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Joachim Du Bellay’s Precursors and Contemporaries in Italy: Pietro Alcionio, Ortensio Landi and Diogo Pires

George Hugo Tucker (Reading)

This study will examine the writing on, or in, ‘exile’, and beyond exile, of two humanist ‘outsiders’ – the Venetian Hellenist and Ciceronian Pietro Alcionio (Alcyonius, 1487–1528[?]), and the Milanese satirist Ortensio Landi (Lando, 1512[?–1555[?]) – together with the exiliar verses of an ethnic and religious exile, the Portuguese Marrano and neo-Latin poet Diogo Pires of Évora (Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus, alias Iacobus Flavius Eborensis, alias Isaia Kohen, 1517–1599). The first was a major precursor, the second a near contemporary, and the third an exact contemporary in Italy of the famous French (and neo-Latin) ‘exile’ poet, Joachim Du Bellay (1522–1560), author of the ‘exiliar’ Roman sonnet sequence Les Regrets (Paris, 1558), and of the similarly ‘exiliar’ elegy Patriae desiderium (Poemata, Paris, 1558), composed in Rome, during the French poet’s stay there in 1553–1557 in the service of his patron and kinsman the cardinal Jean Du Bellay. All three authors negotiate, as the poet Du Bellay did, the (re-)writing of ‘exile’ in a space of

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‘freedom’ (a fundamental paradox of the writing of ‘exile’, that we have also identified in our book on the subject, Homo Viator).

If Alcionio’s twin Ciceronian dialogues Medices Legatus de exsilio (1522) operated (with his Ciceronian translations of Aristotle, 1521) as a means of integrating their author socio-culturally within Italian Humanist circles as much as a vehicle for exploration of the topic of exile, Landi’s twin Latin dialogues of 1534 upon Cicero’s exile and recall from exile, Cicero relegatus & Cicero revocatus (1543), complemented by his Paradossi and Confutatione [...] de’ paradossi of 1543–1544 (expounding the advantages and disadvantages of exile, respectively), took, by contrast, ironic distance from the issue of the nature and status of exile (viewed traditionally as either negative or positive), but also from the Ciceronian question in Latin style, thus parodying Alcionio’s positive stance on both. In his dialogue(s), moreover, Landi used Cicero’s exile from Rome as a metaphor for that author’s varying fortune as a stylistic model in Sixteenth Century Latinity; he also had his dialogues’ interlocutors call into question Cicero’s credentials as an exiliar authority by suggesting that his stance about exile as a positive ‘refuge and haven from punishment’ (Pro Caecina 34, 100) – and so as a vehicle for ‘freedom’ (an example of libertas exilii) – was inconsistent the purportedly negative view of exile in Cicero’s Paradoxa Stoicorum (18, 27–32), described there as a ‘criminal penalty’ (scelerum poena):

An non dicebat Merula, haec est inconstantia non ferenda [...]? [...] [in libro] Pro A. Caecina exilium non supplicium, sed perfugium suppliciique portum vocat: in Paradoxis scelerum poenam appellat.8

And did not [Gaudentius] Merula say, ‘this is intolerable fickleness [...]’? [...] [in his book] Pro Caecina, he [Cicero] calls exile ‘not a punishment, but a refuge and harbour from such punishment’; yet in the Paradoxa [Stoicorum], he terms it a ‘criminal penalty’.

Landi’s involvement in Ferrara (from circa 1540) with figures of the exiled Sephardic-Jewish community also imposes comparison with Diogo Pires,

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5 The title runs as follows: Habes [...] Aristotelis libros de Generatione, & interiu duos, Meteóron, hoc est sublimium quatuor, de Mundo [...], Ex opere de animalibus decem, quorum Primus est de Communi animalium gressu, [...] Item eiusdem Aristotelis vitam [...], quae omnia Petrus Alcyonius de graeco in latinum à se conversa nunc primum [...] curavit, Venice: Bernardinus Vitales, mense aprili 1521 [privileges of Leo X and the Venetian Senate, ‘Romae [... Die xxvii Maii M.D.XX’ and ‘mense Aprili MDXXI’].


7 On the Roman juridical notion of ‘freedom of exile’, see Crifò 1961, 50–70.

8 Landi, Cicero relegatus, fol. 5v. On Cicero’s actual sentiments in the Paradoxa Stoicorum, where he negates the reality of exile by negating the value and status of the patria, see Dobhlofer 1987, 42, 46, 156, 222, 246–247.
who lived in Ferrara’s Jewish ghetto, circa 1545–1555. Like Pires, the expatriate Landi benefitted there from the patronage of one of the great Sephardic-Jewish families of the time, the Mendes-Nasi.10 Pires’s later elegiac poem *De exilio suo*, written circa 1595 from the poet’s final refuge on the Dalmatian coast, after a journey of exile from Portugal, though the Southern Low Countries, France and Italy, would recount a personal history of *Marrano* (Sephardic-Jewish) exile,11 but it would also gesture beyond exile, albeit in a way different from Landi’s oscillations between opposing views of exile, or from Alcionio’s disingenuous anti-elegiac and un-philosophical manipulation of the exile topic as a means of self-promotion.

In the case of all three authors they negotiated the writing of the ‘good’ or ‘evil’ of ‘exile’ (or of their own experiences of such exile, alienation or exclusion) in a space of liberty constituted by the writing process itself and the paradoxical ‘freedom of exile’ which such writing pointed to.

**Pietro Alcionio (Petrus Alcyonius)**

Of ‘hybrid’ (partly Venetian) origins and ‘plebeian’ character (purportedly lacking social or scholarly decorum),12 Pietro Alcionio composed his 1522 dialogues ‘on exile’ – later read by Joachim Du Bellay in Rome (1553–1557) when composing his ‘exiliar’ *Regrets* (Paris, 1558)13 – as a bid to gain acceptance into Roman humanist circles. If these twin dialogues loftily exploited the Stoic *topoi* of indifference to the polarities of ‘exile’ and ‘home’, they also participated in a debate about their author’s social and scholarly merits or demerits, and attempted, in particular, to justify his controversial Aristotelian translations of 1521. Later, on the eve of Alcionio’s death (in 1528), at the Sack of Rome, his Latin orations on that event were to place him finally centre stage (the right *orator* at the right time in the right place) and earn him, unlike the fellow Ciceronian ‘outsider’ Christophe de Longueil

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9 See Grendler 1968, 26, 28.
11 On the double character, ethnic and religious, of the exile of ‘converted’ Portuguese Sephardic Jews, see Graizbord 2006. On Jewish exile in the Renaissance (in Provence, and in the rest of Europe), see Iancu-Agou 2005.
12 Such is the portrait of Alcionio in Giovio’s *Eloge*, fols 70v–71r; see Tucker 2005, 165–167, 181 (and nn. 12, 16, 44).
(1488 – 11 Sept. 1522), the grudging admiration of enemies such as the historian Paolo Giovio (1483–1552) in his *Elogia* of 1546.\(^{14}\)

