Where Antiquity is Power

Desperate times birth desperate measures, and the Renaissance’s desperation birthed a true cultural transformation: the revival of antiquity. The Florentine poet Francesco Petrarch (1304-1374) wrote of the wretched state of Italy, fractured by selfish wars of vendetta and ambition, and threatened by mighty France and Spain. But since the ancient Romans had conquered Europe, Petrarch speculated, surely their descendants could achieve the same if they recovered the lost arts of their ancestors.

For Europe, ancient Rome was a golden age, whose relics saturated the countryside from England to Turkey. Renaissance humanism was a cultural and educational movement dedicated to reviving the lost arts of antiquity, not just for aesthetic or intellectual purposes, but as a survival mechanism. Humanists argued that works of ancient art and engineering would make Italian city-states glorious and strong, books of law and statecraft would make them just and stable, and books of ethics and philosophy would restore the values which had made Cicero and Seneca put city and people before ambition and self-interest. Soon a French ambassador, arriving in Florence filled with scorn for this ignoble merchant republic, found himself awed by bronzes of impossible complexity, libraries packed with rediscovered secrets, and new buildings which invoked the awe-inspiring ruins that littered France.

Antiquity offered an alternate nobility, deriving, not from blood or chivalry, but from the memory of Rome. Art intimidated, cowed, and tempted, and visitors to Italy quickly realized they too could use classicism to glorify themselves. For glory-hungry cities and monarchs alike, cultural competition had long been an alternative to conquest. Patrons of the classics could outshine rivals by possessing the most learned Greek scholar, the most classical palace, or the most extensive library. Soon every city in the European sphere hungered for Roman sculptures, Italian artists, and humanist scholars. For factions within cities, displaying power through a festival song, a statue, or a learned sermon was a bloodless alternative to displaying strength through violence.
While the classical revival did not bring peace to war-torn Europe, it was one of the most powerful cultural transformations in human history, and the export of humanism by explorers and missionaries made classical antiquity a vocabulary of power recognized from Mexico to Japan. In this sense, the Renaissance world was not limited to Europe, but included every part of the Earth that was touched by the revival of Greek and Roman antiquity.

The Double Rivalry of Rome and Florence

Rome and Florence were double rivals, as both cities tried to present themselves as capitals of antiquity, and as capitals of Christendom.

Economically Florence was triumphant: its 100,000 residents made it one of Europe’s largest capitals, and every nation used Florentine banks and exports. In contrast, Rome had never rebounded from the Plague of Justinian in 541-2 CE. The imperial capital built for a million people was now hollow, its 20,000 residents clustering near the Christian sights which ringed Rome’s abandoned core, since the city offered little employment apart from the Vatican itself. Politically the influence was reversed, since papal authority could tip the balance anywhere in Europe, making Rome a political threat to the strongest monarchs. In contrast, Florence’s tiny merchant republic was an object of scorn in many foreign eyes, which saw the city that laid such golden eggs as a resource, but not a peer.

Mismatched economically and politically, Rome and Florence competed through culture, both wrestling with the contradiction of appropriating pagan relics while promoting Italy and themselves as centers of Christianity.

Two Classical Capitals

Both cities claimed antiquity. Florence was the birthplace of humanism, and fastest to erect the neoclassical edifices and impossible bronzes which made it feel like a new Rome. Yet how could Florence be a new Rome when Rome was only a few days’ ride away? Renaissance Rome profited from humanism, gaining international esteem, and controlling the lion’s share of Italian antiquities. Even Petrarch had confirmed the supremacy of the eternal city by choosing to be crowned poet laureate in Rome. The Vatican’s wealth and prestige made it easy for Rome to hire away the best of Florence’s artists and scholars—or demand their services with threats if need be—so Rome grew grander and more classical with every Florentine innovation. Florentines tried many strategies to advance their city’s status as a classical capital, presenting Florence as a new Athens, supreme in culture over Rome, or as a new Roman republic, a truer successor to antiquity than the papal monarchy.

Two Christian Capitals

Both cities also claimed Christianity. Florence’s famous cathedral, undertaken in 1296, was conceived as a project to build the greatest church in Christendom, to demonstrate Florence’s supreme piety. Florence’s grandest classical bronzes were not pagan figures but patron saints, its most ambitious neoclassical buildings churches and hospitals, its most famous humanists priests and theologians, and its symbols John the Baptist and the classical-yet-Christian virtue Charity. As papal corruption became more infamous, Christian Florence styled itself an alternate Holy City, purer than rotten Rome. Florence also fostered radical theologies, from the virtue-centered Platonic-Christian syncretism of Marsilio Ficino to the ferocious reform theocracy of Girolamo Savonarola, which prefigured many elements of the Reformation. Rome responded by incorporating some of humanism’s new theological ideas, condemning others, frequently threatening Florence with interdict or military action, and undertaking the new Saint Peter’s basilica expressly to surpass Florence in the splendor and ambition of its Christian piety.

Public Satire in Rome
Brendan Small

pas·quin·ade
noun
a satire or lampoon, originally one displayed or delivered publicly in a public place.
In 1501, Cardinal Carafa set up a statue known as Pasquino in the Piazza di Parione in Rome. It became the center of an annual ritual where literati affixed satirical poems, often in Latin, to Pasquino’s base. Anonymous, bitingly caustic verses in Latin and Italian were soon posted year-round by learned and ordinary Romans, lampooning life, politics, and the elites. The poems were avidly consumed by literate and illiterate Romans alike, as citizens listened to them being read aloud. Pasquino became the mouthpiece of common Romans for expressing social and political tensions. Even today one can visit the Pasquino statue to find contemporary verses criticizing the government.

PQ4220.S2 C37 1512
Carmina ad statuam Pasquini in figuram Martis presenti Anno .M.D.XII. conuersi. [Roma: Jacobus Mazochius, 1512]
Rare Books Collection

Each year the best hundred or so verses from the annual festival were collected and printed in a volume like this one. Giacomo Mazzocchi published the inaugural collection of Pasquinades in 1509. This collection is from 1512, when Pasquino took on the role of Mars, proclaiming “I am Mars, yes I am.” His personification referenced the war of the Holy League against France, and many poems from this year talk of war.

ff DG62.5.L2, fff DG62.5.L2. Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae

A93
Pasquino
Engraving
Antonio Lafreri, publisher
1550

I am not (as I seem), the crippled Babbuino, without hands or feet,
I am not even the ape of Niccolo Zoppino, with obscene and strange exotic parts,
But I am that most famous Pasquino, and I make the most prominent men shiver. And I astonish the out of towners and my fellow citizens
When I compose in vernacular, or in Latin.
My persona was shaped in this way
By the blows I take from here and from there
For happily revealing their sins,
But as long as I have my voice I do not care,
Even if the rest of my body perishes,
I will continue to speak the truth,
And the people who are offended must deal with it.
Because if stupid people do not want to keep their sins to themselves,
Who is going to stop me from telling them.

Translated by Brendan Small

A133
Marforio
Etching with engraving
Claudio Duchetti, publisher
1581

After Pope Adrian IV placed Pasquino under surveillance in 1522 to curtail anti-papal satire, other “talking statues” appeared. Posted verses often put multiple statues in dialogue, forming them into an academy called the “Congress of the Wits”—a network of dissenting, untraceable voices. This etching depicts Marforio, sometimes considered a “little brother” of Pasquino. Marforio, Pasquino and their colleagues created an early form of “social” media subversion, a comments section of sorts that continues to echo through the centuries.

C901
Pasquino (without text)

Engraving
Orazio de Santis or Cherubino Alberti, engraver, after Giovanni Battista de’Cavalieri et al.
Andrea and Michelangelo della Vaccheria or Goert van Schayck, publisher
1614 or 1621

Pasquino was dressed up each year for his festival in different costumes. In this engraving, we see several examples of the various props used to put Pasquino into character. The idea to dress up the statue likely came from Pliny’s *Natural History*, which speaks of a statue of Hercules in the Forum Boarium that was “arrayed in triumphal vestments” for triumphal processions (HN 34-33). In 1511, Pasquino was dressed as Grief, mourning the death of Cardinal Carafa, the statue’s patron.

PQ4563.Q2 1588.
Pietro Aretino (1492-1556)
*Quattro commedie del divino Pietro Aretino*
[London: J. Wolfe], 1588.
Rare Books Collection

Mystery surrounds the etymology of the name “Pasquino.” In the mid-1500s, Ludovico Castelvetro determined the epithet came from a sharp-tongued tailor. Nineteenth century scholars surmised the name was inspired by the character Pasquino from Poggio Bracciolini’s famous joke book *Facetiae*, a “sarcastic and humorous man.” Pietro Aretino offered another explanation in the prologue to *La Cortegiana*. Aretino facetiously explained that the statue was born from an illicit union between the Muses and vagabond poets.

PA8485.C92P3 1544, v.1
Celio Secondo Curione (1503-1569), editor
*Pasquilorum tomi duo...*
[Basilae]: Eleutheropoli, 1544.
Rare Books Collection, Berlin Collection

As the Inquisition heated up in the early 16th century, the church cracked down on pasquinades in Rome, ultimately pushing the tradition to other printing centers in Europe. This edition was printed in Basel, disguised under the pseudonym “Eleutheropolis,” meaning “free city” in Greek. The alias suggests that publishers feared an adverse reaction from the Inquisition for its criticism of the curia. One notable entry is Erasmus’s satiric dialogue *Julius Exclusus*, which mocked Pope Julius II—known for his luxury as well as his wars—for struggling to enter heaven:

*JULIUS:* What the devil is this? The doors don’t open?
Somebody must have changed the lock or broken it.

*GENIUS:* It seems more likely that you didn’t bring the proper key; for this door doesn’t open to the same key as a secret money-chest.

PA8485.C92P3 1544, v.1
Celio Secondo Curione (1503-1569), editor
*Pasquilorum tomi duo...*
[Basilae]: Eleutheropoli, 1544.
Rare Books Collection, Berlin Collection

The second volume of this publication is a vibrant testimony to the anti-clerical polemics prevalent in mid-fifteenth-century Europe. This book contains prose from prominent German humanists like Erasmus of Rotterdam and the Protestant Ulrich Hutton. On display is Erasmus’ satire against the *viri oscui*—monks, theologians, university men—who he lampoons to inveigh against the everyday corruptions of the Church.

