HYBRID RENAISSANCE
Culture, Language, Architecture

Peter Burke

Hybrid Renaissance

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For Maria Lúcia

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Preface and Acknowledgements

It was a pleasure to deliver lectures that are named in honour of my friend Natalie Zemon Davis, and an additional pleasure to see her in the audience when I gave them in November 2013. This book will encounter her many publications at a number of points, as readers will see, and it should be taken as a tribute to her work on trickster travellers, on "mixtures and margins" and on cultural hybridity.[1] It was also a pleasure to deliver these lectures at the CEU, which I have often visited, about a topic that includes both Hungary and the Middle Ages, even if it does not focus on them.

At the CEU, I should like to thank Gábor Klaniczay for inviting me and for chairing the sessions, as well as Aziz Al-Azmeh (a fellow-Antonian), Nadia Al-Bagdadi, Csilla Dobos for help of various kinds and József Laszlovszky both for his guided tour of Visegrád and the gift of his book on the subject.

Outside Hungary I should like to thank Pepe González, for showing me the Casa de Pilatos in Seville; Zsuzsanna Farkas, now Wanek, belatedly, for having shown me the pulpit of the Calvinist temple in Farkas utca, Kolozsvár (today, Cluj-Napoca), and Graeme Murdock for helping me find an image of it. Thanks too for their questions and comments to the audiences of earlier versions of these lectures, especially of what have become chapters three and six, in Bergen, Oslo, Halle, Olomouc, Riga and Washington. Also to Chris Hann for allowing me to re-employ material from my Goody lecture at Halle, including some illustrations.

Introduction

An Expanding Renaissance

This book is a revised and expanded version of the Natalie Davis lectures for 2013, delivered at the Central European University in Budapest. It presents the Renaissance in Italy, elsewhere in Europe and in the world beyond Europe as an example, or series of examples, of cultural hybridization. In this study, a wide range of the many products of the Renaissance will be examined as evidence of the processes of interaction from which they emerged.

Defining hybridity

Readers should be warned at the start that it is impossible to give a clear definition of either of the two key concepts used in this book, "hybridization" and "Renaissance". Roughly speaking, hybridity refers to something new that emerges from the combination of diverse older elements.[1] The term "hybridization"

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is preferable to "hybridity" because it refers to a process rather than to a state, and also because it encourages the writer and the readers alike to think in terms of more or less rather than of presence versus absence. However, whether it takes the form of a noun, verb or adjective, the concept of the hybrid raises problems as well as solving them. Like its synonyms and near-synonyms, such as "mixing", "fusion", "interpenetration", "syncretism" or *métissage*, it is rather like an umbrella covering a variety of different phenomena and processes.

In our age of cultural as well as economic globalization, it is no wonder that many people have become aware of processes of hybridization, whether they love them or hate them. Postcolonial critics such as Edward Said, Néstor Canclini and Homi Bhabha have all had much to say on the subject, appropriately enough, since colonization led to hybridization, in the sixteenth century, as we shall see, as well as in the later period with which these critics have been mainly concerned.

Today, many of us are aware of hybridization in the domains of music and cuisine. The process is probably less obvious in the domain of physics, but here too there is a case to be made. In the 1930s, for example, some German physicists, fleeing from the Nazi regime, established themselves in Britain. These refugees

have been described as "bridge-builders" because they helped construct a synthesis between the German theoretical and the British experimental traditions.[2]

Moving from the particular to the general, it has been argued that innovation is often the result of the "displacement" of concepts or techniques from one domain to another. In this creative process, an important role has been played by displaced people. Like encounters between scholars from different disciplines, meetings between gifted migrants and their opposite numbers in the host country facilitated innovation. The point is that the two groups often represent different intellectual traditions. Encounters between them encourage – via arguments and even misunderstandings – a form of intellectual "trade" and hence a hybridization of knowledges, leading in turn to new ideas and new discoveries.[3]

Varieties of hybridization

Sometimes the participants were aware of the process of hybridization, sometimes they were not. Hybridity may be the result of a conscious compromise, as in the case of attempts to reunite the Christian churches after the Reformation, or that of the Renaissance architects who were asked to produce projects for the facade of the Gothic church of San Petronio in Bologna.[4] On the

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other hand, unconscious hybridization may be found in the case of individuals whose endeavours to follow a new trend were undermined by their traditional training, illustrating "the difficulty and complexity of the process of replacing one system of thought by another, difficulty and complexity that is social and institutional as well as intellectual".[5] The combination of new ideas or forms with traditional assumptions produced what we might call "residual" hybridization.

Some people mixed styles or languages in a playful manner, while others attempted to reconcile conflicting ideas in their search for truth. Hybridization sometimes marked a stage on the road to assimilation, but on other occasions a movement away from it, in other words a reaction against recent trends and a return, or attempted return, to an earlier state of affairs, as in the case of Italian Mannerism, viewed by Frederick Antal as a revival of medieval art. This recurrent trend might be described as "revivalist" or "reactive" hybridization.[6]

Sometimes the process was superficial, as in the case of the habit of "christening" modern institutions with classical names, so that the pope became the *pontifex maximus,* nuns became "vestal virgins", burgomasters "consuls", and Ottoman janissaries the "praetorian guard". In the New World, on the other hand, the process of hispanization was intended to be

a deep one, but (resistance apart) Spanish culture was perceived and understood through indigenous filters, such as the filter of local languages and mentalities. In Europe too, ancient Greek and Roman forms and ideas were filtered in this way, producing unintentional hybridization.

The example of language is sufficient in itself to reveal the ambiguity of the concept of hybridization. The deliberate mixing of dialects to create a standard language or *koine*, as in the case of some sixteenth-century translations of the Bible, is one process, while mixing languages in order to subvert a standard, as in the case of macaronic Latin, is another.

Despite all these problems, a general term to refer to all these processes has its uses, and in what follows I have chosen "hybridization" for this purpose, employing other concepts such as "cultural translation" or "syncretism" (originally a pejorative term, salvaged by nineteenth-century scholars) when more precision is needed. Thanks in part to its flexibility, the concept of hybridization offers scholars the opportunity of a fresh approach to one of the central problems in the study of history, the problem of the relation between change and continuity.

Defining the Renaissance

It is course possible to study the process of hybridization in many different places and periods, in the Mediterranean world in the Hellenistic period, for example, or in China and Persia in the age of Mongol expansion in the thirteenth century, but this volume centres on the Renaissance. Concerning the term "Renaissance", this is the place to say, once for all, that it will be employed in what follows to refer to a cultural movement, essentially the attempt to revive classical culture (Roman and to a lesser extent Greek), rather than to describe a whole period of European history. There were of course major obstacles to such a revival of antiquity, notably the great differences between ancient Roman culture and society and that of early modern Europe – the place of Christianity and its clergy, for instance, the use of firearms in warfare and the press in the dissemination of ideas, the awareness of Islam, the discovery of the "New World" and so on. These differences naturally encouraged different forms of hybridization.

In practice, it will not always be easy to keep to this strict definition in terms of revival. In the case of literature, for instance, although classical models were important, the rise of the vernaculars is too important to omit. Hence the boundaries of the strict defi-

nition will be transgressed on occasion. The concept of 'Renaissance' will sometimes expand to include objects and practices ranging from cuisine to clothing and from handwriting to horsemanship, all of which are part of "culture" in the broad sense of the term. The Renaissance in a fairly strict sense forms the core of this study, but beyond it lies the whole culture in which the movement took place, a context that is essential to the understanding of the revival.

It is perhaps needless to say that the concept of hybridization does not have the same meaning in all the cultural domains to be surveyed here. In philosophy, for instance, hybridizers face the problem of reconciling contradictions, while in architecture they do not. However, the only way to discover how far a given idea can usefully be taken is to take it further and further until the obstacles become overwhelming. In this sense what follows may be regarded as an experiment, or at least as a test of its central concept. I am not claiming that the concept of hybridization is of equal use or value in all the cultural domains to be discussed in this book, but only that it is of some value in each case.

Taking such a broad approach obviously runs the risk of finding hybridity everywhere. There is indeed a sense in which we hybridize all the time, adapting ideas, practices and things to new contexts and uses,

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just as there is a sense in which we translate all the time, as we interpret the messages we hear or read. The problem is that if hybridity is to be found everywhere, the concept has little or no value. A possible solution to the problem is to think in terms of a core meaning and a peripheral one, or of more hybridity or less in different places, at different moments and in different domains.

The region and period to be discussed here will also be defined in generous terms. The Renaissance is generally regarded as a European phenomenon, and sometimes, too narrowly, as a Western European phenomenon. However, the process of hybridization is most clearly visible on the periphery of Europe, in Moscow or Lviv, for instance, or outside Europe altogether in Mexico or Arequipa, while its traces may also be found in India, China and Japan in this age of early globalization.[7]

As for periodization, the distinguished medievalist Jacques Le Goff recently suggested that the concept of the Middle Ages be extended to include European history until 1789. Less ambitious than Le Goff, I shall consider a Renaissance that (as I have argued elsewhere) began in the fourteenth century and did not so much end as disintegrate in the first half of the seventeenth.[8] This study too will offer some seventeenth-century examples, from Cambridge to Milan

and from Csaroda to Arequipa, whether they are described as hybrid Renaissance or hybrid baroque.

A Bigger Picture

A number of books and articles, most of them relatively recent, discuss specific examples of interaction between the classical and the non-classical (especially the Gothic) during the Renaissance. The aim of this essay, on the other hand, is to view the process of hybridization as a whole, to present a bigger picture. In order to go beyond as well as using and summarizing the numerous specialized studies in this field (many of them excellent), I have adopted a comparative approach. Indeed, the approach is a doubly comparative one, examining similarities and differences not only across regions but also across cultural domains. I shall also be concerned with connections, attempting to combine an older comparative history with the newer "connected history" or *histoire croisée*.[9]

   The book begins with a discussion of the concept of cultural hybridity and a cluster of other concepts related to it. Then comes a geography of hybridity, focussing on three locales: courts, major cities (whether ports or capitals) and frontiers. There follow six chapters about the hybrid Renaissance in different fields:

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architecture, painting and sculpture, languages, literatures, music, philosophy and law and finally religion. The essay concludes with a brief account of attempts to resist hybridization or to purify cultures or domains from what was already hybridized.

Chapter 1

The Idea of Cultural Hybridity

The central theme of these lectures was inspired, obviously enough, by current discussions of cultural hybridity, themselves a response to recent trends such as globalization, mass migration, and debates about multiculturalism. As the world changes, historians come to look at the past from different angles and to ask different questions about it from their predecessors. This point is as true of the Renaissance as it is of (say) the French Revolution. In the last generation, a number of studies of the Renaissance, and especially studies of the reception of the Renaissance, from Jan Białostocki to Thomas Kaufmann, from Fernando Marías to Serge Gruzinski, or from Gauvin Bailey to Claire Farago, have all referred at some point to what is variously called hybridity or "mixing".[1] Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, these references have multiplied to a remarkable extent.

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For example, take the recent critique of what has been described as the "canonical history of Renaissance architecture" for "what is excluded".[2] Scholars now pay attention on a range of artefacts that earlier approaches neglected precisely because they did not offer sufficiently clear, distinct or pure examples of Renaissance art and were treated as a result as something of an embarrassment. These mixed productions have their own beauty. We should not allow purist prejudices to prevent us from appreciating it.

Historiography

Even if the idea remains in some need of elaboration and development, the theme of a hybrid Renaissance is older than one might think. An interest in different kinds of cultural mixing or hybridity is not as new as it is generally thought to be. The work of Néstor Canclini, especially *Culturas híbridas* (1990) and that of Homi Bhabha, notably *The Location of Culture* (1994), marks a revival of interest, not a beginning. Concern with this theme became visible from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, and has gradually moved from the periphery of scholarly interest towards the centre.

In religious studies, for instance, the Belgian Franz Cumont played a pioneering role with his *Les religions*

orientales dans le paganisme romain (1906). In linguistics, an obvious name to mention is that of Hugo Schuchardt, a German professor of Romance philology who was attracted by the study of pidgins and creoles (in other words, mixed languages). His *Kreolische Studien* dates from 1882–89, and his *Slawo-Deutsches und Slawo-Italienisches* from 1885. Schuchardt also studied the *lingua franca* of the medieval and early modern Mediterranean world, otherwise known as *sabir*, which combined elements from Arabic and the romance languages, with a little Greek and Turkish thrown in.

In the case of literature, the Russian scholar Mikhail Bakhtin, at work between the 1930s and the 1970s, was particularly interested in hybrid genres and discourses, using the term "hybridization" (*gibridizatsiya*) as "a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance".[3] In the study of whole cultures from this point of view, some leading figures came from Latin America, notably Fernando Ortiz, from Cuba, who described Cuban culture as a kind of "stew" (*ajiaco*), and Gilberto Freyre, from Brazil, who wrote in "The Masters and the Slaves" (*Casa Grande e Senzala*, 1933), about the "interpenetration" of indigenous, Portuguese and African cultures in his homeland.

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Hybridizing the Renaissance

In the case of the Renaissance, too, interest did not begin yesterday. Bakhtin wrote about Rabelais, while historians of Renaissance art were employing such terms as "mixing" or "hybridity" in the 1920s or even earlier. Simplifying brutally, one might suggest that these historians began by viewing the revived classical style as replacing the gothic, then as coexisting with it and finally as interacting with it. The first phase may be represented by the Swiss scholar Jacob Burckhardt who, at least in 1860, viewed Renaissance Italy in terms of modernity, calling the Italian "the first-born among the sons of modern Europe".[4] Even today, it is often assumed that the Gothic style simply yielded to a "new" style based on classical antiquity at the Renaissance.

In contrast, the coexistence of rival styles was emphasized by some of Burckhardt's successors, among them August Schmarsow, author of *Gotik in der Renaissance* (1921), a short book on Italian art from Ghiberti to Leonardo that noted "Gothic" tendencies or reminiscences in leading innovators such as Brunelleschi, Ghiberti and Donatello. In similar fashion, Aby Warburg discussed the survival of medieval religious attitudes in the Renaissance and their combination with classical ideas such as the goddess Fortune, taking the Florentine merchant Francesco Sassetti as an

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example in an essay that he published in honour of Schmarsow, his former teacher. Again, writing about the artist Maso Finiguerra, Warburg declared that in his soul, Middle Ages and Renaissance were not in bitter conflict but lived in peace side by side.[5]

Another art historian, Wilhelm Pinder, wrote about fifteenth-century German sculpture in similar terms, noting what he called its "life in between" the Gothic and the classical styles (*Zwischenleben*). The Hungarian scholar Frederick (originally Frigyes) Antal made a similar point, beginning his study of Florentine painting by juxtaposing two images of the Madonna and child, one by Gentile da Fabriano and the other by Masaccio, both paintings produced in Florence in 1425–26, in order to illustrate the "coexistence" of the "Renaissance" and the "Gothic" styles, or what Pinder famously called "the contemporaneity of the non-contemporary" (*Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen*).[6] This kind of contemporaneity was only to be expected, since it has often been suggested that cultural changes, especially in their early stages, supplement rather than replacing what already existed.

From Coexistence to Interaction

Coexistence almost inevitably leads to interaction, as linguists have shown in studies of bilingual individu-

als, emphasizing what they call the "interference" of one language with the other.[7] The same point can be made, and indeed has been made, about "bicultural" individuals and about coexisting styles or cultures. If some historians were content to note the simple survival or *Fortleben* of the Gothic style or of medieval attitudes into the modern period, others, or even the same scholars on other occasions, explored the more complex and fruitful idea of their interaction, mixture or hybridization (the emphasis on process is important). The Austrian Hans Tietze, for example, in an article published in 1914, criticized the simple view that "The Renaissance drove Gothic out", arguing that Late Gothic survived at the price of adaptation to the new style. "Old and new met and interpenetrated", producing what Tietze called a "mixed style" (*Mischstil*). Like Tietze, Wilhelm Pinder sometimes employed the term *Mischung*. Again, Antal published an essay on the survival of Gothic in which he claimed that old and new were "mixed" in Andrea del Castagno's painting of the Assumption of the Virgin.[8]

As for the English term "hybridity", it occurs in a study of the Renaissance by Edgar Wind, a member of Aby Warburg's circle in Hamburg in the 1920s who later became Professor of Art History at Oxford. In his book *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (1958), criticizing the idea of "the profound secularization of

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Renaissance culture", Wind replaced it with "hybridization", in other words the christianization of classical culture combined with the classicization of Christianity. To quote: if "a Madonna or a Magdalen could be made to resemble a Venus", it was equally true that Botticelli and others "produced many images of Venus that resemble a Madonna or a Magdalen".[9]

To speak more personally for a moment. As a student at Oxford in the late 1950s, I was converted to the study of the Renaissance by Wind's lectures on iconography. I was also impressed by his discussion of hybridity, as I was impressed a few years later by the discussion of cultural hybridity in *Casa-Grande & Senzala*, mentioned a few pages back. This famous study of colonial Brazil by Gilberto Freyre focused on the twin ideas of miscegenation and what the author liked to call cultural "interpenetration" in a society in which three cultures (Amerindian, Portuguese and African) coexisted.[10]

The Wider World

So far this discussion has concentrated on studies of the hybridization of classical and Gothic forms, but of course this type of hybridity does not exhaust the subject. The wider world, notably the Middle East and Precolombian America, was influenced by and in

its turn influenced the Renaissance movement, as we shall see, thus illustrating what Freyre's Cuban contemporary, Fernando Ortiz, used to call "transculturation" (in other words a kind of exchange), rather than "acculturation", the simple imposition of one culture (often Western), on another.[11] For example, in the field of religion, discussed in chapter 8, the "Hispanization of the Philippines", especially the conversion of Filipinos to Christianity by Spanish missionaries, was accompanied by what one scholar has described as the "Philippinization of Christianity".[12] To employ terms such as these should not be taken to imply that exchange took place on equal terms: in colonial situations, unequal exchange was the norm. The point is to note that the direction of change was not always one-way. Even the artists of Renaissance Italy, who gave more than they received, learned something from artists from other countries, notably the Netherlands.[13]

While Tietze, Schmarsow and Pinder were exploring the relation between the Gothic and classical styles, a few scholars were concerning themselves with the interaction between the cultures of the Christian and Islamic worlds. Academic interest in the *mudéjar* style of architecture goes back to the 1850s, when the term was coined to describe it. A study of Arabic words in *Don Quixote* goes back to 1907, while an article by the German orientalist Friedrich Sarre

on Michelangelo's relations with the Ottoman court was published in 1909.[14] Better-known, and also more controversial, was a study of the role of Islamic theology in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, published in book form by the Spaniard Miguel Asín Palacios in 1927, while a more general essay on the relation between Spain and the Islamic world, by the leading Spanish historian Claudio Sánchez Albornoz appeared two years later.[15] The Arab influence on Spanish music became a topic of debate by the 1940s.[16]

This trend culminated in the study of Spanish history by Américo Castro, first published in 1948. Castro is another inspiration for these lectures, thanks to his argument that the culture of medieval and Renaissance Spain arose from the fusion of three traditions, Jewish, Christian and Muslim. He emphasized language, literature and everyday life but the history of art and architecture also supports his controversial thesis, which told Spaniards what many of them, in the age of Franco and "national Catholicism", did not want to hear, that their culture was indebted to the cultures of the "other". [17] More recently, in our age of increasing western awareness of Islam and debate over multiculturalism, studies of Spain's Islamic inheritance have multiplied. Discussions of the hybrid Renaissance of the New World, especially in architecture and sculpture, ran parallel to the debate

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about Spain, in the work of José Moreno Villa (1942), George Kubler (1944), Alfred Neumeyer (1948), Harold Wethey (1951) and many later contributors.[18]

Still more ambitious, speculative, and, of course, controversial, were studies suggesting that the Italian Renaissance, especially in art, owed something to China. In 1910, for instance, the German businessman turned art historian Oskar Münsterberg argued that Leonardo's landscapes were inspired by Chinese art. Twelve years later, in 1922, the French art historian Gustave Soulier extended the argument to Tuscan painting, while in 1935 a Russian scholar, Ivan Pouzyna, published a more general study of China and the Italian Renaissance.[19]

Concepts and Metaphors

After this brief history of past scholarship on the subject, it is time to turn to a more general question. What concepts and what approaches are appropriate for a synthesis of this kind? To begin with the concepts, including "cultural exchange" and "cultural transfer", terms that will be avoided in this essay because they imply that what is exchanged or transferred remains the same, while my account, on the contrary, will emphasize the transformation of what moved between cultures. Recurrent concepts in the domains of phi-

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losophy and religion, to be discussed in chapters 7 and 8, are "eclecticism" and "syncretism", while in the period itself favourite terms included "accommodation" and "conciliation". Many concepts in the discussion of cultural hybridity originated as metaphors – metallurgical metaphors, such as melting-pot or fusion; linguistic metaphors, such as creolization, bilingualism or translation; or culinary metaphors, such as soup or salad.[20] A wealth of metaphors, indeed a surfeit.

Metaphors are good to think with, provided that we do not take them too far. As the Swedish anthropologist Ulf Hannerz once remarked, "when you take an intellectual ride on a metaphor, it is important that you know where to get off."[21] Take the cases of three metaphors that have often been employed in studies of culture: hybridity itself, cultural translation and *bricolage*.

Hybridity is a botanical or more generally an organic metaphor and scholars who employ it have sometimes been criticized for this assimilation of culture to nature. The concept has the additional disadvantage of encouraging its users to ignore agency, intention and even the consciousness of cultural mixing. On the other hand, the concept of hybridity has the advantage of facilitating a discussion of cultural change in terms of misunderstanding or unintended consequences. It may also be fruitful to add

to the conceptual repertoire the idea of "ecotype", as it was appropriated from botany by a folklorist, Carl von Sydow.

Ecotypes

Today, the name "von Sydow" is likely to evoke the image of a distinguished Swedish actor, Max, but it is his father Carl, a professor at the University of Lund, who concerns us here. Carl was a specialist on folktales who employed the term "ecotype" (or as he spelled it, "oicotype") to refer to a local variant of an international folktale, the equivalent of a dialect in language.[22] In what follows I shall be using the term "ecotype" more generally to refer to local variations on international themes, ranging from dialects to regional styles of architecture, variations that become relatively stable, sometimes quite rapidly. An alternative, chemical metaphor, that of "crystallization" was used by the anthropologist George Foster in a study of what he called the "culture of conquest" in Spanish America, arguing that after a period of fluidity and mixing, "forms became more rigid" and the indigenous cultures "more resistant to continuing Spanish influence".[23]

Since the idea of "cultural translation" emphasizes both agency and recontextualization, the conscious

adaptation of old material to new situations, it offers a complementary opposite to the concept of hybridization.[24] It may therefore be useful to attempt a kind of division of labour between concepts, using a term such as "translation" in cases where individuals deliberately combine elements from different styles or cultures, and "hybridity" when the combination happens without the individuals involved being aware of their participation in this process. In the case of ideas, where combination raises the problem of possible contradictions, traditional terms such as "syncretism" and "eclecticism" have their uses.[25] One might usefully distinguish between these latter terms, using "syncretism" to refer to a successful synthesis and reserving "eclecticism" for a combination that does not exclude contradictions.

Appropriation, Re-employment, Bricolage

Other useful terms include "appropriation", launched by the French philosopher, Paul Ricoeur and "re-employment", used by the polymath Michel de Certeau.[26] These concepts have parallels in the Renaissance itself. Humanists such as Marsilio Ficino were well aware of the attitude of some Fathers of the Church to classical antiquity, recommending what they called *spolia*, in other words the "looting" of classical culture for

Christian purposes (discussed at greater length below, page 151). Augustine, for instance, quoting the Old Testament, compares the "spoils of Egypt" taken by the Israelites at the Exodus.[27] *Spolia* might be translated as "appropriations". What was appropriated needed to be adapted to new uses or new contexts, and we find once again that Renaissance humanists had a term for this process, "accommodation". Originally a rhetorical term referring to the orator's need to adapt his message to his audience, the word "accommodation" came to be used to refer to attempts to make Christianity intelligible and acceptable in China and elsewhere, as well as to the adjustment of an architectural style to local circumstances.

When *spolia* are re-employed, whether in texts or in buildings, we may speak of *bricolage*, a term made famous by Claude Lévi-Strauss. This term seems particularly appropriate in the case of architecture, for instance, where it has been argued that the Renaissance style spread, at least initially, not as a "total configuration", but in fragments which were put together locally.[28] Bricolage is a kind of material eclecticism, while eclecticism may be described as a form of intellectual bricolage.

Whichever term is chosen, it is of course necessary to ask not only what was adopted (and adapted), but when, where and why. Relatively few attempts

have been made to answer the last question, with the distinguished exception of Foster's study of Spanish America in the sixteenth century, discussed above, which notes that indigenous peoples "screened conquest culture, accepting what they perceived to be desirable and rejecting what they perceived to be undesirable and within their ability to refuse".[29] We need more studies of the logic of selection in situations of cultural exchange, developing and refining Foster's suggestion that new items were thought desirable when there were no local equivalents to compete with them. In other words, competition or the absence of competition helps to explain the results of screening, filtering or what may be called "cultural selection".[30]

Long Shots versus Close-Ups

The contrast between conscious adaptation on one side, and on the other a process of hybridization that seems to take place without regard to the intentions of individuals, deserves to be developed a little further. In the history of the Renaissance, as in history in general, we are surely in need of multiple perspectives, two of them in particular. One view, which might be described as Olympian, or Braudelian, is the view from a distance, the cinematic long shot. This macro-historical approach, like other forms of "Grand

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Narrative", has the advantage of allowing us to see things as a whole, but it has the disadvantage of ignoring both local variation and the agency of individuals.

No wonder then that some historians of the generation after Braudel turned to the study of individuals and small groups, to what has become known as "micro-history", viewing the experiences of individuals, families or villages in close-up, as in the case of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou* (1975), a study of a village in the Ariège at the beginning of the fourteenth century; Carlo Ginzburg's *Cheese and Worms* (1976), which reconstructs the world of Menocchio, a sixteenth-century miller from North-East Italy; or Natalie Davis's *Martin Guerre* (1983), the story of two individuals each claiming to be the same person, returning from the wars to his village in the South of France. Micro-history has the advantage that it is vivid, immediate and on a human scale. The price of this approach is to present only a fragment of the past, more or less ignoring the "Big Picture".[31]

Historians surely need to combine the two perspectives. In the case of the Renaissance, let us begin with macro-history and imagine the contact, indeed the collision, between two systems of signs, the Gothic and the classical. Although the term "system" gives too static an impression – after all, English Gothic architecture, for instance, went through the three phas-

es known as Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular – change was gradual and there was a continuity between phases, until what I should like to call the "Great Collision". In the case of the visual arts, the rival systems may be found in many domains, media and materials: stone, wood, metal, glass, textiles, parchment, and so on, decorating objects that ranged from the architecture of large buildings to what some scholars call the "micro-architecture" of furnishings.

Going a little further, I should like to extend the term "Gothic" to literature, to be discussed in chapter 6. In speaking in this broad way about Gothic culture, I do not mean to assume any "spirit of the age" but only to suggest connections between different arts, just as we do when we speak, more conventionally, about classical culture.

Three Moments

From this macro-perspective, the process of hybridization may be divided into three phases or moments. First comes the moment of cultural encounter, via the movement of people, books or other artefacts such as images. Second comes the age of the appropriation of fragments of another culture. At this point these fragments are juxtaposed to traditional elements while remaining more or less separate from them, as this

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Fig.1. Hampton Court, Surrey.

image of an entrance at the early sixteenth-century palace of Hampton Court illustrates: the late medieval gateway with its Gothic arch and its battlements together with the Renaissance terracotta roundels representing Roman emperors and modelled on ancient Roman coins (fig.1).

The third and final phase is that of the integration of the fragments, assisted in some cases by what has been called "convergence", in the sense of paral-

lels between elements in the old and the new systems. An obvious example is the parallel between the god Thoth in ancient Egyptian culture, the god Hermes in ancient Greek culture and the god Mercury in ancient Roman culture, all of them associated with communication either by writing or by trade. In similar fashion the Chinese mother goddess (or goddess of mercy) Kuan Yin, the Mexican mother goddess Tonantzin and the West African mother goddess Yemanjá all converged with the Virgin Mary (below, chapter 8). The parallels encouraged cultural translation, in this case the "translation of gods", in other words syncretism.[32] Sometimes the cultural parallels were noticed at the time, while on other occasions they were not. Convergence can also be found in art, literature and law, as we shall see.