Our starting point, however, is 23 March 1522, when the Spaniard Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490–1573) composed a poisonous, self-promotional letter about his translation of Aristotle into Latin, addressed to Alberto Pio of Carpi (1475–1531), a leading figure in Roman humanist circles, who had counted Aldo Manuzio (?1450–1515), the Hellenist Marcus Musurus (circa 1470 – Autumn 1517)\(^{15}\) and the Aristotelian philosopher Pomponazzi (1462–1525) amongst his teachers and friends, and had been dedicatee of the Aldine

\(^{14}\) Giovio, *Elogia*, fols 70\(^{vo}\)–71\(^{vo}\). See Tucker 1993, 84–86; Tucker 2003, 153–160; Gouwens 1998, 31–72, 179–212. We know from MS holdings in Italian libraries and archives that Alcionio composed two orations addressed to Charles V on the Sack of Rome – one demanding the City’s restoration and the liberation of the besieged, imprisoned Clement (in late June or early July 1527), and the other, prefaced by a letter to the Ferrarese poet Antonio Tebaldeo (1436–1538), publicly attacking the Emperor’s disavowal of responsibility for the Sack (in late 1527 or early 1528). The first survives in Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., MS Lat. 3436, fols 23\(^{vo}\)–34\(^{vo}\) (*Petrus Alcyonius pro S.P.Q.R. Oratio de rep. reddenda atque custodia liberando Clemente VII Pont. Max. ad Carolum Caesarem designatum*), analysed, dated and published in Gouwens 1997, esp. 52–56 and Gouwens 1998, 50–53, 179–197. The second, *Declamatio in literas Caesaris* denouncing Charles V’s self-justificatory letter to the Roman people of 26 July 1527, was delivered by Alcionio upon the Capitoline a few months later, and survives, according to Gouwens, whose dating I follow, in Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, MS 33 E 26 (Fondo Rossi 289), together with a transcription of Charles V’s public ‘letter’ and Alcyonius’s prefatory letter to Tebaldeo (Gouwens 1997, 49 [& n. 8], 56–60; Gouwens 1998, 31–32; cf. Rosa 1960, 80). Alcionio also authored a critical oration, whilst penned up in the Castel Sant’Angelo, addressed to Clement VII, urging him to refuse to allow the burial of the *connétable* Charles de Bourbon (killed leading the Imperial assault on Rome), and a later eulogistic oration (circa February 1528) to his new (pro-Imperial) patron Cardinal Pompeo Colonna on the latter’s preservation of the City from further depredations by Imperial troops in Autumn 1527. These survive in Roma, Bibl. Apost. Vat., MS Vat. Lat. 3346, fols 35\(^{vo}\)–40\(^{vo}\) (s. t. [Alcyonius to Clement VII, on the connétable de Bourbon]); ibid., fols 41\(^{vo}\)–45\(^{vo}\) (*Petrus Alcyonius Uberto Strozzi salutem [prefatory letter, fol. 41\(^{vo}\)]; Petri Alcyonii oratio pro S.P.Q.R. ad Pompeium Columnam de urbe servata*) – see Rosa 1960, 80; Gouwens 1997, 45–51, 60–66; Gouwens 1998, 45–50, 57–62, 197–212. The cause of Giovio’s antagonism towards Alcionio, reported by their common acquaintance Girolamo Negri in a letter of 1 September 1522, was Giovio’s perception, fed by gossip, that Alcionio was turning his hand to the writing of contemporary history (and so entering into rivalry with him, under the common patronage of Giulio de’ Medici and/or of the German prelate Nikolaus von Schönberg (1472–1537), dedicatee of Alcionio’s *Medices Legatus*; see Tucker 1993, 87–88. The close parallel with Longueil is also noted by Gouwens 1993, 187; cf. Tucker 2005, 167–168; 197–198.

\(^{15}\) See Allen / Allen, 1906, vol 1, 462n., on Musurus, an associate of Aldo Manuzio in Venice by *circa* 1497, tutor to Pio in 1499, Professor of Greek in Padua July 1503–1511, then holder of the Chair of Greek in Venice (*circa* 1512–1516), before leaving for Rome in 1516 to help his former teacher John Lascaris set up Leo X’s planned Greek College.
Greek Aristotle of 1495–1498 (in particular, the *Organon* of 1495).\(^\text{16}\) Sepúlveda’s letter to Pio was intended as a preface to his new rendering of Aristotle’s *De incessu animalium*, together with nine other books of Aristotle *De animalibus* (eight of the *Parva naturalia*, and the *De motu animalium*) published in Bologna in mid-May 1522.\(^\text{17}\) This volume included a further prefatory epistle dedicating it to Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici (soon Clement VII in November 1523), whose attention was drawn there to the defective nature of modern Latin translations of Aristotle, and to Sepúlveda’s amplification of these criticisms in the accompanying epistle addressed to Pio.\(^\text{18}\) It also announced to Giulio further Aristotelian translations by Sepúlveda: of the *De generatione et corruptione* (*De generatione et interitu*), and of the *Meteorologicorum libri*, undertaken at Pio’s request. If the epistle to Pio gives a more forthright account of the inadequacy of Latin versions of, or commentaries upon, the same Aristotelian works, it also alludes to the rival translations of a reputed Italian philologist, whose florid style of translation was the opposite of Sepúlveda’s simpler, more accurate manner.\(^\text{19}\)

Sepúlveda had in his sights Alcionio, who was about to take up a chair of Greek in Florence (in July 1522) thanks to Giulio de’ Medici. For, in April of

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\(^\text{16}\) See Roscoe 1846, vol. 1, 59–69, 449 (n. 77); Allen / Allen 1926, vol. 6, 199–201n.; the article on Pio by Bernuzzi / Deutscher 1987.

\(^\text{17}\) *Ad illustrissimum D. Albertum Pium principem Carpensem. D. et patronum suum Io. Genesii Sepulvedae Cordubensis Praefatio in interpretationem libri Ar[i]stotelis* *de incessu animalium* ['Bononiae. xxiii. Martii. M.D.XXII.'], in: Sepúlveda, *Libri Aristotelis* [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Byw. A 5.14(2)], fols AA–[ii]vo. In addition to this copy, Solana Pujalte 2000, 599, n. 17 has located eleven others, which together present eight different arrangements of paratextual / prefatory material in relation to the main body of translations, and one of which (Venice, Bibl. Marciana, 134.d.36), contains a variant, *undated* version of the preface to Pio, which there accompanies a unique, interpolated copy of the related philological work *Errata Petri Alcyonii in interpretatione libri Aristotelis de incessu animalium* (= (with preface) fols AA–BB\(^\text{m}\)), bearing its own colophon (same printer): *Impressum Bononieae per Hieronymum de Benedictis. Anno gratie M.D.XXII. die vero. xxvii Martii*. In its two versions Sepúlveda’s preface to Pio was thus conceived as a preface both to these *Errata* of March 1522 and to Sepúlveda’s own rival translation of the *De incessu animalium* (and so to the rest of his translations as well) of May 1522.