Mannerist Statuette of a Figure in Classical Armor (Perseus?)
Bronze
19th century
Private Collection

Rome and Its Ruins
Hilary Barker

By the sixteenth century, Rome—capital of Christendom and former center of a great Empire—had been overtaken in magnificence by many other cities in Europe. To claim contemporary importance, Rome’s advocates looked to the past—the physical remnants of which were crumbling around them. The reconstructive efforts of Bartolomeo Marliani, Pirro Ligorio, and others (who did not always agree!) were part of the larger project of regaining classical knowledge. They promoted this both for its own sake and to instruct and inspire others, at a time when so much—text, art, and architecture—had been irrevocably lost. Scholars and artists used their own experience, inscriptions, archaeological evidence, and ancient literary descriptions—along with a fair amount of imagination—to portray the city as both reconstructed and ruined. The tensions between ambitious scholarly projects and the limited resources available were always present, as were tensions between antiquarians with different ideas about the past.

DG62.5 M349
Bartolomeo Marliani (d. 1560)
*Vrbis Romae topographia nunc denovo 'accyratissime ' in lucem edita*
Venetiis: Apud Hieronymum Francinum, 1588.
Rare Books Collection, Berlin Collection

Originally published in Rome in a large, Latin edition, the *Topographia Urbis Romae* saw many printings in Latin and Italian in various cities throughout the sixteenth century: large editions with full-page illustrations, as well as small, portable versions like this one. Its popularity was partly a result of the images included from 1544 onwards. Notably, these were not limited to reconstructions, but also included architectural plans and ruinscapeas as we see here. This shows how differing ways of picturing Roman antiquity could coexist in a single publication. Nota bene: The building pictured here is erroneously identified as the Temple of Peace. It is in fact the Basilica of Maxentius.

DG76 L54 1553.
Pirro Ligorio (ca.1513-1583)
*Libro di M. Pyrrho Ligori napolitano, delle antichità di Roma...*
In Venetia: Per Michele Tramezino, 1553
Rare Books Collection

Early modern scholars largely relied on ancient texts to reconstruct the topography of ancient Rome. Pirro Ligorio is notable for his use of archaeological evidence, such as coins, statues, and inscriptions, together with texts to locate ancient buildings. In this book, he discusses the locations of the circuses, theaters, and amphitheaters. In the appendix, called “Paradosse,” he “disputes the common opinions on various and diverse locations of the city of Rome.” Working against the “grave errors” of other writers (including Marliano with whom he often disagreed), Ligorio claims to be “using [his] ingenuity to prove the truth.”

f DG 62.5 M35.
Bartolomeo Marliani (d. 1560)
*Vrbis Romae topographia...*
Basileae: Per Ioannis Oporinum, 1550.
Rare Books Collection, Berlin Collection

Medieval guides to Rome often included a range of sites that were classical, religious, and secular. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, burgeoning antiquarian studies led to the first guides focused entirely on the monuments of ancient Rome. Bartolomeo Marliani published an early topographical guide of ancient sites. This book, originally published unillustrated in 1534, provides a region-by-region account of known buildings (and a few works of art) of ancient Rome. In 1544, Marliani added illustrations, including modern views of ruins, reconstructions, and architectural plans. On display here is a detailed plan of the Circus Maximus.
ff DG62.5.L2, fff DG62.5.L2. Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae

A11
The Septizonium
Engraving with etching
Antonio Lafreri, publisher
1546

Some monuments were too fragmentary to be accurately reconstructed. The Septizodium mystified early modern antiquarians because only a small portion of what had clearly been a much larger structure remained. One of many ancient buildings to be cannibalized for building materials in this period, it was dismantled in 1585 by Sixtus V to provide stone for the construction of the base of the obelisk in St. Peter’s square. Prints like this are our best evidence for its former appearance.

A12
Arch of Septimius Severus
Engraving with etching
Antonio Lafreri, publisher
1547

C409
Arch of Titus
Etching and engraving
Cavalieri, Giovanni Battista de’ Dosio, Giovanni Antonio, engraver
[1569]

The two arches seen here represent two different ways of representing ancient monuments. On the left, we see the Arch of Titus encrusted in medieval constructions, as many ancient buildings were. On the right, the Arch of Septimius Severus is shown abstracted from its surroundings on a flat plane, restored to its former glory. Many monuments are depicted this way in the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae. Antiquarians who longed to see Rome restored to its zenith were confronted on a day-to-day basis by scenes like the dilapidated Arch of Titus as they traversed the city.

A31
The Aviary Of Marcus Varro
Etching with engraving
Ambrogio Brambilla, Pirro Ligorio, Claudio Duchetti, engravers
1581

In addition to his writings, Pirro Ligorio (1512-1583) produced architectural drawings and reconstructions of ancient Roman buildings. This image of an ancient aviary is based solely on a description in the De Re Rustica of Marcus Terentius Varro. It has been noted in modern scholarship that its form is similar to that of the so-called Maritime Theater at Hadrian’s Villa outside of Rome, where Ligorio was actively involved in excavation. Ligorio often combined material from multiple sources in his reconstructions to make up for “gaps”—and for this “creativity” earned a reputation as a forger. It is clear from examples like these that Ligorio often relied on his idea of what antiquities should be to inform his reconstructions.

B240
Ancient statues in a garden
Etching with engraving
Jan and Lucas van Doetecum, etchers
Hieronymus Cock, publisher
[1551-1561?]

Lovers of antiquity were faced not only by the chasm of time elapsed, but also by the rude fate of the remains of ancient Rome. Sculptures unearthed were collected by wealthy families, but often remained haphazardly displayed in gardens like this.
This book is an Italian translation of Bartolomeo Marliani’s *Topographia Urbis Romae*. It was not unusual for Marliani and other antiquarians to get things wrong, in part or in whole. This map of the pomerium, the sacred boundary of the city that was mythically traced by Romulus and defined the heart of the ancient city, reflects the common compulsion of antiquarians to “fix” irregularities they encountered. Here the pomerium is depicted as a nearly perfect square, only allowing a slight deviation from this ideal geometry to accommodate the Capitoline Hill.

Monumental foot (Hermes?)
Plaster cast after a classical Roman original, from a mold created by the Domenico Brucciani Company of London in the early Early 20th century.
Private collection

**Patronage and Power**
Ada Palmer and Eufemia Baldessarre

As classical culture became a tool of competition for the powerful, humanists and artists came to be expected ornaments of kingly courts, republican capitals, Church centers, and of any merchant household aspiring to political status. Florence’s celebrated Medici family began as wealthy bankers, but spent lavishly on art, scholarship, libraries, and public works, using the nobility of antiquity to win the respect and awe of peers and foreign powers. While relationships with patrons like the Medici were sometimes intimate and familial, serving a patron remained a form of unfreedom whose tensions shaped all Renaissance art and literature.

Rome and Florence battled over Michelangelo, who wrote of his frustrations as a living tool in the cities’ cultural competition. As a youth he had lived in the household of Lorenzo de Medici, among poets and humanists. When the Medici weakened, Rome offered wealth and fame, but Michelangelo describes how imperious and demanding patrons like Pope Julius II made even great commissions like the Sistine Chapel ceiling feel more like a yoke than a blessing. This first edition of Michelangelo’s poems was censored by his great-nephew, who purged all criticisms of the Church, and all homoerotic references to Michelangelo’s lover Tommaso de’ Cavalieri. While earthly love was censored, images of sacred or Platonic love remained—ideas shaped by the humanist scholars Michelangelo had known in the Medici household. Michelangelo died in Rome while working on St. Peter’s, but asked to be buried in Florence so he could see its cathedral one last time on Judgment Day.

Luxury objects like cup this were gifts designed to be exchanged by princes, Cardinals, and other elites, and displayed to advertise the owner’s status and refinement. The interior of this cup shows Neptune with nymphs, while the lid has a triumphing woman, likely Neptune’s bride Salacia (Amphitrite). The twisted decorative figures on the base imitate frescoes found in ancient Roman villas, which Renaissance excavators had discovered underground, flooded and caked with mud like caves. Decorations imitating these Roman “grottos” were called “grotesque,” a
word which later came to describe anything twisted, acquiring its present sinister associations in the early 20th century.

MS956
Cicero
*Philosophical treatises*, ca. 1400
Codex Manuscript Collection, Gift of Prof. Theodore Silverstein

This fanciful portrait of young Cicero introduces his dialogs *On Old Age*, *On Friendship*, and *Stoic Paradoxes*. The white vine illumination, vines formed by negative space within a blue border, originated in northern Italy, and became a signature of lavish editions of Greek and Latin classics since so many descended from Florentine originals. The volume also contains a poem praising Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, a relic of how much scholars depended on princely patronage in the age when a book cost as much as a house.

PQ4627.M2M3 1531.
Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527)
*La mandragola*
Vinegia: Per Nicolo d'Aristotele detto Zoppino, 1531
Rare Books Collection, Gift of Elsie O. and Philip D. Sang

Machiavelli survived many Florentine tumults: the death of Lorenzo de Medici, the French Invasion, the expulsion of the Medici, and the rise and fall of Savonarola. He worked tirelessly for the republican government that ruled Florence after Savonarola’s execution, but was banished after the Medici recaptured the city. Machiavelli wrote this satirical comedy *The Mandrake* during his exile, and packed it with criticisms of religion, politics, and society, depicting lustful conspirators, a corrupt and greedy friar, and a mother who urges her married daughter to commit adultery. The play’s shocking ending, in which adultery works out well for all involved, starkly reverses the moralizing lessons which usually shaped Renaissance drama.

PQ4630.M3C3 1568b.
Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494)
*Beca da Dicomano*

and

Lorenzo de’ Medici (1449-1492)
*Nencia da Barberino*
[Milan: B. Gamba, 1812]
Rare Books Collection

The *Beca da Dicomano* is a satirical poem written by the Florentine poet and diplomat Luigi Pulci, during his early years serving the Medici family. The poem was inspired by and parodies Lorenzo de’ Medici’s own poem *Nencia da Barberino*. In this edition both works are mistakenly attributed to Lorenzo. Written in Florentine dialect, the poems contain explicit language and sexual allusions. This contest between patron and client to produce the best satirical poem shows how men so unequal in power could compete as equals within the literary world of humanism.

