntiandi ratione (Paris: apud Chrestien Wechel, 1537)

In tres preciosissimos delectos Davidiacos psalmos jam nunc secundum fontes Hebraeorum aedita expositio (Paris: apud François Gryphe, 1537)

In preciosissimum sexagesimum octavum Davidicum psalmum (Paris: [François Gryphe apud Collège des Italiens, 1537])

In quatuor et viginti primos Davidicos psalmos secundum Hebraicam veritatem jam nunc aedita commentaria: ex quibus quantum luminis christianae fidei accesserit, piorum lectorum erit judicium (Paris: Collège des Italiens, 1540)

In primam Davidicorum psalorum decadem, ad Franciscum christianissimum, jam nunc secundum Hebraicam, Graecamque, veritatem aedita comentaria (Paris: Collège des Italiens, 1540)

Ed. Abdias, *Grammaticae in sanctam Christi linguam institutiones* (Paris: Collège des Italiens, 1539. Repr. 1549)

Trans. David Kimhi, *Liber Michlol grammatices linguae sanctae* (Paris: Collège des Italiens, 1540)

Studies:

Helmuth Galliner, 'Agathius Guidacerius, 1477?-1540. An early Hebrew grammarian in Rome and Paris', *Historia Judaica*, 2/2 (Oct. 1940): 85-101

Cristoforo Marcello (c. 1480-1527) [complete]

Studies of Psalms in MS: Iter 2: 285a, 365a, and see Grendler (2008), 276 and Minnich (1969), 181-3, 229, 231-34

Studies:

Margherita Palumbo, 'Marcello, Cristoforo', *DBI*, 69 (2007): 525-28

Federico Fregoso (c.1480-1541)

Genoese aristocrat, close to **Pietro Bembo** (who deplored the studies in the Kabbalah of Francesco Zorzi in a letter to him in 1533) in Rome from the first decade of sixteenth century. The convert **Santes Pagnini** dedicated his *Hebraice Institutiones* of 1526 to Fregoso, and repeated the compliment in 1529 in the *Thesaurus* published in Lyons. At this time Fregoso was studying Hebrew near to Lyons as an abbot in Dijon, and he seems to have made financial and intellectual contributions to Pagnini's work. In it Pagnini explained the literal meanings of Hebrew words and quoted Old Testament, rabbinical source, Kimhi, Church fathers, and ancient pagan classics in order to do so. In 1531 in Venice Fregoso met Gasparo Contarini and Gregorio Cortese who criticised his studies of the Kabbalah during the 1530s. In 1537 he was involved with Contarini and Cortese in the examination of the text of the *Problemata* (Venice, 1536) by **Francesco Zorzi**.¹⁹⁶

Sources:

Santes Pagnini, *Thesaurus linguae sanctae...* (Lyons: Sébastien Gryphe, 1529)

Studies:

Giampiero Brunelli, 'Fregoso, Federico', *DBI*, 50 (1998): xx-xx

A. Liaina, 'Fregoso, Federico', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, V*, cols 1189-1190

Paulus Ricius (d. c. 1541)

Convert who may have studied with Pietro Pomponazzi at Padua before moving to Pavia where he taught philosophy and published a number of works addressing Kabbalah. He later moved to Augsburg and by 1516 was employed as physician to Emperor Maximilian I (1493-1519), later acting in the same role for Prince Ferdinand. His first published work deals with 'the cause of the perfidy of the Jews', 'the concord of the Jewish and Christian faiths', and 'the beatitude by the faith of Christ alone.' His third work published in Pavia (with a prefatory letter by the Augustinian Giovanni Benedetto Moncetti) dealt with the prohibitions and precepts of Mosaic Law. He also published works on Peripatetic philosophy and two translations of Averroes before the dialogue between a doctor of theology and three Jewish brothers of 1514. Two years later he published the first Latin translation of a kabbalistic text – Joseph Gikatilla's *Sha'are orah* as *Portae lucis* (Gates of Light) and in 1519 the first Latin translation of a part of the *Mishnah*, the third-century rabbinic commentary. In 1523 he defended Johannes Reuchlin in a pamphlet published in Nuremberg. His attempt to harmonise Catholic and Protestant positions in his *Statera prudentum* (1532) led to the work being condemned at the Diet of Regensburg (1541) as 'Judaizing' and perhaps help to explain why his works were reprinted only in altered form, in a compendium of 1541, and subsequently in Johannes Pistorius's