This third and final phase is the moment of cultural "translation" in the sense of the deliberate adaptation to the receiving culture of what has been appropriated. In any case, the process of integration produces new ecotypes such as the architecture of the Renaissance in Bohemia or Mexico. In the latter case, far beyond the realm of Gothic, the collision, more violent than usual, was of course between the culture of the Aztecs and that of the Spaniards. In an important study of the cultural consequences of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, James Lockhart has also dis-

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tinguished three stages. In the first stage, from 1519 to the middle of the sixteenth century, there was apparently little change in Nahua culture. In the second stage, however, c.1550–1650, "Spanish elements came to pervade every aspect of Nahua life, but with limitations, often as discrete additions within a relatively unchanged indigenous framework." It was only after 1650 that these limitations disappeared.[33]

Here too there were cases of convergence. For example, the owl had a similar significance in both the Spanish and the Mexican traditions. Indigenous images were given a Christian meaning by the missionaries, while Christian images were given an indigenous meaning by their converts. In similar fashion in the Philippines, there was convergence between the Spanish *loa* praising a saint and an indigenous musical genre.[34]

The concept of ecotype offers an answer to a well-known objection to the concept of cultural hybridity. The objectors claim that the concept depends on what might be called "the myth of original purity", whereas in the real world, no culture is pure. For example, the ancient Romans borrowed from the Greeks and the Greeks too borrowed from their neighbours. Again, medieval culture arose from a fusion of classical traditions, Christianity and what we might describe with a useful oxymoron as "the civilization of the barbar-

ians", among them the Franks, Goths and Saxons.[35] To return to our problem: if every culture is hybrid, what is the use of the concept of hybridity? A possible answer to this question is that the third phase of hybridization produces new ecotypes that remain relatively stable, "pure" or impermeable until the next cultural encounter occurs and the process of hybridization begins all over again.

The Micro-level

So far the Renaissance has been described without Leonardo or Michelangelo, Shakespeare or Cervantes. It is time to turn to the micro-level, away from the collision or clash of systems or cultures to close-ups of the myriad face-to-face encounters between individuals such as Italian artisans and their local assistants in France, say, or Poland, or Spanish missionaries and their flocks in Mexico. "Ideas move around inside people" as the physicist-historian John Ziman used to say.[36] Individuals also encountered things, as they moved or were moved from place to place, while some hybrid objects, such as sculptures or buildings, were the products of face-to-face encounters, for example between a Spanish missionary patron and a Quechua-speaking mason in Peru (below, page 65). In these encounters, exchanges took place, even if these ex-

changes were often unequal, as in the case of teachers and their students, masters and apprentices, colonizers and colonized.

The Mediators

What happens when we look at the movement in close-up, from the perspective of individuals? The individuals who come most clearly into focus at this point are the different kinds of mediator between one culture and another. Hybrid people, for instance, with parents from different cultures, like the *mestizo* humanist Garcilaso de la Vega "the Inca", whose father was a Spaniard while his mother was an Inca princess. Other individuals were hybrid in the sense of having lived for long periods in different cultures, like the two Leos, Leo the Jew and Leo the African.

Leo the Jew, otherwise known as Leone Ebreo or Yehudah Abravanel, was a Portuguese Jew from Lisbon who lived for much of his life in Italy and wrote in Italian. Leo the African, known as Leo Africanus or al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan, was born in Spain but brought up in Morocco. While on a diplomatic mission for the Sultan of Fez, al-Hasan was captured by Christian pirates and presented to Pope Leo X, in whose honour he was renamed Leo. Leo's *Description of Africa*, published in Italian in 1550, added

a good deal to European knowledge of that continent, the North in particular.[37]

Mediators included merchants and diplomats. Members of both groups were active translators: literal translators between languages in some cases, and cultural translators as well. The merchants included the Englishmen John Frampton, who translated the travels of Marco Polo, and Thomas Nicholas, who translated the letters of Hernán Cortés and other works dealing with the activities of the Spaniards in the New World. Printers were sometimes active as translators themselves, among them Gabriel Giolito of Venice, who translated the Jesuit Pedro Ribadenera's life of St Ignatius, and his colleague Barezzo Barezzi, who translated some famous Spanish picaresque novels into Italian.

Among the diplomats, Bernardo de Mendoza, Spanish ambassador to France, translated the Flemish scholar Justus Lipsius, while the Pole Krzysztof Warszewicki translated the Spanish political writer Fadrique Furio Ceriol.[38] In this context one also thinks of Doña Marina, "La Malinche", who interpreted for Hernán Cortés in the course of his conquest of Mexico, or the "new Christians" (in other words, converted Jews) who so often interpreted for the Portuguese in South Asia and came to be known as "tongues" (*linguas*).[39]

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Another group that played an important part in the process of hybridization (whether or not they regarded their role in this way) were the "renegades", in other words converts from one religion to another: to Christianity, for instance, from Judaism or Islam or Hinduism or the religion of the Aztecs, from Christianity to Islam, and so on.[40] Converts to Islam were particularly numerous in the Ottoman Empire, thanks to capture but also to the system of *devşirme* or "tribute of children", according to which Christian boys who lived in the Ottoman Empire would be taken from their families, forced to turn Muslim, and educated in Istanbul to become soldiers or officials.[41] Converts often played the role of mediator between their culture of origin and their new culture, as interpreters for instance, but also in other ways. The great Ottoman architect Sinan Pasha, for example, came from an Eastern Christian family, probably Armenians.

Other displaced people also acted as cultural mediators and hence facilitated hybridization, whether they intended this or not. One thinks of the diaspora of Italian artists in Renaissance Europe and also of Italian expatriate scholars, drawn abroad by opportunities for employment, like the Italian humanist historians at the courts of France, Spain, England and Hungary (Paolo Emili, for example, Luca Marineo, Polidore Vergil and Antonio Bonfini), who took ad-

vantage of the fashion for writing history in the fashionable classicizing style and the need of princes, especially new princes, for legitimation, linking them to prestigious ancestors, whether genuine or not.

More commonly, displaced people were exiles, forced by circumstances to leave their land, often for religious reasons. For example, two Italian Protestants who had taken refuge in Switzerland, Celio Secundo Curione and Giovanni Niccolò Stoppani, translated a number of secular texts, among them Machiavelli's *Prince* and Guicciardini's *History of Italy*, from Italian into Latin, allowing them to circulate widely throughout Europe.[42] Translators were often displaced people, individuals who had themselves been "translated" (in the old sense of the term, meaning "transferred") from one region to another.

In different domains, contrasts between generations or phases have become apparent. In the case of architecture and sculpture, attention has been drawn, as we shall see, to the phenomenon of imitation or cultural translation at second or third hand, with Italian masons, for instance, teaching Frenchmen or Netherlanders who in turn passed on what they had learned of the new style to Scots or Swedes.[43] The intention was to imitate, but the unintended consequence was hybridization. In a similar manner, in the case of music in the Philippines, a recent study has distinguished

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"two levels of transculturation", the first being that of Spaniards teaching indigenous pupils plainsong, for instance, while the second involved these pupils, now teachers in their turn, passing on "hispanized cultural traits" to others.[44]

Contemporary Views

A micro-historical approach also allows us to say something about the way in which some individuals viewed the process of hybridization at the time. In the sixteenth century, a few people at least were aware of what art historians now call stylistic pluralism, since they used terms such as *mode*, *maniera* or *Sitten* (literally "customs"), especially but not exclusively with reference to architecture. They described the classical style in various languages as *all'antica*, "anticke" or in the *antiquischer Manier*; or as *a lo romano*, or "Romagne"; or à *la mode d'Italie*, or *Welsch* (in other words, "Italian"). What we call "Gothic", on the other hand, was described as "the German manner" or sometimes as "modern", since it was a style opposed to that of antiquity. It was only in the seventeenth century that this style was associated with the Goths and hence described as "Gothic", but an anonymous fifteenth-century Florentine writer (possibly Antonio Manetti) had already claimed that architecture de-

clined when the Roman Empire was invaded by the "barbarian nations".[45]

In the case of language, individuals showed their consciousness of hybrid forms by describing them, usually negatively, by terms such as "mish-mash", in the case of religion, "mingle mangle" in the case of language or "bastard", in the case of handwriting, and by metaphors drawn from the domains of clothing, such as "patching", or from cooking, including *fricassée de mots*, evoking a dish of small fragments of chicken, or "hotchpot", a kind of pudding, from which the word "hotchpotch" is derived.[46] What we now call "cultural translation" they sometimes described, as we have seen, as "accommodation".

At this micro-level, unlike the level of systems, the playfulness of many examples of hybridization is impossible to miss. Think of the comedies of the Venetian Andrea Calmo, discussed in chapter 5, in which the different characters speak different languages and dialects, or of the letters that the Flemish musician Roland de Lassus, otherwise known as Orlando Lasso wrote in a mixture of languages (mainly Latin, French, Italian and German), to his patron Duke William of Bavaria.[47] The intentions of builders are not so easy to decode, but some examples of "Renaissance Gothic" may be and indeed have been interpreted as playfulness or as showing off.[48] Needless to

say, playfulness in art and literature is not limited to this period, but it is surely encouraged by consciousness of style, which in turn depends on awareness of alternatives.

Three Responses

Members of the same generation might sometimes respond in different ways to what I call the "Great Collision" of styles. One response was what linguists call "code-switching". Take the case of art: in an age of stylistic pluralism, indeed of competition between styles, some artists were "bilingual" in Gothic and classicism and changed styles according to the wishes of the patron.[49] They appear to have regarded the two styles as distinct, even if they could not always avoid mixing or hybridizing them. For example, the sculptor Imbert Boachon worked in Gothic in Bordeaux and in the classical style in Avignon.[50] The Central European sculptors Veit Stoss and Tilman Riemenschneider also shifted styles in this way. As for a third Central European artist, Peter Flötner, his statue of a sculptor, 'Veyt Pildhauer', includes an inscription claiming that this artist could work in both the Italian and the German style (*auff welsch und deutschen Sitten*). Again, in fifteenth-century Crete, some painters were able to switch between the Byzantine and Italian styles,

known locally in the language of contracts as *forma greca* and *forma latina*.[51]

Patrons too might engage in switching. King Alfonso of Aragon, for example, commissioned the famous triumphal arch in Naples, built by Italians working in the classical style, but the interior of his palace was constructed in Gothic by Spanish craftsmen. The Archduchess Margaret of Austria commissioned work in a classical style in Mechelen in Flanders but in a flamboyant Gothic style in the monastery of Brou, in Bourg-en-Bresse in France.[52] It would be good to know whether these choices were aesthetic or pragmatic, revealing a taste for both styles or a weary acceptance of the practices of old-fashioned artisans.

A second reaction to the collision was self-conscious synthesis or even syncretism. The famous book by the Tuscan humanist Marsilio Ficino, *Platonic Theology*, discussed in chapter 6, makes an appropriate symbol of this kind of syncretism, christening Plato and classicizing Christianity. The idea of syncretism will be discussed at greater length in the sections on philosophy, theology and religion.

A third response, though not a conscious one, depended on what the anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu famously called the 'habitus', in other words a set of dispositions (in both mind and body) that are inter-

nalized and cease to be conscious, but continue to generate cultural practices. The habitus is learned by imitation but becomes a kind of second nature, whether for sculptors, boxers or lecturers. Individuals who attempt to work in a new style may well assimilate it to their traditional habitus. For example, in a Renaissance portico in the city of Cuzco, some of the capitals are off-centre, apparently "the work of an Indian stone mason copying an example without comprehending the general rationale which lies behind it".[53] Again, one might take the case of a scribe trying to employ humanist cursive, a new form of handwriting developed in fifteenth-century Italy and based on ancient Roman models (more exactly, what were believed to be ancient Roman models). In the handwriting of one scribe, palaeographers have noticed that the traditional Gothic forms keep breaking through, in a sort of return of the repressed.[54]

Hostile reactions must not be forgotten and we shall return to them in the book's coda. Hybrid forms were often criticized as impure, as we have already seen, while movements of purification or counter-hybridization can be found in our period, especially in Spain. In the Middle Ages, Spain had offered a spectacular example of the coexistence and interaction of three cultures, Jewish, Christian and Muslim. Indeed, the term *convivencia* ("coexistence", or more exactly,

"living together" or *symbiosis*) was coined by a Spanish scholar, Américo Castro, writing on this theme.[55] A coexistence, it should be added, that did not exclude physical violence or a clash of cultures on occasion, but one that also offered scope for appropriation, cultural translation and other forms of creative interaction.[56]

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Chapter 2

The Geography of Hybridity

Awareness of alternatives and particularly intensive hybridization could be found in three kinds of place in particular: in courts, which were often cosmopolitan; in multicultural cities; and on cultural frontiers.

Courts, Cities and Frontiers

Courts

Courts were magnets for talented people from a variety of countries. Italian humanist expatriates served as official historians to the rulers of Hungary, Spain, France, England and elsewhere. Some artists and musicians moved from court to court, like the lutenist-composer Valentin Bakfark, who was active in his native Transylvania, Poland and Austria, or his English colleague John Dowland, who worked in Paris and Copenhagen as well as in London.

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The papal court was particularly international, with cardinals from France, Spain, Germany, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere. This court was the context for the premiere of the multilingual comedy the *Tinelaria*, written by the émigré Spaniard Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, performed before Pope Leo X and published in 1517. As in the case of other multilingual comedies, such as the *Spagnolas*, discussed in chapter 5, the success of the play depended on the audience understanding most if not all of what was being said. In the case of this comedy, set in a servant's hall (*tinello*), six main languages were spoken on stage, all of them from the romance group (Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan), together with a small amount of German.[1]

The imperial court rivalled or surpassed the court of Rome in this respect. In the age of Charles V, for example, the emperor's mobile court included Netherlanders like the artists Pieter Coecke, Bernard van Orley and Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen; Spaniards like the preacher Antonio de Guevara, the administrator Francisco de los Cobos and the historian Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga; German speakers, like the artists Christoph Amberger and Jacob Seisenegger; Italians, such as Titian and his fellow-artists Leone and Pompeo Leoni; Savoyards such as Charles's chancellor, Mercurino da Gattinara; and the polyglot counsellor Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle, who came from Besançon.

At least equally international was the court of the emperor Rudolf II in Prague, a city that was home to at least 50,000 people in his time. Rudolf's artists included the Italian Giuseppe Arcimboldo and the Flemings Adriaen de Vries, Bartholomaeus Spranger, Georg Hoefnagel and Roelant Savery. His humanists included the Netherlander Jacobus Typotius and the Hungarian Johannes Sambucus. Also to be found at court were the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe, the Slovene composer Jacobus Gallus, the German astronomer Johann Kepler, the physician Jan Jesenský ("a Slovak born in Breslau who called himself *eques Ungarus*"), the German physician Johannes Crato (also born in Breslau, now Wrocław, in Silesia), the Czech poet Simon Lomnický, the Italian antiquarian Jacopo Strada, the German alchemist Michael Maier and the Polish alchemist Michał Sędziwój.[2]

Cities

Cities too were centres for the mixing of cultures, thanks to the exchange of artefacts and information as well as to mixed marriages producing hybrid or bicultural offspring who might act as cultural go-betweens. Cities were, as they still are, sites of multilingualism and language mixing.[3] Ports and capitals stand out in all these respects. Among ports, Seville, for instance,

was the place of entry into Europe for objects from the Americas as well as hosting a substantial community of Genoese. Lisbon, both port and capital and the centre of an extensive empire, was the place of entry for both objects and people from Africa and Asia. Antwerp, at its economic and cultural height in the first half of the sixteenth century, and a major centre for the production and sale of paintings, hosted speakers of Italian, Spanish, French and Flemish. In the 1570s, however, the persecution of Protestants and the decline of trade encouraged many people to leave the city and spread their knowledge and skills elsewhere.[4]

Rome, a capital as well as a court, was a polyglot city with enclaves of speakers of German, French, Spanish and Croatian. Istanbul was another multicultural city which included Greeks, Jews and Italians as well as the formerly Christian children recruited as "tribute" (above, page 34), many of whom came from Serbia or Croatia.[5] Wilno (Vilnius), the chief city in Lithuania, was a third multilingual locale, one in which no single tongue predominated. It was a home for speakers of Polish, Lithuanian, German, Ruthenian and Yiddish, as well as for Tatars, some of whom spoke a Turkic language.

Despite these rivals, the multicultural city par excellence during the Renaissance was surely Venice. Thanks to its position in the world of trade, German,

Greek, Croat, Spanish and Turkish could be heard in the streets and squares of Venice, which combined the functions of a port and the capital of an empire. In the Middle Ages, Venetian culture had drawn on the traditions of Western Europe, Byzantium and Islam, a mixture that left traces on the later Renaissance.[6]

At the time of the Renaissance, Venice, like Spain, harboured Jews and Muslims. Its population included Greek Christians as well as Latin ones. Its printers produced books in different scripts such as Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and Glagolitic (for liturgical books destined for Croatia, for example). Some Venetian palaces and even churches followed models from the Islamic world: the sixteenth-century palace of Ca' Zen, for instance, includes oriental arches on the façade, doubtless an allusion to the economic and political involvement of the Zen family in the affairs of the Middle East, while the church of the Redentore, designed by Andrea Palladio, has two slim towers that are evocative of minarets.[7]

Frontiers

This book is in large part a tale of three frontiers: one in the East, between Christianity and Islam, or between Turks and Habsburgs; another in the West, again between Christianity, represented by Spain,

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and Islam, represented by the "Moors" of North Africa, not to mention the "Moriscos" of Spain itself, officially converted to Christianity but often suspected of retaining their former beliefs; and a third frontier beyond Europe, in the Americas, the Far Western frontier between the invading Europeans and the indigenous inhabitants, such as the Mapuche (in what is now Chile) or the Tupinambá (in what is now Brazil), peoples whom the Europeans were killing, displacing, or trying to convert.

The frontier was not a simple border or edge. It was also a "middle ground", the stage for the mutual adjustment or accommodation that followed prolonged encounters between the members of two cultures, in which neither side could "gain their ends by force". It was a contact zone, in which members of one group borrowed from the culture of the "other".[8]

Conflict and Hybridity

Once again it is worth emphasizing the coexistence of conflict with hybridity. The frontier was the site of two extreme reactions, mixing with the 'other' and war with the other. Take the case of Crete, a Greek-speaking part of the Byzantine Empire that had been conquered by Venice in the early thirteenth century. For more than two hundred years, the Cretans resisted

their conquerors, but from the middle of the fifteenth century, what has been called "a creative and fruitful meeting of Byzantine Greek tradition and Italian culture" finally became visible. Symbols of this meeting include some manuscripts written in Greek but using the Latin alphabet, a parallel to the Spanish texts written in the Arabic alphabet (below, page 114–15).[9]

Again, in East-Central Europe, Polish and Hungarian soldiers adopted the curved sabre (*szabla*, *szablya*) and the pointed helmet of their Turkish enemies, as well as the use of light cavalry for skirmishing, the ancestors of later regiments of hussars and *uhlans* (itself a Tatar word). The English traveller Fynes Morison described the "Polonians" as armed with "a Turkish scimitar". Armenian artisans in Poland made weapons in the Turkish style.[10] Polish and Hungarian nobles wore the kaftan, the *dolman* (a long gown, or in the case of hussars, a short jacket), the *salvar* (baggy trousers) and on occasion, even the turban, worn, together with a kaftan by the sitter in a portrait of the Lithuanian magnate Prince Janusz Radziwiłł. To western eyes these men looked like Turks, even if their principal aim in life was often to fight the Turks.[11]

Western stereotypes of Poles and Hungarians were encouraged by their use of Persian carpets or horse trappings of oriental design, whether these items were imported from the East or made in Poland, in an ori-

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ental style (in Lwów, for example, or in the new town of Zamość). A study of 430 inventories from seventeenth-century Kraków revealed the importance of Turkish textiles and ceramics in the daily life of the townspeople.[12]

No wonder then that the frontier between Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire has been described as a kind of third space or third culture. The frontier zone, whether Muslim or Christian, had much in common culturally, in contrast to the rival centres of Istanbul and Vienna.[13] Some Christians used to visit Muslim shrines and some Muslims to frequent Christian shrines (below, page 193).[14]

On the western frontier, Spanish Christian nobles also adopted Moorish dress or Turkish dress on occasion, while Spanish armies included light cavalry riding in the Moorish manner with short stirrups. Spanish churches were sometimes decorated with geometrical or floral patterns reminiscent of the decoration of mosques. How these forms were viewed by contemporaries is difficult to say, but it is likely that they were seen, at least after some generations had elapsed, not as borrowings from the enemy but as examples of a distinctive Spanish ecotype, hence a source of pride. "Christian society in Spain so completely assimilated *mudéjar* art that it considered traditional Hispano-Muslim building elements to be its own."[15]

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On the Far Western frontier, too, exchange occurred. Even if the first generation of Spanish conquerors and immigrants preferred to eat the food and to wear the clothes to which they had become accustomed at home, later generations adapted themselves to the local climate and the local cultures, helped in the case of the children of elites by the employment of indigenous nannies, known in Mexico as the *chichiguas*.[16] Some borrowing was extremely rapid: in 1532, Pizarro was already wearing an arrow-resistant padded cotton tunic, Indian-style, while some Spaniards were using hammocks by the 1540s. Signs of a hybrid cuisine (including the *tortilla*) can also be found in the sixteenth century. Chocolate and tobacco were also appreciated by the *conquistadores*, although these items of consumption were "desacralized", in the sense of being torn from their local religious contexts. On the other hand, Spaniards and Indians continued to be divided by their respective preferences for wine and *pulque*.[17]

In short, frontiers were zones with their own distinctive culture or customs, distinguished by archaism and by unusually intense cultural exchange. They were not so much cultural frontiers as frontier cultures. Hybridity in the arts thus formed part of a much larger system of cultural exchange.

Chapter 3

Translating Architecture

Walking round Paris in the 1980s, I was both surprised and impressed to discover the church of St Eustache, near Les Halles (fig.2). From a distance the church, begun in 1532, looks Gothic, but on a closer

Fig.2. Paris, St Eustache

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inspection many details, inside and out, are classical. How was such a mixture possible? At that point I was not aware of any discussion of the building, although in the nineteenth century, St Eustache had been condemned by the famous French architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc as a "confused heap of debris borrowed from all over the place, lacking connections and lacking harmony". Since Viollet's time, the church has come to look more attractive to at least some visitors and it has been discussed in histories of the French Renaissance.[1]

How unusual was St Eustache? Architecture is particularly likely to be hybrid for several reasons. In the first place, patrons played a greater role in commissioning buildings than they did in the case of paintings or statues. Patrons often had practical or symbolic needs that might conflict with the architect's plans, so that hybridity was sometimes the outcome of a compromise. For example, circular plans for Renaissance churches were sometimes rejected by clerical patrons in favour of traditional cruciform plans. In the second place, building is a collective art in which architects collaborate with masons. Indeed, a distinction between the two roles was only beginning to emerge in the fifteenth century. Conflict and compromise can be found here too. In some places, notably in East-Central Europe, large buildings were construct-

ed by multicultural groups of craftsmen. In the case of the Wawel Castle in Kraków, for instance, "Hungarians, Italians, Germans, Lithuanians and Poles worked side by side".[2] In the third place, local conditions such as climate and materials are particularly important in the case of architecture. In any case, some buildings took more than a century to construct, as in the case of St Eustache, or they might receive extensions in another period and another style, like the cathedral in Valencia, in which the Gothic of the main structure is juxtaposed to an arcade or series of arches in the classical style (fig.3).

Fig. 3. Valencia, cathedral, façade

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Linguists have analysed the way in which the process of hybridization produces pidgins, creoles and other mixed languages. It is possible, for instance, to find combinations of the vocabulary of one language with the syntax of another, as in the case of the so called "mixed language" or *media lengua* of Ecuador, which is Spanish in its lexicon but follows Quechua rules of syntax.[3] A similar phenomenon is apparent in the language of architecture, as we shall see. What follows will discuss Renaissance architecture in three parts of the world: in Italy, in the rest of Europe, and finally beyond Europe, especially in the Americas.

Italy

Even in Italy, where the revival of the classical style began and the remains of ancient buildings could be seen almost everywhere, borrowing from antiquity was not necessarily viewed as incompatible with a taste for Gothic, as a well-documented example illustrates.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, the Tuscan architect Bernardo Rossellino, designing a cathedral for Pius II in the pope's native city of Corsignano, which had been renamed Pienza in the pope's honour, drew on the traditions of Gothic churches (including the tracery in the windows) combining these features with classical columns and round arches. From out-

Fig. 4., 5. Cathedral, Pienza, façade and interior

side, the cathedral looks Renaissance, while from inside it looks Gothic (figs. 4, 5). What did the patron think about this mix? Pius, a humanist known as Aenea Silvio Piccolomini before he was elected Pope, described the building in his autobiography, entitled *Commentaries* in imitation of Julius Caesar, noting the "clarity of the light" thanks to the large windows and the fact that the aisles were the same height as the nave, as in the late Gothic churches of Central Europe.[4]

Pius was devoted to classical antiquity. All the same, he was sensitive to the beauties of the Gothic churches of Germany, where he had lived as a diplomat. In his book about Central Europe, *Germania*, he described these churches with enthusiasm. Intriguingly, Pius se-

lected Strasbourg cathedral for special praise, calling it *mirabile opus*. This was the very building to be singled out by the German humanist Jacob Wimpheling in 1505, and also by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in a famous text that helped to launch the Gothic revival of the nineteenth century, "On German Architecture" (*Von deutschen Baukunst*, 1772).[5]

Architecture in Europe

Returning to the Great Collision, it is not difficult to find examples in sixteenth-century Europe of medieval structures combined with classical ornament and also of the reverse, classical structures combined with medieval ornament. We might speak of conflicting pressures, on one side the desire for the fashionably classical, and on the other the need to continue to build castles and churches, medieval building types that had not existed in classical antiquity.

In France, St Eustache was only one of a number of Renaissance buildings in a mixed style. In Paris, for example, hybridity is obvious enough in St-Étienne-du-Mont, a medieval church that was rebuilt between the fifteenth and the early seventeenth century (fig.6).[6] As for secular architecture, Chambord, for instance, is a hybrid castle-palace, built from 1519 onwards for François I from a design by the Italian Do-

Fig. 6.
Church of St Etienne
du Mont, Paris.
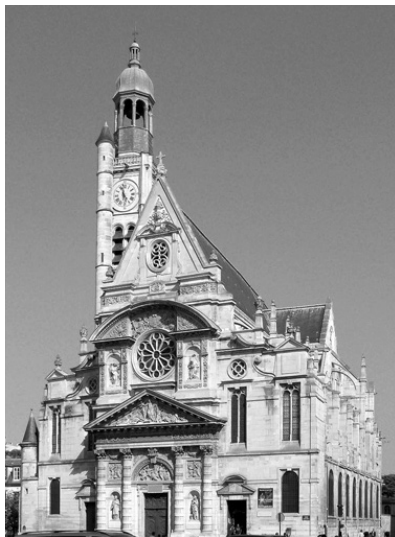
menico da Cortona. Chambord has been described as "largely medieval", a rectangle with towers at the corners, but it is crowned by an Italianate roof.[7]

In England, great English country houses such as Audley End in Essex or Hatfield House in Hertfordshire were built in a largely classical style, but unlike their Italian models, they retained the traditional medieval dining-hall, sometimes complete with Gothic windows and "hammer-beam" roof, as in the case of Burghley House, built for Queen Elizabeth's first minister on the borders of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire. It was also claimed at the time

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that "the natural hospitality of England" made the kitchen a more important part of the house in England than it was in Italy.[8]

It has been argued that Elizabethan architecture is a case of survival, that it is "pre-eminently a development from a living Gothic tradition".[9] On the other hand, the chapel of one Cambridge college, Peterhouse, a remarkable example of fusion between the classical and gothic styles, offers a good example of revival. The chapel, a simple brick building at the time that it was built by an unknown architect between 1628 and 1632, was faced with stone soon afterwards. Its façade includes a Gothic window and some classical ornament, while the decoration of the two niches flanking the central window might be described as a hybrid of gothic and baroque (fig.7). The new Master of the college, John Cosin, elected in 1635, was one of the leaders of a movement to revive ritual in the Church of England, coming closer in this respect to pre-Reformation practice, and the ideals of this movement, including a certain nostalgia for the Middle Ages, are expressed in this early example of "Gothic Revival". Hence the contemporary complaint that the chapel was notorious for being "so dressed up and ordered so ceremoniously".[10]

Central Europe was a region where, as we have seen (page 28) artistic code-switching sometimes took

Fig. 7.
Chapel façade,
Peterhouse,
Cambridge

place. Needless to say, mixing or what linguists call "interference" also occurred, in other words hybridization. The best-known case is surely the work of Benedikt Ried in Prague, where "the most advanced elements and attitudes of late Gothic were organically fused with the new ornamental vocabulary of the Italian Renaissance". In the Vladislav Hall, Ried introduced Renaissance windows, for instance, into a mainly Gothic structure, while his famous twisted pilasters combine a classical vocabulary with "Gothic movement".[11]

On the eastern frontier, as we have seen, Renaissance Venice offers a series of examples of the hybridization of styles, including the palace of the Zen fam-

Fig.9.
Boimi Chapel, Lviv

ily, with its "Moorish" arches, and the Church of the Redentore, flanked by its "minarets".[12] Further south, a remarkable case of mixing can be found in the decoration of a chapel at Lviv in the Ukraine, a multicultural or hybrid city where different ethnic groups had long coexisted and interacted (fig.9).