PQ4631.M85 1732.
Luigi Pulci (1432-1484)
*Morgante maggiore*
In Firenze: Con licenza de’ Superiori, 1732
Rare Books Collection, Gift of Olga Mann and Paul Mann

The *Morgante* strongly shaped the Italian tradition of Italian vernacular epic poems. Luigi Pulci was commissioned to write it by Lorenzo The Magnificent’s mother, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, to celebrate a new alliance between France and Italy (primarily Florence) centered on the two regions’ shared Christian piety. While Pulci’s patroness expected a dignified and solemn poem, Pulci instead produced a parody of the epic genre, with more pagan and transgressive themes than sacred ones, demonstrating the tensions that could arise between patrons and their clients.
Legacy of Petrarch
Cosette Bruhns

Petrarch’s vernacular poetry greatly influenced fifteenth-century Italian literature. Many lyric poets imitated Petrarch’s themes and use of language, and his Canzoniere helped form Italian literary language. His interest in visual art and descriptions of the portrait of his beloved Laura raised questions about the nature and role of visual art, themes addressed in the poetry of Vittoria Colonna (1492-1547) and Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564). A tension existed between the act of writing and the act of making, and Petrarch’s written descriptions were an intersection of rhetoric and visuality that raised the question of which was the superior mode of expression. Petrarch’s depictions of literary, historical, and mythological figures in the Trionfi provided artists with vivid sources for figurative interpretation. His description of a triumphal procession that drew on Boccaccio and Dante displayed the interplay of powers ancient and modern, earthly and celestial. These unprecedentedly rapid transformations of sights and sounds triggered many explosive changes and social backlash which characterized the Italian Renaissance.

N8070.A434 1598.
Leandro Alberti (1479-1552)
Cronichetta della gloriosa Madonna di San Luca...
Rare Books Collection

This text by Leandro Alberti, a Dominican writer and historian, is a history of a painting of the Virgin attributed to Saint Luke the Evangelist, the patron saint of painters, in a convent in Bologna. The icon became an important part of civic religious practices in the city in the fifteenth century because it was believed to have been painted during the Virgin’s lifetime. The symbolic importance of this painting attracted both writers, like Alberti and Vittoria Colonna, and artists, who often replicated the image.

PQ4620.A17 1538.
Vittoria Colonna (1492-1547)
Rime della divina Vittoria Colonna marchesa di Pescara
Parma: Antonio Viotti, 1538
Rare Books Collection

Roman noblewoman Vittoria Colonna was one of the most renowned female writers of the Renaissance. Colonna mentored Michelangelo, with whom she exchanged many poems and letters addressing the themes of love and loss, such as in the poems featured here, as well as artistry. In a well-known poem, she specifically examines a portrait of the Virgin, attributed to Saint Luke. She initially acknowledges the painter’s sincere attempt to accurately render the Madonna’s face, before noting the limitations of this challenging endeavor. She closes the poem by recognizing the artist’s choice of stylistic simplicity, allowing inspiration from God to guide the work.

Alc Ms706.
Petrarch.
Triumph, Sonetti e canzoni, 1450.
Codex Manuscript Collection, Gift of Frank Wakeley Gunsaulus

Petrarch’s Triumph narrates a vision in which he contemplates a succession of six allegorical triumphs: Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity. The procession of triumphs is meant to instruct him in how to move past his earthly attachment to his beloved Laura. Petrarch’s descriptions bear structural resemblance to fourteenth century pictorial cycles depicting similar content, such as Giotto’s frescoes in the Scrovegni Chapel, with narrative and allegorical elements side by side. Although Petrarch never explicitly refers to works of art, the structure of the text reveals his familiarity with the visual culture of his time, and shows the ways in which writers appropriated visual narrative techniques.

dis ND2575.B45.
Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613-1696)
Classicizing trends introduced by Petrarch continued to be prevalent in Italian visual culture into the 17th century. The work of Giovanni Bellori, an artist and renowned scholar of seventeenth-century art theory, reflects this enthusiasm for antiquity, taking up topics such as ancient art and monuments. This work is a collection of engravings illustrating Roman paintings with accompanying descriptions. Such classical motifs inspired much interior decoration in seventeenth-century homes. Bellori’s work in both art criticism and painting place him within the tradition of multifaceted Italian writers and artists active in both fields.

**Florentine Humanism in Triumph and in Conflict**

*Margo Weitzman*

As the humanist revival of antiquity saturated Florence, elites hungered for Greek and Latin classics. Translations from Greek to Latin, and to vernacular Italian, made works like Homer’s epics available to new readers, and even to the illiterate who heard orations from the street and gossip from the palaces. Humanist culture was one of erudite tension as scholars engaged in fierce debates regarding Latin grammar and style. Feuds ranged in from treatises and translations, to personal missives publicly circulated.

Humanism also transformed Florentine art. Pagan narratives became frequent subjects, while classical realism dominated religious painting. Gold leaf backgrounds gave way to landscapes or architecture, and stylized figures to detailed bodies modeled on classical examples, including nudes.

Pagan literature and imagery had a complex reception among Church leaders. Some embraced humanism, founding the Vatican library and commissioning art replete with classical imagery. Others opposed humanism, leading to Inquisitorial investigations and condemnations of major scholars.

Bust of David, after the bronze by Verrocchio (1473-5) now in the National Museum of the Bargello, Florence

Terracotta, late 20th century

Private collection

King David was a favorite subject of the Florentine republic, the ambitious little city-state surrounded by great kingdoms seeing itself in the boy who bested a giant and rose to greatness. In the 1440s the Medici had commissioned a bronze *David* from Donatello, the first freestanding bronze made in the Renaissance. Verrocchio’s David, executed for the Medici thirty years later, demonstrates advances in anatomical study and emotional expression.


Homer.

*L’Odisea d’Homero*

In Firenze: Appresso il Sermatelli, 1582

Rare Books Collection, Bibliotheca Homerica Langiana

Girolamo Baccelli (1514-c.1581) produced the first complete *Odyssey* printed in Florentine Italian. Its opening dedication to the second Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francesco I de Medici is indicative of the close relationship between classical study and the permeating network of patronage within social circles of the elite during this period. The patronage of the elite is a driving force for the dissemination of humanism. The printer’s device on the title page borrows the Latin *motto festina lente* (make haste slowly) used by the celebrated Venetian printer Aldus Manutius, but makes the words Florentine by having the turtle carry Florence’s symbol, the fleur-de-lis.

alc Ms703.

Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457)

*Elegantiæ linguae latinæ*, ca. 1460

Codex Manuscript Collection
Humanists strove to develop a classical Latin style distinct from what they saw as degenerate Medieval Latin. While early humanists took Virgil and Cicero as absolute models, the pugnacious Lorenzo Valla insisted that not even Cicero himself was always perfect, and that the best Latin should be based on diverse examples from many authors. Valla’s ambitious *Elegantiae Linguae Latinae* traces the history of Latin, and declares that Rome was not lost, but survives in the many nations of Renaissance Europe.

PA4018.A2V35 1528.

Homer. *Homeri ... cvm Iliados, tvm Odysseae libri XLVIII Laurentio Vallen* [Antwerp]: Excusa per Ioannem Grapheum, 1528.

Rare Books Collection

As a compliment to Baccelli’s vernacular Italian translation, Valla’s complete works of Homer in Latin represents an earlier phase of translation practice. Valla’s translation from Greek to Latin preceded Baccelli’s from Latin to Italian. This volume was a model for proper, erudite Latin among humanists in Florence.

alcMs35.
Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) *Orationes in Laurentium Vallam*, ca. 1485 Codex Manuscript Collection, Berlin Collection

Poggio Bracciolini was an early Italian humanist, a student of one of Petrarch’s friends. An avid book-hunter, he combed through remote libraries and rediscovered many ancient authors including Lucretius, Silius Italicus, and Quintilian. Poggio was friends with Lorenzo Valla for a time, but they quarreled over points of grammar and style. This volume of Poggio’s orations ferociously attacks Valla’s *Elegantiae Linguae Latinae*, a step in one of the fifteenth century’s most famous humanist feuds.

BS1450 73rd.S26 1544

Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498) *Prediche del reverend...* Vinegia: Per Bernardino de Binoni Milanese, 1544

Rare Books Collection

The firebrand Dominican reformer Girolamo Savonarola personifies Church tensions with humanism. When the French invaded in 1494, the Medici abandoned the city, but Savonarola persuaded the French to spare Florence and became the city’s ruler from 1494-98. A scholar himself, Savonarola debated with local humanists, and preached against paganizing literature and art. Books and paintings were probably burned on Savonarola’s infamous Bonfire of the Vanities, along with luxurious clothing, cosmetics, wigs, and pornography. Savonarola’s extremism brought the pope’s wrath down on Florence, and he was burned at the stake in 1498. This posthumous collection of his sermons shows how his reform message gained new momentum in the Reformation.

alcMs57.

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) *Il Fiolcolo*, 1456 Codex Manuscript Collection, Berlin Collection

A contemporary of Petrarch, Giovanni Boccaccio was one of the greatest early Florentine authors. His *Decameron* and *Il Filocolo* were among the most read and celebrated works during the Renaissance, and influenced Chaucer. Writing in vernacular Italian, his texts were accessible to Florentines beyond the humanist elite. *Il Filocolo*, written between 1335 and 1336, is a prose romance following two lovers, which pays homage to Virgil. This volume contains marginal notes written by a Renaissance reader.

Reproductions:

Accession No.: 1973.45
Maker: Master of the Apollo and Daphne Legend  
Title: Daphne Fleeing from Apollo  
Date: c. 1500  
Medium: Oil, formerly on panel, transferred to canvas  
Dimensions: Image: 25-5/8 x 53-3/4 in. (65.1 x 136.5 cm) Framed: 35-1/8 x 62-7/8 x 3-1/4 in. (89.2 x 159.7 x 8.3 cm)  
Credit: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago; Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, Image ©2017 courtesy of The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago  
Accession No.: 1973.44

Maker: Master of the Apollo and Daphne Legend  
Title: Daphne Found Asleep by Apollo  
Date: c. 1500  
Medium: Oil, formerly on panel, transferred to canvas  
Dimensions: Image: 25-5/8 x 53-3/4 in. (65.1 x 136.5 cm) Framed: 34-9/16 x 62-1/8 x 3-1/4 in. (87.8 x 157.8 x 8.3 cm)  

These two panels from the Smart Museum were likely part of a wedding chest, and illustrate the Greek mythological story of Apollo and Daphne. After being taunted by the god Apollo, Cupid took revenge by shooting the nymph Daphne with a leaden arrow of hate, and Apollo with a golden arrow of love. As Daphne desperately tried to escape Apollo’s pursuit, she called on her father for help who turned her body into a bay laurel tree—a symbol of chastity. Not able to marry Daphne in this form, Apollo instead vowed to keep her branches flourishing for eternity. The chest, a gift celebrating a sacred Christian event, is wrought with pagan imagery. Yet, the bottom panel echoes traditional Christian imagery of the Annunciation, since Apollo’s outstretched arm and Daphne’s deflective position mimic the Angel Gabriel and Virgin Mary, demonstrating the tension between Antiquity and Christian values that was engrained in Florentine culture. Both paintings are on view at the Smart Museum of Art.