¹⁹⁶ Cortese to Contarini, Gubbio, 5 April 1537 in Gregorio Cortese, *Omnia quae huc usque colligi potuerunt, sive ab eo scripta, sive ad illum spectantia* (Padua, 1774), part 1, 116-17.

Ars cabalistica (Basel, 1587) alongside a Latin translation of Leone Ebreo's *Dialoghi d'amore* (1535), Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* (1494) and *De arte cabalistica* (1517), and Archangelo Burgonovensis's commentary on selections from Pico's kabbalistic *Conclusiones* (1486) drawn from a work published in Ferrara in 1551. The 'original and creative' work of the *Isagoge* has been discussed by Crofton Black.¹⁹⁷ He shows how '[b]y linking kabbalah's enigmas to Aristotle's conventional, though controverted, psychology, Ricius made a great hermeneutic breakthrough'.¹⁹⁸ In this work Ricius outlined the ways in which man, as an image or microcosm of God, might grasp the microcosm of divine law in the Pentateuch in a literal way and also understand the macrocosmic, or eternal, law of God in an allegorical or Kabbalistic sense. He argued that although man's cognition had been impaired by the Fall it had been restored by Christ and the intellect might join with God. He made these arguments on the basis of Peripatetic cognitive models, in some respects at odds with Thomist theory and sympathetic to Averroes, and probably drawing on Arab Peripatetic traditions conveyed by means of the work of medieval Jewish scholars such as Maimonides, Gersonides, and Abraham Abulafia.

Works:

Sal federis: Pauli Ricii israhelite: nuper a iudaismo ad sacram Christi religionem translati, compendium quo mirifico acumine (Judeorum insipiente reffellendo calumnias) apostolicam veritatem ratione, prophetice, talmudistice, cabalistiche, plane confirmat: ac iudeorum christique fidei tollit repugnantiam (Pavia: per Giacomo Pocatela, 1507)

Aphoristicae in cabalistarum eruditionem cum digressionibus isagogae. Eiusdem de modo inveniendi subiecta doctrinarum & ordinem conclusiones lepidaque oratio (Pavia: per Bernardino Garaldi, 1509)

De sexcentum et tredecim mosaice sanctionis edictis. Philosophica, prophetica ac talmudistica (pro christiana veritate tuenda) cum iuniori Hebraeorum synagoga disputatio. In cabalistarum seu allegorizantium eruditionem ysagoge. De novendoctrinarum ordinibus et totius perypatetici dogmatis nexu compendium: conclusiones atque oratio (Pavia: per Giacomo Pocatela, 1510)

In Apostolorum symbolum Pauli Ricii Phisici Cesarei Elegantissimus iuxta peripateticorum dogma dialogus per plane. Et summo ingenii Acumine Lumini gratie Lumen Concilians (Pavia: per Bernardino Garaldi, 1517)

Trans. *Portae lucis* (Augsburg, 1516)

Ed. *Talmudica novissime in latinum versa periocunda commentariola* (Augsburg, 1519)

Sources;

[Erasmus, letter of 10 March 1516](#)

Studies:

Crofton Black, 'From Kabbalah to Psychology: The Allegorizing *Isagoge* of Paulus Ricius, 1509-41', *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, 2/2 (2007): 136-73

J. L. Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 65-75

¹⁹⁷ Black (2007), 165.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

Agostino Beazzano (c.1490/1500-1549)

Venetian poet and humanist, in circle of **Pietro Bembo** and Roman humanists, he addressed verses to the reader in Gerardus Veltwyck's *De Iudaicis disciplinis et earum vanitate* (Venice, 1539): 'Hebrae qui nosse cupit miracula linguae, / Doctaque Davidicis condita verba modis: / Carmina Gerardi insueto depicta colore / Haec legat, Hyblaeo dulcia melle magis. / Non tantum hinc penitus doctorum vana peribunt / Somnia, iudiciis nil facienda bonis: / Sed longo demum discusso errore patebit / Qua deceat domini quaerere menta vias.'