\(^\text{18}\) *Ad gravissimum praesulem principem illustrissimum Iulium Medicem cardinalem vicecancellarium etc. Io. Genesii Sepulvedae Praefatio in interpretationem librorum Aristotelis de animalibus, qui vulgo parvi naturales appellantur*, in: Sepúlveda, *Libri Aristotelis*, fols AA–[iv]m (fol. AA iv\(^\text{m}\)).

\(^\text{19}\) Sepúlveda, *Libri Aristotelis*, fol. AA [i]\(^\text{m}\). According to Solana Pujalte 2000, 600 the alternative, *undated* version of this preface to Pio in the unique Venice Marciana copy explicitly names Sepúlveda’s rival Alcionio, because there it is a preface to the *Errata Petri Alcyonii*, whereas in other copies it functions differently as a (dated) *joint preface* (with the one addressed to Giulio de’ Medici) to Sepúlveda’s Aristotelian translation(s).
the previous year 1521, to Sepúlveda’s chagrin. Alcionio had published his own Ciceronian Latin version of Aristotle’s Parva naturalia, together with the De incessu animalium and De motu animalium, the De generatione et corruptione, and four books of Meteorologica, plus the attributed De mundo. The intent of Sepúlveda’s prefatory letter of March 1522 was to demolish the philological success and ambitions of this Aristotelian rival, a fellow client of Giulio de’ Medici, by setting out his poor view of Alcionio’s abilities as a translator, and expressing scorn for his arrogance, to be contrasted with his own more realistic philological modesty in the face of difficulty:

Pudet dicere, quot quantaque errata in uno libro repererim. […] At non huius tantum libri conversionem, sed caeterorum etiam cum mea contuli, in quibus firmam interpretis constantiam pernotavi, […] ubique sui similis est. […] Neque enim is sum qui putem me non multa latuisse, quae oculatores non praeteribunt, quorum censuram patiar aequo animo. modo nequis incognita, ut Cicero ait, pro cognitis habeat, et temere in alios asserat. Neque enim fero quorundam arrogantiam, qui cum aliquam utriusque linguae cognitionem nacti fuerint, nulla aut minima bonarum artium, et philosophiae notitiae instructi, satis se ad interpretandum exponendumque Aristotelem paratos esse putant.  

I am ashamed to say how many and how great the errors I found in just one book [the De incessu animalium]. […] Indeed, it was not just the translation of this book that I compared with my own, but also that of the others; in all of these I noted the steadfast consistency of the translator […] ever true to himself. […] Nor am I one to think that not much has escaped me that will not be unknown to more enlightened people, whose critical opinion I shall accept with equanimity – provided that ‘no one’, as Cicero says [De officiis 1, 6, 18], ‘treat the unknown as known’, and ‘rashly’ assert it against others. For I cannot bear the arrogance of certain individuals who, since they have acquired some knowledge of both Greek and Latin, but are informed by no notion, or only the barest notion, of liberal studies and philosophy, consider themselves adequately equipped to translate and expound Aristotle.

Like Sepúlveda, our interest here lies in observing Alcionio’s packaging of his work in print for his dedicatees and a wider public in order to trumpet his own philological approach to restoring, interpreting and translating Aristotle – a talent for which he was sarcastically recognised in Sepúlveda’s epistle to Pio:

Ipsam horum librorum praefationem percurrens, maiora etiam quam audieram de hominis doctrina expectare coepi. Tanta fiducia summos viros conmemit. Tot tamque magna loquitur, ac de se ipso tacite pollicetur.  

On looking through the actual preface of these books [of translations of Aristotle], I began to have even larger expectations than I had had from report about this fellow's
[Alcionio’s] learning. Great trust makes mockery of even the greatest men. So prolific, and so grand are his pronouncements there, as are also the promises that he implicitly makes about himself.

Elsewhere, we have examined in detail Alcionio’s prefaces of 1521 relating to his Aristotelian translations, composed prior to Sepúlveda’s translations and criticisms. Here, we wish to place against that background the Venetian author’s subsequent self-promotion as a translator of Aristotle in his Medices Legatus published six months after Sepúlveda’s Bolognese volume as a response to Sepúlveda’s prefatory strictures, and to his systematic critique of Alcionio’s translations that also appeared in print in Bologna in March 1522 in the form of a list of Errata allegedly committed by Alcionio (accompanied by an even more virulent version of the preface to Pio); moreover, these Errata had been compiled with Pio’s knowledge, according to Sepúlveda’s more guarded version of his letter, dated 23 March.

The brazenness of Alcionio’s self-defence in his dialogues ‘on exile’, and the desperation of the scholarly ‘misfit’ that it bespeaks, are a measure of the the stir caused by Sepúlveda’s assassination of Alcionio’s reputation. In a letter of the same date (23 March 1522) written by Alcionio’s purported friend Longueil languishing in Padua after his Roman debacle of 1519, the disgraced Flemish-born Ciceronian makes clear to his addressee, the Venetian Ottaviano Grimaldi, that he, Longueil, had sent him Sepúlveda’s Errata P. Alcyonii in interpretatione Aristotelis (1522) in the hope that Grimaldi might encounter Alcionio in Venice and see his reaction upon learning of these Errata. For the outcast from the Roman Academy Longueil, no less...
than for the *arriviste* Sepúlveda, Alcionio’s public loss of face as a Hellenist and Latinist offered a kind of reassurance – the comfort of a common ostracism.

Following the death of Leo X (Giovanni de’ Medici) on 1 December 1521, and coinciding with the papacy of Hadrian VI (9 January 1522 – 14 September 1523), Alcionio’s *Medices Legatus* makes explicit reference in its title to Giovanni de’ Medici’s position as papal ‘legate’ under Julius II at Bologna in 1512, as well as allusion to Giulio de’ Medici’s subsequent positions under Giovanni (when Leo X) as papal ‘legate’ to Bologna in 1513, and in the siege of Milan at the close of Leo’s reign in 1521. In it Alcionio’s Medici patrons past and present – the late Giovanni and the living Giulio – feature together with Giovanni’s late nephew Lorenzo (1492–1519) as the exiled interlocutors in their ‘library’ in Rome in 1512 on the eve of Giovanni’s papacy and the Medici’s return from exile to Florence in 1513. The note upon which the dialogue begins between Giovanni and Giulio *in Bibliotheca* is hardly political, however. Rather, it is a reflection upon the tragedy of the dispersal of the Medici’s library in Florence eighteen years before, at the moment of their exile, and upon Giovanni’s interest in locating and replacing in his library the lost codices in question, including, to his recent delight, that of the complete writings of Aristotle and ancient commentaries thereupon in Greek, the very one used ‘in recent days’ (according to Giulio) by ‘our Alcionio’ (*Alcyonius noster*). 26 The discussion of Alcionio’s Aristotelian translations which ensues promotes their philological worth, because based on the particularly precious Greek manuscript of the Medici. 27 Other presentations of contemporary philologists, writers or philosophers associated with study of Aristotle – or, more specifically, with Alcionio himself – then follow, promoting the impression of Alcyonius’s integration within a living scholarly, philological tradition.