Head of John the Baptist, ca. 1585  
Medium: Oil on paper mounted on wood board  
Dimensions: Board: 11 x 16-1/8 x 1/2 in. (27.9 x 41 x 1.3 cm)  

Renaissance Florence’s earthly ambition was matched by heavenly ambition. Medieval Florence’s patron saint had been the obscure Santa Reparata, but Renaissance Florence took John the Baptist as its patron, aiming to compete with Venice’s Saint Mark, Milan’s Saint Ambrose, and Rome’s many resident saints. Images of John the Baptist, who sits on Christ’s left in Last Judgments recommending which sinners should be damned, warned enemies not to harm the favorite city of such a powerful celestial courtier.

Pope Clement VIII…, 1529-1530  
Struck gilt bronze  
Lent by The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago; Purchase, The Cochrane-Woods Collection. 1977.117

Domenico de' Vetri (c. 1480-c. 1547)  
Allesandro de'Medici…, 1534  
Struck silvered bronze  
Lent by The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago; Purchase, Gift of Mrs. John V. Farewell III. 1977.7
The Medici were great patrons of humanism, bringing scholars from around Italy and beyond to teach Latin and Greek to their children, and financing libraries, translations, artists, and architects which did indeed make Florence feel like a new Athens or Rome. The early Medici were citizens, controlling their republic through wealth and influence, but after the tumults of 1490-1512 the later Medici seized Florence by force and became dukes. These two coins featuring Pope Clement VII de Medici (1478-1534) and Duke Alessandro de Medici (1510-37) date from the ducal period and advertise Medici princely power, and would have been gifts given among the elite. The back sides depict a religious scene for the pope, and Pagan scene for the Duke—a sign of their commitment to both

Oil lamp and bottle
Etruscan, excavated in Florence. Terracotta, c. 4th century BCE
Private collection.

As the classical revival fired Europe’s appetite for Roman artifacts, Tuscany contained its own supply of artifacts from the Etruscan civilization, which had predated and vied with Rome. Some Florentines used these artifacts as a weapon in Florence’s cultural battle with Rome. By celebrating the Etruscans as a rival antiquity, more ancient and more purely Italian than the Trojan-born Romans, Florence created a second classical world of which could stand as the unrivaled capital.

Genius of London
Caryn O’Connell

Where does new knowledge come from? Many seventeenth-century Londoners would answer: “London.” In his 1603 Survey of London, John Stow declared that “learnings of all sortes . . . doe flourish onely in peopled towns.” For Francis Bacon, the “learnings” flourishing most were the “vulgar” mechanical arts, yet, against the grain, Bacon argued that these arts were a source of knowledge of causes, i.e. theoretical science. Bacon’s affirmation of the intellectual fertility of urban spaces fostered a groundswell of activity in London, central to the emergence of experimental science. This in turn generated vehement tensions about knowledge’s sites and sources. Some disagreements concerned social distinction, contrasting the knowledge generated by vulgar and gentle classes, and places. Other tensions relate to two classical terms, both related to the modern concept of genius: ingenium and genius loci. Ingenium held a range of meanings in the Renaissance, from ingenuity, to innate mental ability, learned skill, mastery of an art, or an “ingenious” made thing, such as a clever instrument. Genus loci, or “genius of the place,” referred to a spirit which watched over and characterized a locale. For poets, the genius of a place could double as a Muse stoking imaginative thought, whose inspiration could generate valid knowledge about the world. Volatile forms of ingenium demonstrated in these seventeenth-century artifacts show how practitioners framed knowledge production in terms of the material and immaterial, the place-bound and placeless, offering competing and complementary accounts of what made London so “flourishing” and so genius.

alc f QH271.H78.
Robert Hooke (1635-1703)
Micrographia
London: Printed by Jo. Martyn and Ja. Allestry, 1665
Rare Books Collection

This book encourages the comparison of two of ingenium’s poles: the “wits of men” and the “mysterie of vintners.” The word “mysterie” meant, among other things, a craftsman’s expert knowledge and skill. Charleton glosses “wit”—the most common English translation of ingenium—as “the natural capacity of understanding.” The London physician intended his discourses as practical guides. The first discourse was a guide to the transformation of “wits” understood as mental faculties and dispositions—i.e., a “subtle” judgement or a “tardy” imagination; the second takes up the technology of winemaking. The joint publication of these titles and their parallel construction encourages readers to compare their subjects.

PR934.C5. Walter Charleton (1619-1707)
Two Discourses: I. Concerning the Different Wits of Men II. Of the Mysterie of Vintners.
London: Printed by R. W. for William Whitwood, 1659
Rare Books Collection
This book encourages the comparison of two of *ingenium*’s poles: the “wits of men” and the “mysterie of vintners.” The word “mysterie” meant, among other things, a craftman’s expert knowledge and skill. Charleton glosses “wit”—the most common English translation of *ingenium*—as “the natural capacity of understanding.” The London physician intended his discourses as practical guides. The first discourse was a guide to the transformation of “wits” understood as mental faculties and dispositions—i.e., a “subtle” judgement or a “tardy” imagination; the second takes up the technology of winemaking. The joint publication of these titles and their parallel construction encourages readers to compare their subjects.

**TT144.M9.**
Joseph Moxon (1627-1700)
*Mechanick Exercises: or, The Doctrine of Handly-works.*
Rare Books Collection

This book described the arts of blacksmithing, joinery, carpentry, and turning. Like *Micrographia*, it represents knowledge as arising from local circumstances, such as the 1666 fire of London. It also uses “ingenuity,” mainly to describe London “workmen,” their creations, and Hooke. Yet Moxon differs from Hooke, as these pages show. For Hooke, knowledge was limited when “imprison’d” in a craftsman’s body: a technique or an understanding of the properties of wood or heat remained unshared. For Moxon, one had to practice an art with one’s body in order to grasp it.

**Q155.N53.**
Margaret Cavendish (1624?-1674)
*Observations upon Experimental Philosophy*
London: Printed by A. Maxwell, 1668. 2nd edition
Rare Books Collection

The first Englishwoman to publish theoretical science and science fiction, Margaret Cavendish was deeply anti-empiricist. Although interested in the London experimentalists, she was critical of them. Her position has been seen as a Duchess’s disavowal of the knowledge production of mechanics. This account, however, overlooks her concern with scientific method. For Cavendish, the place of new knowledge production was the intellect, not the laboratory; the fruits of Cavendish’s wit—like her fiction’s “ingenious Spirit”—are superior to physical discoveries. She singles out sense-based, “ingenious” microscopy as deceiving.

**The Genius of Place**
**Caryn O’Connel & Nicholas Bellinson**

Michael Drayton (1563-1631) wrote epic, pastoral, satirical, and historical poetry, plays in verse, also religious poetry, some of which was banned and destroyed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Drayton was a court favorite of Queen Elizabeth, but rejected by her successor James I. In 1610 he published the first section of his massive 15,000 line *Poly-Olbion*, whose verses survey the topography, history, natural history, and legends of Britain’s many counties. While Drayton invoked a Muse to inform his work (“Thou Genius of the place”), he published his poem with annotations by a scholar who cast doubt on the suitability of genii loci to scholarly enterprises. As an artifact, *Poly-Olbion* embodies early seventeenth-century England’s tensions concerning the proper sources of knowledge. It also captures tensions about the sites it describes, departing from contemporary pastoral conventions by praising, not just the spirit of rural locales, but also the genius of cities, above all “Great London.” Drayton celebrated London as a great source of wealth to England, though he deplored the squandering of this wealth by idle gentry,

...whose disproportion drawes
The publique wealth so drye, and only is the cause
Our gold goes out so fast, for foolish foraine things,
Which upstart Gentry still into our Country brings.

Drayton condemned England’s dependence on foreign luxuries popular with the gentry, like silk and tobacco (“trash... of which we nere had need”), to the neglect of domestic products (“our Tinne, our Leather, Corne, and
As the Reformation polarized Europe along religious lines, England remained uncomfortably in the middle, wary of and alienated from both the Roman Church and continental Protestantisms. London, as the political and religious capital of England, was on guard against dangerous influences – mostly “Popish” – at home and abroad. The documents in this case illustrate Londoners’ responses to felt tensions with Luther, with the Pope, with Rome, with neighboring France, and with London’s even closer neighbors, the denizens of the English countryside. A formative moment in the process of English isolation appears in Henry VIII’s withering response to a 1525 letter from Luther, containing material which Henry would later use to refute his own earlier Catholic writings and to define his own position as the head of the new Church of England. The three pamphlets in this case arose in the context of the so-called “Popish Plot” (1678–c.1685). Titus Oates – a born Baptist and former Anglican preacher who had converted to Catholicism, been expelled from Catholic seminaries in Spain and France, and stolen sacramental wafers which he used to seal his letters – fabricated a Jesuit plot to assassinate King Charles I and place his Catholic brother James on the throne. The ensuing hysteria claimed around thirty-five Catholic lives; even after Oates’s deception was exposed, Catholic conspiracy theories abounded. These diverse creative reactions to the exaggerated fear of Catholic insurrection in late seventeenth-century London show how religious tension itself became a tool for the exploration of London’s other tensions, geographic, economic, and political.

Henry VIII’s *Defence of the Seven Sacraments* (1521) refuted Martin Luther’s criticisms of the Roman Church. Luther dismissed the *Defence*, denying that Henry was the author. In 1525, Luther apologized to Henry and tried to reconcile their doctrinal disagreements. Henry’s response, on display here, was an excoriation of Luther. Perhaps in retaliation, when Henry broke from the Church in 1534 to divorce Catherine of Aragon, Luther sided with the Queen. Nevertheless, as head of the new Church of England, Henry cited Luther’s lines challenging his authorship of the *Defence* as evidence that he had never authored such a pro-Catholic document in the first place.

