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

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This study¹ 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[?]),² and the Milanese satirist Ortensio Landi (Lando, 1512[?]-1555[?])³ – 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).⁴ 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

¹ Originally conceived as a paper for the panel 'Alienation and Exclusion: Exiles and Outsiders in Italian Humanism I', org. David Marsh & Jeroen De Keyser, at 'The Renaissance Society of America Annual meeting', Montreal, March 2011; cf., more generally, Tucker 2003.

² See Rosa 1960; Tucker 1993; Gouwens 1993; Gouwens 1998, 31–72, 179–212; Tucker 2005; Gouwens / Celenza 2006.

³ See Grendler 1969, 21–38; Tucker 2003, 270–280.

⁴ See Tubero 1790, 35–42, 65–71; Appendini 1802–1803, vol. 1, 324–327; Chersa 1826; de São Boaventura 1905; Körbler 1917; Tadić 1937, 298–314 ('Didak Pir'); Kolendić 1961; Santos Carvalho 1980–81; Costa Ramalho 1983–84; André 1988; André 1989–90; André 1992a; André 1992b, 391–436; Tucker 1992; Tucker 1998; Tucker 2003, 195–238; Tucker 2010.

‘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, 1521⁵) 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),⁶ 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*)⁷ – 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. Caecinna exilium non supplicium, sed perflugium suppliciique portum vocat: in Paradoxo 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)⁹ with figures of the exiled Sephardic-Jewish community also imposes comparison with Diogo Pires,

⁵ The title runs as follows: *Habes [...] Aristotelis libros de Generatione, & interitu 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’].

⁶ On Landi’s *Paradoxes*, see Saulnier 1950, 91, 93–95, 98, 100; Grendler 1969, 20–38, 222–239; [Estienne] 1998, 7–34 (‘Introduction’).

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

⁸ Landi, *Cicero relegatus*, fol. 5^{vo}. 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 Doblhofer 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

⁹ See Grendler 1968, 26, 28.

¹⁰ See Tucker 2003, 274–275; Rose 1971, 50–52, 54, 56–58.

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 *Elogia*, fols 70^{vo}–71^{ro}; see Tucker 2005, 165–167, 181 (and nn. 12, 16, 44).

¹³ See Tucker 1990, 239–240 and Tucker 1993. For an edition of the inventory (2 July 1560, made for Louise Du Bellay, heir of Cardinal Jean Du Bellay) of a library of books in a 'travelling-chest' which had accompanied Joachim Du Bellay to Rome, see Pétris 2007.

(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^{ro}. 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 Vat. Lat. 3436, fols 23^{ro}–34^{ro} (*Petri Alconyii pro S.P.Q.R. Oratio de rep. reddenda atque e 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. 3436, fols 35^{ro}–40^{ro} (s. t. [*Alcyonius to Clement VII, on the connétable de Bourbon*]); *ibid.*, fols 41^{vo}–45^{vo} (*Petrus Alcyonius Uberto Strozae 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).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 1522.¹⁷ 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.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.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

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.

¹⁷ *Ad illustrissimum D. Albertum Pium principem Carpensem. D. et patronum suum Io. Genesii Sepulvedæ Cordubensis Præfatio in interpretationem libri Ari[stotelis] de incessu animalium* ['Bononiæ. xxiii. Martii. M.D.XXII.'], in: Sepúlveda, *Libri Aristotelis* [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Byw. A 5.14(2)], fols AA [i]^{r0}–[ii]^{v0}. 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–BB⁶], bearing its own colophon (same printer): *Impressum Bononiæ per Hieronymum de Benedictis. Anno gratie M.D.XXII. die vero. xxviii 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.

¹⁸ *Ad gravissimum praesulem principem illustrissimum Iulium Medicem cardinalem vicecancellarium etc. Io. Genesii Sepulvedæ Praefatio in interpretationem librorum Aristotelis de animalibus, qui vulgo parvi naturales appellantur*, in: Sepúlveda, *Libri Aristotelis*, fols AA ii^{r0}–[iv]^{r0} (fol. AA iv^{r0}).