The most notable example is the fellow Venetian, Latin stylist and Aristotelian scholar of the previous generation, Ernolao Barbaro (1453/4–1493). 28 When Giovanni comes to list modern examples of Stoic endurance of exile, 29 Barbaro heads the list. For Alcionio, Barbaro’s undeserved exile, occasioned by Innocent VIII’s bestowal upon him, when Venetian ambassador in Rome, of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, serves as a pretext, to present exile as a positive opportunity for Barbaro the scholar to achieve as much in

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26 Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior*, fols a iii–[v].
28 On Barbaro, see Bigi 1964.
29 Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior*, fol. c [i].

copies that he could find, as we learn from Giovio’s barbed *elogium* of Alcionio of 1546. If, however, as Solana Pujalte 2000 and others have argued, we have to accept the possibility of this being a slanderous fabrication, an alternative explanation, put forward by Solana Pujalte 2000, is that Sepúlveda himself suppressed the *Errata* after printing, because dissuaded by Pio from publishing them as a separate volume.
two years, as he had in the previous twenty, but also for Alcionio to stress Barbaro’s philological and Aristotelian credentials, as well as Giovanni’s knowledge of Barbaro’s library and unpublished works ‘sixteen years before’ (1496) during his own exile in Venice.

In this last respect, we can surmise that behind the voice of Giovanni de’ Medici lurks that of Alcionio, similarly interested in the nature and extent of Barbaro’s unpublished works, and self-consciously following the Aristotelian trail blazed by his Venetian predecessor. However, Giovanni’s eulogy of Barbaro comes with a sting in its tail: if he admires the ‘industry’ and Aristotelian erudition of Barbaro, he cannot approve of his elaborate manner in Latin, influenced by Poliziano. By implication, Giovanni – previously envisaged by Alcionio in his 1521 translator’s preface as the intellectual and linguistic judge of his own translations of Aristotle – would, when pope, accord Alcionio’s ‘later’ efforts the approval that he had denied Barbaro’s. Just as, indeed, elsewhere in the dialogue, Giovanni does not fail to applaud the Ciceronian eloquence of Jacopo Sadoletto.

Moreover, the first words attributed to Giulio de’ Medici on his introducing the subject of Alcionio’s use of the Medici codex of the complete Aristotle with Greek commentaries make Alcionio the successor to Bessarion’s Greek protégé Theodorus Gaza and to the fellow Greek Argyropoulos, influential in Quattrocento Florentine humanism. Alcionio’s purpose is seen to be to complete Gaza’s translation of Aristotle De animalibus and Argyropoulos’s planned but unrealised Aristotelian translations Ex libris auscultatorii, studied and translated by Alcionio’s predecessor Barbaro. Yet Barbaro is not mentioned by Giulio, and Alcionio thus fictionally ascribes to himself alone – through his self-association with the Greek Medici manuscript and the older generation of immigrant Greek scholars, whose work he is continuing – a truly Greek pedigree in his bid to render into Latin the ‘true’ Greek Aristotle.

In his reply to Giulio’s observations, Giovanni de’ Medici is then heard to add his approbation of Alcionio’s project, remarking upon his youth (vix enim pubescit), with which he contrasts the greater age of Gaza and Argyropoulos, their superior native knowledge of Greek (as opposed to the inferior abilities of recent native-Greek scholars), and their accomplished manipulation of Latin, surpassing that of their immediate Latin-speaking contemporaries; for Giovanni, all of this adds up to a superior understanding of, and
ability to translate, Aristotle.\textsuperscript{34} The exaggeration about Alcionio’s youth (he would have been about 25 in 1512) redounds to Alcionio’s credit. Likewise, this fictional conversation of 1512 flatteringly sets the starting date for Alcionio’s scholarly study of the Medici Greek manuscript of Aristotle four years earlier than that of 1516 announced in Alcionio’s dedication of his eventual volume to Leo X in 1521.

Giovanni’s conversation then turns to his own authoritative philological \textit{iudicium} of Alcionio’s Aristotelian translations, based upon the ‘opening chapters’ of the latter’s translation of the \textit{De ortu, & obitu} – recently read by Giovanni – until such time as Alcionio would send the rest of his Aristotelian translations for Giovanni’s perusal and judgment.\textsuperscript{35} It is at this juncture that Giovanni contradicts his previously expressed ‘judgment’, now pronouncing Alcionio to be superior to his Greek predecessors in his concern for elegance, and for his ability to capture the ‘entire’ meaning of Aristotle in Latin, even in the obscurer passages, redolent of ancient philosophy.\textsuperscript{36} This apparent u-turn only increases the effect of the compliment paid to Alcionio. The final accolade for the ‘youthful’ Alcionio of 1512, placed in Giovanni’s mouth by Alcionio in 1522, is the prediction of the great service and legacy that the exquisite Latinist and Aristotelian translator Alcionio will give to Rome and Roman culture:

\textit{LEG[ATUS].} Si igitur Alcyonius extrema cum primis contexuerit, non dubito, quin Italia exhilarabitur ob talem interpretandi laudem, quae post multa secula beneficio hominis Romani in hac Vrbe primum reviviscet.\textsuperscript{37}

\textit{LEGATE:} Therefore, once Alcionio has managed to join together his initial and final translations [in a single volume], I do not doubt that Italy will be made to rejoice at such a glorious enterprise of translation, which for the first time in many centuries will happen again in this City of Rome for the benefit of Roman man.

The \textit{Medices Legatus} thus envisages for its author of 1522 the kind of success in the Roman Academy, that Sepúlveda’s damaging \textit{Errata} of 1522 seemed already to be denying him. Here, in this dialogic fiction ‘on exile’, the Aristotelian scholar and arch-Ciceronian Alcionio was attempting to fashion for himself the image of the perfect humanist philologist and Latin stylist, in order to rescue and restore the dream picture that he had previously presented to his public and patrons in his elegant prefaces to his translations of 1521, but which had since been defaced by Sepúlveda.