The Boimi chapel (1609–15) was designed by a German architect from Silesia with the help of artisans from his own region together with Armenians from Lviv itself, where an Armenian community had been established by the late Middle Ages. In the arts, Armenians were mediators between the Christian and

the Muslim worlds. At the time that the Boimi chapel was built, Armenian artisans (masons, painters and metalworkers) were at work in Istanbul and Isfahan as well as in the Ukraine, Poland and Moldavia. Italian artisans were working nearby at Zamość in Poland. Interaction between these groups led to the development of a local style that has been described by a Polish art historian as "a richly decorated Netherlandish Mannerism which blended with oriental Armenian motifs and with a Venetian version of the Tuscan and Doric orders".[13]

On the western frontier, in Spain, some churches and synagogues had been decorated in the Middle Ages in the so-called *mudéjar* style, with geometrical, calligraphic or floral designs of the kind normally to be found in mosques. The conquest of the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, Granada, in 1492, was followed by the forced conversion of Spanish Muslims, but the tradition of the interpenetration of Islamic, Gothic and classical motifs continued well beyond that date.

To zoom in on a single relatively well-documented example, we might take the Casa de Pilatos in Seville and its mixture of *mudéjar* traditions with classical elements. This palace was built by a rich nobleman, the marquis of Tarifa, Don Fadrique, a generation after the forced conversions. The marquis had travelled in

Fig. 8. Courtyard, Casa de Pilatos, Seville.

Italy, visiting Venice, Florence and Rome among other places. He commissioned Italian sculptors to design the grand entrance of his palace and probably the upper floor of the main courtyard as well. However, local artisans were responsible for the tiles in the interior as well as for the decoration of the arches and capitals on the lower floor of the courtyard (fig.8). To complicate matters a little further, Don Fadrique's Italian journal expressed admiration for two buildings, both of them Gothic, Milan cathedral and the Certosa of Pavia. His sensibility was recently described as "Gothic-mudéjar", although this is to omit the classical element.[14]

In the New World, the cultural consequences of the expansion of Europe included attempts to transport Renaissance (and later, baroque) art and architecture as well as to convert the local population to Catholicism. In the case of secular architecture, the Spaniards made few concessions to local tradition. Indeed, it has been argued that the revived classical style both represented and reinforced the Spanish belief that their culture was superior to that of the Aztecs and Incas.[15]

On the other hand, some churches were built on the site of earlier temples and even used some of the same stones, as in the case of the cathedral of Cuzco, built from 1559 onwards on the ruins of the temple of the sun-god Viracocha. In both Mexico and Peru, the masons and sculptors were mainly indigenous. They had their own traditions, their own habitus. As a result, the sculpture on church facades of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the New World, especially Peru, may have been classical in its syntax but it was partly indigenous in its lexicon, in other words the converse of the *media lengua* of Ecuador.

In the sixteenth century, a combination of local and imported motifs is already becoming visible, as in the case of classical columns that resemble the trunks of palm trees. However, it was in the early seventeenth

century that a distinctive Peruvian style or ecotype emerged, which some art historians have named the *estilo mestizo.*[16] Others call it "hybrid baroque", but it might equally well be regarded as late Renaissance. This hybrid style of building includes church facades with a form of background decoration that cannot be found in Europe, among them the façade of the Jesuit church in Arequipa, known as 'La Compañía' (fig.10). In Peru, unlike Mexico, there was no local tradition of stone carving, but it has been suggested that this decoration translated the designs of indigenous textiles into stone.

Fig. 10.
Church of
La Compañia,
Arequipa, Peru.

The emergence of this hybrid style was probably encouraged by the Jesuits, whose missionary strategy in different parts of the world, from China to Peru, was that of what they called "accommodating" Christianity to local tradition, in other words preserving the essential doctrines but dressing them metaphorically in local clothes, just as the missionaries dressed quite literally on occasion as Hindu holy men, Buddhist monks or Confucian scholars.

Hybridity is often the result of accommodation, a term that has recently come into use in linguistics, or more exactly come back into use, since ancient Roman rhetoricians such as Quintilian had already used the term to describe the adaptations that orators need to make when speaking to different kinds of audience.[17] It was doubtless from this classical tradition that the Jesuits took the concept. Speculating a little, I should like to suggest that the hybrid style of Peru may also have been encouraged by the fact that the missionaries were Spaniards, given the long history of the interpenetration of Christian and Muslim cultures in medieval and Renaissance Spain. Spanish colonial patrons of architecture were therefore prepared by their experience in the peninsula to favour or at least to accept a mixture of artistic traditions. Indeed, these patrons sometimes built in the *mudéjar* style in the New World, as in the case of a fountain in

Fig.11. Fountain, Chiapa de Corzo, Mexico.

the small town of Chiapa de Corzo, Chiapas, Mexico (fig.11).[18] Again, the façade of the magnificent church of St Francisco in Quito follows Renaissance models, but the interior mixes Gothic stonework with a wooden roof in the *mudéjar* manner.

The examples discussed in this chapter generally concern the creative reception of forms that originated in Europe. Traffic in the opposite direction was less common, the best examples being the Islamic or at any rate Islamizing buildings in Spain, Venice and Mexico. It is possible that the so-called "Manueline style" in Renaissance Portugal owes something to architecture in India, although scholars disagree over

this topic.[19] Occasional motifs from the New World can be found in the architecture of the Renaissance, from Rome to Liège.[20]

The process of hybridization was encouraged by the manner in which the knowledge of the new style spread, via treatises on the rules of classical architecture that were mainly produced in Italy but translated, sometimes rapidly, into other languages. Vitruvius might be described as the Cicero of architecture, the ancient Roman author from whom the rules were derived. Cultural translation was encouraged by translation in the literal, linguistic sense, sometimes directly and sometimes at "second hand", from a language other than the one in which the text was originally written. We know from library inventories that patrons such as William Cecil, who was devoted to building as well as to affairs of state, often owned copies of treatises by Vitruvius and by Renaissance writers such as Leonbattista Alberti, Sebastiano Serlio, Philibert de l'Orme and others.[21] It is not difficult to imagine patrons with the treatises in their hands, giving orders to masons who had a rather different architectural culture (Gothic or Inca, for instance), and there is some evidence of such encounters. Misunderstanding probably played a role here, as it so often does in history, although historians are often reluctant to recognize its importance.

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Translation at second hand

The hybridization of architecture was also encouraged by what might be called cultural translation at second or even third hand. The Renaissance style was introduced to France mainly by Lombards and to Germany by mainly by Venetians, bringing their own ecotypes with them. These regional ecotypes were then adapted to yet another environment. Although the spread of the new style in Europe was assisted by a diaspora of Italian artists and artisans, there were not enough Italians to go round. The demand exceeded the supply. Hence Italianate motifs were introduced into Scandinavia (to Rosenborg Castle in Denmark, for instance), by craftsmen from the Netherlands, into Scotland (Linlithgow, for example) by French masons, and to Lviv, as we have seen, by Silesians.[22] In the New World, there was "a constant shortage of European-trained craftsmen".[23] Some Spanish artisans were teaching Indians to cut stone in Michoacán in the 1530s, but in many cases all the workers were indigenous.[24] In all these cases the classical style was filtered through a local habitus, and sometimes by more than one, leading to the production of new forms via a process of what might be described as "creative misunderstanding" or "unconscious creativity".

In short, the result of the collision between the revived classical style and various local styles was the production of new ecotypes in both the Old World and the New. Readers should be warned, however, that to make this statement is to enter a minefield, or at least a territory disputed between two groups of scholars. On one side the "centripetal" scholars, as we might term them, emphasize the common features of Renaissance architecture from Florence to Prague or Arequipa.[25] On the other side, the "centrifugal" scholars emphasize local variations, creative peripheries and hybrid styles.[26] An outsider to this debate may perhaps be permitted to remark that the differences between the two schools of thought sometimes appear to be exaggerated. They are differences of degree rather than differences of kind, since both parties accept both the idea of the dissemination of the Renaissance style and of its modification in different environments.

Environmental Problems

In cold climates, the Italian loggia was not such a good idea.[27] Chimneys were more necessary in the North than they were in the South of Europe and they were sometimes disguised as classical columns, as in the case of the chimneys with Ionic capitals on

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Fig.12. Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire, façade

Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire (fig. 12, or the "giant chimney stacks shaped as Tuscan columns" on the roof of Burghley House).[28] Failure to adapt might be criticized. As a seventeenth-century English gentleman remarked, "It hath bin the use of the Italians, and ill imitated in England, by some fond surveyors, to set the portico into the house ... In Italy this is proper and useful, because it abates heat and averts the force of the sun's light, which is offensive". On the other hand, the English "have, generally speaking, too much air and too little heat".[29] In some places, in Hatfield House for instance, a later generation closed the portico with a wall of glass in order to avoid draughts.

Adaptation of this kind was sometimes justified in treatises. The Netherlander Vredeman de Vries, known for books illustrating designs for buildings, openly declared that classical rules could be broken so as "to accommodate art to the situation and the needs of the country" (*accommoder l'art à la situation et nécessité du pais*).[30] Using the term *accommoder* in a similar way to Jesuit missionaries in a religious context (below, page 185), Vredeman was recommending what we now call "cultural translation". In similar fashion, Louis Savot's *Architecture françoise* (1624) criticized the French for following the Italian style, *la façon Italienne*, without considering, according to the author, that each province has its own way of building (*sans considérer que chaque province a sa façon particulière de bastir*).[31]

Imitating classical buildings was not as simple as it may seem in retrospect. Although it was easy to appropriate classical ornaments, it took generations to understand the logic or grammar by which they had been combined in antiquity. A well-known example is the use of the ancient Greek "orders", Doric, Ionic and Corinthian, the first being associated with strength and Spartan simplicity, the second with elegance and the third with the opulence of the city of Corinth, a major centre of trade. Following ancient precedent, buildings such as the Bodleian Library at Oxford were

constructed with simple Doric capitals on the ground floor, Ionic on the next and the most elaborate, Corinthian, above.[32]

Entrances and Exits

From a chronological point of view, it is worth emphasizing the importance of two moments when hybridization was particularly important or at least particularly obvious. The moment of what we might call the "entrance" of the classical style was marked by the encounter of classical designs with Gothic habitus. This encounter might be a simple clash between an architect, whom we might describe as Renaissance, and his masons, whom we might call medieval. Sometimes, however, the architects themselves designed hybrid forms. In the case of fifteenth-century Tuscany, the cradle of the new style, it has been noted that Filippo Brunelleschi, a pioneer of the return to antiquity, used some Romanesque models, although he was probably unaware of their true dates.[33] In France, the moment of entry was a hundred years later, the age of François I, as in the cases of Chambord and St Eustache.

The second revealing moment might be called the moment of exit, as in the case of the seventeenth-century Gothic Revival, a smaller movement than its nineteenth-century counterpart but one that does not

deserve to be forgotten. Gothic designs were some-
times combined with what had by now become a clas-
sical habitus, as in the case of St Eustache. At times,
this combination was intentional. Some architects
made a deliberate attempt to harmonize the new with
the old. In England, Christopher Wren chose to com-
plete the towers of Westminster Abbey in the Gothic
style because, he wrote, "to deviate from the old Form
would be to run into a disagreeable Mixture, which
no Person of good Taste could relish" (using the term
"disagreeable" in its former meaning of "incongru-

Fig. 13. Westminster
Abbey, façade.

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ous", rather than the modern "unpleasant").[34] All the same, a close look at the details reveals that Wren's Gothic took classicizing if not classical forms, producing the very mixture that he had tried to avoid (fig.13).

The history of Italian architecture also includes a number of attempts at harmonizing the Gothic and classical styles, notably the case of Milan cathedral, begun in 1385 but completed only at the beginning of the nineteenth century, following a project for the façade presented in 1646 and described by the architect as "composed in a style mixing classical and gothic" (*composto d'architettura mista di romana e di gotica*). An earlier example is the debate over the best way to finish the façade of the church of San Petronio in Bologna. In the 1520s, a leading Renaissance architect, Baldassare Peruzzi, proposed what has been called a "mixed solution", only to be criticized, as we shall see in the coda, because his project lacked "conformity with the form of this building". In the 1540s, another leading architect, Giulio Romano, also proposed a mixture, this time "of Gothic windows and pinnacles with classical order". To this day the façade remains uncompleted.[35]

Architecture offers some of the most spectacular cases of hybridization in the visual arts in this period, but similar tendencies can be found in painting and sculpture, as the following chapter will suggest.

Chapter 4

Hybrid Arts

As the introduction to this book remarked, the idea that some of the art of the Renaissance should be viewed as hybrid was put forward early in the twentieth century by some Central European art historians. This chapter will try to develop their ideas by discussing painting, sculpture and the decorative arts, first in Italy, then in the rest of Europe and finally in other parts of the world.

Italy

As we have seen, in the 1920s August Schmarsow and Frederick Antal were already discussing the survival of Gothic in Renaissance Italy. Antal presented a famous contrast between the classical Virgin Mary painted by Masaccio and the Gothic Virgin painted by Gentile da Fabriano in the same city, Florence, and at about the same time, in the year 1425 or thereabouts. Sim-

ilar contrasts can sometimes be found in the work of a single artist, who might be attracted to both styles. Pisanello, for instance, might be described as poised between the Gothic and the classical styles. Praised by a number of humanists, Pisanello adopted a classical style in his medals, a genre that he may have invented, inspired by ancient Roman coins. On the other hand, he was more traditional in his paintings, some of which represented scenes from romances of chivalry.[1] In the case of sculpture, Jacopo della Quercia slips between the categories of Gothic and classical.[2] The slender women of Botticelli evoke Gothic statues, though in his case, almost half a century after Masaccio, conscious revival is as likely as survival. It is even more likely in the case of sixteenth-century "Mannerist" artists.[3]

The interest in paintings by Flemish artists that was shown by fifteenth-century Italian patrons encouraged another kind of hybridity. The Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, sent a young artist, Zanetto Bugatti, to Brussels to study with the Flemish master Rogier van der Weyden. In Florence, the famous frescos by Domenico Ghirlandaio have been described as a response to the challenge of an altarpiece painted by another Flemish master, Hugo Van der Goes, that arrived in the city in 1483. Other Italian works also follow Flemish models, sometimes at the level of detail and sometimes at the level of structure.[4]

Grotesques and Arabesques

Other forms of hybridization may be illustrated from the fashion for grotesques (*grottesche*) painted on walls, a fashion that was launched by Raphael and his team at the Vatican following the discovery of the painted decorations of Nero's "Golden House", the *Domus Aurea*. These decorations are themselves hybrid in the sense of portraying creatures that combined the body parts of different animals: centaurs, for instance, satyrs, harpies, sphinxes and chimeras. They reveal a playful anti-classicism that did not please everyone (about eighty years before the decoration of the Domus Aurea, the architect Vitruvius had criticized what he called "monsters" as symptoms of the decline of Roman painting). Some sixteenth-century critics, including Michelangelo, his follower Giorgio Vasari and the Counter-Reformation bishop Gabriele Paleotti, agreed, for different reasons, with Vitruvius, but grotesques were defended as examples of *fantasia*, the creative imagination of the artist, and also of *maraviglia*, the art of surprising the viewer.[5]

Renaissance grotesques were hybrid in the sense of evoking not only classical antiquity but also the medieval monsters to be found in the margins of manuscripts, or the sculptures famously condemned by St

Bernard. A famous grotesque sculpture from the sixteenth century is the huge stone head in the garden or "sacred wood" of Bomarzo, which was filled with monsters and marvels. The head, sometimes called that of an ogre, evokes both classical masks and the medieval image of the mouth of hell, an association underlined by the inscription around the mouth, parodying Dante, "Abandon every thought, you who enter here" (*Lasciate ogni pensiero voi ch'entrate*).

As in the case of architecture, Venice was a centre of interaction between western and Islamic traditions. The "Veneto-Saracenic" genre of metalwork, once thought to have been produced in Venice, is now considered to have been imported from Damascus, Cairo and elsewhere in the Middle East, though made for the Venetian market.[6] On the other hand, the rise of what is known as "arabesque" decoration in Renaissance Italy, on book-bindings for instance, shows the Venetians practising conscious cultural translation.[7] The only puzzle is why Italian interest in the arabesque came so late, since this type of decoration was traditional in the Middle East, while Venetian contacts with Aleppo, Damascus and Cairo went back for centuries. Perhaps it was the success of the grotesque that made arabesque increasingly attractive.

Europe beyond Italy

The two new styles, arabesque and grotesque, soon spread from Italy to the rest of Europe and from Europe to the New World.[8] They were sometimes practised by the same artists, among them Francesco Pellegrino, an Italian who helped decorate the Grande Galerie at Fontainebleau for the King of France. The fashion for both was carried by pattern-books with terms such as "arabesque", "moresque" (that is, in the style of the "Moors") or "grotesque" in their titles: Pellegrino's *Patrons de broderie façon arabique et italique* (1530), for instance, Peter Flötner's *Mauresken-buch* (1549), Hans Vredeman's *Grottesco in diversche manieren* (c. 1565) and Christoph Jamnitzer's *Neuw Grotessken Buch* (1610).[9] Contemporaries confused or combined the two styles: in Randle Cotgrave's *French-English Dictionary* (1611), "Moreske work" was defined as "painting or carving wherein the feet and tails of beasts etc are intermingled with or made to resemble a kind of wild leaves".

If Gothic remained a significant ingredient in the art of what we call "Renaissance" Italy, it was even more important in Northern Europe, raising the problem of the nature and importance of the Northern Renaissance. Flemish painting in particular stands out in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for its achieve-

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ments, its innovations and its influence on the art of other countries. [10] All the same, the continuity with Gothic was stronger and the classical element weaker in Flanders than in Italy. Indeed, the Flemish or Burgundian style was more influential than the Italian, in early sixteenth-century England or Spain for instance, precisely because it was closer to Gothic and so easier for artists trained in Gothic to absorb.

Some artists from the Netherlands followed Italian models, just as some Italian artists followed Flemish models. In the first half of the sixteenth century, an important group of artists from the Netherlands visited Italy, among them Quentin Massys, Jan Gossaert, Cornelis Floris, Maarten van Heemskerck and Pieter Brueghel.

Switching and Mixing

Some artists were able to switch styles on demand. Gossaert, also known as Mabuse, "accepted both modern and *antiek* as valid artistic modes, languages of form that were chosen according to local circumstance".[11] Others mixed the two styles, as in the case of Bernard (Barent) van Orley's *Annunciation*, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (fig.15). In this painting the composition and the poses are traditional. On the other hand some features evoke an-

Fig.14. Bernard van Orley, Annunciation*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*

tiquity, notably the architectural setting. It is surely fruitless to argue whether this painting is "Renaissance" or not, but it can be said that compared with Italian paintings of the period, there is more continuity with the past.

In the fifteenth century, the sculptor Claus Sluter worked in Dijon on the tomb of Philip the Bold, combining naturalistic figures with Gothic decoration. In the sixteenth century, the tomb of the emperor Maximilian at Innsbruck, a collective work spread over most of the century, combined a Gothic manner that has been described as "the culmination of the Burgundian tomb tradition" with Renaissance fea-

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tures such as reliefs in perspective and the increasingly fashionable busts of Roman emperors.[12]

In Spain at this time, the interaction between local traditions and Flemish ones was so intense that art historians speak of a "Hispano-Flemish" style. Spanish painters worked "on the interface between two artistic cultures – the Hispano-Flemish and the Italian" and "produced an original synthesis of the two".[13]

In Northern Europe, a diaspora of artists from the Netherlands, in their traditional role of middlemen, spread their version of the Renaissance style. Willem Boy, for instance spent over thirty years in Sweden. Adriaan de Vries worked at the court of Rudolf II in Prague. Anthonis van Opbergen was active in Helsingør and Toruń. Hans Vredeman worked in Frankfurt, Hamburg, Danzig (now Gdańsk) and Prague. Willem van den Blocke worked in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) and Danzig. William Cure and Gheeraert Jansen, both from Amsterdam, worked in London, where their sons followed them into the family business.

The main business of these artists and others like them was the construction of monuments to the dead in cathedrals and parish churches. Take the case of English church monuments, which have been the object of a number of studies.[14] In these monuments the recumbent effigies, many of them men in armour, fol-

lowed medieval tradition, and so did the prominent angels and coats of arms. On the other hand, classical features included columns or pilasters, friezes, obelisks, personified virtues and inscriptions in Roman lettering. These monuments represent a specific ecotype but it is not so much an English as a northern European one, much more colourful than the Italian model from which it ultimately derived.

In Germany, the "mixture" of Gothic and classical styles in fifteenth-century sculpture was already noted in the 1920s, as we have seen, by Wilhelm Pinder. Developing and refining this idea, the British art historian Michael Baxandall distinguished three generations of German sculptors between the years 1475 and 1525. The first generation showed no interest at all in Italian Renaissance art. The second took some interest but they had already formed their style before they discovered Italy. In the case of the third generation, however, "the existence of the Italianate was something they lived with from the start, developing their personal manner in some sort of relation to it".[15]

Byzantine Traditions

Mixtures of Gothic and classical do not of course exhaust the catalogue of forms of hybridization at this time. Hybridization of Byzantine and Italian forms

can be found in South-Eastern Europe, for example in the full-length woven portrait of Ieremia Movilă, voivod of Moldavia (fig.16). This remarkable work occupies a place midway between the state portrait of the Renaissance and the Byzantine tradition of mosaic portraits, such as that of Theodore Metochites in the church of the Chora monastery in Constantinople. However, it is the art of El Greco, a personal synthesis of very different styles, that offers what is perhaps the most successful example of hybrid painting in the Renaissance. El Greco was born and trained as an artist in Crete, which was in his day a colony of Venice. In Crete artists blended what were known as the "Greek" and "Italian" styles or switched between

them, while paintings in the Greek manner might be found in Catholic churches.[16] In his twenties, El Greco migrated to Venice, a city in which inventories show that some people were buying icons of the Virgin "in the Greek style" (*alle greche*), often imported from Crete, while others preferred the work of Titian and Tintoretto, both of whom El Greco admired.[17] After Venice, El Greco lived in Rome, but he finally settled in Toledo. His mature style bears traces of the art of all these cities.

Islamo-Christian Art

Another kind of intermixture involved Islamic art. On the Western frontier, we have already seen how in the decoration of the Casa de Pilatos, the visual traditions of Islam and Christendom interacted. Turning to the Eastern frontier of Christendom, we find something similar. Venice offers some examples, as we have seen, while Hungary offers others. One comes from a village church in Csaroda (fig. 16), its interior decorated in the first half of the seventeenth century with mural paintings, floral decorations reminiscent of the famous ceramics of Iznik. Another example from the same period comes from Transylvania, from the Calvinist temple in Kolozsvár (now Cluj), its pulpit decorated once again with floral designs. In the case of ce-

Fig.16.
Church interior, Csaroda

ramics, often the work of German Anabaptist potters who had moved to Hungary to avoid persecution, we find a combination of Italian-style majolica and floral decoration (tulips, for instance), once again characteristic of the Turkish ceramics produced in Iznik.

Beyond Europe

The so-called "expansion" of Europe in the sixteenth century, in other words the conquest and exploitation of parts of Asia, Africa and on a grander scale the

Americas, had important cultural consequences as well as its well-known economic, social and political consequences. At least three trends are visible at this time: production outside Europe for a European market, the spontaneous acceptance of these models, and finally the imposition of European models on other cultures. The result of all three was, once again, hybridization.

We have already seen how artisans in Damascus and Cairo produced objects to suit European, or more specifically Venetian taste. In similar fashion, when the Portuguese established themselves in India, a so-called "Indo-Portuguese" style of furniture came into existence. Examples include boxes and chests made of teak inlaid with human figures, an-

Fig.17. Carved elephant tusk, Brooklyn Museum.

imals and arabesques in ivory, produced in Gujarat for the Portuguese market. Parallel to the "Indo-Portuguese" artefacts are what are now known as "Afro-Portuguese" spoons, forks, salt-cellars, the horns known as "oliphants" and other works in carved ivory (fig. 17). The hyphenated or hybrid name "Afro-Portuguese" was coined to describe this hybrid art, made in Benin and other parts of West Africa but targeting the Portuguese market.[18] All too little is known about the process of negotiation through which artisans in Africa or India learned to accommodate their work to European taste, but the results of the process are plain to see.

Mughal Painting

The most important example of the second trend, spontaneous acceptance, is surely that of Mughal painting, the fruit of an encounter between Islamic and western artistic traditions that began in 1580 when the emperor Akbar invited the Jesuits to visit his court and to present their ideas (including their justification of the use of images in worship), in public. The missionaries presented the emperor with oil paintings in the Renaissance style and also with many engravings of the work of Raphael, Michelangelo, Dürer and other artists. Akbar, whose famous eclecticism extended to the

arts as well as to religion (discussed in chapter 8) commissioned his own painters (such as Basavan, Narayan and Kesu Das) to copy western designs and also to illustrate manuscripts and paint murals in a western style. More exactly, these artists "adapted certain individual motifs into traditional Mughal compositions", the appropriation of fragments – as is often the case in the process of hybridization – preceding synthesis.[19]

Some of Akbar's artists have been described as working in an "Occidentalist mode" that drew on western schemata, including the conventions of perspective, but combined them, whether consciously or unconsciously, with local visual traditions. The subjects of these paintings included illustrations to Per-
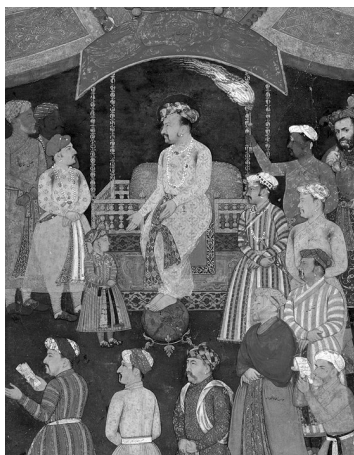
Fig.18.
Durbar of Jahangir, c.1611

sian romances, secular portraits and representations of life at court.[20] If the phrase "the eyewitness style" had not been coined in order to describe some Venetian paintings of the Renaissance, it would have to be invented to characterize the work of some painters at the Mughal court, such as the anonymous artist who represented the emperor Jahangir with his sons and ministers (fig.19).