¹⁹ Sepúlveda, *Libri Aristotelis*, fol. AA [i]^{r0}. 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*,²⁰ 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 oculatiores non praeteribunt, quorum censuram patiar aequo animo. modo nequis incognita, ut Cicero ait, pro cognitio 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 notitia instructi, satis se ad interpretandum exponendumque Aristotelem paratos esse putant.²¹

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 percurrans, maiora etiam quam audieram de hominis doctrina expectare coepi. Tanta fiducia summos viros contemnit. Tot tamque magna loquitur, ac de se ipso tacite pollicetur.²²

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

²⁰ Sepúlveda, *Libri Aristotelis*, fol. AA [i]^{ro}

²¹ Sepúlveda, *Libri Aristotelis*, fols AA [i]^{vo}–[ii]^{vo}.

²² Sepúlveda, *Libri Aristotelis*, fol. AA [i]^{vo}.

[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.²³ 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.²⁴

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*.²⁵ For the outcast from the Roman Academy Longueil, no less

²³ Tucker 2005, passim.

²⁴ Sepúlveda, *Libri Aristotelis*, fol. AA [ii]^{ro}: *Errata igitur in caeteris quoque an<n>otavi eo animo, ut ea cum scriptis meis emitterem, [...]. Sed quia singulorum librorum errata persequi infinitum esset, [...], satis habebam, ea duntaxat, quae in hoc uno libro de incessu animalium notaveram, operi edendo premittere. et adiunctis verbis Aristotelis graecis, nostraque interpretatione [...] quippe ex quibus haud foret difficilis coniectura, qualis esse posset caeterorum librorum eiusdem interpretatio. Sed quia tibi aliter visum est, satisque [...] ex sola comparatione ferri posse iudicium putasti, destiti ab editione separati opusculi [...].* In fact, despite Pio's apparent advice to the contrary, Sepúlveda's *Errata P. Alcyonii* had already been printed and published separately; see Tucker 2005, 167–168 (n. 16).

²⁵ On Sepúlveda's *Errata* and their dating thanks to Longueil's testimony (providing a *terminus ad quem* of 23 March 1522), see Gouwens 1998, 36–38; cf. Tucker 1993, 95. Pace Gouwens 1998 and Solana Pujalte 2000 it is our contention, due to the testimony of Sepúlveda's dated preface to Pio (23 March 1522) and to the later publication of Sepúlveda's Bolognese volume of Aristotelian translations (15 May 1522), that the *Errata* were printed separately and circulated in March prior to the main body of Sepúlveda's Aristotelian translations (in press, but not yet published at the time of the March letter to Pio), to which they were intended to serve as a companion volume or appendix / insert (as in the Venice copy of Sepúlveda's translations). The rarity of extant copies of the *Errata* seems to be due to Alcionio's buying up and burning all the

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, Ermolao 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

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.

²⁶ Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior*, fols a iii^{vo}–[v]^{ro}.

²⁷ Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior*, fol. a [v]^{ro}–v^o.

²⁸ On Barbaro, see Bigi 1964.

²⁹ Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior*, fol. c [i]^{vo}.

two years, as he had in the previous twenty,³⁰ 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.³¹ 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.³²

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 auscultatoriis*, studied and translated by Alcionio's predecessor Barbaro.³³ 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

³⁰ Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior*, fol. c ii^{ro}.

³¹ Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior*, fol. c ii^{ro}. Elsewhere (fols i, iii^{ro-v^o}), Alcionio has Giulio de' Medici criticise Poliziano's eclectically fashioned, over elaborate writing in Latin, compared to the excessive make-up of *ineptae mulierculae*.

³² Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior*, fol. d [viii]^{vo}.