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{34} Alcionio, \textit{Medices Legatus prior}, fol. a [v]\textsuperscript{ro}.
\footnote{35} Alcionio, \textit{Medices Legatus prior}, fol. a [v]\textsuperscript{ro}.
\footnote{36} Alcionio, \textit{Medices Legatus prior} [cont.], fol. a [v]\textsuperscript{ro}.
\footnote{37} Alcionio, \textit{Medices Legatus prior}, fol. a [v]\textsuperscript{ro}.
\end{footnotes}
Ortensio Landi (Lando)

Ortensio Landi’s life was ‘marked’ by ‘restless travel and intellectual discontent’, earning him through ironic antiphrasis the nickname ‘Tranquillus’ at his induction into Alberto Lollio’s Accademia degli Elevati at Ferrara in 1540.\(^{38}\) In this respect, a parallel could be made with the restless discontent Alcionio, whose storm-becalming adoptive name, ‘Halcyon’, was similarly belied by his stormy life, and whose prowess as a Ciceronian stylist is alluded to in Landi’s *Cicero relegatus & Cicero revocatus*.\(^{39}\)

The first of these dialogues of Landi’s is set in Bellinzona amongst humanists of the time, who initially astonish the first-person narrator-protagonist of the dialogue by their indifference to his news that he has rediscovered Cicero’s lost *De Gloria*. Incited by the disrespectful response to the narrator-protagonist’s astonishment from one *Hieremias Landus* (Landi’s *alter ego*),\(^{40}\) the rest of the circle go on to debate Cicero’s worth in irreverent tones, and persuade themselves to decree Cicero’s banishment (in Ovidian fashion) amongst the ‘Scythians’ – an ironic ‘punishment’ for an author supposed to furnish a famous Roman exemplum of virtuous, Stoic exile (as well as Latin prose-style).

The sequel-dialogue, told by the same narrator, then orchestrates the indignant reaction in Rome of pro-Ciceronian humanists, who determine to have Cicero ‘recalled’ back to Rome in triumph (as had happened historically). They are careful to protest that Cicero, true to form (unlike Ovid), has been sublimely unaffected by his exile; it is rather they themselves who are punished by it.\(^{41}\) Their confidence in Cicero as both a moral and stylistic model in the face of the trials of ‘exile’ is borne out by the fact that his hosts, the ‘Scythians’, are then reported to be heartbroken at the prospect of the ‘humane’ Cicero’s departure from amongst them.\(^{42}\) Finally, a recantation is extracted from the trouble-maker Landus, who lamely claims that if he had initially attacked Cicero it was as a result of the wicked influence of others.\(^{43}\)

Landi’s satire upon the Ciceronian debate is interwoven with a parody of the very topic of Alcionio’s Ciceronian dialogues, whose polarities (positive and negative views of exile) serve Landi’s satirical purpose indifferently (and humorously) as part of the textual evidence against Cicero (his supposedly contradictory evaluations of exile), and as the means both of punishment (exile being an appropriate ‘evil’ to inflict upon Cicero) and of exoneration (both Cicero and exile being shown in practice to be vehicles of virtue). Further-

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\(^{(38)}\) Grendler 1969, 20 and 28.


\(^{(40)}\) Grendler 1969, 22.

\(^{(41)}\) Landi, *Cicero revocatus*, fol. 21vo.


\(^{(43)}\) Landi, *Cicero revocatus*, fol. 24vo.
more, if ‘exile’ is the controlling metaphor of Landi’s Ciceronian satire it also equates with the elusive author’s intellectual stance of detachment from both sides of the debates on Ciceronianism and on exile (as bad or good).

The sense of an alternative, exiliar intellectual space occupied by the satirical author-‘outsider’ of Ciceron relegatus & Ciceron revocatus would be reinforced by the recurring pseudonymous ‘Utopian’ attributions of his subsequent works of social satire.44 Styled an ‘exile from Italy’ in 1535 by an unsympathetic contemporary (Giovanni Angelo Odoni), when Landi was living and teaching in Lyons,45 Landi’s subsequent introduction in 1540 into humanist circles at Ferrara would only have strengthened for Landi this exiliar identity. His presence in Ferrara would have coincided with the arrival and stay there of Diogo Pires, but also Landi even enjoyed the acquaintance and patronage of other members of the same Portuguese Marrano circle of exiles: the Mendes-Nasi family, but also their Spanish-born literary protégé Núñez de Reinoso; several of Landi’s works published in Venice in 1552 contain testimony to the mutual high regard of Landi and Reinoso, and include dedications by Landi to Reinoso’s Marrano patrons.46

Above all, it would be in Landi’s hugely successful, comically provocative Paradoxes and their subsequent Confituration (by Landi) that this elusive, dialogic author, parodist and ironist would define and redefine the fluid, exiliar locus of his intellectual freedom against a mock-display of Stoic paradox, then counter-paradox. If the subjects chosen by Landi included the topic of exile, this afforded him the possibility of aping the Stoicizing ‘paradoxes’ (‘counter-teachings’ against common opinion) of a Cicero, a Plutarch – or an Alcionio – ‘on exile’, in the guise of paradoxical encomium. Through that ironic, serio-comic form Landi manages to discredit the low-minded realities of exile in the very act of praising its apparent benefits, so satirising the parasitism and hypocrisy of actual exiles. Thus, once again, the elusive author Landi is seen to make use of, yet take ironic distance from, the negative-positive polarities of the exile debate – just as he is seen to distance himself satirically from the posturing of so-called ‘exiles’. Ultimately, Landi’s often reprinted Paradossi and their Confituration create between them a crisscrossing of bluff and double bluff, of ironically absurd ‘counter-teaching’ and mock-serious counter-‘counter-teaching’ about exile.

For example, in the Paradossi Landi’s equivocal praise of exile (in the chapter ‘Meglio è vivere mandato in esiglio, che nella patria longamente dimorare’) comically echoes and subverts Plutarch’s metaphoric description in the Moralia (599A–607F, De exilio [607D–E]) of the exiled soul as a wind- and wave-proof, island-dwelling ‘oyster in a shell’, by citing the Cynic philosopher Diogenes’ opposing use of the mollusc image as a rebuke to

those who find his exile shameful and are reluctant or incapable of leaving home: “donde non sapendosi mai partire paiommi in tutto simili alle con-
chiglie, che stanno del continuo appiccate alle pietruzze”.47 Moreover, in
Landi’s corresponding, mock-earnest Confutatione the author’s commonsen-
sical ‘alter ego’ launches his counter-argument with a reference to the same
Plutarchean passage: Empedocles’ view of exile as a divine punishment (“ciò
delle sbandito, dice Empedocle. VASSENE lo sbandito vagabondo agi-
tato dalle divine leggi, & da giustissimi decreti perseguitato”) elaborating
upon the exile’s lot as a form of relegatio to a remote island.48

The question remains as to whether exile is really and quite simply shown
by Landi to be an evil – either obliquely, through ironic, encomiastic ‘para-
dox’, or directly, through the seemingly straightforward ‘confutation’ of a
‘paradox’ whose message has been taken too literally. Even in the former
case, it might not be so much the steady value of home that is promoted (in
implicit opposition to the sham-value of parasitic exile), as a nobler concep-
tion of exile itself, whose image has been tarnished by its cynical modern
enponents and exploiters. Likewise, with regard to the corresponding confu-
tatione, it might be argued that the authorial persona is seen there to labour
the orthodox view of exile as an ‘evil’ absurdly and redundantly – as a kind
of parody of the putative reactions of less perceptive readers to the ironic
Paradosi. Ultimately, Landi’s true ‘paradoxical’ strategy, is perhaps to have
it both ways, so suggesting a more modern conception of paradoxical truth
than mere ‘counter-teaching’: if man is confined and limited like an oyster, it
is both at home and in exile; the modern exile’s parasitic life
abroad is a travesty of the life of obligation he is supposed to lead at
home; both home and exile can nevertheless be sources of freedom (and
so on). If Landi’s paradoxical, ironical texts suggest anything, it is perhaps
that to be truly (not parasitically) in exile is to be truly free and so truly at
home – thus contradicting, the commonly held opposition between ‘exile’
and ‘home’.