The New World

For the third trend, the imposition of western models, we turn to the New World, where the Spanish conquest was followed by a veritable "invasion" of European images, part of the "clash between High Renaissance culture and extremely sophisticated indigenous forms of thought and expression".[21] European artists such as the Flemish Franciscan Peter of Ghent, who went to Mexico as a missionary, were soon assisted by their pupils, who might be indigenous, *mestizo* or African. As in the case of Akbar's India, prints helped to spread knowledge of the Renaissance style more widely. In the case of easel painting in Mexico, historians have noted a "slow process" of "emancipation from peninsular models".[22] Hybridity is more obvious in manuscripts and murals. The Codex Mendoza and the Codex Florentino, for instance, two famous man-

uscripts produced in Mexico after the conquest, have been described as "eclectic". On occasion, a map following the traditional conventions is juxtaposed to a western-type landscape.[23]

In the case of mural paintings, the monastic church of San Miguel in Ixmiquilpan presents a famous example of hybridity in both style and iconography, representing battles involving the Eagle and Jaguar warriors in what has been described as "an awkward European Renaissance *contrapposto* style" (fig.20).[24] Again, a series of murals in another Mexican monastery, in Malinalco, suggests that the painters had been trained in the Spanish tradition. However, "these adopted traits had not been completely assimilated". Lo-

Fig.19.
Church interior,
Ixmiquilpan,
Hidalgo, Mexico

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cal fauna (including the jaguar, opossum, spider monkey and coyote) made their appearance on the walls, side by side with European grotesques.[25]

Hybrid sculpture can also be found in Mexico, including churches decorated with representations of snakes and pumas. The decoration at Tlalmanalco, for instance, has been described as managing "to reconcile passages of Renaissance Plateresque, late Gothic, Mudéjar, and what may be indigenous ornament in an exuberant and original synthesis". Another scholar speaks more generally of "the promiscuous mixture of Spanish Gothic and plateresque, Mudéjar, Italian and Flemish Renaissance, and baroque motifs" brought to Mexico by the missionaries.[26]

There was also movement in the opposite direction, from Asia or the Americas towards Europe, but on a much lesser scale. Albrecht Dürer viewed some Mexican artefacts in Brussels in 1520 and was impressed by the "wonderful objects" from this "new land of gold". All the same, with possible exceptions such as the columns of the palace of the prince bishops of Liège, the Aztec style proved too alien to domesticate. [27] A more complex case is that of the so-called "manueline" style of decoration in the Portuguese Renaissance, named after King Manuel I, in whose reign (1495–1521) the empire was expanding. In this style, which spread through Portugal's seaborne empire, nautical motifs

such as ropes and anchors are prominent. On the other hand, borrowings from Hindu sculpture, despite vague impressions of similarity, are difficult if not impossible to pin down.[28] The only important contribution to the arts of the Renaissance from outside Europe came from the Islamic world. In visual culture as in other domains, intercontinental exchange was taking place on unequal terms.

Summing up the last two chapters, we might say that posterity came to see Gothic and classical as antithetical styles but in the Renaissance itself they appear to have been regarded, at least by some patrons and artists, as equally attractive alternatives, with the possibility of bricolage. The result of the interaction between the Gothic and classical styles, and on occasion a third style, was the production of new ecotypes in England, France, Spain and elsewhere. Something similar happened in the case of the latinization or classicization of European vernaculars such as Italian, French, English or German, to be discussed in chapter five.

Chapter 5

Hybrid Languages[1]

An alternative title for this chapter might be "polyglossia", a term that the Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin employed to describe the coexistence and consequent "dialogue" between different languages (his more famous term "heteroglossia" described the interaction of varieties of the same language).[2] The languages of Europe in the Renaissance were enriched by borrowing or appropriation on a massive scale. For example, the period 1530-1660 "presents the fastest word growth in the history of English in proportion to the vocabulary size of the time".[3] In the history of language, as in the history of visual culture, the movement we call the Renaissance, together with the process of European expansion and conquest that was taking place at the same time, involved a whole series of cultural collisions followed by interaction and hybridization.

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Language and Conquest

On one side, missionaries compiled dictionaries and wrote grammars of the languages of many of the peoples whom they were trying to convert, in many cases writing these languages down for the first time and then fixing them in print in such books as Alonso de Molina's Nahuatl-Spanish vocabulary (1555), Diego González Holguín's dictionary of Quechua (1586), José de Anchieta's grammar of Tupí (1595), Ludovico Bertonio's dictionary of Aymara (1612) or Pedro de San Buenaventura's *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala* (now known as Tagalog, 1613). Together with colonial officials, missionaries helped to create hybrid languages, notably the *lingua general* of Spanish America and the *lingua geral* of Brazil, each of which functioned as a lingua franca facilitating communication between speakers of indigenous languages as well as between them and Europeans.

On the other side, the long history of the migration of Arabic words into Spanish continued to take place in the sixteenth century, including *muley* (Don) and *mudéjar*, in the sense of a Muslim subject to a Christian ruler (only in the nineteenth century was the term extended to art).[4] Many words from Asian, African and American languages now entered European languages for the first time, usually beginning

with Portuguese, Spanish or Italian and spreading to French, Dutch, English and other tongues, in other words hybridizing these languages on a global scale.

For example, thanks to the importance of economic and political relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, a number of Turkish words entered European languages at this time. *Aga* (a person of high rank), for instance, is recorded in French in 1537 and in Italian in 1538. *Kaftán* and *dolmány* (above, page 49) entered Hungarian, while *szablya*, "sabre", derives from a Turkic word. *Asker*, "soldier", entered Serbian and Romanian. In its Urdu form, *lashkari*, it spread to Portuguese and from Portuguese it entered English, changing meaning on the way to refer to an Asian sailor. Other words arrived in Europe from Persia, among them *caravanserai* (Italian, 1542) and *dervish* (French *derviche*, 1559).

South and South-East Asia also exported terms to European languages, as in the case of *bambu*, *cris* (a dagger), *pagoda* and *palanquin*, all of which entered Portuguese and then French, Italian and English. From African languages such as Kimbundu the Portuguese, directly or via the slaves in Brazil, took such words as *batuque* ("dance"), *bunda* ("bottom"), *marimbondo* ("wasp") and *quilombo* (a settlement of fugitive slaves). The many languages of the Americas also provided Europe with new words, among them the

Taino *canoa*, "canoe", *hamaca*, "hammock" and *huracán*, "hurricane", all of which came through Spanish; the Nahuatl *chocolatl*, "chocolate"; the Quechua *condor*, and so on.

Latin Vernacularized

The collision between the Gothic and the classical systems did not affect visual culture alone. It was also visible – and audible – in the case of Latin. Medieval clerics and Renaissance humanists were indeed divided by a common language.[5] In the Middle Ages, Latin was a living language and like all living languages, it was continually changing in order to accommodate new phenomena such as the university and especially the philosophy taught in it. In this academic context we find terms such as *magistrare*, "to teach", *baccalarius*, "advanced student", or *doctorare*, "to take the degree of doctor", while Latin-speaking philosophers gradually created a set of technical terms, many of them translations from Aristotle's Greek. These terms included *substantia* and *substantialis* ("substance", "substantial"); *essentia*, "essence", translating Aristotle's *ousia*, and bringing with it *essentialis* and *essentialitas*; and *habitus*, translating Aristotle's *hexis*.[6] Notaries, who generally kept their records in Latin, faced similar problems and therefore needed either to invent

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new words or to evade the difficulty by slipping into the vernacular.

At the Renaissance, many humanists returned, or tried to return, to classical models and criticized medieval practice as "kitchen Latin". In his usual acerbic manner, Lorenzo Valla wrote about the *culinarius Latinus* of his fellow-humanist Poggio Bracciolini, while Jacob Wimpheling referred to *coquinaria latinitas*.[7] The humanists criticized medieval Latin not only as "barbarous", "coarse" (*grossus*) or smelling of the kitchen, but also as impure or "polluted" (*inquinata Latinitas*). The humanist ideal was what they called linguistic "purity" (*puritas linguae*). For some of them, most famously Pietro Bembo, purity meant writing in the style of one individual, Cicero. As in the case of architecture, it was argued that pure Latin declined as a result of the barbarian invasions. In similar fashion, some critics saw a gradual recovery of the *natural purità* of Latin in Italy after the year 1300.[8]

The ideal of purity proved impossible to maintain. The dilemma for the humanists, as Erasmus famously pointed out in his *Ciceronianus* (1528), was to find a way to write in classical Latin about institutions and objects that were unknown to the ancient Romans – about Islam, for instance, the Church, chivalry, universities, cannon, or the printing press. Valla's own Latin has been described as "quite at odds with his

theoretical position". When writing the history of recent times, he used terms such as *Mahometani*. A contemporary of his, the Vatican librarian Giovanni Tortelli, argued in favour of the use of new words for new things, rendering "clock" by *horologium*, for example, "cannon" by *bombarda*, "compass" by *pixides* (later replaced by *pyx nautica*) and so on.[9]

Writing in Latin about the Islamic world and especially about the Ottoman Empire proved to be a particularly acute problem. In his history of Venice, Bembo described the Sultan in Ciceronian fashion as the "King of Thrace"', *Rex Thracius*, but he was criticized for this affectation by contemporaries. In his account of his own time, the humanist bishop Paolo Giovio sometimes classicized the Turks, writing of Sultan Selim as *Selymus Turcarum imperator* and of the janissaries as *praetoriani milites*, but on other occasions he simply added Latin endings to Turkish words, referring to the janissaries in hybrid Latin as *Ianizarorum Pedites* and using terms such as *Othomani* or *Mamaluki*.[10]

Macaronics

A playful response to the problem of reconciling an ancient language with the modern world was "macaronic" Latin.[11] This artificial language seems to have originated at the University of Padua in the fifteenth

century, perhaps as student slang, drawing on the mixed language of notaries and perhaps of academics and preachers as well, since they often switched between Latin and the vernacular.[12] The verses of the Italian monk Teofilo Folengo, who spent the years 1513-16 in Padua, just before publishing his mock-epic *Baldus*, and may have been inspired by the language of the students, achieve their comic effect by mixing Latin with a variety of Lombard dialects. In what was to become typical macaronic style, Folengo combined the vocabulary of one language with the grammar of another, as in the case of adjectives such as "rather greedy" (*gulusior*) and "rather cowardly" (*poltronior*). He produced mixed nouns such as the description of a great fighter, eater and sexual champion as *frapator*, *magnator* and *fututor*).[13]

Incidentally, the term "macaronic", which was in use in the sixteenth century, illustrates the ubiquity and the power of the culinary metaphor for hybridity. The experts in these matters say that the reference is not to what we call macaroni but rather to gnocchi, but the parallel between coarse rustic food and coarse Latin (*Latinus grossus*) remains clear enough.[14]

From Italy the fashion for macaronic verse spread to France, where Jean Germain employed what he called *mesclatas linguas* to write an account of the invasion of Provence by Charles V, and also to Spain,

where Lope de Vega, an admirer of Folengo, used macaronic in a number of plays. [15] It even spread beyond the romance-speaking world, despite the greater difficulty of combining Latin with Germanic or Slav or Finno-Ugrian languages, briefly overcome in the brilliant description of the process in Germano-Latin as *Nos binas sprachas in Wortum einbringimus unum* ("We join two languages in a single word"). The fashion spread to Polish in the sixteenth century, Croat and Czech in the eighteenth and Hungarian in the nineteenth century (witness a poem by Sándor Petőfi). In Poland, for example, even the dignified Kochanowski wrote in macaronic on occasion, while Stanisław Orzelski once insulted an enemy in the following fashion:

> Est tibi kurwa parens, złodzie pater, ebria coniunx
> Saga soror, córkas prostituit monachus.
> (Your mother is a whore, your father a thief, your wife a drunkard and a monk has made prostitutes of your daughters).[16]

It is worth adding that like other Poles of his day, Orzelski had studied at the University of Padua, the *Heimat* of the macaronic style, while Petőfi used this style to evoke his student days in lines beginning:

Diligenter frequentáltam
Iskoláim egykoron
(I diligently frequented the high school).

Satirical Letters

Taking an Olympian view, some scholars have spoken of the "collision" between two linguistic systems, Latin and dialect.[17] In close-up, on the other hand, what is most striking is the selfconsciousness of this kind of neologism, embedded in comic poems or in prose works such as the "Letters of Obscure Men" (*Epistolae virorum obscurorum*, 1515-19) by a team of German humanists and "The Letter of Master Benedict Passavant" (*Epistola Magistri Benedicti Passavantii*, 1554) by the French Calvinist scholar Théodore de Bèze or Beza.

In these two cases, humour was in the service of satire. The point of the "Letters of Obscure Men" was to show that the opponents of the humanists are lacking in knowledge, virtue and an elegant Latin style. They thought in German and translated word for word into Latin, or they used unclassical terms such as *baccalauriare* ("to take a BA degree"), terms that the humanists regarded as barbaric. Hence the language of the letters is a parody, what Bakhtin called "a complex intentional linguistic hybrid".[18]

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In the case of Passavant's letter, the object of its Rabelaisian humour was to destroy its targets, Pierre Lizet, president of the Parlement of Paris and an enemy of the Calvinists, and also his master the pope. Hence the description of Lizet as his "noseship" (*naseitudo*), since his nose was supposed to be red from excessive drinking, and of the pope as sitting on the privy, trying to wipe his behind with a page from Lizet's book but finding its Latin style so rough that "it took all the skin off the apostolic seat" (*decorticavit totam sedem apostolicam*).[19] As for the collection of laws of the Church known as the "Decretals", they are called the "Shittals" (*Dreketalia*, modelled on the German word *Dreck*). Like Rabelais (and Martin Luther), Beza showed himself adept in making use of what Bakhtin called the "lower bodily stratum" in the service of what he called the "uncrowning" of individuals who claimed dignity. As in the case of the *Obscure Men*, which Beza admired, Passavant's letter purports to be written by one of Beza's Catholic opponents, making use of unclassical words or thinking in French and translating literally into Latin, so that *je ne peux plus* ("I can't do any more") becomes *ego non possum magis*. Passavant's rough style, his *Latinus grossus*, made Beza's point, showing as well as telling.[20]

Vernaculars Latinized

The complementary opposite process to the vernacularization of Latin was the latinization or more exactly the classicization of written vernaculars by means of borrowings from Greek and Latin that allowed philosophical questions, for instance, to be discussed in Italian or French. Greek words such as *assioma*, "axiom" or *lemma*, "headword", entered Italian in the sixteenth century, while the French adopted terms such as *anagramme*, *stratagème* and *symptome*.

As for borrowing from Latin, it was nothing new but rather the culmination of a long process and it was happening on a massive scale. In English, at least 400 new words derived from Latin entered the language between 1500 and 1700.[21] In Spanish, borrowings from Latin included *ambición*, for instance, *dócil*, *fugaz*, and *pálido*, and in Italian, *arguzia*, *precoce* and *vestibolo.* In French, the poet Jean Lemaire des Belges coined some terms that are still in use, including *agriculture*, *architecture* and *inscription*.[22]

Some writers, including the humanist Leonbattista Alberti, adopted a style that was full of words like these. In the few pages of prologue to the third book of his treatise on the family, Alberti uses latinate terms such as *asprissime* ("very rough"), *cultissima* ("most civilized"), *cupide* ("desirous"), *emendatis-*

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sima ("most perfect"), *erudizione* ("learning"), *perizia* ("skill") and so on. For an even more notorious example of superlatinization one might look at the anonymous romance "The Strife of Love in the Dream of Poliphilus" (*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 1499), attributed to Francesco Colonna, in which the first pages include words such as *clavigera* ("key-bearing"), *dignificatione*, *egregia*, *effigie*, *munusculo* ("insignificant") and *solerte* ("diligent").

Some borrowings took root, but many others failed to do so. Two words in one line from *Macbeth*, "multitudinous" and "incarnadine", despite Shakespeare's fame, have failed to achieve general acceptance, like many of the 1,700 words he invented. On the other hand, a number of his coinages have become so much part of the language that we now take them for granted, from "auspicious" to "suspicious", via "invulnerable" and "premeditated". A similar point may be made about Rabelais, another great inventor of words, including many latinisms.[23]

Vernaculars in Contact

Latin was only one of the sources of the linguistic inspirations of Rabelais, whose interest in languages is clear enough in the famous chapter IX of *Pantagruel*, in which the hero meets Panurge and asks him who

he is, receiving a reply, originally in seven languages (German, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, not counting three languages invented for the occasion), while later editions added Basque, Danish and "Lallans", the English of Lowland Scotland. This chapter illustrates what Bakhtin called the "inter-animation" of languages at the Renaissance, or better, in his visual metaphor, the "inter-illumination" (*vzaimnoosveshchenie*) of languages and literatures. "An intense inter-orientation, interaction, and mutual clarification took place" at the Renaissance, a time of the increasing literary use of a number of European vernaculars and increasing competition between them. This interaction, Bakhtin suggested, encouraged the awareness of alternatives and so stimulated creativity.[24]

In more concrete terms, the borrowing of words increased at this time. Speakers of English, for instance, borrowed architectural terms from Italian, among them *cupola* (recorded in 1549) and *piazza* (1583). From Spanish they took naval terms such as "galleon" (1529) and of course *armada* (1533, long before the "Spanish Armada" of 1588) as well as words such as "renegade" (1583) and "grandee" (1598). The French borrowed nearly five hundred words from Italian in the sixteenth century, including architectural terms (*arcade*, *architecte*, *corniche*); military ones (*cavaler-*

ie, *infanterie*, *escadron*); and literary and musical ones (*macaronique*, *madrigal*).[25] The Italians too borrowed words from other languages, especially from Spanish and French, a practice that was specifically recommended in Castiglione's *Cortegiano* (1528). Some writers, such as Aretino in Italian, Rabelais in French, Fischart in German and Shakespeare in English, practised what an Italian critic has described as verbal "gluttony", swallowing word after word from foreign languages in order to fuel their creativity.[26]

Multilingual Performances

Although Bakhtin did not mention these examples, the rise in the number of poems and plays written in mixtures of languages at this time offer many striking illustrations of the process of inter-animation. In Madrid, Lope de Vega wrote a sonnet in Latin, Spanish and Italian. In Naples, Giuseppe Antonio Velasquez wrote one in Italian, Spanish and Neapolitan. In Peru, Henrique Garcés wrote a number of sonnets in Latin, Italian and Spanish. In Wilno (now Vilnius) in 1642, a mock-encomium of a Lutheran minister appeared in six languages (Latin, Greek, Polish, German, Lithuanian and Ruthenian.[27]

Theatre obviously lends itself to a variety of ways of speaking and this opportunity was often taken, espe-

cially in Venice. The *commedia dell'arte* was a comedy of mixed languages, or more exactly of dialects, since the mask of the Captain spoke Neapolitan, that of the Doctor spoke Bolognese, while Pantalone spoke Venetian. Venice was also the city in which Andrea Calmo's comedy *La Spagnolas* (c.1549) was written and set, a comedy in which high-status people speak Italian or Venetian, while low-status people speak Bergamask or mix their language with Greek (speaking "Greekish", *greghesco*) or "a sort of Spanish" (*spagnaruolo*). Calmo and his fellow-writers of multilingual plays doubtless stylized and exaggerated these dialects or sociolects for comic purposes, but they did not have far to go for their inspiration.[28]

Italian dramatists were not alone in exploiting polyglossia and heteroglossia for comic purposes. Shakespeare's *Henry V* offers a famous example of heteroglossia in the scene in which Captain Fluellen the Welshman, Captain Macmorris the Irishman and Captain Jamy the Scotsman all speak their funny English.

As for polyglossia, in the fifteenth-century French farce *Maître Pathelin*, the protagonist, a trickster like Panurge, speaks "divers langaiges" as well as dialects such as Breton, Picard, Norman and macaronic Latin. The "Dialogue of Valencian Ladies" (*Coloquio de las damas valencianas*, 1524) by Juan Fernández de

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Heredia, includes speakers of Castilian, Catalan and Portuguese. The plays written by another Spaniard, Torres Naharro, alternate Spanish with Italian and sometimes other languages (above, page 44).[29] As for Lope de Vega, his characters of his many plays speak not only Spanish and Italian but also macaronic Latin, Portuguese, French, Dutch and even Basque and Quechua.[30] It is almost needless to say that the coexistence of languages in the same scene leads not only to comic misunderstanding but also to "interference" and so to mixing. As one Italian scholar puts it, *plurilinguismo* leads to *mistilinguismo*.[31] Mixing in speech also led to mixing in writing, as we shall see in the following chapter.

Chapter 6

Hybrid Literatures

This chapter is concerned with hybrid writing and especially those forms of writing now known as "literature" and formerly as *belles-lettres*, a term that is not easy to translate into English. It will include history alongside poetry, plays and the prose fiction we describe as "novels", while contemporaries called them "romances". In fact, writing was not the only medium in which these works circulated, since oral performances were commonplace. The circulation of texts in performance, manuscript and print suggests that we think in terms of hybrid media.

Scripts

Different forms of script coexisted at this time. The movement to revive classical antiquity included the revival of Roman capitals, regularly used in inscriptions cut in stone. Humanists, beginning with Poggio

Bracciolini, began to write in a cursive script that they believed was classical, although in fact it was what palaeographers now call "Carolingian minuscule", derived from the practice of ninth-century scribes. The new style of writing, sometimes described as "humanistic script", was taught by writing-masters, some of whom wrote treatises on the subject.[1]

However, Gothic scripts of different kinds (the Italian *mercantesca*, the English "chancery hand", "secretary" and so on) continued in use. Some treatises on handwriting juxtaposed gothic and roman scripts. Both switching and mixing took place. In Italy, a merchant might use the mercantile script for book-keeping but the humanist script, the *cancelleresca*, for personal letters. In England, printers used both Gothic and Roman type and Gothic forms, known as "black-letter" long survived in the domain of the law (hence the American phrase, "black-letter law"). Mixing might be conscious, the English script known at the time as "bastard" for instance, or unconscious, as in the case of the Italian scribe who had learned the new Renaissance forms but slipped back into Gothic, as we have seen, in a moment of inattention.[2]

Other forms of hybrid script were even more striking. From the fifteenth century onwards, texts were regularly produced in Spanish in the Arabic script,

a practice known as *Aljamiado*. On the other side of Europe, the Tatars of Lithuania, who spoke Belarusian, wrote it in Arabic script. Texts in Polish, Bosnian, Greek, Bulgarian and Albanian were all sometimes written in the Arabic script.[3] On the Far Western frontier, some sixteenth-century Mexican manuscripts such as the famous Codex Mendoza were written in a mixture of the Latin script with the pictograms in use before the Spanish conquest. Two systems of representation coexisted and they also interacted, since the glyphs were gradually transformed under the influence of alphabetic writing.[4]

Hybrid genres

Like the languages in which it was written, the literature of the Renaissance offers many examples of cultural hybridity, notably the borrowing and transformation of genres. In literature, as in art and architecture, the classical coexisted with what we might call the 'Gothic', following the Cambridge scholar Richard Hurd, who discussed medieval romances in his *Letters on Chivalry* (1762), as expressions of what he called the "Gothic system" of "heroic manners". Coexistence led to interference, interpenetration and what some critics call "generic hybridization".

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Histories

Take the case of written history itself. Late medieval chronicles – that of Jean Froissart o England and France, for example, or that of Giovanni Villani on Florence – are generally written from a point of view close to the events that they recount. They are full of vivid and memorable details, sometimes at the expense of integration into a bigger picture. Describing the battle of Crécy, for instance, Froissart tells a story about the blind King of Bohemia, fighting on the French side, who asked his knights to take him far enough forward into the battle to let him strike a blow with his sword. The knights tied their horses together by the bridles and rode forward. "They were found the next day lying around their leader, with their horses still fastened together."[5]

In Renaissance Florence, however, the humanist Leonardo Bruni, reacting against the tradition of the chronicle in form and content alike and inspired by the work of classical historians such as Livy, distanced himself from the events he wished to analyse and produced a new kind of history, "a narrative that presents a new sense of unity and control" thanks to the author's concern with establishing connections.[6] Bruni was interested in explaining events as well as narrating and describing. He did this partly by the recurrent

use of phrases such as "As a result" (*ex hoc*) or "and so" (*itaque*) and partly by discussing the intentions, plans and opportunities offered to leading figures in his history. The price of this well-integrated narrative was to leave out whatever did not fit the plan. Bruni also omitted details that (again like his ancient models) he considered beneath what humanists called the "dignity of history".

Like his Florentine contemporaries the artists Masaccio, Donatello and Brunelleschi, Bruni viewed the world in perspective. More exactly, he viewed the past from multiple perspectives, which took textual form as speeches put into the mouths of individuals on different sides in political conflicts. For instance, Bruni gave pairs of opposing speeches to representatives of the political factions the Guelfs and the Ghibellines, and also to Perugians and Florentines at a time when the two cities were in conflict. The reader's sense of distance between the historian and the events that he wrote about is amplified by the fact that Bruni wrote in classical Latin and referred to Lombardy, for instance, as *Gallia Cisalpina*, and to Tuscany as *Etruria*.

In the High Renaissance, on the other hand, the artistic and the historiographical traditions diverged. Where the paintings of Leonardo, Raphael and Michelangelo carried on and developed the early Renaissance tradition of Masaccio, Bruni's antithesis to the

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medieval chronicle was followed by Machiavelli's synthesis between the chronicle and the humanist narrative. In his "Florentine Histories" (*Istorie Fiorentine*, 1532), writing in Italian like Villani but interested in explanation like Bruni, Niccolò Machiavelli combined proximity with distance, description with analysis and significant detail with a sense of the larger picture.[7]

To present the larger picture, Machiavelli sometimes discusses events that took place in Lombardy, for instance, or in Naples, although it was not his intention to write a history of Italy. The point, so he tells his readers, us that the actions of different rulers and peoples are often reactions to the actions of others (Book 7, chapter 1). On the other hand, unlike Bruni, he includes undignified details that add to the drama of history. Describing how an unpopular official was hanged in the piazza, he goes on to say that "after everyone who was near had taken a piece of his body, in a moment nothing was left of him but a foot." (Book 4, chapter 16). In other words, Machiavelli constructed a hybrid genre, partly classical and partly Gothic.

Epics as Mixtures

Histories were often compared to epics and the Renaissance epic presents many examples of hybridization. Classical epics such as Homer's *Iliad*, Lucan's

Pharsalia and above all, Virgil's *Aeneid* were models for the poets of the Renaissance to imitate and emulate, but the models needed to be adapted or translated to take account of new circumstances. The Portuguese soldier-poet Luis de Camões, for instance, chose the voyages of Vasco da Gama and the expansion of the Portuguese Empire as the subject of his epic *Os Lusiadas* (1572). One might say that Camões produced a hybrid of epic and the travelogue, another popular literary genre of the Renaissance, on the model of two classical poems: the *Argonautika* by the Greek writer Apollonius of Rhodes and the *Argonautica* by the Roman Valerius Flaccus, both of them telling the story of the quest for the Golden Fleece by Jason and his comrades.

More common was the combination of epic form with a Christian subject, following the model of Christian poets in late antiquity. If the Old Testament story of Judith beheading Holofernes, the leader of an army sent against the Jews, as told by the Croat poet Marko Marulić in his *Judit* (1521) fitted the traditional model of epic reasonably well, thanks to its violence, this model needed to be stretched when it was extended to the Nativity (Jacopo Sannazzaro, *De partu virginis*, 1526) one of the examples of classical-christian hybridization cited by Edgar Wind (above, page 16–17). The same goes for epics on the life of Christ (Marco

Girolamo Vida, *Christiad*, 1535) or the days of creation (Guillaume Du Bartas, *Semaine*, 1578).

The many wars with the Muslims offered ample opportunities for writers of the more traditional kind of epic, notably Torquato Tasso in his "Jerusalem Delivered" (*Gerusalemme liberata*, 1580). This kind of epic survived – like the wars themselves – on Europe's eastern frontier, where several poets were, like Camões, soldiers as well, among them Karnarutić, Zrínyi and Potocki. The Croat Brne Karnarutić and the Hungarian Miklós Zrínyi both wrote about the heroic but unsuccessful defence of the fortress of Sziget against an Ottoman army in 1566.[8] For his part, the Pole Wacław Potocki wrote the "Chocim War" (*Wojna chocims*ka), to celebrate the defence of the city of Chocim and the victory against the Turks at a battle there in 1621.

The Far Western frontier also offered opportunities to epic poets, notably to Alonso de Ercilla, who fought in the wars against the Mapuche in what is now Chile and presented a sympathetic picture of his brave adversaries in *La Araucana* (1569–89), assimilating them in some ways to the stereotype of the noble Moor. In epics such as these, the technology of warfare was modernized to include guns, but the fundamental values of courage and honour remained unchanged from classical or indeed medieval times.

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Epic and romance

A still more striking series of examples of generic hybridity comes from the interpenetration of classical epic and medieval romance in the Renaissance. At the same time that writers were trying to imitate Cicero and Virgil, readers in Italy and elsewhere were still enamoured of romances of chivalry. These romances remained the favourite reading of noblemen, their ladies and even of burgher families, not only in the Spain of Don Quixote but also in Spanish America, France, England and indeed in Italy itself. That classic example of the Renaissance woman, Isabella d'Este, was also an enthusiast for romances of chivalry, "especially", she once wrote, "ones about the paladins of France".[9]

Even the parody of romances of chivalry, which was not confined to *Don Quixote*, depended on the continuing enthusiasm for what we now regard as a medieval genre. Take the case of Rabelais. It may seem odd to describe him as a Gothic writer or even as a semi-gothic one, given the famous remarks in the letter from the giant to his son in chapter eight of *Gargantua* about the dark age of the Goths. The classical culture, Greek as well as Latin, of this humanist physician is obvious enough in his text, but the use of medieval traditions, scholastic, chivalric and popular,

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by this former Benedictine monk and Franciscan friar has been pointed out by a number of scholars.[10] The humour of Rabelais, for instance, is often reminiscent of medieval farces. His mix of high and low styles is reminiscent of the most famous work by the macaronic poet Folengo, *Baldus*. The protagonist of this poem, a tough young man of "boundless strength", is an enthusiast for romances of chivalry such as *Ogier the Dane* and *Bevis of Hampton*. Folengo's poem parodies this kind of romance as well as Virgilian epic.