In the 1600s, the papacy struggled to maintain meaningful power, even in Catholic countries. In France, Louis XIV increasingly asserted royal control over the clergy. In response, Pope Innocent XI issued briefs reminding Louis that the Catholic religion was the basis for worldly power. Although England had long since withdrawn from the Roman Church, here “Anglicus” (“Englishman”) writes that the subject “requires our Answer, and not [Louis’s]”. Anglicus rejects the Pope’s argument; he also implies that, the Pope would not have resorted to the “Treachery” of the Popish Plot if he felt truly assured of Catholic France’s eventual conquest of England.
In 1679, a burlesque of Catholic villains took place at London’s western gate. It included a priest “giving Pards
very plentiful to all those that should Murder Protestants, and Proclaiming it Meritorious”; the Pope’s doctor “with
Jesuit Powder in one hand, and an Urinal in the other”; and the Pope himself, in effigy, “caressed” by the devil. A
“cardinal” and the “people” sang a song in parts (seen here), and the Pope was “Toppled from all his Grandeur into
the Impartial Flames”. This pamphleteer balances the irreverence of this effigy-burning against the actual burning of
Protestants by the Inquisition, and also against the Pope’s treacheries (i.e. the Popish Plot).

Even after the Popish Plot was discredited, anti-Catholic sentiment threatened to erupt in violence. Here “Goodman
Country” vindicates English countryfolk from urban suspicions of Popery. Urging moderation of the “fiery zeal of
some that are call’d Protestants”, he warns that a “Holy War” against rural “Catholics” –probably in fact
Anabaptists, Presbyterians, and Independents–would be bloodier than the Civil War of the 1640s, from which the
countryside was still recovering. Country insists that “stratagem of Jesuited Polititians” exacerbated the conflicts of
1640 and 1641, and that the same “Machiavillian Brains” were now working to divide English Protestants who in
reality stood united against Rome.

Mexico City Between Two Antiquities
Stuart McManus

Mexico City, known to many contemporaries as the “Rome and Athens of the New World,” was a vibrant urban
space that remained the most populated city in the Americas throughout the early modern period. Yet, there were
tensions, since Mexico City was the heir to two different antiquities and traditions, one Mesoamerican and the other
Mediterranean, which in some cases overlapped and interacted, and in others came into direct conflict. Early
modern Mexico City was born out of a series of destructive wars waged by European forces and their native
allies. Missionaries sought to wipe out pre-Columbian religious practices. Indigenous groups, frequently writing in
Nahuatl, challenged European settlers in royal courts. Corporate religious organizations, both European and
indigenous, fought with each other for privileges both along and across caste lines. European cultural and
educational projects thrived: classicizing edifices were built, scholars were trained in the humanist tradition and
orations were delivered in Ciceronian Latin. In Mexico City, indigenous and American-born Spanish scholars
learned to wield Latin and other originally European intellectual tools, repurposing them to voice their own agendas,
and to celebrate and reframe their local antiquity in parallel to the Greco-Roman antiquity. These New World
scholars participated in the numerous scientific controversies and legal disputes that waged in Mexico City, and
produced a dizzying array of texts and objects that bespeak broader tensions in colonial society.
During the early post-conquest period, missionaries, such as Bernardino de Sahagún, carefully documented indigenous religions and customs in order to aid their evangelization efforts. The Codex Florentinus compiled by Sahagún with the help of indigenous collaborators at the College of Santa Cruz de Tlateloco is now one of our most important sources for reconstructing Mexican history. This knowledge not only undergirded missionary projects, but also garnered considerable attention in Europe from readers eager to understand New World culture. These documents served as an important point of comparison for antiquarians, like the renaissance mythographer, Vincenzo Cartari, who included a discussion of Aztec deities in his famous compendium about ancient religions.

F1230.G64.
Francisco López de Gómara (1511-1564)
La historia di Don Fernando Cortes
In Venetia: Appresso Camillo Franceschini, 1576
Rare Books Collection

The conquest of Mexico-Tenochtitlan by the combined forces of Hernan Cortes and their indigenous allies (most notably the Tlaxcalans) led to the formation of the Viceroyalty of New Spain out of the ruins of the Aztec triple alliance that had dominated Mesoamerica for the previous century. This event was celebrated annually during the colonial period by both indigenous and Spanish inhabitants of the city. Accounts of the event also circulated in Europe.

Nahualt document written in Latin script signed by Luis Sanchez (Gobernador) and Don Antonio Desanctiago, September 1580.
Starr, Frederick. Mexican Manuscripts Collection

QB41.S58 1690.
Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645-1700)
Libra astronomica y philosophica...
En Mexico: por los herederos de la Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, 1690.
John Crerar Collection of Rare Books in the History of Science and Medicine

The intellectual world of New Spain was not without controversies. In 1680 a dispute arose between the professor of Mathematics at the Royal and Pontifical University in Mexico City, Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora, and a German Jesuit, Eusebio Kino over the significance of a comet that appeared in the sky that year. Whereas Kino argued that it was a sign of divine wrath, Sigüenza argued that the comet was a natural phenomenon, not a portent. In making his case, Sigüenza provided considerable astronomical data, which included the first use of decimal notation in the Americas.

BS2458.P37 1729.
Antonio de Peralta (1668-1736)
Dissertationes scholasticae de S. Joseph...
Mexici: Typis Josephi Bernardi de Hogal, 1729
Rare Books Collection, Gift of Roland Kulla

In the course of the sixteenth century, universities and colleges on the European model were founded across the Americas. In the institutions, students studied grammar, logic and rhetoric (known as the “arts”) before embarking on the study of more advanced subjects like law and medicine. Latin was the language of instruction and assessment, and students defended theses, which were often printed, in the ancient language.

Unglazed earthenware Aztec or Mayan Mythic Beast-Like Mask, perhaps a glyph, undated
Lent by The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago; Gift of the Estate of Doris Shayne. 1980.15

Even though large parts of the city of Tenochtitlan were reduced to rubble, many examples of pre-Columbian art and architecture both from the city and other parts of Mesoamerica survived the conquest, often being integrated into
colonial structures. This piece of Mesoamerican earthenware, probably part of a larger frieze, shows the skill of pre-Columbian craftsmen.

Manuscript: A sixteenth-century petition on behalf of a Mexico City confraternity to regulate the public display of its insignia (a special crucifix), July 26, 1645
Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento. Records

Confraternities (religious affiliation groups with a particular devotion) played an important role in religious life in Mexico City. As well as maintaining a chapel and participating in the city’s religious festivals, they were also involved in charitable work that could include founding schools and orphanages. Confraternities also jealously guarded their corporate privileges. In 1645 the Archconfraternity of the Blessed Sacrament based in the metropolitan cathedral appealed to the Pope in Rome for the exclusive right to use a particular insignia.

Manuscript: Nahualt document written in Latin script signed by Luis Sanchez (Gobernador) and Don Antonio Desanctiago, September 1580
Starr, Frederick. Mexican Manuscripts Collection

Although the borders of New Spain were violently expanded by both Spaniards and indigenous peoples loyal to the Hispanic Monarchy, the stability of this new polity was preserved by a highly developed legal system, which allowed aggrieved parties to seek justice either at the local level or appeal directly to the King. This was a bilingual legal system, in which documents in both Spanish and Nahualt were produced and used as evidence in court.

**Venice looks East**
*Rose Malloy and Michael Hosler-Lancaster*

Fifteenth-century Venice was a global crossroads, dominating trade and transit throughout the Mediterranean. While Venetian kinship and commercial networks connected the Adriatic and Mediterranean worlds, her citizens at home were active and curious consumers of maps in many forms, from practical navigational charts to lavishly decorated maps and images of faraway places, which let even the citizens who never left the city participate in a popular culture which stretched from the Near East to the Americas. Since the advent of the compass in the thirteenth-century, Venice had been a center of production for portolan charts, navigational maps developed from pilots’ lists of distances and directions, without decoration or inland details, which became increasingly useful as exploration expanded the known world. Maps also connected Venetians with antiquity: Ptolemy’s *Geography*, first translated into Latin in 1406, provided detailed instructions on how to create projections using latitude and longitude, spurring a new phase of map production on ancient models. With the advent of print, decorative maps for popular consumption multiplied along with travel accounts of pilgrimages and merchant voyages, costume books, and histories and elegiac poems. The Ottoman world was a particular focus of Venetian mapmaking and illustration. Venice had long had stronger cultural ties to the Byzantine world than to Western Europe, so the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 traumatically de-familiarized this pivotal point of cultural reference. Increasingly frequent Ottoman entanglements on the seas led to Venetian commemoration of victories and losses, and spurred an interest in geographical knowledge of the East.

QB41.G3 1605.
Giovanni Paolo Gallucci (1538-1621?)
*Coelestium Corporum et rerum ab ipsis pendentium accurata explicatio per instrumenta*
Venetiis: Apud Iacobum Antonium Somaschum, 1605.
John Crerar Collection of Rare Books in the History of Science and Medicine

This work of Giovanni Paolo Gallucci includes sophisticated, for the period, astronomical *rotulas*, or wheels, which could be used to pinpoint the direction of star formations. Tools like these were used to navigate while at sea. Venice’s economic supremacy depended on its extended contact and trade with civilizations to the east of Italy, and thus also on the navigational expertise of its merchant fleet.

alc G113.P894.
Ptolemy
*Liber geographiae cum tabulis et uniuersali figura*
Liber geographiae cum tabulis et uniuersali figura is a Latin version of Jacopo d’Angelo’s translation of Ptolemy’s Geographie, with notes and commentary by Bernardo Silvano. Early modern cartographers incorporated the geographical knowledge of the New World brought back by explorers with Ptolemy’s ancient descriptions to create images of the globe like this one. Well-known territories around the Mediterranean are illustrated with much more certainty than the New World—what is now North America appears as a mere set of islands.

Like Liber geographiae cum tabulis et uniuersali figura, this is a work of geography based on the writings of Ptolemy, a Greek scholar of the 2nd century CE. Published by Pietro Andrea Mattioli, this work includes some of the astronomer’s work in Italian. A flourishing Venetian interest in mapping out the world, especially as it pertained to exotic locales such as Asia and the New World, was in no small part due to desires to expand trade routes. Venice had regular economic contact with the Ottoman empire in the region of Asia Minor and the civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean due to its extensive trading.