For no one could this be truer than for the author of the Paradossi and
their subsequent Confutatione; his oscillatory life of writing in the itinerant
patria of an expatriate ‘exile’, between France and Italy, in the cultivation of
a cosmopolitan cultural identity, mirrored existentially his authorial stance of
intellectual freedom and fluid detachment from the fixed polarities of home
and exile in an alternative kind of ‘paradoxical’, dialogic space, anticipated
by the similarly dialogic ambivalences and ironizing detachment of his earlier
Cicero relegatus & Cicero revocatus. With Landi, the impression given is
one of an alternative, ever shifting vantage point of critical freedom, peculiar
to the itinerant writer-thinker, enabling him to re-assess his own culture and

47 Landi, Paradossi [1563], fol. 31ro–32r.
48 Landi, Confutatione, fol. 11vo.
to relativise the perceptions of the world and habits of thought he has inhere-

Diogo Pires (Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus; Iacobus Flavius Ebo-

sis; Isaiah Kohen)

Ergo mihi exilium longum, et crudele ferendum?
Nec reditus spes est ulla relicta mei?

Must I still endure, then, a long, cruel exile?
And is there no hope left of my return?

Our third example brings a Jewish(-Christian) perspective to what has been a
humanist one: that of the Portuguese Marrano Diaspora in the first decades
of the Sixteenth Century, following the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in
1492 and the ‘general’ forced ‘conversion’ of Spanish and Portuguese Jews
in Lisbon in 1497. This diaspora was marked by a search for identity on the
part of these conversos, pursued in the cultural and religious sphere, but also
in the linguistic-literary one. Furthermore, the hybrid, evolving, and suspect
Jewish-Christian identity of Marranos (in Christian eyes) elicited uncompre-
hending hostility, reflected, for example, in the sentiments of Alcionio’s
Medices Legatus, where the Medici lament the presence of foreigners in Italy
and the influx of Sephardic Jews to Rome:

Post, quàm patrum memoria in Italia constitutum est regnum Exterarum gentium, & in
hanc Vrbem pulsi à suis Regibus concurrerunt ex ultima Hispania, quidam ementitum
Christianorum nomen habentes, quos plebeia voce Maranos dicitant.

Since the establishment in Italy, in the time of our fathers, of a whole kingdom of for-
eign peoples, and since the influx to this City of Rome of certain people driven by their

49 Diogo Pires, [Elegia] De exilio suo: scrispsit Novae oppido Dalmatiae hispanica clade
nobilissimo [à Herceg Novi, 1583 / 1595?], vv. 1–2; text from the partial edn of Pires’s
Elegiarum libri III in Appendini 1811 [2nd part], 204–244, based on the original MS
Codex Sorgianus, and re-edited in Pires 1983, 84–89 (84); see Tucker 1986. Pires’s De
exilio suo is reproduced in André 1992b, 427–436, Chersa 1826, 4–6, and an Italian
edition (trad. S. de Benedetti, Pisa; T. Nistri, 1884) mentioned by André 1992b, 427 (n.
116), 462. According to André 1992b, 450, there is in the Historical Institute of
Dubrovnik a (late?) MS copy of an ‘unidentified’ MS of the Biblioteca Apostolica
Vaticana. Neither MS features in Paul Oskar Kristeller’s Iter Italicum. According to
André, the Dubrovnik MS bears the title DIDACI / PYRRHI LVSITANI / ELEGIAIRVM LIBRI
TRES / AD DOMINICUM SLATARICCIUM PATA- / VINAE SCHOLAE RECTOREM ET EQUITEM
Splenendidissimum / ACCESSIT LYRICORUM LIBELLUS EODEM AVCTORE.

Mendes dos Remedios 1895, 284–303; Roth 1932, 55–64; Baron 1969, 44–46; Edwards

51 Alcionio, Medices Legatus posterior, fol. h 10.
kings from far off Spain, who falsely bear the name of Christians, but who are commonly called Marranos.

Born in Évora in 1517, and ordered by his father to leave Portugal in 1535 at the age of eighteen, because of the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal in 1531 by King John III (r. 1521–1550), and as a result of the latter’s edicts of 1521, 1533, and 1535, designed to thwart the emigration of Jewish conversos, Diogo Pires, pursued his humanist studies and activities as a Latin poet, Greek and Latin tutor, and physician in Louvain, Paris and Antwerp (1535–circa 1540), then Venice, Ferrara, Florence, Rome, Ancona and Pesaro (circa 1540–1557), before settling in Ragusa (Dubrovnik) (1558–1599), where, aged eighty, he eventually made his will and testament (dated 6 November 1597, then 17 May 1599, at his death and burial), thus leaving us the sole indication of his Jewish name, Isaiah Kohen, having used throughout his life and writings various Latinised forms of his Portuguese converso name.

Pires described the initial parts of his Marrano journey of exile to the historian Giovio in a letter written from Ferrara in February 1547 – from that space of exile and erudition shared with other Iberian poets, who enjoyed, like Pires (and Landi), the patronage of the Mendes-Nasi family, and represented allegorically in their writings the Sephardic Marrano exile. Already in 1538, after a wave of emigration provoked by the Inquisition, Ercole II d’Este had invited these Sephardic-Jewish ‘New Christians’ to settle in Ferrara’s long established Jewish community, to enrich the Duchy’s economic and intellectual life, but without confining them to a ghetto, and even granting them juridic autonomy. Indeed, Pires’s letter to Giovio shortly preceded the further blow to Portuguese Marranos represented by the papal bull of 16 July 1547 Meditatio cordis, issued by Paul III (1534–1549), giving free reign to the Inquisition in Portugal.

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52 See Roth 1932, 71, 83; Baron 1969, 52, 91–92; Israel 1989, 16.
55 See Tucker 2003, 205–208, 222–226; Tucker 2010, 314–320. The Jewish presence in Ferrara dates from 13th century, but it markedly increased with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and the Marrano Diaspora from Portugal after the forced conversion; see Pesaro 1878, 11–34.
A little later in Rome, circa 1552, Pires, now circumcised (and so, an apostate from Christianity), was to enjoy protection from the Inquisition from the new pope Julius III (1550–1555) through the mediation of that pope’s nephew Vincenzo de’ Nobili of Ancona, father of Pires’s 12-year old pupil, the future cardinal (of December 1553) Roberto de’ Nobili. For, in this period, in papal Ancona, Julius tolerated, like Ferrara’s Duke, the presence of Iberian Marranos openly practicing Judaism. However, that pope’s death in March 1555, and the election of Paul IV two months later (1555–1559), brought a change in fortune for these Marranos. A bull of 23 July 1555 Cum nimis absurdum introduced measures against the Jews leading to the massacre of the Ancona community in 1556, after which Pires, like other circumcised Marranos, moved to Pesaro, and took refuge across the Adriatic in the maritime Republic of Ragusa, which, like Ferrara, for commercial reasons, had received Sephardic Jews since 1538. Indeed, in 1546 it had even established, like Venice, a ghetto for these exiles.