³³ Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior*, fol. a [v]^{ro}.

ability to translate, Aristotle.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 *iudicium* of Alcionio's Aristotelian translations, based upon the 'opening chapters' of the latter's translation of the *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.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 obscurest passages, redolent of ancient philosophy.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:

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.³⁷

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 *Medices Legatus* thus envisages for its author of 1522 the kind of success in the Roman Academy, that Sepúlveda's damaging *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.

³⁴ Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior*, fol. a [v]^{ro}.

³⁵ Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior*, fol. a [v]^{ro}.

³⁶ Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior* [cont.], fol. a [v]^{vo}.

³⁷ Alcionio, *Medices Legatus prior*, fol. a [v]^{vo}.

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-

³⁸ Grendler 1969, 20 and 28.

³⁹ Landi, *Cicero revocatus*, fol. 22^{vo}.

⁴⁰ Grendler 1969, 22.

⁴¹ Landi, *Cicero revocatus*, fol. 21^{ro}.

⁴² Landi, *Cicero revocatus*, fols 23^{vo}–24^{ro}.

⁴³ Landi, *Cicero revocatus*, fol. 24^{ro}.

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 *Cicero relegatus & Cicero 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 *Confutation* (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 *Confutatione* 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

⁴⁴ See Grendler 1969, 28, 33, 222–225.

⁴⁵ Grendler 1969, 25–26.

⁴⁶ See Rose 1971, 50–52, 54, 56–58; Grendler 1969, 21–22 (n. 5), 226–227.

those who find his exile shameful and are reluctant or incapable of leaving home: “donde non sapendosi mai partire paiommi in tutto simili alle conchiglie, che stanno del continuo appiccate alle pietruzze”.⁴⁷ Moreover, in Landi's corresponding, mock-earnest *Confutatione* the author's commonsensical *alter ego* launches his counter-argument with a reference to the same Plutarchean passage: Empedocles' view of exile as a divine punishment (“ciò che dello sbandito, dice Empedocle. VASSENE lo sbandito vagabondo agitato 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 ‘paradox’, 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 conception of exile itself, whose image has been tarnished by its cynical modern exponents and exploiters. Likewise, with regard to the corresponding *confutatione*, 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 *Paradossi*. 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. 31^{ro-vº}.

⁴⁸ Landi, *Confutatione*, fol. 11^{ro}.

to relativise the perceptions of the world and habits of thought he has inherited from it.

Diogo Pires (Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus; Iacobus Flavius Eborensis; Isaiah Kohen)

Ergo mihi exilium longum, et crudele ferendum?
Nec reditus spes est ulla relicta mei?⁴⁹

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 1497.⁵⁰ 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 uncomprehending 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 Urbem pulsus à suis Regibus concurrerunt ex ultima Hispania, quidam eminentium Christianorum nomen habentes, quos plebeia voce Maranos dicitant.⁵¹

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

⁴⁹ Diogo Pires, [*Elegia*] *De exilio suo: scripsit 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 / ELEGIARVM LIBRI TRES / AD DOMINICUM SLATARICCIUM PATA- / VINAE SCHOLAE RECTOREM ET EQUITEM SPLENDIDISSIMUM / ACCESSIT LYRICORUM LIBELLUS EODEM AVCTORE.

⁵⁰ Mendes dos Remedios 1895, 284–303; Roth 1932, 55–64; Baron ²1969, 44–46; Edwards 1991, 37–38; Pullan 1983, 201–202; Novinsky 1992, 80–83.

⁵¹ Alcionio, *Medices Legatus posterior*, fol. h 1^{ro}.

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),⁵² and as a result of the latter's edicts of 1521, 1533, and 1535, designed to thwart the emigration of Jewish *conversos*,⁵³ 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,⁵⁴ 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 1547⁵⁵ – 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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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.

⁵² See Roth 1932, 71, 83; Baron ²1969, 52, 91–92; Israel ²1989, 16.