Sources:

'Augustinus Beatianus Candido lectori', in Gerardus Veltwyck, *Itinera deserti. De Iudaicis disciplinis & earum vanitate. Autore Gerardo Veltuycko Ravesteyuensi. Addita etiam nonnulla quae ex illorum libris eruta cum fide Christiana consentiunt* (Venice: D. Bomberg, 1539), titlepage verso.

Agostino Steuco (1497-1548)

In 1513 he entered the congregation of the order of Augustinian canons of San Salvatore, Bologna, and in that city learnt Hebrew. From 1529 he was in charge of manuscripts bequeathed by Cardinal **Domenico Grimani** to the monastery of San Antonio di Castello in Venice. Using these manuscripts he produced annotations on the Pentateuch, correcting St Jerome's translation of the text. The *Recognitio* was dedicated to Domenico Grimani and his son Marino and was 'a set of critical emendations of Jerome's Old Testament Latin text, based upon extensive use of the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek manuscripts in the Grimani library.'¹⁹⁹ He aimed by this work to show that many Catholic doctrines and rituals had origins in the Old Testament and were divinely sanctioned. In particular, in several places he defended the use of external forms of worship and papal primacy in spiritual and doctrinal affairs at a time when reformers north and south of the Alps were questioning both. Social and political harmony, he thought, relied on both these pillars, and in 1530 he issued an attack against Lutheran heresies. He emphasised the utility of outward ceremonies and divine institutions to aid the majority of people in their worship and to prevent the spread of cruelty and base instincts. These institutions and rituals had originally been put in place by wise rulers with secular and spiritual responsibilities to promote humble piety and thereby social welfare. Moses and Aaron, although not named by Steuco, were often taken as exemplars of such leaders working for the welfare of their people and providing appropriate ceremonies and laws. As he later wrote: 'We are men [...] living in a corporeal body, for whom corporeal things are necessary, by which such things it is necessary to satisfy the multitude of people, not the wise man, but the ignorant, full of blindness.'²⁰⁰ This hierarchical and patrician vision must have been highly congenial to the Venetian patriciate. Steuco's 'perennial philosophy' drew on Ficinian and neo-Platonic notions of man's desire to worship God, in whose image man had been created. Seeking to return to the source of his innate reason and goodness man's

¹⁹⁹ Delph (1994), 108.

²⁰⁰ Quoted in Delph (1992), 42.

soul, endowed with reason by God, sought to gain full knowledge and union with the divine. In this pursuit men created external signs of their religion and piety in all ages although the apostles as the earliest witnesses to Christ were perhaps the most wise and most worthy of being imitated.²⁰¹ Steuco moved to Rome into the household of Pope Paul III (1534-49) in 1536 and his works published are marked by the defence of papal pomp and primacy.

Works:

Recognitio veteris testamenti ad hebraicam veritatem, collata etiam editione Septuaginta interprete cum ipsa veritate hebraica, nostraque translatione, cum expositione hebraeorum, ac Graecorum, qui passim toto opere citantur. Ubi quantum fieri potest, monstrantur loci, qui in editione latina, et Graeca discrepant a codicibus hebraeorum, per Augustinum Eugubinum can. reg. s. Augustini Ordinis s. Salvatoris. Ne quis alius aut Venetiis, aut usquam locorum hunc impune librum imprimat, Senatus Veneti decreto cautum est (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, 1529)
-- *De perenni philosophia libri X. De Eugubii, urbis suae, nomine* (Lyon: Sébastien Gryphe, 1540)

Studies:

Ronald K. Delph, 'Polishing the Papal Image in the Counter-Reformation: The Case of Agostino Steuco', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 23 (1992): 35-47

-- 'From Venetian Visitor to Curial Humanist: The Development of Agostino Steuco's "Counter"-Reformation Thought', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47 (1994): 102-39

-- "Emending and Defending the Vulgate Old Testament: Agostino Steuco's Quarrel with Erasmus," in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2008), 297-318

T. Freudenberger, 'Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Domenico Grimani', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 56 (1936): 15-45

-- *Augustinus Steuchus aus Gubbio, Augustinerchorcher und päpstlicher Bibliothekar (1497-1548)* (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Heft 6-65. Münster i. W, 1935)

Daniel Bomberg (d. 1549/53)

A native of Antwerp who settled in Venice. He set up a press with permission of Venice in 1516 at the suggestion of the convert **Felix Pratensis**, and printed nearly two hundred Hebrew books. Pratensis edited the first rabbinical Bible (i.e. Hebrew text of Old Testament with *Targum* or Aramaic paraphrases, and standard commentaries by Jewish scholars including Rashi, David Kimhi, and Nahmanides) in 1517. He also edited a single-volume edition of the Hebrew Old Testament. Bomberg published first complete editions of the two Talmuds (1520-23), approved by Pope Leo X (1513-21), as well as the *Tosefta* (Supplements to rabbinic commentary). Employed Jewish and converted Christian printers, editors, and proof readers. Bomberg posthumously published Abraham ben Meir de Balmes's Hebrew grammar, *Mikve Avram* with notes by

²⁰¹ Ibid., 43-47. Charles B. Schmitt, 'Perennial Philosophy: From Agostino Steuco to Leibniz', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 27/4 (Oct.-Dec. 1966): 505-32.

Qalonymos ben David, judged useless by Sebastian Munster.²⁰² Returned to Antwerp in 1539.

Studies:

Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1983), 36-44

Agostino Ricci (fl. c. 1500)

Astrologer to the Marquis of Monferrato, taught at Salamanca by Abraham Zacuto, he describes a meeting in Basel to discuss the history of astrology. On this occasion he proved that the Hebrews were the first astronomers, citing Josephus on the two pillars of brick and stone on which were carved inventions, the former being lost in the Flood. He explains the meaning of the *Sefiroth* or emanations of God and explicates the meaning of light as the divine essence, as shown by the works of Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus, Denys the Areopagite, Iamblichus, **Marsilio Ficino**, Algazel and the texts of Exodus 24, Ezechiel, and St John: 'I am the light of the world.' He identifies three *sefiroth* with the Trinity, and the remaining ten with the constructed world, and he calculates the Jubilee, when God will judge all souls, on the basis of a sevenfold exposition of history.

Works:

De motu octavae sphaerae opus mathematica atque philosophia plenum, ubi tam antiquorum quam iuniorum errores luce clarius demonstrantur in quo & quamplurima platoniorum & antiquae magiae (quam cabalam hebraei dicunt) dogmata videre licet intellectu suavissima. Nuper in ciuitate Casalis ... editum. Item eiusdem epistola de astronomie auctoribus ... (Trino: in edibus domini Ioannis de Ferrarijs alias de Iolitis, 10 Sept. 1513)

Studies:

François Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance* (1964. Milan: Archè, 1985), 81-83

²⁰² *Peculium Abrae. Grammatica Hebraea una cum Latino nuper edita. Per doctiss. virum magistrum Abraham de Balmis artium & medicinae doctorem* (Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1523); Gérard E. Weil, *Elie Lévi: Humaniste et Massorète (1469-1549)* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 222-23. Munster made this criticism in the Latin and Hebrew version of Elijah Del Medigo Levita's grammar he edited and had published in Basel in 1525. Here he also claimed that the Jews distrusted grammar and had few grammatical tools acquiring their knowledge of the language not by studying rules but by assiduous reading of the Bible as if children were immediately set to work on Cicero and Vergil to know Latin or Lucian and Homer to know Greek. *Ibid.*, 223-25.