From 1558 Pires settled in this ghetto, together with his family, continuing his activities as a neo-Latin poet and physician, to become virtually the official Latin poet of this Catholic Republic, modeled on Venice. For, in Ragusa, Pires composed a poem of four hundred Latin hexameter verses on the Republic’s patron saint Blasius (De Divo Blasio, rhacusanæ reipublicæ patrono), addressed to the Senate of Ragusa on New Year’s Day 1582 – a text to be found at the end of Pires’s unpublished MS Elegiarum libri III (post 1579) dedicated to the Ragusan poet Dinko Zlatarić (Dominicus Slatariccius, 1558–1613) after the latter had become Rector of the University of Padua (1579–1580 onwards). Towards the end of his life in Ragusa, with the publication of his pedagogical Cato Minor (1592; augm. 1596) dedicated to the schoolteachers of Lisbon, Pires was even to promote a cosmopolitan humanist Catholic identity, that of an author erudite in matters geographical and historical, whose writings had been certified by the Inquisitor of Louvain as conforming to the teachings of the Catholic Church. Yet, in the section

58 See Tucker 2003, 228, 236; on Roberto de’ Nobili, see Naro 1728; Burkle-Young / Doerr 1997, 112–118 (Ch. XI. The Saint: Roberto de’ Nobili).
59 Also like Julius’s predecessors Clement VII (1523–1534) and Paul III (1534–1549); see Filippini 1998, 304.
63 According to the letter addressed by this Inquisitor to Diogo Pires (F. Eusebius Carmelita haeretice prauidatis Inquisitor Generalis apud Louanienses Flaiu Iacobo. S.D.), and according to the author’s dedicatory preface (Flaiuus Iacobus Eboresinis Olyssip-ponensibus, Ludimagistris. S.D.), printed at the beginning of the Cato Minor in both of
of that work listing the Kings of Portugal (*XIIX. PORTVGALLIAE REGES*),
each graced by a eulogistic Latin distich, Pires supplies a poignant, but subtly
dubious verse gloss on the late King John III (d. 1557) ‘for whom the love of
his people could not have waxed greater’ (*in quem / non potuit populi cres-
cere maior amor*), precisely echoing, with heavy irony, the sentiments of the
dispossessed Meliboeus at the opening of Virgil’s *Eclogues*:

Sub hoc rege iussu patris, adolescens vixidum xiiix. annum egressus, id quod non sine
lachrymis scribo. Et patriae fines, & dulcia rura reliqui. an. 1535.65

Under this king, at my father’s command, when a young man scarcely 18 years of age
– not without tears do I write – ‘I left the confines and sweet countryside of my father-
land’, in the year 1535.

Furthermore, just as in Ferrara, Pires had recounted to Giovio in 1547 the
circumstances of his flight into exile resulting from the policies of Manuel I
(1495–1521) and John III (1521–1557), so also, in Ragusa, in the un-
published MS of his Latin elegies, he penned a poetic account of the same in
his *De exilio suo*, where, in contrast with his twice printed *Cato Minor*, Di-
go the Marrano overtly parades his exiliar Sephardic Jewish identity. The
elegy dates either from 1583, or, more probably, from 1595, depending on
how one understands v. 24, which indicates that the wandering poet has been
in exile for ‘twice six Olympiads’: i.e., either for 48 years (taking an ‘Olym-
piad’ as 4 years), or for 60 years (*Olympias* being understood as a *lustrum* of
5 years). In it, the poet makes a point of writing his own verse-epitaph (as
Tibullus had done in his third elegy [1, 3, 55–56], when stranded, sick, in
Corfu):

*Didacus hic situs est Ebora procul urbe, domoque;
  Non licuit patrio condere membra solo.*

*At tu sive legis portum, seu littore funem
  Diripis, aeternum, nauta, precare vale.*66

Here lies Diogo, far from the City of Évora, far from his home; / It was not allowed
that his body be buried in the soil of his fatherland. / But you, sailor, whether you keep
to the port, or cast off / From the shore, bid him an eternal farewell.

If, towards the end of his long exiliar life, Pires thus lent his exile poignant
expression through this Tibullan elegiac gesture, he also denounced in the

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64 Pires, *Cato Minor* 117–123 [1592], 71–77 [1596].

65 Pires on *Ioannes III*, in Pires, *Cato Minor*, 123 [1592], 76 [1596]. The allusion is to
Virgil, *Eclogues* 1, 3 (Meliboeus to Tityrus): *Nos patriae finis et dulcia linguisim arva.*

66 Pires, *De exilio suo*, vv. 95–98 (reproduced in Pires 1983, 88; André 1992b, 430;
Chersa 1826, 6).
same unpublished elegy the ‘Catholic Monarchs’ of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, of Aragon and Castille, as joint-authors of his people’s woes (the massacre of the Jews of Cordova in 1473, and the Jewish expulsion from Spain in 1492), and so as the authors of his own individual, ever worsening, ills over the previous 60 years. According to the aged poet, these two ‘Catholic Monarchs’ had themselves ended up, with their children and heirs, as the victims of a ‘just’ divine punishment, meted out through a series of misfortunes worthy of Greek tragedy: first, the premature death of the infante John, followed by that of his grief-crazed mother Isabella of Castille (d. 1504); then, the poisoning (1506) of the son-in-law Philip, after his accession to the throne of Castille (1504–1506); finally, the madness of the daughter Joan the Mad (d. 1555), widow of Philip and mother Charles V, kept from ruling Castille by her husband Philip, then by her own father Ferdinand, who took over as Regent. It was even rumoured (as suggested also in Pires’s elegy at v. 63: *mala credita patri*), that the father had himself caused his daughter’s madness by giving her poison to drink, so as to keep her from power. Moreover, this madness was aggravated by the grief that Joan the Mad experience at the death of her husband (whose corpse she kept by her, refusing to believe him dead). For Pires, these were just so many punishments to avenge the tribulations of the Jews massacred in Cordova, and those of later generation of Jews ‘converted’ then massacred, in Lisbon in 1497 and 1506. These were also just so many sources of consolation for his own personal woes as an exiled Portuguese Marrano:

Me fortuna tenax terris dum iactat, et undis,  
Enumerat bis sex Elis Olympiadas;  
Et cum temporibus crescent mea damna ferendo:  
Et quis erit, cui non dulcius ante mori?  
[…]

Et videt hoc Superum Rector, nec fulmina torquet?  
Multus ab aetheria nec cadit arce lapis?  
Ferdinande senex, ut te crudelis Erinnyis  
Vexet, ut infelix appetat ora canis!  
Nec melior sors sit periurae coniugis, opto:  
Degener infernos incolat umbra lacus.  
At male compositos cineres, atque ossa revulsa  
Victor in Oceani deleat Afer aqua.