Cesare Vecellio, cousin of the artist Titian, published this book depicting “the clothing of diverse nations, which I have assembled and explained.” Each image is accompanied by an explanatory text. Costume books were popular in Venice during this period; nine were published there between 1540 and 1610, suggesting a city engaged with and curious about other cultures. Despite differences in faith, the Ottoman Turks are included in the European section of the book—an acknowledgement by Vecellio of their inclusion as geographic “insiders” in European history—while Persian and Arab costumes are delegated to the African and Asian section.

Venice’s position depended on its maintenance of good trading relationships with the cultures of the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, Venice’s self-image was that of a city victorious. Venetia Trionfante (“Triumphant Venice”), a poem attributed to Vicenzo Marostica, tells the story of Venice’s victory over the Ottoman Empire. Marostica likened Venice’s triumph to that of the Greek gods over the Giants and of David over Goliath. The poet ended his tribute to the city by stating that “the names of the warriors, in front of whom the corpse of Muhammad lay fallen, are registered in golden letters in the book of life.”

Magic was as prevalent a subject of study in the Renaissance as science is today. In Florence, humanist scholars discussed the relationship between magic and classical theology, philosophy, and the natural sciences, and their treatises often served as practical guides to performing magic. The most prominent Italian scholar of magic was Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499), best known for completing the first complete translation of Plato into Latin as well as his Platonic Theology, which wove together Christianity, Platonism, Neoplatonism and Arabic philosophy into a
coherent system which aimed to remedy much of the same institutional corruption, hypocrisy and doctrinal inconsistency which Martin Luther would take on a few decades later. Ficino, who called himself a “doctor of the soul,” also outlined cohesive hybrid system of magic, which would inspire a decades-long intellectual obsession with magic throughout Europe. Ficino and other Florentine scholars of magic, despite their high status in a city entranced by humanism and the ancient world, often came under public and official suspicion as practitioners of potentially dangerous arts. Magic itself was not forbidden—many kinds of magic were acceptable parts of daily life—but instead authorities sought to ensure that magic was not being used or taught in ways which might be dangerous, heretical, or impious, especially since Renaissance magic so often intersected with theology. Magic also intersected with natural philosophy, especially with cosmology and medicine, and innovations in theories of magic were often the arena in which the greatest scientific discoveries were made and disseminated in the centuries before the Baconian revolution.

BF1680.F530 1515.
Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499)
De triplici vita
Parrhysis: Ab Joanne Paruo, [1515]
John Crerar Collection of Rare Books in the History of Science and Medicine

In the third book of De Triplici Vita, Marsilio Ficino explored the role of magic in philosophy and nature, examining things like the mechanics of the body’s connection with the soul and how to capture the powers of stars in gold or silver rings. Although Ficino himself was fascinated with Neoplatonism, later readers, like the writer of this sixteenth-century marginalia, were more interested in the text’s applicability as a manual for performing magic and conducting astrology.

B398.I3F45.
Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499)
Platonica theologia de immortalitate animo
Venetijs: Ioannis Baptiste de Pederzanis, 1524
Rare Books Collection, Gift of Julius Rosenwald

Although well-loved by many, Marsilio Ficino feared his treatises could land him in trouble with the Church. In Platonica Theologia (written 1474, published 1482), Ficino emphasized that theologically touchy concepts were affirmed “insofar as they are approved by Christian theologians” and discussed as fun exercises, since “it is delightful to play…with the ancients” (XVIII.V.1), using these asides to discuss dubious subjects without fear of pushback.

f B785.P5 1601.
Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494)
Concordiaeque comitis, theologorum & philosophorum
Venetiis: Apud Franciscum, 1569
Rare Books Collection, From the Library of Richard McKeon

Despite magic’s association with astrology, many Renaissance magicians did not wish to call themselves astrologers. Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola composed the Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem (1494), which criticized astrology fiercely for denying human free will by divining the future. The Disputationes may have been a critique of his teacher Ficino’s astrology and were certainly distancing divination from the proper practice of magic.

Q155.P82.
Giambattista della Porta (ca. 1535-1615)
Natural Magick
London: Printed for Thomas Young and Samuel Speed, 1658
John Crerar Collection of Rare Books in the History of Science and Medicine
The Neapolitan Giambattista della Porta was one of many inspired by Ficino’s magical writings. Della Porta’s *Magia Naturalis* (published in Italian 1558, translated *Natural Magick* in 1658) demonstrates the growing popularity of magic in Europe. In this translated preface, Della Porta discussed reception of the book, including his feud with a French magician who had accused him of heresy.

**BF383.B89 1582.**  
Giordano Bruno (1548-1600)  
*De umbris idearum*  
Parisiis: Apud Ægidium Gorbinum, 1582  
Helen and Ruth Regenstein Collection of Rare Books

Former Dominican Giordano Bruno took pride in making contentious theological claims about magic. Bruno’s first publication *De Umbris Idearum* recounted memorization techniques apparently so effective they bordered on the supernatural. Here, Bruno divided the horoscope into twelve “houses,” an image of power invented to aid memorization. Bruno’s magical skills and penchant for insulting his patrons led to his condemnation by the Inquisition.

**Alc Q155.G36 1575.**  
Cornelius Gemma (1535-1579)  
*De naturae divinis characterismis*  
Antverpiae: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1575  
Rare Books Collection

Europe’s fascination with magic and astrology led to increasingly empirical ways of cataloging astronomical phenomena. In his *De naturae divinis characterismis*, Dutch intellectual Cornelius Gemma became the first to illustrate an aurora while discussing a supernova observed in 1572. The book, which focused on natural sciences, also attempted to incorporate astrology into the field of medicine, demonstrating magic’s status as a serious academic “science” even in the years leading up to the Enlightenment.

**B785.P53C2 1569 –**  
Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494)  
*Cabalistarum selectiora obscuriorâque dogmata*  
Venetiis: Apud Franciscum Franciscium Senensem, 1569  
Rare Books Collection, From the Library of Richard McKeon

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**A Magus**, c.1480  
Carved limestone  
Lent by The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago; Gift of Mrs. Ruth Blumka and her family in memory of Thomas F. Flannery, Jr. 1980.143

This ca. 1480 statue from Burgundy depicts a Magus, a priest of Zoroaster, the ancient Iranian prophet who in classical Hellenistic and Roman culture was credited as the individual who incorporated magic into the fields of medicine, religion, and astrology. Fifteenth-century intellectuals knew this through Pliny the Elder’s *Historia Naturalis*. The word *magus* became synonymous with practitioners of magic, even into the Renaissance.

**Psalms in Catholic Paris and Calvinist Geneva**  
Aimee Gonzalez

How different were day-to-day religious practices of Catholics and Protestants in the early days of the Reformation, when 100% of Protestant practitioners had formed their habits and expectations about religious practice in the more
homogenous pre-Reformation world? Psalms offer a window on this question, since they served a central devotional function in both pre- and post-Reformation Christian Western Europe. Their unique biblical position as poetry that could be directly sung or intoned made them accessible at many different levels of society, an ever-popular devotional focus for both ecclesiastical and lay practitioners. In the sixteenth century, psalms appeared in liturgical and private devotional contexts, Latin and vernacular languages, musical settings for choir and congregation, luxurious manuscripts and modest prints, all throughout both Catholic and Protestant spheres. Thus, as the Reformation splintered European Christianity into ever more diverging sects, psalms remained one of the strong continuities shared by all. Calvinist Geneva and Catholic Paris were both major capitals of their halves of Europe’s new confessional divide, seats of political power with comparatively large and concentrated populations, both of which exerted enormous cultural influence on allied cities through their economic dominance and growing printing industries. Thus, the ways the psalms were used and transformed in devotional books produced in these two great sixteenth-century capitals offers a window on the similarities and differences between Catholic and Calvinist religious life, not just on the level of doctrine, but on the more intimate and personal level of devotional practice and the lived experience of religiosity.

ft Ms1383.
*Antiphonary*
Venice, ca. 1500-1550
Codex Manuscripts Collection, Gift of William O. Petersen

This large manuscript is a gradual—a liturgical book containing music for the Mass. Its size reflects its use in Catholic services, where the chorus sang from a single book with large script that enabled them to read it from afar. This contrasts directly with the post-Reformation Calvinist Psalter also displayed in this case, which was small enough to be used by each member of the congregation. Taken together, these books reflect opposing notions of the congregation’s role in Catholic and Protestant spheres. The music on this page is for the foot washing ceremony on Holy Thursday, during which the chorus sang psalms.

Ms 343.
*Book of Hours*, Rouen, ca.1500
Codex Manuscript Collection, Bequest of William J. Blum

Books of Hours were extremely popular devotional manuals throughout Europe, and especially France where skilled illuminators produced them for private devotion. At their core, they contain a sequence of prayers to the Virgin Mary recited throughout the day. Reformation leaders like Jean Calvin (1509–64) opposed both this focus on devotion to Mary and the inclusion of sensual images. This illumination at the beginning of the Penitential Psalms depicts Bathsheba bathing under King David’s gaze. David is believed to have written the Penitential Psalms as an act of repentance for his transgressions, including his adultery with Bathsheba, the wife of one of his soldiers.

alc MS348
Book of Hours, France, ca.1500
Codex Manuscript Collection, Bequest of William J. Blum

Books of Hours were extremely popular devotional manuals throughout Europe, and especially France where skilled illuminators produced them for private devotion. At their core, they contain a sequence of prayers to the Virgin Mary recited throughout the day. Reformation leaders like Jean Calvin (1509–64) opposed both this focus on devotion to Mary and the inclusion of sensual images. This illumination at the beginning of the Penitential Psalms depicts Bathsheba bathing under King David’s gaze. David is believed to have written the Penitential Psalms as an act of repentance for his transgressions, including his adultery with Bathsheba, the wife of one of his soldiers.

**Psalm 51 in Calvinist Religious Life**
Psalms played an important role in the reformed tradition of Jean Calvin (1509-64). The different treatments of Penitential Psalm 51 in these three books offers a window into the development of Calvinist traditions growing out
of the religious tensions in Paris and Geneva. Jean Calvin’s commentary on the Psalms first appeared in Latin in 1557 Geneva, and a French edition followed soon after. Fundamental to the Protestant movement was the translation of sacred texts into the vernacular and a drive to involve all worshippers, not just priests and the chorus, in liturgical services. Psalms paired with music played a key role in achieving this by enabling the congregation to join in. The Calvinist Psalter featured the psalms refashioned into versified French with fixed meter and rhyme and set to simple monophonic melodies for congregational singing. Although polyphony was banned in Calvinist churches, composers still published polyphonic music for psalms, likely for domestic devotions or recreation.