The work of these two ex-Benedictine monks, Folengo and Rabelais, lends itself to comparison. Both were addicted to macaronic language. Both loved to write in a carnivalesque way about eating, drinking and excreting, sex and violence, just as they loved to parody romances of chivalry. Folengo created a loveable rogue, as Rabelais would do. Folengo's was Cingar, described by his creator as "a gallows-dodger, a trickster, the devils sauce, a wily thief always ready to swindle" (*accortus ladro, sempre truffare paratus*). For his part, Rabelais created Panurge, a great lover of practical jokes, especially against the watchmen, the police of the time. Panurge imitates one of Cingar's most notorious exploits by taking revenge on a cattle merchant he has met on board ship by buying one of his sheep and throwing it into the sea, followed of course, by the rest of the flock.

New romances adapted the genre to a new ethos, the kind of courtly behaviour described by Baldassare Castiglione in his "Courtier" (*Il cortegiano*, 1528). *Amadis de Gaule*, for instance, a late medieval text that was extended and rewritten in the sixteenth century and became one of the most popular examples of the genre, made references to courtesy and even the art of conversation as well as to chivalry.[11] For this reason, scholars have come to speak of "chivalric humanism" or *umanesimo cavalleresco*.[12] The discovery of an ancient romance by the Greek writer Heliodorus of Emesa, the *Aethiopica*, which was translated into French, Latin and other languages, encouraged attempts to combine ancient and medieval traditions and led to imitations. For example, Book 20 of *Amadis* follows the plot of the *Aethiopica*.[13]

Epic and romance began to fuse. According to the Spanish critic Alonso López Pinciano, in his *Philosophia antigua poética* (1593), epic theory was applicable to prose fiction such as the *Aethiopica*. In his famous defence of the French vernacular, *Défense et illustration de la langue française* (1549), Joachim Du Bellay invited his compatriots to write epics about a hero of medieval French romance such as Lancelot or Tristan. In Italy, the poet Bernardo Tasso, father of the more famous Torquato, translated the story of Amadis into epic form as the *Amadigi* (1560).

Take the case of Ariosto and his *Orlando Furioso* (1516), a rewriting of the story of the medieval hero Roland. The title of the poem echoes that of a play by Seneca the younger, *Hercules Furens*. On the other hand, Orlando's behaviour is reminiscent of the madness of Tristan, in the romance that bears his name. Indeed, Ariosto's poem may be regarded as itself a romance of chivalry as well as an affectionate mockery of such romances.

A Protestant in Fairyland

Like Ariosto, whose *Orlando* he tried to emulate and wished to surpass, the English poet Edmund Spenser had both a Gothic side and a classical side. His *Faerie Queene* (1590–96) combined the form of Virgilian epic with the matter of medieval romance, as Du Bellay had advised, but with an element of Protestantism added to the mix. The world of the poem is the world of King Arthur, Fairyland, knights in armour, dragons, giants, sorcerers and sorceresses. On the other hand, the opening of the poem evokes that of Virgil's *Aeneid* – aptly enough, since Spenser, like Virgil, wrote pastoral poetry before he turned to epic.

> *Lo I the man, whose Muse whilome did maske,*
> *As time her taught, in lowly Shepheards weeds,*

Am now enforst a far unfitter taske,
For trumpets sterne to chaunge mine Oaten reeds,
And sing of Knights and Ladies gentle deeds.

Again, some of the poem's most vivid images such as the crocodile's tears and the snake in the bosom, evoke the emblem-books so fashionable in the Renaissance. As for Protestantism, Spenser's moral allegories may remind English readers of the *Pilgrim's Progress*: the knight's battle with the "ugly monster" Error, for instance, or the parade of the Seven Deadly Sins on horseback, in which Sloth ("Idleness") wears a black gown "like to a holy monk".

Spenser on one side and Folengo and Rabelais on the other exemplify very different forms of hybridity, not only a difference in tone (high versus low) but also a difference in generations. For Spenser, who was born more than half a century later than Rabelais, the Middle Ages had the charm of distance. His interest in that period exemplifies revival rather than survival. An enthusiast for the fourteenth-century poets William Langland and Geoffrey Chaucer, Spenser tried to bring medieval words back into use in order to recover "heritage". In his pastoral poem the *Shepherd's Calendar*, a letter to the reader declares that the author has "laboured to restore, as to theyr rightfull heritage, such good and natural English words, as have

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ben long time out of use and almost cleare disherit-
ed". Although Rabelais too employed archaisms, the
reason in his case was not so much nostalgia for the
past as an omnivorous linguistic curiosity that extend-
ed to dialects and occupational jargon as well as for-
eign languages.[14]

The Middle Ages Rediscovered

A more appropriate comparison than one with Rabe-
lais might be between Spenser and Montaigne, who
admired from a distance what he called the frank sim-
plicity or *franche naïveté* of the chronicles written by
Jean Froissart and others. By the time of Spenser and
Montaigne, the Middle Ages were distant enough to
be rediscovered by the antiquaries, by William Cam-
den in England, for instance, and by Montaigne's
friend Étienne Pasquier in France.[15] In Spenser's gen-
eration, the poets Samuel Daniel and Michael Dray-
ton were also attracted to the medieval past. Dray-
ton wrote one epic, *Matilda* (1594) about the English
civil wars of the twelfth century, and another, *Morti-
meriados* (1596) about those of the thirteenth, while
Daniel's *Civil Wars* (1595–1623) was concerned with
the Wars of the Roses. Like the architecture of the
time, the literature of the late sixteenth century sug-
gests that the Middle Ages were now perceived as dis-

tant enough to be viewed with nostalgia, at least by some people, whether or not this view reflected the revival of feudalism, as Antal and others have suggested.[16]

The Americas

Far away from Machiavelli in both space and time, in early seventeenth-century Peru, Guaman Poma de Ayala, a member of the indigenous Quechua-speaking elite, also constructed a hybrid form of historical writing in his "New Chronicle and Good Government" (*Nueva corónica y buen governo*, 1615), a manuscript that ended up in Copenhagen, where it was rediscovered in 1908 and published later in the century.[17] Guaman Poma was a critic of miscegenation.[18] All the same, his book illustrates cultural mixture in a number of ways. His native Quechua, which he used in the text on occasion, "interfered" with Guaman Poma's Spanish. The book combined words with even more eloquent illustrations, some of which drew on European visual schemata but infuse them with new content.[19] The author employed traditional Inca concepts of space (with Cuzco as the centre) but combined them with the European traditions of the world map and the medieval chronicle.[20] His history drew on the evidence of traditional Peruvian *quipus*

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(coloured strings functioning as aids to memory) but it referred to Aristotle and to Julius Caesar. The text is a generic mixture that resembles an epic in some ways and a letter or a sermon in others. The author "articulates a point of view that is alternately internal and external to the sphere he describes".[21] Like Machiavelli, Guaman Poma moves between proximity and distance.

Hybridity in the culture of the Renaissance was not simply the result of what I have been calling "the Great Collision" between the classical and the Gothic. As in the case of art and architecture in the Americas, some indigenous cultural traditions penetrated the literary genres that had been brought from Europe, in history (as we have seen in the case of Guaman Poma) and also in the case of drama. Plays written by friars and performed by Indians in the sixteenth century promoted "cultural and political *mestizaje*". In Mexico, the tradition of the medieval Spanish *auto* encountered that of the Nahua *neixcuitilli*. In 1539, the epic theme of the conquest of Jerusalem was staged at Tlaxcala for the feast of Corpus Christi, with Cortés himself playing the role of the Sultan, the Moor defeated by the Christians.[22] How the audience, Spaniards and Indians, interpreted the play we shall never know.

Arabesques

Returning to interactions between the Christian and Islamic worlds, we find that on both the eastern and western frontiers, there was a tradition of singing ballads or epics about wars in which Muslim poets sang of Muslim victories, Christian poets of Christian ones. Lyric poetry also crossed the border. I leave it to scholars who know Hungarian to discuss the poetry of Bálint Balassi, who spoke Turkish and whose *Júlia* cycle is said to have been influenced both by Petrarch and by Turkish songs. Instead, what follows concentrates on what might be called literary "arabesques" in Western Europe, especially in Spain.

It has been argued, for instance, that Dante's *Divine Comedy* owes something, however indirect, to Muslim theology.[23] Again, there is a remarkable parallel between the lyrics of Petrarch and his followers and the earlier *ghazals* of the Islamic world, evoking the sweet pain of love, the cruelty of the beloved, and so on. The most obvious link between the two cultures is in medieval Sicily, where Christian and Muslim poets could encounter one another at the court of the emperor Frederick in Palermo. In any case, Petrarch was familiar with the poetry of the troubadours, who were in turn familiar with poets of the Arab kingdom of Andalusia (Al-Andalus). The very

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name 'troubadour' is derived from the Arabic *taraba*, 'to sing'.[24]

In Spain, the effects of what Américo Castro called symbiosis or *convivencia* are particularly visible. Castro devoted several studies to Miguel de Cervantes, who may be regarded as a hybrid writer, indeed a kind of opposite number to Natalie Davis's hero Leo Africanus (al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan), since Don Miguel spent five years in captivity in North Africa. Arabic words recur in his romances and plays, while there is even a case for viewing *Don Quixote* as a *mudéjar* romance. After all, it is presented as the translation of a text by an Arab, Cid Hamete Berengeli, while Don Quixote himself is described as having a mole on his right shoulder-blade, like Muhammad.[25]

The Maqamat and the Picaresque

Although it is the most celebrated case, *Don Quixote* is far from the only example of literary hybridity during the Spanish Renaissance. Recent discussions of the poems of San Juan de la Cruz have emphasized their debt to Sufi mysticism, whether San Juan knew Sufi texts directly or, more likely, at second hand, via mediators.[26] All the same, if I were asked to name the most remarkable example of literary hybridity in the Spanish Renaissance, my own vote would not go to

Don Quixote or to the poems of San Juan, but to the picaresque romance *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), the most famous example of a literary genre that flourished in Spain before it was taken up elsewhere in Europe. Lazarillo ("the little Lazarus") is the servant to a succession of seven masters, but it is the first of these masters, a blind beggar, about whom we learn most, as the protagonist of the story progresses from learning tricks from the beggar to playing tricks on him.

Lazarillo drew, directly or indirectly, upon a long tradition of Arabic texts about rogues and their tricks, a genre known as the *maqamat*.[27] The pioneers of

Fig.20.
Maqamat Al-Hariri, illustration, Abu Zaid before the governor

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the *maqamat* were Al-Hamadhani, from Persia in the tenth century and Al-Hariri, from Basra, in the twelfth, both of whom produced collections of anecdotes centred on a trickster, Shaikh al-Iskandar in the first case and Abu Zayd in the second (fig.21). Still older was a related genre, which we might call by the hybrid name of "semi-fiction", describing the tricks of fake beggars. An early example comes from Basra as early as the ninth century, the "Book of Misers" by al-Jahiz. Again, the tenth-century poet Abu Dulaf produced a catalogue of beggars, while al-Hamadhani described the various species of thief.[28] It was only from the late Middle Ages onwards that equivalent texts were produced in Western Europe, perhaps because the professionalization and the division of labour of both beggars and thieves depended on the rise of large cities, a rise that took place earlier in the Middle East.

In medieval Spain, Ibn Shuhaid wrote about rogues in Arabic, while Al-Hariri's work was translated into Hebrew and Joseph Ibn Zubara, a Jew from Barcelona, included stories about tricksters in his "Book of Delights".[29] Returning to *Lazarillo*, its anonymous sixteenth-century author may have known Arabic or Hebrew but even if he did not, he would have had access to Arabic or Hebrew literary traditions at second hand, thanks to the number of bilingual people still

to be found in Spain in the middle of the sixteenth century. In short, there are links between Arab writers on the "underworld" (*Banu Sasan*) and the Spanish literature of the picaresque. The principal innovation in *Lazarillo* was to combine short descriptions and anecdotes into a continuous story told in the first person, the fictional autobiography of a rogue (*pícaro*), thus reinforcing what the French critic Roland Barthes called the "reality effect".

A necessary question, however difficult to answer, is the following: how were these hybrid forms viewed at the time? Medieval Spain was no paradise of toleration for cultural diversity, even if scholars have sometimes described it as a "culture of tolerance". There was no lack of ethnic conflict, including pogroms on occasion (in 1066, for instance, and in 1391). For this reason Castro's great adversary, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, rejected the concept of "symbiosis" for its opposite "antibiosis". All the same, the examples cited here, among others, suggest that in Renaissance Spain, as in some other places and periods, social conflict did not prevent cultural interaction.[30]

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Chapter 7

Music, Law and Humanism

Music

Music is often regarded today as the hybrid art *par excellence*. The twentieth century in particular offered a whole range of examples of new forms emerging from the encounter between European and African cultures, especially in the Americas, from New Orleans to Salvador or Havana. In the case of the Renaissance, on the other hand, musical hybridity is problematic. There are two problems in particular.

In the first place, the music of the period does not fit as well into the category of the Renaissance as other arts do.[1] The music of the ancient Greeks and Romans could not be imitated because it was virtually unknown. A few scholars, among them the Florentine Girolamo Mei, attempted to reconstruct this music from literary sources, noting the existence of different "modes" (the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian and so

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on), in other words styles of music that were intended to express and to provoke different emotions in the listeners. [2] The work of these scholars was an important element in the rise of opera, since the composer Jacopo Peri's sung drama *Euridice* (1601) was inspired by the idea that ancient Greek tragedies had been sung. *Euridice* might be described as a hybrid, a mixture of speech and song, ancient Greek theory and modern Italian practice (since Peri and his librettist Ottavio Rinuccini were aware of the difference between Greek and Italian pronunciation, the Greeks differentiating between long and short syllables and the Italians between stressed and unstressed ones).[3]

In the second place, the sources for the history of popular music at this time are thin, since popular melodies were generally transmitted orally rather than written down according to a system of musical notation. More is known about combinations of musicians and of musical instruments from different cultures than about the music that they produced together. The best hope for reconstructing this music is the so-called "regressive method", beginning from performances made in the age of sound recordings and working backwards, using the knowledge of later performances to integrate fragments of evidence about earlier ones. Some musicologists have expressed scepticism about the results, arguing

that melodies do not survive as well as texts do. On the contrary, they change radically in the course of transmission over the generations.[4]

On the eastern frontier, interest in Ottoman music, known as *musica alla turca*, can be documented in the eighteenth century, when Mozart, for example, wrote his *Rondo alla turca* and the "Turkish finale" to his "Abduction from the Seraglio" (*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, 1782).[5] For the Renaissance, on the other hand, only indirect evidence remains for the hybridization of Asian and European traditions. Since Bulgaria, Serbia, part of Hungary and the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia (now in Romania) were under Ottoman rule, it is likely that their popular music drew on Ottoman traditions. Some of the instruments still employed in performances of folk music in these countries today, including a kind of shawm (*zurna* or *surnay*) and a kind of lute (*cobza*), have long been in use among the Turks. That even church music included Turkish elements is suggested by the testimony of a western traveller, the English merchant Robert Bargrave, who visited what he called "Yash" (Iaşi, the capital of Moldavia) in the middle of the seventeenth century and heard a service in Greek with "much incense and often anthems, sung musically but in a way rather like the Turkish than the Italian, Spanish or English manner."[6]

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On the western frontier, there were Moorish musicians at the court of Alfonso the Wise in thirteenth-century Spain, while instruments such as the lute and rebec, used in Spain at this time, were Arab in origin. It is likely that in music as in other forms of culture, there was interaction between Jewish, Christian and Muslim practices in medieval Spain. The very difficulty of identifying Arab influences on Spanish music testifies to this interaction over the centuries.[7] The regressive method has been used with apparent success in this domain, with fieldwork among the Sephardic community in Morocco (expelled from Spain in 1492) and elsewhere producing sung versions of medieval Spanish ballads, though as was noted earlier, the melodies may well have changed more than the texts.[8]

There is more direct evidence of the survival of Muslim musical traditions after the forced conversions that followed the fall of Granada in 1492. According to a witness writing in the 1560s, traditional Moorish music was still employed in church services in Granada.[9] As for secular music, a law of 1532 stated that Moorish songs and dances such as the *zambra* and the *leila* were allowed as long as they did not mention Muhammad. [10] An exceptional case of a melody that was written down and printed outside Spain appears in the *Intavolatura de lauto* (1508) by the Milanese Joan Ambrosio Dalza, under the title 'Caldibì Castigliano'. The

accompanying text is in Arabic: *Qalbi bi-qalbi/qalbi
'arabi* ("My heart is inside a heart/My heart is Ara-
bic").[11] Whether or not these forms of music were af-
fected by the surrounding Christian culture, they were
perceived as different by Christians and Moors alike.

The New World

On the far Western frontier in the New World, liturgi-
cal music spread soon after the conquest as part of the
conversion campaign. Spanish missionaries were quick
to teach plainsong to their converts so that they could
sing in church. Before 1800, "Indians monopolized in-
strumental music in Spanish American cathedrals." As
for secular music, a twentieth-century ethnomusicolo-
gist who visited the Tzotzil-speaking Indians of Zina-
cantan in the highlands of Chiapas, in Mexico, found
them using stringed instruments of "late sixteenth- to
early seventeenth-century Spanish origin."[12]

In Mexico, "exchange" was mainly one-sided, al-
though Hernán Cortés did take Aztec musicians to
Europe in 1527. In Peru, in Hispaniola and in Cuba,
on the other hand, there are more signs of transcultur-
ation. For example, when the viceroy arrived in Lima
in 1551, he was welcomed by black musicians play-
ing drums. This example led one modern scholar to
comment that "A capital in which strains of Senegal

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drumming and of Aztec trumpeting could mix with the heritage of Inca and of European music so early as the 1550s obviously deserves more attention from the ethnomusicologist than it has yet received".[13]

If Lima has not received much more attention since that remark was made in 1968, music in colonial Cuzco has been the subject of a monograph. Its author complains about the "invisibility" of indigenous music in modern studies, which focus on "central institutions", although "native musicians … were concentrated in the peripheral parishes". For his part, he suggests that "Andean music and dance traditions … remained an important part of Cuzco's sound world for much of the colonial period", while noting the lack of evidence for "a *mestizo* musical culture."[14]

In the Caribbean, more attention has been given to hybrid music, notably by Alejo Carpentier, who was not only a novelist but also the author of a history of music in Cuba. Carpentier noted the survival, after the Spanish conquest, of indigenous instruments such as the *maraca* (a rattle made from gourds containing seeds) and the *güiro* (a ribbed gourd that is scraped with a stick). Black women sang and the *güiro* was played in church in the sixteenth century. For example, Teodora Ginés, a freed slave, was violinist at the cathedral of Santiago, while her sister Micaela played the *bandola* or mandolin. Teodora is said to have com-

posed the *Son de la Má' Teodora*, with its African-style call and response: "Dónde está la Má Teodora? Rajando la leña está" (Where is Mother Teodora? She is chopping wood). In Cuba at least, the sixteenth century was already a time of "transculturation".[15]

A recent study of music in colonial Manila tells a similar story of hybridization. The Spaniards were present in the Philippines from 1565 onwards, and they were soon joined by Chinese and a few Africans. Chinese gongs are often mentioned in descriptions by travellers, while the African *berimbau*, a musical bow mentioned as part of the Philippine soundscape in the eighteenth century, is likely to have had a much longer history in that country. The Jesuit strategy of accommodation "ensured the incorporation of Visayan song into church music." Indigenous musicians learned western music from Spaniards and then passed on what they had learned, probably adapting it without knowing that they were doing so. Some indigenous musical genres survived "under the guise of hispanization".[16]

Law

In our age of globalization, lawyers have become interested in hybridization and phrases such as "mestizo law" have become current.[17] Unlike the cases of music

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or the visual arts, a discussion of hybridization in law as in philosophy and theology, needs to begin with the question of truth, or more exactly the problem of the possible contradictions between propositions taken from different sources. The main theme in what follows is the encounter, or collision, between medieval custom and Roman law.[18] Roman law, otherwise known as civil law, was the law of the Roman Empire, codified under the sixth-century Byzantine emperor Justinian by a minister, Tribonian, and his assistants. The result of their labours was a body of laws (the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*) together with an anthology of extracts from leading jurists (the *Digest*). When the so-called 'barbarians' (Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Lombards, Vandals and so on) invaded and settled in the Roman Empire, they brought their laws and customs with them, but the subject populations were allowed to retain their own laws.

It is likely that over the centuries some kind of hybrid of the two kinds of law emerged, romanizing custom and "barbarizing" civil law, but it is impossible to be sure, since disputes and settlements were not recorded in writing in the early Middle Ages, a time when memory and oral testimony were valued more than written records. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, on the other hand, customs were often put in writing in some Italian cities, hybridizing the oral

and the written, while in France the thirteenth-century nobleman Philippe de Beaumanoir collected and commented on the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*. In Spain, two legal cultures, Christian and Islamic, interacted, producing "Islamic documents in Christian official language and Christian documents in Islamic official language".[19]

A Second Encounter

By this time a second encounter between local custom and Roman law, otherwise known as "civil law", was in progress, encouraged by the rise of the universities in the twelfth century and so antedating the encounter with the philosophy of Aristotle. A number of jurists at the University of Bologna, among them Irnerius, Lothair, Azo and other "glossators", offered interpretations ("glosses") of Roman law. A former pupil of Azo's, Accursius, produced a collection of such glosses. Another professor at Bologna, Gratian, employed the work of the glossators in his famous interpretations of canon law (the law of the church, an adaptation of civil law to ecclesiastical institutions unknown to the ancient Romans). Over the centuries, explanations of technical terms expanded into increasingly elaborate commentaries. By the fourteenth century, leading jurists such as Bartolus of Sassoferra-

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to, who taught at the University of Perugia, and his former student Baldus de Ubaldis were making deliberate attempts to adapt Roman law to the circumstances of their time. Their method of interpreting law was also shaped by the traditions of scholastic philosophy and theology.[20]

The coexistence of written law and traditional custom naturally produced conflicts and led to attempts at resolution that we might describe as "legal syncretism". Gratian, for example, argued that customs, *consuetudines*, were subordinate to enacted law.[21] On the other hand, Accursius argued that "custom overcomes law" (*consuetudo vincit legem*). [22]

In short, the reception of Roman law began long before the humanist movement. However, it was gradually influenced by the ideas of the humanists. For this reason some modern scholars speak of *umanesimo giuridico* or "legal humanism".[23] As in the case of language, the study of ancient law did as much to kill a living tradition as to revive a dead one. Humanist scholars such as Lorenzo Valla attacked earlier jurists such as Accursius and Bartolus as "barbarians", mainly because they wrote in medieval rather than in classical Latin. On the positive side, the humanists introduced classical philosophy into the study of law, reviving Aristotle's concept of "fairness" (*epieikeia*) for example.[24] The Tuscan scholar Angelo Poliziano ap-

plied humanist methods of "textual criticism" to the *Digest*. In other words, he attempted to reconstitute the original text by studying the variations between different manuscripts. Andrea Alciati of Milan went further in making a synthesis between humanism and legal studies by investigating the changing meanings of legal terms and viewing Roman law as "the product of a particular state at a particular time".[25]

France

The "reception" of Roman law was not confined to Italy. In France, where Alciati taught for much of his career, his method was developed further by French jurists such as Jacques Cujas and François Hotman, becoming known as the "French style" of interpreting law, the *mos gallicus*. The distinctive approach of this group was to place Roman law in its cultural context, the history of the Roman Empire at the time that the laws were made and modified. This approach, encouraged by the collision between law and custom, ultimately led Hotman to argue for the irrelevance of ancient Roman precedent to the France of his day. In his *Anti-Tribonian* (written in 1567) Hotman attacked Justinian's minister Tribonian as a symbol of a body of laws that he perceived as alien to France. He used the language of "accommodation" to praise the law-

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yers "who understood that the state should not be accommodated to the laws, but the laws to the state" (*qui non Rempub. ad Leges, sed has ad illam accommodandas esse intelligebant*).[26]

In the place of Roman law, Hotman advocated following the "ancient constitution", in other words a system of customs that distinguished France from other countries, illustrating what we might call "reactive hybridization" (above, page 4), as well as what has been called a more general sixteenth-century "reaction towards the customary, the native, the feudal and the barbarous".[27] A similar reaction can be found elsewhere, in Spain for example, where the *fueros* or customs of Aragon were fiercely defended against attacks by the central government in the age of Philip II. Their sense of historical distance also led jurists to discover what they called "feudal law" (*ius feudale*) or "feudal customs" (*consuetudines feudales*). Cujas edited a medieval text known as the "Book of Fiefs" (*Libri feudorum*), while Hotman also wrote on the subject. Some scholars believed that fiefs had an ancient Roman origin, but the view gradually prevailed that that feudal law was derived from the Lombards and the Franks, implying if not stating that European law was the hybrid product of a series of cultural encounters. [28]

Some French lawyers did not join the humanist movement, preferring medieval methods of interpre-

tation, sometimes described as "legal scholasticism". Azo, Accursius, Bartolus and Baldus continued to be cited.[29] One might therefore speak of the survival of the "scholastic habitus" alongside the humanist one, at least until the years around 1600. The tradition of commentaries on local customs continued, including Barthélemy de Chasseneuz on the customs of Burgundy and Charles Dumoulin and Louis Le Caron on the customs of Paris. Some lawyers advocated a synthesis between custom and civil law. As another leading French lawyer, Charles Loyseau, put it in 1597, "we must conjoin the Roman law with our own".[30]

Germany

In France, the reception of Roman law was just a "trickle" but in Germany, thanks to a group of jurists who had studied civil law at university, at home or abroad, it has been described as a "flood", even if, thanks to regional variation, the stream "split into countless rivulets".[31] The *Institutes* were translated into German in 1536. The fact that the Germans lived in the "Holy Roman Empire" and that written law was known as "imperial law" (*kaiserliches Recht*) encouraged the process of reception, which was also facilitated by convergence, since German law had been moving in the same direction for internal reasons.[32]

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In Germany, interactions between Roman law and *Gewohnheitsrecht*, in other words custom, are particularly visible. The humanist lawyer Ulrich Zasius revised the municipal laws of the city of Freiburg, producing what has been called an "amalgamation" of local with foreign law.[33] Jurists who had been trained in Italy or France "introduced Roman methods into German law".[34] In the seventeenth century, the jurist Johann Schilter recognized the hybrid nature of German law (Roman, local and imperial), a combination that he described as *iurisprudentia Romano-Germanica*.[35] Mixing took place at the level of jurisprudence as well as practice. In their treatises on law, Johann Freige (Freigius) and Johannes Althusius applied the methods of Petrus Ramus, a Protestant reformer of philosophy who taught in Paris, in much the same way that Aristotle was combined with Ramus at the Herborn academy (below, chapter 8).

England

In England, what we might call the "Gothic" and the "classical" systems of law were segregated, while in Germany (or more exactly, the Holy Roman Empire) they were mixed. In England, the two systems of law were separate. Civil law was taught at Oxford and Cambridge and practised in certain courts such as the Ad-

miralty, while "common law" was the dominant system. Ideas from Roman law, notably the maxim that "what has pleased the prince has the force of law" (*quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*) were discussed but Roman law was not "received". In the case of the procedure in new courts, associated with the king's council and the Chancellor, "Roman influence is clearly visible; but it was embodied in an English form".