67 See the note of Chersa 1826, 26, at this point (Pires, *De exilio*, v. 63): *Nota est historia: Ioanna Caroli et Ferdinandi Imperatorum mater, ut a materni regni administratione admoveetur, patris polum operam bibit, quo mente capta decessit.* (‘The story is well-known: Joan, mother of the Emperors Charles and Ferdinand, in order that she might be removed from governing her mother’s kingdom [Castille], drank, though her father’s machinations, a potion, on account of which, her mind deranged, she was dispossessed’).

68 See the commentary of André in Pires 1983, 125, on Pires, *De exilio*, v. 62, quoting Prescott 1856, 162.
Non iniusta precor. Nostris ex ossibus alter
Editus in nostras saeviit hostis opes;
Altera (proh dirum facinus!) Phlegetontis ab unda
Exultit ardentem quarta Megaera facem.

Ah! quoties gremio nata est abducta parentis!
Ah! quoties natam est ipsa sequuta parens.

Sera quidem, verum invenit sua poena nocentem;
Movit et uliores iustior ira deos.

Ecce iacet magnus sceptri successor aviti,
Tot spes, tot curas abstulit una dies.
It nato comes erepto maestissima mater,
Et bibit accitus pocula dira gener.
At nata, infelix nata, et mala credita patri
Luget, et attonita mente repente cadit.
Ilia parens Regum nuper Regina duorum,
Ilia potens nato Caesare mente furit;

Pone modum lacrymis, et tandem siste querelas,
Corduba: tot poenis vix satis una domus.
Ipse quoque indignos casus solabor, et una
Forsan erit nostris haec medicina malis.69

Whilst a stubborn fortune tosses me by land and wave, / Elis has counted twice six
Olympiads. / And with the passage of time grow the wrongs I must endure: / Who
would not find it sweeter first to die? / […] / And yet the King of the Gods sees this,
and does not cast his thunderbolt? / No stones rain down from high heaven? / Ferdi-
nand, / now an old man, may a cruel Erynnis / Torment you, may the dog of misfortune
feed on your face! / And may your perjured spouse [Isabella] enjoy no better fate! That
is my wish: / May her vile shade inhabit the lakes of Hell. / Nay! May the victorious
African destroy in Ocean’s waves / Her dispersed ashes, and profaned bones. / My
prayer is not unjust. The one [Ferdinand of Aragon], though descended from our race, /
Raged as an enemy against our riches; / The other [Isabella of Castille] (oh! barbarous
crime!), raised from the waters of / Phlegethon a burning torch [against the Jews of
Cordova in 1473], like a fourth Fury. / […] / Ah! How many times has a daughter been
taken by force from her mother’s lap? Ah! How often the mother herself has followed
the daughter! / […] / Late, certainly, did punishment find the wrongdoer, but it did; /
An anger more just stirred the avenging gods. / […] / Behold! The great heir of the an-
cestral sceptre [the infant John] dies: / So many hopes, so many concerns, swept away
in a single day. / The grief-stricken mother [Isabella, d. 26 Nov. 1504] accompanies the
son who has been taken from her, / And, when summoned [to the throne of Castille,
1504–1506], the son-in-law [Philip, Grand Duke of Austria, d. 1506, 28 years old]
drinks a poisoned draught. / And the daughter, the unfortunate daughter [Joan the Mad,
widow of Philip, and mother of Charles V], entrusted, hapless one, to her father [Ferdi-
nand, Regent of Castille], / In her grief, sinks suddenly into madness. / Though lately
herself a queen and the mother of two kings [Charles V & Ferdinand 1st], / Powerful in

her son the Emperor [Charles V], she loses mind to raging madness; / [...] / Check your tears, and cease at last your lamentation, / Cordova! Scarcely can a single house survive so many punishments. / I too take consolation for so many undeserved misfortunes; this medicine / Alone, perhaps, will bring remedy to my woes.

Here, in this unpublished poem, one can find at last, under Pires’s Latin nom de plume ‘Didacus Pyrrhus’, and perhaps never more clearly so, the author’s other identity, his exiliar Jewish-Marrano one – blended, for all that, with a humanist one, imbued with the painful Ovidian realisation (transposed from Tristia 3, 4, 53: at longe patria est) of the huge distance separating the exiled poet from his native land, which he will never see again:

At procul, et longo terrarum dissita tractu
Est Ebora: heu puero cognita terra mihi!
Salve terra mei natalis conscia, salve
Non oculis posthac terra videnda meis.\(^71\)

But far away, separated by an enormous distance, / Lies Évora: alas! The land that I knew as a boy! / Hail! Land that saw my birth! Hail! / Land that my eyes are never to see again!

If, in meditating upon the woes of the royal houses of Castille and Aragon, the exiled Marrano Pires nonetheless draws for himself, and for his people, a certain comfort, it is also in mediating upon his own imminent death that the aged poet will in the end glimpse the ultimate means of freeing his spirit juridically from the attention of the Inquisitors of Lisbon and Évora, João de Melo and Pedro Álvares de Paredes,\(^72\) and so, of freeing himself from his own lot as a Marrano exile:

Quidquid erit, manes descendam liber ad imos;
Stet mihi libertas morte redempta mea.
Diis invise Meli, et Melio mage saeve Paredes,
Nil vobis in me iam modo iuris erit.\(^73\)

Whatever shall be, I shall descend, free, to the Shades of the Underworld; / Let freedom be mine, bought back by my own death. / But you, Melo, hateful to the Gods, and you, Paredes, even more cruel than Melo, / Soon you will have no jurisdiction over me.

\(^{70}\) See André 1992b, 433.
\(^{71}\) Pires, De exilio suo, vv. 15–18 (reproduced in Pires 1983, 84; André 1992b, 428; Chersa 1826, 4).
\(^{72}\) On these two ‘most cruel’ Inquisitors (Chersa 1826, 26: saevissimi inquisitores), see André in Pires 1983, 125 on De exilio suo, vv. 79–80, citing Kayserling 1971, 205 and Herculano 1854–59, vol. 3, 145, 148.
\(^{73}\) Pires, De exilio suo, vv. 77–80 (reproduced in Pires 1983, 88; André 1992b, 429; Chersa 1826, 6).
In the end, when approaching and envisaging his death, this wandering Jew of Portugal, Ferrara, and the Dalmatian coast will conceive his exile trajectory under the sign of freedom, situated in the beckoning ‘beyond’ of the Virgilian Underworld.

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