BS1433.C2.
Jean Calvin (1509-1564)
In librum Psalmorum
[Genevae]: Excudebat Nicolaus Barbirius & Thomas Courteau, 1564
Rare Books Collection, Hengstenberg Collection

Calvin’s commentaries on the Psalms originated from a series of lectures and sermons. As he wrote in the introduction, Psalms were unparalleled models for Christian prayer as well as beautiful and powerful devotional aids covering a wide range of emotions.

PQ1635.P9 1570.
Les Pseaumes mis en rimes Francoise
[Geneva: l'imprimerie de Francois Estienne, 1567?]
Rare Books Collection

The Calvinist Psalter was completed under Jean Calvin’s supervision in Geneva by the French poet Clément Marot (1496-1544) and theologian Theodore Beza (1519–1605). The melodies were composed and adapted by Louis Bourgeois (1510–59) and others from pre-existing secular songs and old Latin chants.

M2082.G688 P98 1565.
Les Pseaumes mis en rime francoise
[Geneva]: Par les heritiers de Francois Jaqui, 1565
Rare Books Collection

Claude Goudimel (1514–72) composed this four-voice harmonization of the complete Calvinist psalter. The original metrical psalm of the Calvinist Psalter is included in the tenor voice found at the bottom left.

**Male Voices Defining Urban Women**
**Elizabeth Tavella**

Focusing on Venice and Paris—two of the most internationally visible Renaissance cities—these objects reveal how male voices in urban spaces strove to exert control over women. Treatises on women’s health, conception and childbirth were one avenue. Written by male scholars, such works stressed the natural weakness of women, who—they argued—needed someone stronger to take charge of their bodies, and their reproductive health. Attempts to control dress and ideals of beauty were another avenue. Sumptuary laws, restricting the expense and style of clothing, focused on female attire, as in a 1433 Florentine law aiming:

“To restrain the barbarous and irrepressible bestiality of women who, not mindful of the weakness of their nature, forgetting that they are subject to their husbands, and transforming their perverse sense into a reprobate and diabolical nature, force their husbands with their honeyed poison to submit to them.”

Through moralizing admonitions that women should value spiritual purity above vain ornaments, such laws propagated a specific definition of an admirable woman: virtuous, silent, and subservient to her parents and husband. Manuals of advice for women, generated by male courtly voices, rooted feminine virtues in aesthetic qualities of the body. A woman’s praiseworthy interior qualities should manifest, not through action, but through appearance, beauty and attire drawing viewers to admire the virtues a woman contained, as a gilded reliquary
advertised its blessed contents. The woman, objectified as an ornament or container for virtue, would influence the world primarily by drawing the male eye to gaze upon something good.

BJ1697.E8 1585.
Antoine Estienne
Remonstrance charitable aux dames et damoyelles de France
A Paris: Chez Sebastien Niuelle, 1585
Rare Books Collection

Published in 1570, Franciscan Friar Antoine Estienne calls for French women to give up their ostentatious, dishonest, and wicked vanity. He warns Christians against inciting God’s fury through their search for novelty in clothing and ornaments, and assigns women a traditional, biblical role in urging them to lead a movement of national repentance and moral reform. For example, he advises them to streak their faces with ashes instead of using cosmetics, and to wear sackcloth and hair shirts instead of linen and silk.

RA778.M3 1574.
Giovanni Marinello (16th century)
Gli ornamenti delle donne
In Venetia: Appresso Giovanni Valgrisio, 1574
Rare Books Collection

The Italian physician Giovanni Marinello’s book is a comprehensive manual on female beauty and adornment containing, among hundreds of recommendations, advice on cosmetics and more than two dozen recipes for making dyes to bleach hair blond. Each of the four chapters is dedicated to a part of the female body, which is materially and visibly dismembered on the page, thus reflecting a fetishist desire aimed at the construction of an ideal body for men’s visual pleasure.

HQ1201.D65.
Lodovico Dolce (1508-1568)
Dialogo di M. Lodovico dolce della institutio delle donne...
In Vinegia: Appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1545
Rare Books Collection

One of the most successful works on female conduct written in sixteenth-century Italy, Dolce’s Dialogo is a discourse between a man, Flaminio, and the widow, Dorotea. The widow is taught rules of conduct that are “shaping and assembling to perfection unmarried girls, married women, and widows.” Moral virtues such as chastity and honesty are strictly defined. The table of contents illustrates the detailed division of instructions that go from food and clothing, allowed and prohibited games, to discourse and conversation advice according to different social situations.

RG91.L514 1609-
Jean Liébault (ca. 1535-1596)
Les maladies des femmes & remedes d'ycelles
Paris: Chez J. Berjon, 1609
Rare Books Collection, Dr. Morris Fishbein Collection

Giovanni Marinello (16th century)
Le medicine partenenti alle infirmità delle donne
John Crerar Collection of Rare Books in the History of Science and Medicine

In 1563, following both medical tradition and popular lore, Giovanni Marinello devoted over 300 pages to problems related to reproduction and the functioning of the uterus. He also included practical advice aimed at coping with the burden of infertility, which was usually blamed on woman. This treatise was freely adapted into French by Jean Liébault in 1582 to recast it for a French readership. Imbued with moral judgments, he described the sterile woman as empty (vide), a failure at fulfilling her procreative role, and proposed strategies to counter this “disease.”
Sovereign’s reproduction of one of Charles IX four sumptuary legislations deals with limiting conspicuous consumption and extravagant display. Women of all social states and marital status were the main targets of these laws. The limitations refer, for example, to the textiles they were allowed to wear and to the ways they could tie their hair, therefore leaving absolutely no space for personal inclinations and individual expression.

Birth Bowl (Ciottola puerperile), c.1575
Earthenware
Lent by The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago; Purchase, The Cochrane-Woods Collection. 1979.42

Birth trays and bowls not only served a practical function in Renaissance Italy, but also mediated between the enclosed birth chamber and the “masculine” world. Their decoration frequently depicted secular, idealized images of maternity and baby boys intended to feed the maternal imagination. They were often a gift by men to women to help them conceive legitimate heirs, underscoring the importance of fertility and protecting patriarchal lineage. These highly charged objects upheld traditional expectations of women and wives. Given their aesthetic value, they were often displayed on a wall after childbirth and passed down through generations.

A Jewish Humanist Between Cities and Between Worlds
Tali Winkle

Elia Levita (or Elye Bokher, or Eliyahu ben Asher HaLevi Ashkenazi; 1469-1549), was a Jewish grammarian, lexicographer, and poet active in 16th century Italy, and a pioneer of Renaissance Hebrew scholarship. Born in Neustadt, near Nuremberg, he worked in Venice, Padua, Rome, and Isny, Germany. Levita lived a life on the margins. Like many humanists, he was dependent upon the good will of his patrons, but also upon the limits of his Christian hosts’ tolerance of a Jewish presence. His relationship with Jewish community was also strained, due to his attraction to the Christian world, his opposition to certain rabbinical dogmas, and his involvement in humanism, which some rabbis saw as a threat to traditional Judaism.

Levita greatly influenced Christian Hebrew scholarship. He taught Hebrew to numerous humanists, including his patron Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo in Rome. Levita’s Hebrew grammar books were staples of Hebrew studies in Germany for decades. He drew criticism from his Jewish peers for his Biblical scholarship, which argued that Biblical vowels and accents had originated in the 7th-11th centuries, rather than with Moses at Sinai or Ezra the Scribe. Levita also contributed to Yiddish literature, composing Yiddish chivalric poetry, producing the first printed Yiddish-language lexicon, and translating books of the Hebrew Bible into Yiddish. His translation of Psalms was the first Yiddish book printed in Italy.

Levita’s work defies easy categorization and spans genres. Historians of early Yiddish and of Christian biblical scholarship both claim him as a key figure in their fields, while practically ignoring his contributions to the other. This fact is itself a testament to his skill at bridging multiple worlds, and navigating the social tensions which divided Renaissance Europe.

PJ5125.M95 v.8
Elijah Levita (ca. 1468-1549)
Bovo-bukh
Buenos Aires: Yoysef Lifshits Fond baym Kultgu-Kongres, 1969
Regenstein Library, General Collection
The *Tov Ta'am* is entirely in Hebrew. Given the flourishing study of the Hebrew bible by Christian scholars in the 16th century, it likely had both a Christian and Jewish audience. Interestingly, this copy of the work is bound with two ethical treatises written by Rabbi Jonah Gerondi (d. 1264). The work was censored in 1617, and the ethical treatises bear additional censors’ marks. Such censorship of Hebrew books by the Catholic Church was common in the 16th and 17th centuries.

**Lexicon Chaldaicum**

Isnae: [s.n.], 1541

Rare Books Collection, Gift of the Chicago Theological Seminary

Levita produced commentaries on the works of brothers Moses and David Kimhi, important medieval Jewish grammarians and biblical commentators. The volume on the left is Levita’s commentary on a work by Moses, and is in both Latin and Hebrew. It contains extensive marginal notes, primarily in Latin. The volume on the right is an edition of one of David’s grammatical works, with glosses by Levita, who is called “the expert grammarian” on the title page. This work was issued in separate editions for Jews and Christians, with the date being given in the *anno mundi* of the Hebrew calendar and *anno domini* of the Christian calendar, respectively. This copy bears an owner’s inscription in Hebrew by a Meir Wagner of Altona, who purchased it “in honor of my Rock and my Creator” in the year 1800, as well as some marginal notes in Latin.

**Uebersetzung des Buchs Massoreth hammassoreth**

Halle im Magdeburgischen : Carl Hermann Hemmerde, 1772

Rare Books Collection, Berlin Collection

This is an 18th-century translation of the *Massoreth hammassoreth* into German by Christian Gottlob Meyer, a Jewish convert to Christianity. The publisher, Johann Salomo Semler dedicated this edition to Moses Mendelssohn, the famous German Jewish philosopher of the Enlightenment. Ironically, Mendelssohn rejected Levita’s claims and actually defended the traditional Jewish view that the masoretic tradition dated back to Ezra, or even Moses.