The contrast between England and Germany might be explained at least in part by the fact that German lawyers were trained in civil law in the universities, while English lawyers studied common law in a different institution, the "Inns of Court".[36] Common law was the law of the land, but there were also local customs (of manors, towns, villages or guilds) that claimed great antiquity, "time out of mind", usages "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary". Knowledge of customs was transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation, making custom the "interface" between laws and practices.[37]

Christian humanism

The problem of reconciling the culture of classical antiquity with the culture of late medieval Europe was particularly acute in philosophy and theology, but it was shared by all the arts and sciences. If the ancient

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Greeks and Romans were pagan, how could Christians admire, study and make use of their ideas? This problem might be described as the "humanist dilemma", defining the humanists of the Renaissance as the individuals who studied and taught the "humanities" (the *studia humanitatis*), an intellectual package composed of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, ethics and history.[38] In other words, the humanists were essentially concerned with both philology and philosophy, in a wider sense of both of these terms than is current today. Humanist ideas and methods were gradually extended to astronomy, mathematics, theology, law, medicine and other academic fields.

The humanist dilemma was not a new one, but rather the return of a problem that had already plagued Christians at the time of the early church, when classical culture was dominant. Augustine, for example, had been trained in classical rhetoric. He came to regret using pagan concepts such as "fortune" or "omen", calling this "a very bad habit" (*pessima consuetudo*).[39] We might say that his conversion had not freed Augustine from his classical habitus. The dilemma was dramatized by St Jerome in his famous letter about a dream in which he was dragged before a tribunal and accused by the president of following Cicero rather than Christ (*Ciceronianus es, non christianus*).[40] Was it possible to be both? And if so, how?

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Bees, Looters and Captives

A solution to the problem was offered by several Church "Fathers", as they came to be described, in terms of what we call "selective appropriation", while the Fathers themselves made use of colourful and dramatic metaphors. In a treatise addressed to the young men of his time (the fourth century), the Greek theologian Basil of Caesarea, a provincial from Cappadocia who had studied at Athens, wrote that it was necessary, when studying classical literature, to imitate bees, who "do not visit all the flowers without discrimination, nor indeed do they seek to carry away entire those upon which they light, but rather, having taken so much as is adapted to their needs, they let the rest go. So we, if wise, shall take from heathen books whatever befits us and is allied to the truth, and shall pass over the rest."[41] This treatise was translated into Latin by the Tuscan humanist Leonardo Bruni and was often cited in the course of the Renaissance.

Another vivid metaphor was used by the Greek theologian Origen and the Latin theologians Jerome and Augustine, that of "spoils" (above, page 24). Augustine, quoting *Exodus* 3.22, compared the Christian study of ancient Greek and Roman literature to the people of Israel plundering Egypt's treasure when they departed for the Promised Land. For their part,

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Origen and Jerome, quoting *Deuteronomy* 21.11–13, used the metaphor of the beautiful captive. According to them, Christian readers could make the pagan classics serve their own purposes in the same way that the Israelites had used the Egyptian women whom they captured and enslaved, cutting their hair and paring their nails.[42] Incidentally, these texts were well known to the Catholic intellectuals Paul Ricoeur and Michel de Certeau when they developed their theories of "appropriation" and "re-employment" in the later twentieth century. Appropriately enough, Ricoeur and Certeau were themselves appropriating and re-employing the ideas of Jerome and Augustine.[43]

In more technical language, the procedure that these Fathers of the Church recommended might be described as "eclectic" - although this term was not in use between the historians of philosophy Diogenes Laertius in the third century and Johann Jakob Brucker in the eighteenth. We might also describe this procedure as a kind of hybridization or more precisely as conscious "syncretism", another term that did not come into use until the Renaissance was over. In the period itself, philosophers employed terms such as "concord", "harmony" or "reconciliation" (*conciliatio*), as we shall see in the following chapter. [44]

Chapter 8

Hybrid Philosophies

The problem of the compatibility or incompatibility of ancient Greek philosophy with Christianity, acute in the fourth century, resurfaced in the thirteenth, the time of the rediscovery of Aristotle in Western Europe. Thomas Aquinas might be said to have translated Christianity into the language of Aristotle in his famous *Summae* of philosophy and theology. Other medieval philosophers went even further than Aquinas in appropriating the ideas of Aristotle. They were described as "Averroists" (*Averroistae*) in other words followers of the twelfth-century Muslim polymath and commentator on Aristotle Ibn Rushd, known in the medieval West as Averroes. Aquinas criticized the Averroists for going too far in their admiration for Aristotle, while more traditional theologians criticized him for the same reason (in 1270, the bishop of Paris condemned thirteen propositions from Aristotle and Averroes together). Incidentally, Ibn Rushd himself

had confronted similar criticisms from Muslim theologians.[1]

Despite the bishop of Paris, the synthesis between Aristotle and Christianity offered by Aquinas became orthodox. Indeed, it was central to what is now known as "scholasticism", the style of academic thought that became dominant in late medieval universities. In the Renaissance, new interpretations of Aristotle were presented, while other ancient philosophies also enjoyed a revival, notably those of Plato and the Stoics.

Neoplatonism

The most famous example of philosophical syncretism in the Renaissance is the consequence of the revival of interest in Plato, a movement generally known as "Neoplatonism". The term "Neo-neo-platonism" might be still more appropriate, since Renaissance humanists studied not only Plato himself but also the revival of Platonism in late antiquity by such philosophers as Plotinus, Iamblichus and Proclus, including their combination (or hybridization) of Platonic philosophy with ideas from Aristotle and magical practices current in the pagan world. For example, the fifteenth-century Tuscan humanist physician Marsilio Ficino, who called himself *philosophus platonicus*, wrote a book on the way to lead a long and healthy

life (*De triplici vita*, 1489) which made use of treatises by Proclus and Iamblicus in its discussion of magic and astrology, especially the ways in which beneficent forces could be drawn down to earth from the different planets.[2] There was also growing interest at this time in the *Hermetica*, a body of ancient writings attributed to the god "Hermes Trismegistus", the Greek version of the ancient Egyptian divinity Thoth. Ficino not only translated Plato's works into Latin but the *Hermetica* as well. [3]

Assisted by these translations, interest in Plato and Neoplatonism spread both quickly and widely, from the court of King Matthias of Hungary (to whom Ficino sent his biography of Plato) to a circle of English humanists. This circle included John Colet, who quoted Ficino and Pico in his lectures on St Paul; Thomas Linacre, who translated a treatise by Proclus; and Thomas More, whose *Utopia* (1516) was in part inspired by Plato's *Republic*. A generation later, in 1548, a scholar at Magdalen College Oxford bought a translation of Plato into Latin and wrote on the title-page "Plato is the god of the philosophers" (*Deus Philosophorum Plato*).[4]

Socrates attracted much less interest than Plato at this time, but his ideas too were presented as compatible with Christianity. For Ficino, for example, the life of Socrates was "the image, or at least the shadow

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of the Christian life". The philosopher was even described as "St Socrates" by a speaker in "The Godly Feast", one of the *Colloquies* of Erasmus.[5]

The Rediscovery of Aristotle

It used to be thought that medieval philosophers followed Aristotle while Renaissance philosophers followed Plato. In this domain as in others, however, the new did not simply replace the old but coexisted and interacted with it, producing a hybrid of what we might call "Gothic" and "Classical" philosophy. Ficino, for example, was not a simple follower of Plato. He was familiar with Aristotle as well, while the influence of the scholastic tradition is apparent in both his terminology and his "method of arguing".[6] The humanists continued to study Aristotle, but this time in the original Greek, whereas medieval philosophers had read him in a Latin translation that was derived in its turn from an Arabic translation of the original text. Reading a translation of a translation, and viewing the text through the commentaries of scholars such as "Averroes", led to hybridization, even if readers were probably unaware of it.

Hence the rediscovery (or perhaps, following the age of Aquinas, the "re-rediscovery") of Aristotle in the course of the Renaissance involved a process of

what might be called "counter-hybridization". The aim of the humanists was to excavate the real Aristotle, or what they believed to be the real Aristotle, from what they considered to be the layers of misunderstanding embedded in earlier translations and commentaries, first by the Arabs and then by the scholastic philosophers.

Conversely, a process of re-hybridization also becomes visible at this time, more exactly a series of attempts to produce a dialogue or even a synthesis between the ideas of Aristotle and other philosophers, notably Plato.[7] Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, nicknamed "the Prince of Concord", planned such a synthesis, reaching out to the Jews and the Arabs as well as the Greeks, studying the Kabbalah and quoting 'Abd Allah Ibn Qutayba, whom he called "Abdala the Saracen", in his *Oration on the Dignity of Man*.[8] The French humanist physician Symphorien Champier produced a treatise on what he called the "symphony", in other words the harmony, of Plato and Aristotle (*Symphonia Platonis et Aristotelis*, 1516). Again, at the German academy of Herborn, early in the seventeenth century, the professor of philosophy, Johannes Piscator, combined the ideas of Aristotle with those of his sixteenth-century opponent Petrus Ramus, while Piscator's student Johann Heinrich Alsted tried to reconcile not only the ideas of Aristotle and Ramus but

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those of the medieval Spanish philosopher Ramon Llull as well.[9]

It is no wonder then that one of the leading historians of Renaissance philosophy insisted on speaking about "Renaissance Aristotelianisms" in the plural, emphasizing their variety, as well as noting the "eclecticism" of philosophers who venerated Aristotle but did not hesitate to adapt his ideas, combining them with ideas from other sources, old and new. The old view that early modern Aristotelians such as the opponents of Galileo were mindless conservatives has had to be modified. [10] As in other domains of Renaissance culture, such as architecture, a sort of "Gothic Revival" can be found, including the movement known as the "second scholasticism", associated with the Jesuits in particular and reaching its peak at the beginning of the seventeenth century. An appropriate description of this revival might be the apparent oxymoron "humanist scholasticism", since the aim was to reform or repair an intellectual structure rather than to tear it down in order to build something completely new.

Jewish philosophers

What has been called a "symbiosis" between Jewish and Arab cultures has long existed. Indeed, around the year 1000, "Arabic became the language of the Jewish

people", replacing Aramaic in the domain of speech, while Hebrew remained the literary language. It was via the Arabs that medieval Jews, like medieval Christians, discovered Greek philosophy.[11] In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, especially in Italy, some humanists became interested in Jewish culture while some Jewish scholars studied Plato and Cicero. Like their Christian colleagues, some Jewish scholars of the Renaissance were concerned to reconcile the philosophy of the Greeks with their own religion. They followed the example of individuals in the world of late antiquity such as the philosopher "Philo the Jew" (*Philo Judaeus*), whose allegorical interpretations of the Bible had allowed him to make a synthesis between Plato and the Old Testament. They also included Arab philosophy in their attempts at harmonization.

A leading figure in this enterprise was Yehudah ben Yehiel, otherwise known as "Messer Leon", a physician who wrote a commentary on Averroes and also a treatise on rhetoric, the "Book of the Honeycomb's Flow" (*Sefer Nafet Zufim*, c.1475), which drew on the treatises of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian but illustrated their precepts from the Old Testament.[12] One of his pupils, Yohanan Alemanno, attempted the "fusion" of Neoplatonism, especially the work of Proclus, with the Jewish mystical tradition known as the Kabbalah, and advocated the use of the names of God as

a means of summoning and controlling spiritual forces. Another major figure was Elia del Medigo, an authority on Ibn Rushd and an opponent of the use of the divine names for magical purposes.[13]

Best-known of all, at least today, was Yehudah Abravanel ("Leone Ebreo") a physician from Portugal who lived in Spain and Italy. His famous "Dialogues on Love" (*Dialoghi d'Amore*) posthumously published in 1535 and taking the form of conversations between Filone and Sofia, Love and Wisdom, combined the Jewish and Greek traditions. When Philo discusses the Creation, for example, Sofia comments that "I am happy that you are able to make Plato a follower of Moses and the Kabbalists" (*fare Platone mosaico e del numero de'cabalisti*). Abravanel also drew on the Arab tradition.[14]

Some Christian and Jewish scholars discussed these problems together. Elia del Medigo, for instance, met Pico in Padua in 1480, and later translated Ibn Rushd for him and explained the Kabbalah. Alemano wrote a biography of King Solomon at Pico's request. Flavius Mithridates, a convert from Judaism to Christianity, translated Hebrew texts for Pico. The humanist friar (and later, cardinal) Egidio da Viterbo, who knew both Pico and Ficino, studied the Kabbalah with the help of a Jewish scholar, Elias Levita, who taught him Hebrew.[15] Incidentally, Elias wrote a romance of chivalry in Yiddish, *Bovo-Bukh*, about the deeds of Bev-

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is of Hampton, showing that he could swim in medieval as well as in Renaissance waters.

Neostoicism

Besides the Neoplatonism and the Neo-Aristotelianism of the Renaissance, we find "Neostoicism", a movement to revive the ideas of several ancient philosophers, notably the Greek Epictetus and the Romans Seneca and Marcus Aurelius, rather than the thought of one individual. Unlike both neoplatonists and neo-aristotelians, neostoics focussed on ethics rather than discussing a whole range of philosophical topics. What Renaissance humanists such as the Netherlander Justus Lipsius took from the stoic tradition were above all, ideas such as "constancy" or tranquillity of mind, viewed as standing upright like a tree or a rock, resisting what Shakespeare called "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune". The appeal of stoicism to civilians in an age of religious wars, from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, is not difficult to explain, while the ideas of the stoics also formed an important ingredient in the new ethos of discipline that itself formed part of the "military revolution" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[16]

The problem of reconciling pagan philosophy with Christianity arose once again, notably in the case of

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the stoic advocacy of suicide. Reconciliation was made easier by the fact that some Fathers of the Church, notably Jerome, had expressed sympathy for stoic ideas and had "filtered" (not to say "hybridized") them so that they would be more compatible with the Christian message. For this reason we should not be surprised to find that Erasmus edited Seneca, that Calvin wrote a commentary on one of Seneca's treatises, that Carlo Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, praised Epictetus, that Lipsius dedicated his edition of Seneca to the Pope, describing the philosopher as "almost Christian", or that Thomas James, the translator into English of a French work on the moral philosophy of the stoics, declared in the preface that "no kind of philosophy is more profitable and nearer approaching unto Christianity." [17]

Conscious attempts at the synthesis of opposing ideas were naturally controversial. They were sometimes attacked as producing "chaos", as the Wittenberg professor Johannes Scharff claimed in his condemnation of what he called "the sect of the mixed ones" (*secta mixtorum*), while the syncretists defended themselves by appealing to "the freedom to philosophize" (*libertas philosophandi*).[18]

However, mixtures were not always conscious. In the case of all three revivals, Aristotelian, Platonic and Neo-stoic, we need to remember that the participants

had often been trained in medieval philosophy, now known as "scholasticism", and that whether they were aware of this or not, this training shaped their "reception" of ancient thought.[19] Some well-known Renaissance figures expressed an interest in the scholastic tradition. Leonardo da Vinci studied Albert of Saxony and Albert the Great, while Lorenzo de' Medici once wrote to the ruler of Bologna asking him for a copy of Jean Buridan's commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*. The traditional commentaries on Aristotle, both Arab and European, remained in use in the sixteenth century, coexisting with rather than being replaced by the work of the humanists.[20] No wonder then that scholars speak of "Renaissance Averroism". In short, "the humanists themselves unconsciously absorbed a good deal of medievalism. They could use words, formulations, doctrines from scholastic authors without realizing it".[21] Although they were trying to break with tradition, many humanists retained something of the scholastic habitus.

Political philosophy

Some forms of syncretism can also be found in the domains of political philosophy and natural philosophy. The rise of the Italian city-republics in the late Middle Ages made the examples of the ancient city-states de-

scribed by Aristotle or Cicero more relevant than before. On the other hand, a greater degree of creative adaptation was needed if classical writers were to be enlisted to support the rulers of Europe's many monarchies, as they were by Erasmus, Machiavelli and the French humanist Guillaume Budé.[22] One might therefore speak of a fusion or hybridization between the classical tradition of political theory and the medieval tradition of treatises offering advice to princes.

To take a famous example, Machiavelli's *Prince* both belongs and does not belong to this medieval genre. It followed tradition so far as its aim was concerned, but it often broke with tradition in what the text actually said. The author asked conventional questions (should a ruler be liberal? Should he try to be loved or feared? Should he keep his promises?) but he gave them highly unconventional (not to say scandalous) answers, recommending rulers to save money, rely on fear rather than love and to break their word when what he calls "necessity" required it. [23]

In the case of the *Prince*, one might also speak of a fusion between theory and practice, since Machiavelli drew on the lessons of his political career, what he called his "long experience of current affairs" (*lunga esperienzia delle cose moderne*) as well as on his "continual study of ancient ones" (*continua lezione delle antique*). In fact, scholars have noticed parallels between

the political analyses offered by Machiavelli and the "conceptual framework" of the practical discussions of policy that took place in the committees of the Florentine republic.[24]

These parallels illustrate a general point about the Renaissance made by the art historian Erwin Panofsky, who argued that "decompartmentalization", bridging "the gap which had separated the scholar and thinker from the practitioner", was an important characteristic of the movement, encouraging innovation.[25] Panofsky was thinking in particular of figures such as Leonardo da Vinci and his activities in both the arts and the sciences.

Natural philosophy

In the case of the natural sciences, or as they were called at this time, "natural philosophy", it is not difficult to find examples of the hybridization or interpenetration of theory and practice, or between "implicit" and "explicit" knowledges.[26] Edgar Zilsel, an Austrian historian of science, argued that interaction between scholars in their studies and craftsmen in their workshops underlay sixteenth-century discoveries and what he called the "social rise of the experimental method from the class of manual labourers to the ranks of university scholars", noting that the

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French surgeon Ambroise Paré, for instance, William Gilbert, author of *The Magnet* (1600) and the Flemish engineer and mathematician Simon Stevin, all important names in the history of sixteenth-century science, were all "close to artisans".[27]

It is not difficult to extend this list to include the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives, for instance, who argued that it was necessary for learned men to enter workshops and question craftsmen, or the humanist physician Andreas Vesalius, who tried to combine the study of ancient writers such as Galen with his own observations.[28] Another humanist physician, Georgius Agricola (Georg Bauer), who lived in the mining town of Sankt Joachimsthal (now Jáchymov in the Czech Republic), published a study of mines, *De re metallica* (1556) that drew on craft traditions as well as on learned ones.[29]

Opposing the view of the seventeenth-century scientist as "a sort of hybrid between the older natural philosopher and the craftsman", a distinguished historian of science once argued that if scholars of the time "showed increasing readiness to make use of the information acquired by craftsmen", the reverse was not the case.[30] Since he made this point, however, examples have been found of craftsmen whose work does indeed reveal an awareness of recent discoveries in natural philosophy. Goldsmiths, for example,

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such as the Viennese Wenzel Jamnitzer, who studied mathematics, made observations, carried out experiments and produced books as well as his famous metalwork.[31] Once more it may be illuminating to speak of a "trading zone" in both practices and ideas.[32]

To the question why this form of intellectual "trade" took place at this time, one possible answer is that the rise of printed books, including considerable numbers of "how to do it" books, encouraged the textualization of knowledge, making explicit what had formerly been implicit, supplementing oral communication with print and so facilitating exchanges between scholars and artisans or other people who possessed specialized practical knowledge.[33] The range of such knowledges becomes clear from an examination of sixteenth-century treatises on the art of distillation, for instance (Hieronymus Brunschwig, 1500), metal-working (Vannoccio Biringuccio, 1540), navigation (Pedro de Medina, 1545), horsemanship (Federico Grisone, 1550), agriculture (Charles Estienne, 1564) and so on.

For a case-study in the collaboration between scholars and artisans (some of whom were turning into "artists" at this time), we might take the study of a famous text, *De architectura*, by the ancient Roman Vitruvius. The fact that this treatise was viewed at the time as difficult to interpret deserves empha-

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sis. Understanding the more technical parts of Vitruvius was the kind of problem that required both the practical knowledge of craftsmen and the philological knowledge of humanists, both knowing how and knowing that, thus illustrating Erwin Panofsky's description of the Renaissance as "a period of decompartmentalization". The most important editor of Vitruvius, the philologist Fra Giocondo, collaborated with Raphael on the construction of St Peter's. It was also at Raphael's request and indeed in his house that the scholar Fabio Calvo translated Vitruvius into Italian, since the artist did not know Latin.[34] A century later, the British architect Inigo Jones became dissatisfied with the way in which editors and commentators had interpreted the obscure Vitruvian phrase *scamilli impares*, and used his practical knowledge to advance a hypothesis of his own.[35]

Attempts were made to reconcile the different views of classical writers on natural philosophy as well as to integrate information that was unknown to the world of antiquity. For example, the Italian scholar Paolo Beni tried to harmonize the views of Plato and Aristotle on cosmology in his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*. In the case of astronomy, Nicholas Copernicus, famous for abandoning the dominant view that the earth was at the centre of the universe, was eager to point out that at least a few of the ancients such

as Hiketas (whom he called "Niketas") of Syracuse, a philosopher of the school of Pythagoras, were on his side. Copernicus was also inspired by Neoplatonism, writing in his *Revolutions of the Heavenly Orbs* (1543) that "In the middle of all sits the sun on his throne, as upon a royal dais ruling his children the planets which circle about him", echoing a passage (section seven) in the sixteenth treatise in the *corpus hermeticum* declaring that "the sun is situated in the centre of the cosmos, wearing it like a crown".[36] The ideas of Copernicus were themselves hybridized by the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe, according to whom the sun and moon revolve around the earth, while five planets revolve around the sun, thus combining elements from both the Ptolemaic and the Copernican models of the solar system.

Medicine

Theory and practice interpenetrated in the case of medicine, although there were separate chairs of *theoria* and *practica* in medical faculties in the universities, while the *galenistici* or followers of Galen, the Greek philosopher-physician, were hostile to the "empiricists" (*empirikoi*), a term that originally referred to a school of ancient physicians who relied on experience. However, Galenism was a broad and flexible

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category in the Renaissance. Indeed, Galen himself was sometimes viewed as an eclectic.[37] Just as Agricola had learned from miners, the Spanish physician Andrés Laguna learned from popular healers.[38]

There was also interaction between the Greek and the Arab traditions, producing what is sometimes described as "Greco-Arabic medicine".[39] The *Canon* of the eleventh-century Persian polymath Ibn Sina, known in the West as "Avicenna", was much used in medical faculties in the Renaissance as it had been in the Middle Ages.[40] The Greeks, Galen and Hippocrates (more exactly, the texts attributed to him), were still studied by many physicians through translations from the Arabic, thus producing an unintended mix of traditions. There were also conscious attempts at synthesis. The humanist Symphorien Champier produced a "symphony" of Hippocrates and Galen as well as Plato and Aristotle (1516) complete with an illustration in which the four thinkers were represented playing a string quartet. In Spain, many physicians came from Jewish or Morisco families. The three medical cultures of the peninsula reproduced in miniature the situation of *convivencia* and interaction described for Spain as a whole by Américo Castro (above, page 130).[41]

The increase in the knowledge of Greek at the Renaissance made an impact on medicine. As in oth-

er disciplines, attempts were made at counter-hybridization, the purification of the medical tradition from Arab influence. The German physician Leonhard Fuchs, for instance, wanted to return to the *prisca medicina* (the title of a work by Hippocrates, in its Latin translation), while the treatise on tumours (1553) by the Italian Gian Filippo Ingrassia described the followers of the Arab tradition as "grunting like pigs in their attempt to gain nourishment from indigestible acorns".[42]

New elements were added to the medical mix at this time. One of these was alchemy or chemistry. Encouraged by the need to find remedies for diseases unknown in antiquity such as syphilis, the controversial German physician Paracelsus and his followers advocated chemical remedies such as treatment with mercury, while another German physician, Daniel Sennert, discussed the agreements and disagreements between chemical and "classical" medicine in his *De chymicorum cum Aristotelicis et Galenicis consensus et dissensu* (1619).

Previously unknown herbs from Asia and the New World also provided remedies for tropical and other diseases that were new to the West. Two famous books spread the knowledge of these herbs. The Portuguese Jewish physician Garcia de Orta, who lived in Goa, published dialogues on Indian pharmacology

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(*Coloquios dos simples e drogas da India*, 1563), while the Spanish physician Nicolás Monardes, who lived in Seville, the port of arrival for the ships from Mexico and Peru, did the same for New World remedies in his "Medical account of the things brought from our West Indies" (*Historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales*, 1565).[43]

Despite the unequal cultural exchange between Europe and the rest of the world at this time, the contributions to knowledge and health that came from the East and the Far West should not be forgotten.

Chapter 9

Translating Gods

In the domain of religion, the evidence of interactions between different beliefs and practices in the long sixteenth century is inescapable. Whether or not these interactions are part of the Renaissance movement is a more difficult and controversial question. However, the revival of antiquity, especially the "patristic revival" (the renewed interest in Augustine, Jerome and other leading figures of the early Church), was important in the history of Christianity in this period. The writings of the Fathers, which exemplify the Hellenization of Christianity, were influential on Catholics and Protestants alike.

Like hybrid law, hybrid religion needs to be discussed at two levels, that of theory (in other words, theology) and that of everyday practice. Key concepts in the discussion that follows are syncretism, eclecticism, and "accommodation", a term favoured in the period itself.[1] As we have seen, scholarly interest in these fea-

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tures of the ancient world developed a little earlier than it did in Renaissance art. In modern scholarship, the term "syncretism" was revived in the second half of the nineteenth century. Interest in ancient syncretism at this time may well be related to the rise of attempts at religious dialogue (as in the case of the World's Parliament of Religions, 1893) and the appearance of new syncretic religions such as theosophy.[2] Interest in syncretism spread to anthropologists working on the New World, notably the American Melville Herskovits and the Frenchman Roger Bastide.[3]

Chapter 7 noted that Renaissance philosophers faced the problem of reconciling a venerated but pagan antiquity with Christianity. The problem was of course even more acute in the case of theology. One way in which humanists attempted to resolve the problem was to emphasize what different religions had in common. Ficino, for instance, interpreted different pagan gods as aspects of the one God. The *Perennial Philosophy* (1540), by the Vatican librarian Agostino Steuco, was also syncretic in the sense of emphasizing the value of what was common to all religions.[4] The humanists were fortified in these beliefs by their reading of the Fathers of the Church. For example, as Ficino pointed out, Augustine thought Plato to have been the closest to Christianity of all the pagan philosophers).

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The Early Church

The Fathers of the early Church had attempted to rec-
oncile Christianity with the classical tradition in order
to persuade pagans to turn Christian. The Christian-
ization of the Greek-speaking world was accompanied
by the Hellenization of Christianity. The third-cen-
tury theologian Origen, for instance, lived a "double
life" as a Greek and a Christian, and may be said to
have translated Christianity into Greek, producing a
synthesis between religion and philosophy.[5]

These attempts at reconciliation turned out to be
useful in a very different context, that of justifying the
study of pagan philosophy in a Christian culture. One
strategy was to appeal to the tradition of "Preparation
for the Gospel" (*preparatio evangelica*), like the early
Christian bishop Eusebius of Caesarea, who claimed
that thanks to divine inspiration, Moses already knew
about Jesus, while the life and thought of Socrates was
in harmony with Christianity. A second strategy was
to claim that ancient philosophers such as the neopla-
tonists Plotinus and Iamblichus "stole" from the Jews
or from early Christian writers such as Paul.[6]

A third way of reconciling the Christian and the
classical traditions was to speak of "ancient wisdom"
(*prisca sapientia*), "ancient theology" (*prisca theologia*)
or "ancient religion" (*prisca religio*), constructing a ge-

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nealogy descending from the Persian sage Zoroaster through the Egyptian god Thoth or Hermes and the Greek poet Orpheus to Plato – who, according to some writers, had been granted a special revelation of Christian doctrines, such as the Trinity, before the coming of Christ. "Hermes" was believed to be the author of a collection of seventeen treatises known as the *corpus hermeticum*, set in Egypt, written in Greek and bearing witness to the "syncretic culture" of the Hellenistic period. Another element was added to the mix with the "intermingling" of hermeticism and Christian thought.[7]

The third-century Greek theologian Clement of Alexandria, for instance, who taught for more than twenty years in that hybrid city, declared that the ancient Greeks "received some glimmerings of the divine word" and that thanks to "God's inspiration", both Plato and the disciples of the Greek philosopher Pythagoras believed that "God is one".[8] Again, the fourth-century Christian rhetorician Lucius Lactantius claimed that Hermes, Orpheus, Plato, Cicero and the ancient Greek prophetesses known as the Sibyls all believed in one God.[9] Hence the importance of the Sibyls in Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, where they appear alongside the Jewish prophets of the coming of Christ.