⁵³ See Tucker 2003, 201–202.

⁵⁴ See Tadić 1937, 302, 307; Santos Carvalho 1980–1981, 91–92; Costa Ramalho 1983–1984, 16–17, quoting the will and testament of Pires (Isaia Kohen) (re)made in Ragusa on the day of his burial, 17 May 1599: *Hoc est Testamentum quondam Doctoris Isaya' Coem hebrei hodie sepulti [...]* (MS Dubrovnik, Historical Archives, *Testamenta Not. LI*, 27^r–28^r: *Testamentum Doctoris Isayae Coen hebrei MDXCIX Iud.^{ne} xii Die vero 17 Maii ragusii*).

⁵⁵ Modena, Bibl. Estense MS Est. Lat. 174, fols 161^{ro}–162^{vo}: *Didacus Pyrrhus Paolo Iovio S.D. [...]* *Ferrariae, Februarii mense 1547*.

⁵⁶ 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.

⁵⁷ See Balletti 1969, 76–79; Bonfil 1998, 298–300.

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.⁵⁸ For, in this period, in papal Ancona, Julius tolerated, like Ferrara's Duke, the presence of Iberian *Marranos* openly practicing Judaism.⁵⁹ 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 1556,⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹

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, rhacusanae reipublicae 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 Slatariccus, 1558–1613) after the latter had become Rector of the University of Padua (1579–1580 onwards).⁶² 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.⁶³ 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.

⁶⁰ See Roth 1946, 247–251; Santos Carvalho 1980–1981, 89; Milano 1963, 247–251, 632.

⁶¹ See Krekić 1987, 839–840; Israel ²1989, 34.

⁶² Likewise, Pires's published verses *De illustribus familiis quae hodie Rhacusae exstant* celebrating the Ragusan nobility. On the *Elegiarum Libri III ad Dominicum Slatarichium Patavinae Scholae Rectorem et Equitem Splendidissimum*, see above, n. 49; and Tucker 1992, 198. On Zlatarić, see Goleniščev-Kutuzov 1973, vol. 1, 140–144.

⁶³ According to the letter addressed by this Inquisitor to Diogo Pires (*F. Eusebius Carmelita haeretice prauitatis Inquisitor Generalis apud Louanienses Flauii Iacobo. S.D.*), and according to the author's dedicatory preface (*Flauius Iacobus Eborensis Olyssipponensibus, 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*),⁶⁴ each graced by a eulogistic Latin distich, Pires supplies a poignant, but subtly barbed, 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 crescere 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 vixdum xiix. 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 fatherland', 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 unpublished 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*, Diogo 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 'Olympiad' 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 Eborā procul urbe, domoque; 95
 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

the original editions: Venice 1592, fols A 2r^o–v^o, A 3r^o–4r^o; and Venice 1596, fols A 2r^o–v^o, A 3r^o–v^o.

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 linquimus 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.⁶⁷ 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).⁶⁸ 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 crescunt mea damna ferendo: 25
 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 Erinnys 35
 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. 40

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 admoveretur, patris poculum opera 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
 Extulit 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; 55
 Movit et ultores iustior ira deos.
 [...]
 Ecce iacet magnus sceptri successor aviti,
 Tot spes, tot curas abstulit una dies. 60
 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.
 Illa parens Regum nuper Regina duorum, 65
 Illa potens nato Caesare mente furit;
 [...]
 Pone modum lacrymis, et tandem siste querelas,
 Corduba: tot poenis vix satis una domus. 70
 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? / Ferdinand, / 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 ancestral 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 [Ferdinand, 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

⁶⁹ Pires, *De exilio suo*, vv. 23–26, 33–44, 51–52, 55–56, 59–66, 69–72 (reproduced in Pires 1983, 84–88; André 1992b, 428–429; Chersa 1826, 4–6).

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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