Levita wrote two works on the history of masoretic notations. These notations consist of both diacritical marks, used to represent vowel sounds or distinguish between alternative pronunciations of Hebrew letters, and cantillation marks, which act as punctuation and guide the ritual chanting of the biblical text. Levita argued that the traditional notations were standardized in the seventh through eleventh centuries, rather than received by Moses or Ezra the
Scribe. His work made a lasting contribution to the development of textual criticism in biblical studies. Here we see editions of these two works printed more than two centuries apart.

F BS715.B94 –
Ha-ʻEšrim ye-arba` gedolim yeshanim / Biblia Sacra Hebraica & Chaldaica
Bazily’ah: Ludvig Kinig, [1618]
Rare Books Collection, Hengstenberg Collection

The first Rabbinic Bible—containing the Biblical text in Hebrew, an Aramaic translation, and at least one commentary on each biblical book—was published in Venice in 1517 by Daniel Bomberg. Levita helped edit the third Rabbinic Bible (1546), and even wrote a poem upon its completion celebrating the publication of such a magnificent book. While acknowledging that Bomberg was not Jewish, he praises him as “righteous among the nations” and “circumcised of the heart.” This volume is the sixth Rabbinic Bible, published in Basel in 1618 by Johann Buxtorf. The text is almost identical to the edition which Levita edited.

Rosenberger 42-1C.
Elijah Levita (ca. 1468-1549)
Sefer Ha-harkavah
Basil: [s.n.], 1525
Ludwig Rosenberger Library of Judaica

This grammatical work, the title of which means The Book of Compounds, was one of Levita’s first published works. It is concerned with the presence of foreign and compound words in the Hebrew Bible. This copy is bound with an additional work, the text of the Ten Commandments with the commentary of Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra (1089-1167). Numerous words in the text have been expurgated—crossed out by hand by a professional censor whose signature appears on the title page certifying that he has expunged all content banned by Catholic Church, including the volume’s place of publication: Protestant Basel.

Confraternities and the Rhythm of Renaissance Republics
Lucia Delaini and Hilary Barker

Early modern urban landscapes were raucous spaces: streets, squares, churches, and markets teeming with priests, functionaries, merchants, artisans, servants, bankers, and soldiers. Despite the period’s strict hierarchies, people from radically different walks of life called each other “brother” or “sister” in one context: confraternities. These were lay religious societies, which gathered for group prayer, religious observances, and served many functions we now think of as social services: organizing hospitals and orphanages, providing the poor with dowries and funerals, and comforting the condemned before execution. Confraternities had strict membership, but also sidestepped hierarchy, uniting people from a specific neighborhood, patronage network, faction, or occupation regardless of class. In confraternity halls masters and apprentices, bankers and servants, all shared a united religious and political education, promoting images of a suffering Christ, local patron saints, religious movements, and political factions. Many confraternity brothers wore hoods or masks during meetings, stepping outside their identities to stand as equals for the duration of a service or charity. Present in virtually every Renaissance urban space, confraternities often disappear in accounts of the Renaissance, since their meetings, processions, orations, songs, and lectures were ephemeral activities, leaving few records. Yet confraternities were a nexus between all forms of power: lay and religious, local and super-local, even Earthly and heavenly as they collaborated with the priesthood as another intermediary between humankind and divinity. Like the accompaniment behind a soloist, confraternities may disappear from surviving accounts of society’s major actors, yet they maintained the daily rhythm of loud Renaissance streets.


A170
Benediction Of The Pope In St. Peter's Square
Etching with engraving
Ambrogio Brambilla, Pirro Ligorio, Claudio Duchetti, engravers
Confraternities knitted together the social fabric of cities, otherwise rife with class tensions. These tensions were often on display (and most likely to break into violence) when all classes gathered for important feast days and processions. Confraternities as institutes participated in a variety of charitable activities, such as care for the sick and the provision of dowries for poor women—much like religious charities do today. By doing so, they fostered goodwill between citizens of different classes. In this way, confraternities promoted the health of civic bodies as a whole.

A174
*Portraiture Of Diverse Street Vendors*
Engraving with etching
[probably after 1579]

Renaissance cities were divided by sharp class lines. While Venice and Florence were nominally republics, power rested in the hands of a small number of powerful elite families. Ability to participate in the forms of government and in the power of the state derived from successful commercial and financial ventures, not land or noble blood, as elsewhere. However, cities and economies contained both the high and the low—including the myriad of vendors of minor goods pictured here. Confraternities were the institutions where a wealthy merchant was most likely to meet the tripe seller accompanied by cats in the upper right.

C637
*Flagellation of Christ*
Etching with engraving
[ca. 1570]

Depictions of Jesus’ Passion were common devotional images throughout Europe. Images of the suffering or dead Christ prompted the faithful to examine themselves and question whether they were worthy of such a sacrifice. In the context of confraternities, meditation on Jesus’ sacrifice and on the common sinfulness of all men erased social boundaries and encouraged individual devotees to see themselves as equally humble before God. Some confraternities practiced flagellation, the self-infliction of wounds as a way to more closely relate to Jesus’ suffering.

Pietro Testa (1611/12–1650)
*The Garden of Charity*, 1611–1650
Etching
Lent by The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago; University Transfer from Max Epstein Archive, acquired 1959. 1967.116.108

One of the main aims of confraternities was to provide charity. In the visual arts, the allegorical figure of Charity is often shown as a young woman breastfeeding, surrounded by children. This type of imagery is indicative of common forms of charity: providing sustenance and living needs to the poor. A unique type of charity that confraternities in Florence provided was education—certain organizations were dedicated to education in the name of civic and religious virtues. While this might seem uncommonly generous and modern, there was an alternate motive: the patron of a confraternity that provided education to young men was guaranteed the political loyalty of those whose educations he had paid for.

Battista Franco (c. 1510 – 1561)
*Man of Sorrows with Two Angles*, 1550–1555
Oil on panel
Lent by The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago; Gift of Mr. Ira Spanierman. 1981.58

Confraternities were, above all, devotional organizations. The scale of this luminous painting indicates that it may have been created for a fairly intimate setting—perhaps the private chapel of a wealthy family, or even the hall of a confraternity. This type of image of Christ with the wounds of his passion prominently displayed is called the “Man
of Sorrows” and was a very common devotional image from the medieval period into the Renaissance and beyond. The emotional affect of the two angels can be read as an indication of a proper devotional response.

Francesco Marti (1489-1516)
*St. Pantaleon*, c. 1506
Gilt cast bronze
Lent by The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago; Gift of Collection of Edward A. and Inge Maser. 2002.51

Devotional plaquettes, like this bust of Saint Pantaleon, began to be mass-produced in Italy in the 15th century, when growing wealth allowed more middle class families to purchase religious images for their homes. Saint Pantaleon, a martyr of the early Church, was particularly popular in Venice. The popular religious sentiment that created a market for works like this also fed into the popularity of confraternities.

Ms346
*Book of Hours*, ca. 1400
Codex Manuscript Collection, Bequest of William J. Blum

Saints’ day calendars like the one shown here (open to the month of December), are often included in Books of Hours. Among their other activities, confraternities often held religious ceremonies or processions on specific feast days, such as that of their patron saint. The succession of various religious celebrations held throughout the year by both the church and confraternities marked out repeating annual rhythms of early modern civic life. Confraternal celebrations thus constituted an important measurement of time as well as devotion.

**Converting Constantinople**
Nora Lambert

On April 6, 1453, Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II (1431-81) besieged Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine, or Eastern Roman, Empire, and the most populous city in the European world. Less than two months later, Ottoman forces conquered and sacked the city, claiming many lives, and remaking the city as an Islamic capital, converting its ancient churches into mosques. The fall of the Eastern Christian capital before the ever-expanding Ottoman Empire prompted apprehension and antipathy throughout Europe. This devastating defeat also felt like a threat to classical learning and culture, since the conquest cut off access to Greek libraries which had been invaluable destinations for humanists seeking ancient texts. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405-64), a poet, orator, and diplomat at the court of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (1415-93)—and the future Pope Pius II—composed this impassioned lament addressed to Pope Nicholas V (1397-1455), who had himself funded humanist expeditions to Constantinople:

“I grieve that Santa Sophia, the most famous church in all the world, has been ruined or polluted. I grieve that saints’ basilicas without number, built with wondrous skill, should lie beneath the desolation or defilement of Mohammed. What shall I say of the countless books, as yet unknown to the Latins, which were there in Constantinople? ...Here is a second death for Homer and a second destruction of Plato. Where are we now to seek the philosophers’ and the poets’ works of genius? The fount of the Muses has been destroyed!”

In reality Sultan Mehmet II himself supported humanism, gathering Italian scholars and artists at his court, and he also allowed considerable religious freedom to conquered Christian subjects, but these realities were dwarfed in Europe’s imagination by the shock of Constantinople’s destruction. In representing the city, artists struggled to reconcile its Byzantine past with its Ottoman present, producing images that both celebrated and contested the Turkish capital.

DR720.G503
Gilles, Pierre, |d 1490-1555.
*The antiquities of Constantinople*...
London: Printed for the Benefit of the Translator, 1729
Tensions over the conversion of Constantinople are evident in representations of the overall urban landscape. This print of the city was made prior to the Turkish invasion based on a drawing of the early 1420s by the Florentine traveler Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1386-1430), and was ubiquitous for over a century. It was purposely included in this volume alongside contemporary views of the city, underscoring the lasting European nostalgia and regret over the loss of the imperial Christian capital as well as the endurance of this representation as the only extant image predating the Ottoman conquest.

DR720.G795
Grelot, Guillaume-Joseph, |d approximately 1630-
Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople...
Paris: Chez la veuve de Damien Foucault, 1680
Rare Books Collection

The church of Hagia Sophia served as one of the most important imperial Christian basilicas from its dedication in 360 A.D. until its conversion into a mosque after Mehmed II’s (1431-81) conquest of Constantinople. Sixteenth-century architectural interventions by Sultan Suleiman I (1494-1566) added minarets around the perimeter of the building and covered Christian mosaics with whitewash. Even centuries later, European visitors could not accept the transformation of this great monument. In this seventeenth-century interior view of the building’s central basilica, mosaics of the Veil of Veronica and Christian saints can still be seen, juxtaposed with several tughras, or calligraphic monograms of the sultan.