In the Renaissance, Nicholas of Cusa, philosopher and bishop, offers a famous example of religious "universalism". Nicholas, an admirer of Plato and the Neoplatonists, was the first western philosopher to make use of the *Platonic Theology* of Proclus, emphasizing the essential agreement between different religions. His treatise "On Catholic Harmony" (*De concordantia catholica*, 1433), written in the context of the conflict between the Catholics and the Hussites (followers of the Czech religious reformer Jan Hus), suggested that a variety of opinions is compatible with the unity of the Church.[10]

A still better-known instance of hybrid theology is Marsilio Ficino, who discussed the harmony between classical and Christian wisdom on a number of occasions, including letters on "the concordance between Moses and Plato" and "the confirmation of Christianity by Socrates" as well as in his treatises "On the Christian Religion" (*De christiana religione*, 1476), and the still more famous "Platonic Theology" (*Theologia platonica*, 1482), taking his title from a treatise by Proclus.

In his *Christian Religion*, Ficino emphasized the common features of all religions, claiming that "Nothing is more displeasing to God than to be scorned.

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Nothing is more pleasing to him than to be adored …
he prefers to be worshipped in any manner and how-
ever unfittingly, so long as it is human, than not to be
worshipped at all through pride."[11] In his *Platonic The-
ology*, focussing on the immortality of the soul, Ficino
presented Plato as *divinus* and his teaching as theology,
the culmination of *prisca religio*, while book 18 of the
treatise discussed what the author called "the theolo-
gy common to the Hebrews, Christians and Arabs".[12]
Following the *corpus hermeticum*, which he translated
into Latin, noting the similarities between these texts
and the ideas of Plato, Ficino described the sun as di-
vine, representing God and giving light to the world.

The Reformation

In a very different context, after the Catholic Church
had been broken into fragments at the Reformation, a
number of scholars wrote in favour of reunion, even at
the price of compromise, a weak form of syncretism.
Erasmus, for instance, wrote "On mending the Har-
mony of the Church" (*De Sarcienda Ecclesiae Concor-
dia*, 1533), in which he recommended "accommoda-
tion" between the different parties, using the Greek
term *sygkatabasis*.[13] Breaking with medieval tradition,
a few writers even included Islam in their attempts
at harmonizing doctrines. For example, the Catho-

lic polymath Guillaume Postel, who knew Arabic and had travelled in the Ottoman Empire, emphasized what Christianity and Islam had in common rather than what divided the two faiths. He compared the beliefs of Protestants and Muslims in his "Harmony of the Koran and the Gospels" (*Alcorani et Evangelistarum Concordia*, 1543). Similar points were made by the Swiss Protestant professor Theodore Bibliander, who knew Arabic and published a translation of the Koran into Latin.[14]

A number of theologians, both Catholic and Protestant, supported the idea of a reunion based on compromise, defending their position by referring to the practice of the early Church, which offered a middle way between the opposing sides. One might call this tendency "pragmatic" conciliation, a form of peacemaking, as opposed to the "intellectual" conciliation of, say, Christianity and Platonism, aiming at synthesis, although it too was encouraged by the humanist discovery of Christian antiquity. On the Catholic side, the protagonists of this approach included Georg Cassander and Georg Witzel, who drew up a programme for compromise in 1539 in collaboration with the Protestant Martin Bucer.

Conciliation, in this case between Catholics and Calvinists, was advocated once again by the so-called *moyenneurs* (in other words, the supporters of a *via*

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media), during the French religious wars of the later sixteenth century, while in Poland and Bohemia in the 1570s the different Protestant churches came to an agreement on fundamental doctrines.[15] In the seventeenth century, reconciliation was advocated by the Calvinist theologian David Paraeus (author of *Irenicum*, 1614), the Catholic Valerian Magni (who worked to reunite Catholics with both Protestant and Orthodox Christians) and the Lutheran Georg Calixt. Like Cassander and Witzel, Calixtus supported his arguments by referring to what he called "the consensus of antiquity" (*consensus antiquitatis*), in other words the practice of the early Church.[16]

We know all too little about the way in which the laity responded to these attempts at religious reunion, but something can be said about hybrid practices. In England, for instance, the switch from official Catholicism to official Protestantism in the reign of the boy-king Edward VI, who ruled from 1547 to 1543, followed by the return to Catholicism under Queen Mary and the switch back to Protestantism under Queen Elizabeth must have left many people "mixed up" in every sense of the term.

In the Empire, the coexistence of Catholicism and Protestantism following the Peace of Augsburg (1555) affected everyday life, especially in bi-confessional cities such as Augsburg itself in which official equali-

ty between Catholics and Lutherans included sharing churches. On his way to Italy in 1580, Montaigne visited Augsburg and noted the prevalence of marriages between adherents of different forms of Christianity. His inn-keeper was Catholic but the inn-keeper's wife was Protestant.[17] In fact, "mixed marriages" were common in Augsburg until the 1580s. In France, especially in the South, in the town of Layrac in Aquitaine for instance, the coexistence of Catholics and Calvinists led to joint participation in Catholic festivals and even "the meshing and confusion of attitudes and practices".[18]

The New World

In the New World, new forms of hybridization occurred when the Christian missionaries began their work. One of the leading missionaries, the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta, who worked in both Peru and Mexico, adapted the idea of "preparation for the Gospel" from Eusebius to argue that the rise of the Aztec and Inca empires, like that of the Roman empire, unifying their respective regions, prepared the way for Christianity. The Peruvian humanist Garcilaso de la Vega followed him in this respect.[19]

It is Garcilaso who offers the most spectacular case of syncretism, involving not only Platonism and Chris-

tianity but also the religion of the Incas. Known as "the Inca", Garcilaso was himself a hybrid person, as we have seen, since his father was one of the Spaniards who had conquered Peru under the leadership of Francisco Pizarro, while his mother was an Inca princess. Equally diverse were the environments in which he lived, first in Peru and then in Spain, in or near Córdoba. Garcilaso knew the work of Italian humanists such as Ficino and Pietro Bembo, as well as translating from Italian the "Dialogues on Love" (*Dialoghi d'amore*) written by another hybrid figure, the Portuguese Jewish Platonist Yehudah Abravanel or Leone Ebreo. Garcilaso was familiar with the idea of the ancient theology, which he extended to the Incas in his *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (1609) a history of Peru before the Spaniards. Garcilaso assimilated the Inca cult of the sun, exemplified by the temple of the sun in Cuzco (Coricancha) to the cult of the sun in ancient Syria, inspired by Plato, writing about "Our Father the Sun" (*Nuestro Padre el Sol*), and so on. This idea makes a good example of what we have been describing as "convergence". [20]

Conversion and Adhesion

Changes of religion have often been viewed, at least by western historians, in terms of conversion and more specifically the model of the *coup de foudre* that struck

St Paul on the road to Damascus, a model followed in so many stereotyped conversion narratives over the centuries. Conversion is often viewed as an essentially individual experience. It was described by William James, one of the most influential writers in this domain, as the rebirth of an individual, a change from a "divided self" to a united self. The past is rejected and a new identity is embraced.[21] This is how converts, at least some articulate converts, see their own experience, as well as how missionaries describe their purpose. The change in belief is often viewed as the replacement of error by truth.

As historians have worked with this model, problems have arisen. Changes in belief do not always follow the Damascus model. Some conversions are forced, as in the case of the Spanish Jews and Muslims who were given the choice between baptism and exile after 1492, or the Ottoman "tribute of children" (*devşirme*) in the Balkans (above, page 34). Even if individuals do have an experience like that of Paul, the power of the habitus is such that they may well interpret their new religion in terms of their old one and so produce a kind of unconscious compromise between the two.

An alternative model of religious change is that of syncretism in its modern, positive sense. The ancient historian Arthur Nock, for instance, argued that there was "no possibility of anything which can be called

conversion" in the ancient world, given its hospitality to new cults. Hence he distinguished conversion in the sense of the belief "that the old was wrong and the new is right" from adhesion, "an acceptance of new worship as useful supplements".[22] Adhesion sometimes involves a deliberate attempt to make a synthesis of old and new, in other words syncretism.

Christian Missions

The sixteenth century was an age of Christian missions on all four known continents. The aim of the missionaries was conversion, but the effect of their labours was often to produce hybrid forms of religion, conscious or unconscious syncretism. Take the case of the Jesuit missions to China, Japan and India. The dominant strategy in Jesuit missions was the "accommodation" of the message to the local culture, an idea formulated by the founder of the order, Ignatius Loyola, who (quoting St Paul) instructed his followers to be "all things to all people" (*omnia omnibus*) in order to make their message more palatable. This strategy was emphasized by the Italian Alessandro Valignano, the "Visitor" (in the sense of supervisor) of all the Jesuit missions in Asia.[23]

In China, for example, Michele Ruggieri learned Mandarin and at the suggestion of the governor of

Guangdong, supported by Valignano, he dressed like a Buddhist monk, thus 'translating' his social position into Chinese. His successor Matteo Ricci followed the same policy for a time but in 1595, at the suggestion of Qu Taisu, a convert to Catholicism, he abandoned Buddhist robes for the costume of a Confucian scholar, retranslating himself so as to appeal to Chinese of high status. Ricci studied and expressed respect for the Confucian classics and presented Christianity as complementing the Confucian world-view rather than contradicting it. [24] He allowed the Chinese whom he converted to pay reverence to their ancestors in the traditional manner, arguing that this was a social custom rather than a religious one. He translated the word 'God' by the neologism *Tianzhu*, literally "Lord of Heaven", and allowed Chinese Christians to refer simply to *Tian,* "Heaven", as Confucius had done. At home in Europe, the Jesuits were accused of having been converted to the religion of the Chinese. What appeared to be a good cultural translation in Beijing looked more like a mistranslation in Rome.

As for the Chinese themselves, they were already accustomed to emphasize the common features of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. They adopted Christianity in a similar spirit. At a popular level, it has been suggested that "The popularity of the cult of Mary 'Star of the Sea' at Macao is partly explicable

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by the parallel Buddhist cult of the Goddess of Mercy, Kuan-Yin", illustrating "convergence" once again.[25] At the level of elites, one leading convert has been described as a "Confucian-Christian syncretist". Syncretism was far from the intention of Ricci and other missionaries, but the misunderstanding between converters and converted was virtually inevitable, given the Chinese tradition of considering Buddhism and Daoism as complementary to Confucianism rather than as contradicting it. In any case the late Ming period, in the course of which the Jesuits founded their mission, has been described as "the heyday of syncretism in China" in which Judaism and Islam as well as Christianity were viewed through Confucian spectacles, without which they would not have survived.[26]

In southern India, the Italian Jesuit Roberto Nobili played a similar role to that of Ricci in China. He pursued the policy of accommodation by learning Tamil and Sanskrit and dressing like a local holy man or *sanyasi*. Listening to Hindus, he sometimes interpreted what they told him about their religion in terms of the classical tradition, viewing them as platonists or pythagoreans. Having heard the story of a sacred text that had disappeared, the "lost Veda", he used it to present Catholicism as complementary to Hinduism rather than contradicting it. Just as Ricci allowed Chinese converts to worship their ances-

tors on the grounds that this was a social custom and not a religious one, so Nobili allowed Brahmin converts to continue to wear the sacred thread, for similar reasons.[27]

In Japan, Valignano emphasized accommodation in his rules for the conduct of the mission, *Ceremoniale per i missionari del Giappone.* A recent study of the mission to Japan, concerned with the faith of the "non-elite, ordinary followers" argues that the terms "convert" and even "Christian" are "misleading labels", noting that Japan was already syncretistic (since Shinto interacted with Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism) and so employing the local term "Kirishitan" to describe the new religion.[28]

The New World

In the Philippines and the New World, the missionaries had more power than they did in Asia, since they arrived with the conquerors. Some similar problems arose all the same. In the case of the Philippines, one scholar has written about two complementary processes, on one side the "hispanization" of the indigenous inhabitants by the missionaries, and on the other the "philippinization" of Catholicism. "The densely populated spirit world of pre-Hispanic Philippine religion was not swept away by the advent of Christian-

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ity", but traditional rituals and beliefs gradually "lost their pagan identity".[29] As in the case of music, the result was hybridization.

In Mexico, the usual linguistic problems recurred: How were key terms such as "God", "soul" or "angel" to be translated into Nahuatl? When Christian texts were translated "each side was affected by the continual feedback from the other".[30] No wonder then that some historians speak of the "Nahuatlization of Christianity" or of "spiritual cross-breeding" (*mestizaje*).[31] Popular religious festivals conserved indigenous traditions, viewed by missionaries as "pagan", although they were not so different from Spain itself in this respect.[32] In similar fashion in Peru, according to a magistrate in Cuzco in 1584, "The Indians nowadays, while appearing to celebrate our festival of Corpus Christi, in effect indulge in much superstition by celebrating their old festival of Inti Raymi".[33]

Hence it is tempting to speak of "syncretism", even though a leading scholar in the field claims that this term does not do justice to the situation in colonial Mexico. He emphasizes the flexibility of the traditional religion (described by the missionaries as "idolatry"), noting its capacity to "capture" new elements and incorporate them into the traditional system.[34]

The most famous case of *mestizaje* in Mexico, indeed in Spanish American religion more generally,

is that of the Virgin of Guadalupe, now a national symbol, combining the Virgin Mary with the Aztec mother-goddess Tonantzin, whose shrine at the bottom of the hill of Tepeyac was the site of the apparition of the Virgin to Juan Diego in 1531. The church of the Virgin of Guadalupe was built on the site, just as the monastery of St Dominic in Cuzco, as we have seen, was built on the site of the temple of the sun. The sixteenth-century Spanish Franciscan missionary Bernardo de Sahagún complained that the Indians were continuing to worship Tonantzin while claiming to revere the Virgin Mary: "now that there is the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, they call her Tonantzin".[35] In similar fashion in Peru, St James (Santiago) was conflated with Illapa, the Andean god of lightning.[36]

Brazil

In Brazil, Jesuit missionaries once again followed a policy of accommodation, reinterpreting Indian dances and turning their songs into hymns.[37] In the late sixteenth century there was a rise of syncretic movements known as *santidades*. One such *santidade* came to the notice of an inquisitor, who arrived on a visitation in 1591. The *santidade* of Jaguaripe in the North-East, with its temple in a sugar plantation, attracted

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Europeans (including the Portuguese owner), as well as slaves, both Amerindians and Africans, not to mention mixtures of the two, known as *mamelucos*. The leader was described as a "pope" who appointed "bishops" and called his assistants "St Peter", "St Paul" and so on. The rituals of the *santidade* included not only baptism, but also the indigenous ritual of smoking tobacco. [38] As a seventeenth-century Englishman commented, "Certaine Brasilians … had set up a new sect of Christian ethnicisme [paganism], or mungrell-Christianity".[39] Later, when more African slaves arrived in Brazil, we find the conflation of the West African mother-goddess Yemanjá with the Virgin Mary; of Shango, the god of thunder and lightning, with St Barbara; of Ogun, the god of iron, with St George, and so on.

This form of syncretism has often been interpreted in terms of dissimulation, allowing the slaves to worship West African gods under the names of Christian saints.[40] The same point was made in Mexico by Sahagún, as we have just seen, while in Japan in the seventeenth century, when Christianity was forbidden, crypto-Christians paid reverence to images of a female figure that could be seen with equal ease as the Virgin Mary or as Kwannon, the Japanese version of the Chinese goddess of mercy.[41] Over the generations, however, what began as dissimulation seems to have

become syncretism, as the differences between gods and saints gradually dissolved.

Africa

In any case, it has been remarked that most West African cults, like Chinese and Japanese cults, "were relatively permeable to foreign influences and tended to be 'additive' rather than 'exclusive' in their orientation towards other cultures."[42] This last point may be illustrated from Africa itself and in particular from the kingdom of the Kongo, where King Nzinga a Nkuwu was converted to Catholicism in 1491, taking the name João I. His successor Afonso was also a Christian, while Afonso's son Henrique was appointed bishop of the Kongo. However, it has been argued that the king adopted the new religion for political reasons, which "laid the foundations of misunderstanding". Since the king's conversion was voluntary, the doctrines of the Church in the Kongo were "determined as much by Kongo as by Europeans". The reports of Capuchin missionaries to the kingdom suggest that "Christianity was accepted not as a new religion but as a syncretic cult". Key Christian terms in the Kikongo language were taken over from local tradition. The word for "priest", for instance, was the same as the term used for traditional religious practi-

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tioners, *nganga*, while the name for God was that of the traditional god of creation, Nzambi a Mpungu. [43]

On the Frontiers

In Europe, on the Western frontier, Spain, following the enforced conversions of the "Moors" from Islam to Christianity, hybridization took place, whether consciously or unconsciously. As we have seen, it has been argued that the mystical theology of St John of the Cross owes a certain debt to Sufism, either directly or indirectly, since his famous *noche escura*, the "dark night" of the soul, is reminiscent of the use of the night as a key metaphor in Sufi writings. The topic remains controversial.[44] There were attempts to syncretize the two religions. The most famous example of such attempts is the case of the so-called "lead books", tablets dug out of the ground at Sacromonte near Granada at the end of the sixteenth century. The tablets bore inscriptions in a mixture of Arabic and Latin and purported to have been written by Arab disciples of Christ who came to Spain, in the age of the early Church, well before the Arab invasion of the eighth century. There are references, for example, to St Cecilius as an Arab saint and martyr. The tables show "Islamizing" features as well, whether they should be interpreted in terms of syncretism, or, as one student

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of the topic has suggested, as an attempt by crypto-Muslims to subvert Christianity. The lead books were translated, and as scholars now believe, the originals were forged, by two local Morisco scholars, Alonso del Castillo and Miguel de Luna as an attempt to reconcile their Arab with their Christian heritage.[45]

On the Eastern frontier, the interpenetration of belief and practice is more difficult to document but it is likely to have been massive. The boys taken as part of the "tribute of children" may well have become sincere Muslims but they must surely have found their Christian habitus difficult to discard.

At a more spontaneous level, the English scholar Frederick Hasluck, writing in the 1920s, noted what he called "transferences" from Islam to Christianity and vice versa, drawing mainly on recent observations but supplementing them by the accounts of sixteenth-century travellers. Hasluck described "Christian sanctuaries frequented by Moslems" and "Mohammedan sanctuaries frequented by Christians", and noted the "popular Turkish" belief that baptism or Christian charms could benefit Muslims.[46] For a sixteenth-century example of this kind of "transference" we might take a grotto on the Sicilian island of Lampedusa, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, where an Italian traveller noted offerings of Turkish money, while a Spanish visitor to the same grotto around the year 1600 noted

similar offerings there and at the neighbouring tomb of a Muslim saint.[47]

Western and Eastern Christians

The Eastern frontier was also the scene of a series of encounters between Western and Eastern Christians. Before the Reformation, Ottoman conquests of Byzantine territory provoked attempts at the reunion of the churches as a means of defence, a reunion discussed, thanks in part to the efforts of Nicholas of Cusa, at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438-9. After the Reformation, both Catholics and Protestants showed increasing interest in the Orthodox Church. Some Lutherans attempted to minimize the differences of doctrine between the two churches in order to forge an alliance against Rome. The humanist and philhellenist Martin Crusius, for instance, corresponded with Patriarch Jeremias II of Constantinople between 1573 and 1581, in the hope of a "synthesis" of belief and practice.[48]

For their part the Catholics hoped to undo the effects of the Great Schism and persuade the Eastern Christians to accept the authority of the pope. The Jesuits were particularly active in this cause. They were partially successful: the so-called "Uniat" Church, established in Ruthenia (now Ukraine and Belarus), fol-

lowing the synod of Brest in 1596, combined acceptance of papal authority, the belief in purgatory and the use of unleavened bread at communion with retention of the Orthodox liturgy, communion in both kinds for the laity and the marriage of the secular clergy.[49]

Just as Lutherans and Catholics both wooed the Orthodox Church, some of the Orthodox clergy took an interest in Protestantism and Catholicism as a means to the reform of their own church. Cyril Lukaris borrowed from the Protestants, while Peter Mohila borrowed from the Counter-Reformation Catholics. Lukaris, appointed Patriarch of Constantinople in 1612, was drawn to the beliefs of Dutch and English Protestants and accepted the idea of justification by faith.[50] The opposite option was represented by Peter Mohila, a Moldavian noble who became Metropolitan of Kiev in 1633 and formulated an Orthodox Confession of Faith that was influenced by Catholicism though its author was opposed to the Uniats. Like the Capuchin friar Valerian Magni, Mohila was interested in the possible reunion of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, and the two men worked together in pursuit of this aim.[51]

In Venetian Crete, there was a "long symbiosis of Orthodox and Catholic". At least one church was shared between the two denominations, while joint processions were frequent.[52] An even more vivid ex-

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ample of the mixing of religions, or at least the mixing of people of different religions, comes from the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania around the year 1600, which has been described as a "religious mosaic" of Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Orthodox, Uniats, Armenian Christians, Jews and Muslims. In Wilno (now Vilnius) in the seventeenth century, individuals from different Christian denominations might come together as the godparents of new-born babies. There were also "certain elements of syncretism".[53]

From another point of view, the Catholic and Protestant Reformations may both be described as critiques of hybridization, since the clergy became increasingly concerned with the reform of what historians and anthropologists call "popular" or sometimes "local" religion, or the "little tradition". [54] The reformers regarded many popular customs ("little traditions", *traditiunculae*) as pagan survivals, "superstitions" in the original meaning of the term. Erasmus, for instance, described Carnival as unchristian because it contained what he called 'traces of ancient paganism' (*veteris paganismi vestigia*). Catholic missionaries to remote parts of Spain and Italy often referred to these places as "the other Indies" (*otras Indias*) because, according to them, ordinary people were equally ignorant of Christian doctrine and equally prone to pagan practices.[55] Even parish priests might be ac-

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cused of unorthodox practices, some of them magical. Hence the insistence on the need for a "learned clergy" on the part of Catholic reformers.

For their part, Protestant reformers described Catholic practices as pre-Christian survivals, comparing the cult of the Virgin Mary to the cult of Venus, for instance, and describing the saints as the successors of the pagan gods and heroes, taking over their functions of curing illness and protecting from danger. St George, for example, was identified as a new Perseus, St Christopher as a second Polyphemus. Both the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic or Counter-Reformation may be regarded as, among other things, movements of de-hybridization or counter-hybridization, to be discussed in the coda that follows.

Coda

Counter-Hybridization

The processes which have been discussed in this book under the umbrella of the general term "hybridization" did not meet with everyone's approval at the time, as the use of pejorative terms such as "mish-mash", "hotch-potch" or "bastard" vividly suggest. In this brief coda, the attempt will be made to view them from a different perspective, not as solutions but as problems. The process of hybridization, it was suggested earlier, may be conscious or unconscious. On the other hand, opposition to the process is necessarily conscious, whether it takes the weaker form of resistance or the stronger form of a movement, or more exactly a cluster of movements, of purification: linguistic, artistic, philosophical, religious and so on. Some contemporaries employed violent metaphors such as pollution, infection or poison in their wars against Gothic architecture, "kitchen Latin", scholastic philosophy, and "idolatry" (in other words, indigenous or popular religion).

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In the case of architecture, criticism was relatively mild and might take the form of arguing that additions to a Gothic building should be made in the Gothic rather than the classical style. For example, in the case of Milan cathedral, Bramante commented in the 1480s on the need for "conformity with the rest of the building" (*conformità con il resto del edificio*). Again, in the case of the facade of San Petronio in Bologna, as we have seen, Baldassare Peruzzi's mixed solution, combining Gothic elements with classical ones, was criticized in 1524 for lacking what the critic called "conformity with the shape of this building".[1] On the other hand, in the case of Spanish America, it has been argued that a pure classicism in architecture both represented and reinforced the conqueror's sense of cultural superiority to the conquered.[2]

The "return to the sources" (*ad fontes*), preached and practised by the humanists implied the purification of both texts and practices from the errors introduced by later generations. There was, for instance, a collective attempt to purify the philosophy of Aristotle in the sense of reading him in the original Greek and of separating his ideas from the long tradition of his commentators (whether they were Byzantine Greeks, Muslims or scholastic philosophers). There was a similar attempt by physicians to return to the texts attributed to Hippocrates, rejecting the Arab tradition of commentary.

Religion evoked stronger emotions. The English "Puritans" gained their name from their attempts to purify the Church of England from what they viewed as the remains of "Popery" (in other words, Catholicism). The religion of the "other" (Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, Islam, or "idolatry") was viewed as corrupt, polluted, infected, poisonous or indeed as diabolical.

Luther, for example, wrote against what he called "the Church of Aristotle" (*ecclesia Aristotelica*), aiming not at the humanists but at scholastic theologians such as Thomas Aquinas.[3] On the Catholic side, Georg Eder, rector of the University of Vienna, criticized attempts at uniting the churches for creating what he called "horrible confusion".[4] As for Calixt, discussed in chapter 9, his ideas were denounced by his opponents as a "mishmash" of religions (*Mischmasch …von allerley Religion*) and also as his personal form of syncretism, *syncretismus calixtinus*, reviving Plutarch's term but giving it a pejorative meaning.[5] In similar fashion, one seventeenth-century English writer described syncretism as "a sink and common sewer of all errors", while another (as we have seen) wrote about "mungrell-Christianity" in Brazil.[6] Hybrid philosophies might also be rejected, as they were by the Lutheran pastor Johannes Scharff in his diatribe against what he called "the sect of the mixed ones" (*secta mixtorum*).[7]

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Mixed language also evoked strong emotions. As we have seen (above, page 101), humanists used phrases such as "polluted Latin" (*inquinata Latinitas*) when referring to medieval versions of the language, and some of them, notably Pietro Bembo, tried to re-classicize the language, even when referring to institutions or objects that were unknown to ancient Romans. Conversely, the exaggerated use of Latinisms in Italian was criticized by scholars such as Vincenzio Borghini, who criticized "those who are too enthusiastic in adding new words to our language" (*quelli che troppo ardiscono di metter voci nuove nella lingua nostra*), a language that "has no need of further innovation" (*non ha bisogno di più innovazione*).[8]

The best-known comic version of this criticism comes from Rabelais, or rather from his character Pantagruel, who became furious when he met a student speaking what he calls *la verbocination latiale*, a latinized French in which running out of money, for instance, is described as being *exhaustes de métal ferruginé*. The mixture of languages was presented as comic and, given its frequency, must have been a sure means of raising laughs in the plurilingual comedy.

Given the strength of the movement to "purify" German in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the strength and frequency of German criticisms of mixed language in the Renaissance may be signifi-

cant. Mixed sermons were criticized by the humanist Johann Reuchlin, who thought it shameful "to mix a lot of Latin in German speeches and sermons" (*in tütschen reden und predigen vil latyns darunter zu müschen*). Again, the German of the chanceries, *Kanzleisprache*, was criticized for "mixing Latin and German with each other, it would be more useful to write just in Latin or just in German" (*mischend also Latin und tütisch under einandren, were nützer gar latin oder gar tütsch*).[9]

However, it is Renaissance Spain that offers the extreme examples of purification from hybridity, despite – or because of – the fact that medieval Spain had offered extreme examples of cultural mixing. Pedro Machuca's palace for Charles V at Granada, built in a classical style next to the famous mosque of the Alhambra, seems to be making a statement. Begun in 1526, seven years after Charles had been elected emperor, the building's pure classicism, unusual at this time outside Italy, is surely intended to evoke the Roman Empire to which he had succeeded.[10] A more difficult question to answer is the following: Was the palace supposed to represent coexistence with the mosque or was it an attempt to overshadow it?

It has been argued that hostility to language mixing is driven by the fear of miscegenation.[11] When the humanist Juan de Valdés regretted the influx of Ar-

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abic words into Spanish, replacing what he thought to be the original "purity" of the language (above, page 101), he may have been thinking of the migration of people as well as words. The fear of miscegenation seems to have been strong in Germany and still stronger in Spain. It was, after all, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain in which attempts were made to preserve "purity of blood" (*limpieza de sangre*) by legislation prohibiting anyone of Moorish or Jewish ancestry from occupying prestigious positions in the Church or the military orders. Candidates for these positions were required to prove that they were "pure of any stain of Jewish or Moorish blood".[12]

These attempts were accompanied by a cultural crusade, an attack on the tradition of the three interpenetrating Spains and more specifically on the customs of the Moriscos, who had, whether willingly or unwillingly become Christians. Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, the most powerful man in Spain around the year 1500, ordered books that were written in Arabic to be burned even if they were not concerned with religion, as if the language itself was a threat to Christianity. Hernando de Talavera, appointed archbishop of Granada in 1492, exhorted the Moriscos to abandon not only their language but also their traditional food, clothes and rituals. This aggressive approach was carried further by a series of roy-

al decrees prohibiting *halal* butchery, the wearing of veils, the use of bath-houses on Friday and so on. Hybridization was to be replaced by assimilation, at least in the eyes of the law.[13]

A leading Catholic nobleman, the Marquis of Mondéjar, criticized this policy in 1514, arguing that these customs were compatible with Catholicism and asking rhetorically, "What clothing, sir, did we here in Spain wear until the coming of King Enrique the Bastard and how did we wear our hair except in the Morisco style?"[14] All the same, attempts to purge Spanish culture from its Arab elements continued, even if they were incomplete and only partially successful. In the seventeenth century the poet Francisco de Quevedo was still complaining that Spanish equestrian sports were a "Moorish infection" (*Jineta y cañas son contagio moro*).

It is difficult not to wonder whether conscious or unconscious fears of mixing did not hold back, for a long time, awareness of the contribution of mixture to creativity and more specifically, the appreciation of hybrid elements in the Renaissance.

Notes

Preface

1 Davis, "Mixtures and Margins"; "Polarities, Hybridities", *Trickster Travels*, "Creole Languages" and a forthcoming book on eighteenth-century Surinam to be entitled *Braided Histories*.

Introduction

1 Torres Alcalá, *Verbi gratia*, 21. Cf. Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*.
2 Hoch, "Migration".
3 Galison, *Image and Logic*; Schon, *Displacement*.
4 Wittkower, *Gothic versus Classic*, 73.
5 Siraisi, *Avicenna*, 13.
6 Antal, "Mannerism".
7 Gruzinski, *Quatre parties*.
8 Le Goff, *Un long Moyen* Âge; Burke, *European Renaissance*.
9 Bloch, "Comparative History"; Espagne, "Limites du comparatisme"; Werner and Zimmermann, *Histoire croisée*.

Chapter 1

1 Białostocki, *Art of the Renaissance*, 1–2, 5, 12; Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City*; *id*., "East and West"; Marías, *El siglo XVI*; Gruzinski,

Pensée métisse; Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*; Farago, *Reframing the Renaissance.*

2   Anderson, *Renaissance Architecture*, 3.
3   Bakhtin, *Dialogical Imagination*, 358.
4   Burckhardt, *Renaissance*, chapter 1.
5   Schmarsow, *Gotik*; Warburg, *Renewal*, 186–262
6   Pinder, *Deutsche Plastik*, 6–7; Antal, *Florentine Painting*, 1–2, plates 102–3.
7   Hope, *Lexical Borrowing*, vol.1, 579–608.
8   Tietze, "Fortleben"; Pinder, *Deutsche Plastik*, 7; Antal, *Studi sul Gotico*.
9   Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, 29.
10 Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves.*
11 Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint.*
12 Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines.*
13 Nuttall, *Flanders to Florence.*
14 Ravaise, "Les mots arabes"; Sarre, "Michelangelo".
15 Asín Palacios, *Dante*; Sánchez Albornoz, "España y el Islam".
16 Schneider, "Influjo árabe".
17 Castro, *Structure of Spanish History*, criticized in Sánchez Albornoz, "Ante *España en su historia*".
18 Moreno Villa, *Escultura colonial*; Kubler, "Architects and Builders"; Neumeyer, "The Indian Contribution"; Wethey, "Mestizo Architecture".
19 Münsterberg, "Leonardo"; Soulier, *Influences orientales*; Pouzyna, *La Chine.*
20 Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*; Chanson, *Variations métisses.*
21 Hannerz, *Flows, Boundaries and Hybrids*, 6.
22 Sydow, "Folk-Tale Oicotypes".
23 Foster, *Culture and Conquest*, 232–33.
24 Lévi-Strauss, *Pensée sauvage*; Burke, "Cultures of Translation".
25 Berner, *Synkretismus-Begriff*; Albrecht, *Eklektik.*
26 Ricoeur, "Appropriation"; Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien.*
27 Augustine, *Doctrina*, ch. 40.
28 Rosenthal, "Diffusion".
29 Foster, *Culture and Conquest*, 227–28.

30 Runciman, *Cultural and Social Selection*.
31 Burke, "The Invention of Micro-history".
32 Assmann, "Translating Gods".
33 Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, 429–30.
34 Peterson, *Paradise Garden Murals*, 8; Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, 136, 142.
35 Dawson, *Making of Europe*.
36 Ziman, *Ideas move around*.
37 Davis, *Trickster Travels*.
38 Burke, "Go-Between". Cf. Strohmeyer, "Transfer durch Diplomatie".
39 Karttunen, *Between Worlds*, 1–22, 114–35; Couto, "The Role of Interpreters".
40 Studies include Scaraffia, *Rinnegati*; Bennassar, *Chrétiens d'Allah* (discussing perceptions of conversion, 308–32, but not mixtures).
41 Inalcık, *Ottoman Empire*: Bennassar, *Chrétiens d'Allah*, 283–88.
42 Tedeschi, "Italian Reformers"; Burke, "Translation into Latin".
43 Campbell, "Linlithgow's 'Princely Palace'".
44 Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, 118, 132.
45 Hager and Knopp, *Stilpluralismus*; Frankl, *Gothic*; Brandis, *Maniera tedesca*, quoting "Manetti", 91.
46 Jacques des Comtes de Vintimille (1560), quoted in Brunot, *Langue française*, 166n.
47 Burke, *Languages and Communities*, 137; Lasso, *Briefe*.
48 Kavaler, "Architectural Wit"; *id.*, *Renaissance Gothic*.
49 Białostocki, *Art of the Renaissance*, 11; Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City*, 91; Marías, *Gótico y Renacimiento*.
50 Mognetti, "Italianisme(s)", 26–27.
51 Panagiotakes, *El Greco*, 25.
52 Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, 180–81; Anderson, *Renaissance architecture*, 92.
53 Fraser, *The Art of Conquest*, 121.
54 Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 164.
55 Castro, *Structure of Spanish History*.
56 On the violence, Nirenberg, *Communities of Conflict*. Cf Glick, "Convivencia".

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Chapter 2

1 Tavani, "Plurilinguismo".
2 Szönyi, "Humanism"; Pešek, "Prague".
3 Calvet, *Voix de la ville.*
4 Burke, *Antwerp*; Kaufmann, "Kunstmetropole".
5 On the Ottoman Empire as a hybrid culture, Pierce, "polyglottism', especially 80–82.
6 Dale, "Cultural Hybridity".
7 Concina, *Dell'arabico*; Howard, "Barbaro". Cf Howard, *Venice and the East*.
8 White, *Middle Ground*, 50–93; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.
9 Panagiotakes, *El Greco*, 7–8.
10 Brzezinski, *Polish Armies*, 7.
11 Mańkowski, *Orient.*
12 Bierniarz, "Die türkischen Einflüsse".
13 Inalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, 6–9, 186–202. Cf. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 20–24.
14 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam.*
15 Bernís, *Indumentaria*; Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, chapter 4; Mogollón, "Manifestations of Power", 351.
16 Alberro, *Les espagnols*, 112.
17 Alberro, *Les espagnols*, 38–40, 42–43, 46.

Chapter 3

1 Blunt, *Art and Architecture*, 30; Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance* (quoting Viollet, 48).
2 Białostocki, *Art of the Renaissance*, 23.
3 Muysken, "Media lengua".
4 Gragg and Gabel, *Commentaries*, 601–602.
5 Mack, *Pienza*, 83, 93; Tönnesmann, *Pienza*, 40–45; Brandis, *Maniera tedesca*, 125–38.
6 Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance*, 51–53. Further examples in Esquieu, "Du gothique".

7   On France, Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance*, 13–53.

8   Henry Wotton, quoted in Heal, *Hospitality*, 71.

9   Girouard, "Elizabethan Architecture", 36.

10   Hoffman, "Puritan Revolution".

11   Białostocki, *Art of the Renaissance*, 15; Nussbaum, *German Gothic*, 223. Cf Fehr, *Ried*.

12   Howard, *Venice and the East*; Concina, *Dell'arabico*; Howard, "Venice between East and West".

13   Miłobędzki, "L'viv", 835.

14   Lleó Cañal, *Casa de Pilatos*.

15   Fraser, "Architecture and Imperialism"; *id*., *Art of Conquest*.

16   Kubler, "Architects and Builders"; Neumeyer, "Indian Contribution"; Wethey, "Mestizo Architecture"; Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*.

17   Giles, Coupland and Coupland, *Contexts of Accommodation*.

18   Toussanti, *Arte mudéjar*.

19   Dias, *Arquitectura manuelina*.

20   Dacos, "Présents américains".

21   Guillaume, *Traités*; Hart and Hicks, *Paper Palaces*; Payne, *Architectural Treatise*.

22   Campbell, "Linlithgow".

23   Fraser, *The Art of Conquest*, 99.

24   Kubler, "Architects and Builders".

25   Kubler, "Architects and Builders"; Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister*; *id*., "East and West".

26   Neumeyer, "Indian Contribution"; Białostocki, "Baltic Area", "Artistic Periphery"; Gruzinski, *Pensée métisse*, *Painting the Conquest*; Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*.

27   Henderson, "The Loggia".

28   Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 186.

29   North, *Building*, 62.

30   Quoted in Mercer, *English Art*, 77.

31   Savot, *Architecture françoise*, 42.

32   Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, 263-86.

33   Burns, "Quattrocento Architecture".

34   Frankl, *Gothic*, 360–70, at 364.

35 Wittkower, *Gothic versus classic*, 46, 73–4; Brandis, *Maniera tedesca*, 306.

Chapter 4

1   Antal, *Gotico*, "Mannerism"; Woods-Marsden, *Arthurian Frescos.*
2   Geddes, "Iacopo della Quercia"
3   Weise, "Spätgotische Stilströmung"
4   Nuttall, *Flanders to Florence*, 148–49; Aikema, "Netherlandish Painting", 108.
5   Dacos, *Domus Aurea*, 5–40 (on the *Domus* itself) and 57–117 (on Renaissance Italy) Morel, *Les grotesques.*
6   Hildburg, "Dinanterie Ewers"; Allan, "Venetian-Saracenic Metalwork"; Auld, "Veneto-Saracenic".
7   Morison, *Venice*; Hobson, "Islamic Influence"; id., *Humanists and Bookbinders*, 33–59.
8   Fraser, "Artistry", 273.
9   Warncke, *Die ornamentale Groteske.*
10 Chipps Smith, *The Northern Renaissance*: Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance.*
11 Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, 70–71.
12 Chipps Smith, *The Northern Renaissance*, 187.
13 Brown, *Golden Age*, 28.
14 Esdaile, *English Church Monuments*; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments.*
15 Baxandall, *Limewood Sculptors*, 23.
16 Panagiotakes, *El Greco*, 25–26; Álvarez Lopera, *El Greco.*
17 On the market for icons in Venice, Morse, "Sacred Space", 103, 159.
18 Fagg, *Afro-Portuguese Ivories*; Bassani and Fagg, *Africa and the Renaissance.*
19 Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, 54; Bailey, *The Jesuits.*
20 Losty and Roy, *Mughal India,* 27, 79.
21 Gruzinski, *Painting the Conquest*, 8, 150–69.
22 Brown, "Spanish Painting", 19.
23 Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 166, 196–97.
24 Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion*, 168. Cf Gruzinski, *Painting the Conquest*, and Pierce, *Painting a New World.*

25 Peterson, *Paradise Garden Murals*, 39, 66, 70.

26 McAndrew, *Open-air churches*; Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion*, 1–2.

27 Dürer, *Diary*, 64; Dacos, "Présents américains".

28 Dias, *Arquitectura manuelina*.

Chapter 5

1 General discussion in Burke, *Languages*, 111–40. I have tried to offer different examples this time.

2 Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 41–83.

3 Nevalainen, "Lexis and Semantics", 336.

4 Maíllo, *Arabismos*.

5 Ijsewijn, "Mittelalterliches Latein", 71.

6 Burke, "Jargon".

7 Pfeiffer, "Küchenlatein".

8 Borghini, *Scritti*, 184.

9 Keller, "Renaissance humanist"; Tournoy and Tunberg, "On the Margins", 135.

10 Burke, "Translating the Turks".

11 Paoli, *Latino maccheronico*; Lazzerini, "Aux origines du macaronique"; Paccagnella, *Le macaronee padovane.*

12 Paoli, *Latino maccheronico*, 2; Lazzerini, "Aux origines du macaronique", 11.

13 Folengo, *Baldus*.

14 Paoli, *Latino maccheronico*, 3.

15 Garavini and Lazzerini, *Macaronee provenzali*; Torres-Alcala, *Verbi-gratia*; Canonica, *Poliglotismo*, 33–106.

16 Keipert, "Sprachprobleme", 359.

17 Segre, "Tradizione macaronica".

18 Bömer, *Epistolae*; Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 81.

19 Beza, *Passavant*, 168.

20 Burke, "Two Faces"; Beza, *Passavant*, 52–65, 99–118.

21 Barber, *Early Modern English.*

22 Sainéan, *Langue*, vol.2, 71.

23 Sainéan, *Langue*, vol.1, 452-7; vol.2, 65, 506-7. Cf Demerson, "Plurilinguisme".

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24 Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 465.

25 Hope, *Lexical Borrowing*, vol.1, 148-9; Huchon, *Langue française*, 73, claims that two thousand Italian words were borrowed.

26 Segre, *Lingua*, 369.

27 Frick, *Wilno*, 100, 112.

28 Lazzerini, "Greghesco"; Paccagnella, *Il fasto delle lingue*.

29 Tavani, "Plurilinguismo".

30 Canonica, *Poliglotismo*.

31 Tavani, "Plurilinguismo".

Chapter 6

 1 Ullman, "Origins".

 2 Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 61, 164.

 3 Galmés, *Estudios*; López-Baralt, *Huellas*, 119–48; Lehfeldt, *Aljamia-do-Schrifttum*, 9–11; Suter, *Alfurkan Tatarski*; Huković, *Alhamijado*.

 4 Gruzinski, *Colonisation*, 51–100, at 53–55, 91.

 5 Froissart, *Chronicles*, 90.

 6 Phillips, *Historical Distance*, 37.

 7 Phillips, *Historical Distance*, 38–41.

 8 Klaniczay, *Zrínyi*.

 9 Cox, "Women as Readers"; Leonard, *Books of the Brave*.

10 Krailsheimer, *Rabelais*.

11 O'Connor, *Amadis de Gaule*, 64.

12 Ruggieri, *Umanesimo cavalleresco*; Kipling, *Triumph of Honour*.

13 O'Connor, *Amadis de Gaule*, 242–45.

14 Sainéan, *Langue de Rabelais*, vol.1, 280–87 (occupations), vol.2, 116–20 (archaisms) and 132–201 (*patois*).

15 McKisack, *Medieval History*; King, *The Faerie Queene*.

16 Klaniczay, *Crisi*, 34 (citing Antal).

17 Guaman Poma, *Nueva Corónica*.

18 Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, xli–xlii.

19 Fraser, "Artistry".

20 Cabos Fontana, *Mémoire*, 15–22.

21 Wachtel, "Pensée sauvage"; Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, 54–56, 128–29, 131.

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22   Liss, *Mexico under Spain*, 123; Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion*, 156–61; Harris, *Dialogical Theatre*.

23   Asin Palacios, *Dante*; Cantarino, "Dante and Islam".

24   Cerulli, "Petrarca e gli arabi"; Gabrieli, "Petrarca e gli arabi"; Bodenham, "Petrarch and the Poetry of the Arabs".

25   Guevara Bazán, "Cervantes y el Islam".

26   López-Baralt, *San Juan*. Cf. Tyler, *St John*.

27   Abu-Haidar, "*Maqamat* Literature"; Tarchouna, *Les marginaux*; Dascha Inciarte "The Arabic precursors".

28   Bosworth, *Medieval Islamic Underworld*.

29   Gonzàlez-Llubera, "Introducció".

30   Contrast Menocal, *Ornament of the World*, with Fanjul, *Al-Andalus contra España*.

Chapter 7

1   Owens, "Was there a Renaissance?"; Palisca, *Humanism*.

2   Palisca, *Humanism*, 23–50.

3   Palisca, *Humanism*, 265–67, 303–14, 427–33.

4   Katz, "Sephardic Spain", 109.

5   Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration*, 94ff.

6   Brenan, *Travel Diary*, 136.

7   Schneider, "Influjo árabe", 60. Cf. Katz, "Sephardic Spain".

8   Anglés, "Musique juive"; Katz, *Ballads*, and "Sephardic Spain"; Armistead, "Balladry".

9   García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Orient in Spain*, 38.

10   Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 23.

11   Zayas, "Musicology", 135.

12   Stevenson, *Aztec and Inca Territory*, v; Harrison, 'Tradition and Acculturation', 118.

13   Stevenson, *Aztec and Inca Territory*, vii.

14   Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 5, 9, 41, 184. There is more emphasis on mixing in Quezada Macchiavello, *Cusco barocco*, and less in Illari, "The popular".

15   Carpentier, *Music in Cuba*, 65–88.

16   Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, 122, 138 and passim.

17   Becker Lorca, *Mestizo International Law*.

18   Stein, *Character and Influence*; *id.*, *Roman Law*; Berman, *Law and Revolution*.

19   Grinberg, 'Ecrire le droit"; Hoernenbach, "Legal Language", 38.

20   Ryan, "Bartolus".

21   Berman, *Law and Revolution*, 145.

22   Stein, *Character and Influence*, 84–85; Kelley, "*Altera natura*", 95.

23   Calasso, "Umanesimo giuridico"; Maffei, *Inizi.*

24   Aristotle, *Ethics*, Book 5. Cf. Kisch, "Humanistic Jurisprudence", 80. Cf. Schoeck, "Humanism and Jurisprudence".

25   Gilmore, *Roman Law*, 70; Pocock, *Ancient Constitution*, 8–9; Kelley, *Foundations*, 87–115

26   Quoted in Pocock, *Ancient Constitution*, 13.

27   Pocock, *Ancient Constitution*, 11–15.

28   Kelley, *Foundations*, 183–214.

29   Gilmore, *Roman Law*, 5–6; Maffei, *Inizi*, 175; Maclean, *Interpretation and Meaning*, 85, 108, 112.

30   Quoted in Gilmore, *Roman Law*, 6.

31   Stein, *Roman Law*, 86; Dahm, "Reception", 282. Cf. Kunkel, "Reception", and Strauss, *Law*, 56–95.

32   Dahm, "Reception", 307, 311.

33   Kunkel, quoted in Kisch, "Humanistic Jurisprudence", 77.

34   Strauss, *Law*, 76.

35   Stein, *Characters*, 125.

36   Maitland, *English Law*. Cf. Thorne, "English Law" and Jenkins, "English Law". On new courts, Baker, *Introduction*, 40.

37   Thompson, *Customs*, 97; Wood, *Memory of the People*.

38   Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 21–31, 66–81.

39   Cochrane, *Christianity*, 383.

40   Jerome, Letter 22.

41   Basil, *Address*, section 4.

42   Lubac, *Exégèse*, vol.1, 290–304.

43   Burke, "Art of Reinterpretation".

44   Albrecht, *Eklektik*, especially 102–5; Berner, *Synkretismus-Begriff;* Colpe, "Syncretism".

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Chapter 8

1 Dod, "Aristoteles Latinus".
2 Copenhaver, "Hermes Trismegistus".
3 Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 50–65; Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, 1–19;
   Kraye, "Moral Philosophy", 349–59.
4 Ker, "Provision of Books", 469.
5 Marcel, "St Socrate".
6 Kristeller, "Scholastic Background", 38.
7 Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 32–49; Schmitt, *Aristotle*; Kessler, *Aristotelismus*; Kraye, "Moral Philosophy", 325–48; Bianchi, "Aristotelian Tradition", 64.
8 Pico, *Oration*, 00.
9 Albrecht, *Eklektik*, 161; Hotson, *Alsted*, 21–22.
10 Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, 10–33, 89–109. Cf Kessler, "Transformation of Aristotelianism".
11 Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 131, 141. Cf. Lewis, *Jews of Islam*, on the "Judaeo-Islamic tradition". Lewis 113–53 deals with the early modern period, though while describing what the Jews in the Ottoman Empire contributed to the wider culture ("medicine, the performing arts, and printing") he does not discuss what they received.
12 Lesley, "Jewish Adaptation", 52–53; Altmann, "Ars Rhetorica", 67–75
13 Lesley, "Jewish Adaptation", 58–59; Idel, "Kabbalah".
14 Leone Ebreo, *Dialoghi*, third dialogue; Ruderman, "Italian Renaissance"; Pines, "Leone Ebreo"; Lesley, "Dialoghi d'Amore"; Bernand, *Inca platonicien*, 23–42, 161–88.
15 Martin, *Friar, Reformer*.
16 Oestreich, *Neostoicism*, especially 79–83.
17 Spanneut, "Pères de l'Église"; Kraye, "Moral Philosophy", 360–74; and on Lipsius, Albrecht, *Eklektik*, 144-51.
18 Albrecht, *Eklektik*, 131, 136.
19 Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 85–105.
20 Bianchi, "Aristotelian Tradition", 60.
21 Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, 24.
22 Skinner, *Foundations*, especially vol.1, 193–262.

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23 Gilbert, *Machiavelli's Prince*; Gilbert, "Humanist Concept".

24 Gilbert, "Florentine Political Assumptions".

25 Panofsky, "Artist, Scientist, Genius", 128, 131, 136.

26 Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge*.

27 Zilsel, *Social Origins*. Cf. Rossi, *I filosofi*, and Long, *Artisan/Practioners*.

28 Rossi, *I filosofi*, 11–24.

29 Rossi, *I filosofi*, 52–55.

30 Hall, "The Scholar", 17, 21.

31 Smith, "Goldsmith's Workshop", 45 and passim.

32 Long, *Artisan/Practitioners*, 94–126.

33 I am trying to develop a point made briefly in Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 521.

34 Capponi, 'Fra Giocondo"; Fontana and Morachielli, *Vitruvio e Raffaello*; Long, *Artisan/Practitioners*, 62–93.

35 Newman, "Inigo Jones's Annotations", 439.

36 *Corpus Hermeticum*,

37 Siraisi, *Avicenna*, 12. Cf. Temkin, *Galenism*, and Wear, "Galen".

38 García Ballester, "Academicism and Empiricism", 251.

39 Siraisi, *Avicenna*, 20. Cf. Albrecht, *Eklektik*, 155–59.

40 Siraisi, *Avicenna*, 10, 194.

41 García Ballester, *Medicine*, 353–94.

42 Quoted in Siraisi, *Avicenna*, 187.

43 Boxer, *Two Pioneers*.

Chapter 9

1 Berner, *Synkretismus-Begriff*; Bettray, *Akkomodationsmethode*; Albrecht, *Eklektik*.

2 Colpe, "Syncretism", 219.

3 Herskovits, "African Gods"; Bastide, *Religions africaines.*

4 Walker, "Origène", 27; Schmitt, "Perennial Philosophy".

5 Jaeger, *Early Christianity*, 49-51; Berner, *Synkretismus-Begriff*, 117–201.

6 Walker, "Origène", 81.

7 Moreschini, *Hermes*, 7.

8   Clement, *Exhortation*, 159, 163, 167.

9   Lactantius, *Institutes*, 27, 30, 34, 481, 520

10 Watanabe, *Concord.*

11 Ficino, *De Christiana religione*, ch.4 (my translation).

12 Ficino, *Platonic Theology*, vol.6, 65.

13 Rummel, "Erasmus", 65, 71n17.

14 Bouwsma, *Concordia*; Segesvary, *L'Islam*.

15 Maag, "Conciliation"; Hotson, "Irenicism", 252.

16 Backus, "Early Church"; Böttigheimer, *Polemik und Irenik*, especially 59–69, 216–23; Louthan, "Rudolfine Prague".

17 Hsia, *Social Discipline*, 82–4; Montaigne, *Journal*, 41.

18 Hanlon, *Confession and Community*, 93–94, 102ff, 194.

19 Brading, "The Incas", 21; cf. Brading, *The First America*, 193.

20 Vega, *Comentarios*, vol.1, 36–37, 49, 60, 77, 162-4; Zamora, *Comentarios Reales*; Brading, *The First America*, 255–72; MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 332–82; Bernand, *Un Inca platonicien*, 271–79; Bernand, "Soles".

21 James, *Varieties*.

22 Nock, *Conversion*, 7.

23 Ross, "Alessandro Valignano".

24 Bettray, *Akkomodationsmethode*; Mungello, *Curious Land*; Gernet, *Chine et Christianisme*; Standaert, "Jesuit Corporate Culture", 355-7; Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*; Liu, "Adapting Catholicism".

25 Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny*, 105.

26 Standaert, *Yang Tingyun*, 217-8. Cf. Gernet, 49, 91-6, and Zürcher, "Jesuit Accommodation".

27 Dahmen, *Jésuite Brahme*; *Bachman, Roberto Nobili*.

28 Elison, *Deus Destroyed*; Higashibaba, *Christianity*.

29 Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines*, 72–89, 80.

30 Burkhart, *Slippery Earth*, 23.

31 Dibble, "The Nahuatlization of Christianity"; Peñalosa, *Prática religiosa*.

32 Alberro, *Espagnols*, 110–111.

33 On Peru, the *corregidor* Polo de Ondegardo is quoted in MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 180.

34 Gruzinski, *Colonisation*, 189–238, especially 231–32, 295.

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35   Lafaye, *Quetzalcoatl*, 281–303; Brading, *Mexican Phoenix*, 2, 215.
36   Fraser, "Artistry", 277.
37   Bastide, *Religions africaines*, 73.
38   Vainfas, *Heresia*; Metcalf, "Millenarian Slaves?"
39   Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, part 9, book 5, section 3.
40   Herskovits, "African Gods".
41   Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny*, 105.
42   Mintz and Price, *Birth of Afro-American Culture*, 45.
43   Balandier, *Daily Life*, 47, 51; Thornton, "African Catholic Church".
44   López-Baralt, *San Juan*; cf.Tyler, *St John*.
45   Kendrick, *St James*, 5-71; Caro Baroja, *Falsificaciones*, 115–43; Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 264–90 (on 'subversion', 268–69); García-Arenal, *Orient in Spain*, 2.
46   Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, vol.1, 63–97.
47   Scaraffia, *Rinnegati*, 15–16. The Spanish visitor was Captain Alonso de Contreras.
48   Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie*; Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform*.
49   Runciman, *Great Church*, 263; Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform*, 209–55.
50   Runciman, *Great Church*, 259–88.
51   Runciman, *Great Church*, 340–45; Louthan, "Rudolfine Prague", 211–14.
52   Panagiotakes, *El Greco*, 7.
53   Mueller, "Chrétiens en Pologne"; Frick, *Kith, Kin and Neighbours*, 125ff, 399.
54   Burke, *Popular Culture*; Christian, *Local Religion*.
55   Prosperi, "Otras Indias": Burke, *Popular Culture*.

Coda

1   Wittkower, *Gothic versus Classic*, 25; Brandis, *La maniera tedesca*, 306.
2   Fraser, "Architecture and Imperialism", and *The Art of Conquest*.
3   Luther, *De Captivitate*.
4   Louthan and Zachman, *Conciliation and Confession*, 1.
5   Böttigheimer, *Polemik und Irenik*, 292.

6   OED, s.v. "Syncretism".

7   Albrecht, *Eklektik*, 131.

8   Borghini, *Scritti*, 199, 203.

9   Strassner, *Deutsche Sprachkultur*, 47–48.

10   Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V*, 247; Dandelet, *Renaissance of Empire*, 99–101.

11   Bolton, "Language and Hybridization".

12   Sicroff, *Les controversies*, criticized for exaggeration by Kamen, "*Limpieza*". Cf. Carrasco, *La pureté de sang*.

13   Bernabé-Pons, "La asimilación cultural".

14   Nader, *Mendoza Family*, 187.

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The movement we know as the Renaissance used to be regarded as the replacement of one system of ideas and literary and visual conventions (the "Gothic") with another system (the "Classical"). However, it has become increasingly obvious that Gothic and Classical coexisted for a long time, and also that they interacted, producing hybrid forms not only of thought, art, literature and especially architecture, but also of language, literature, music, philosophy, law and religion.

As the Renaissance movement spread outside Italy, to other parts of Europe and also beyond, from Goa to Quito, different local traditions made their contribution to the mix. Given the interest in cultural hybridity long shown by Natalie Davis, this theme allows Burke to pay homage to the work of Davis as well as to explore what was for long a neglected theme in Renaissance studies.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Peter Burke is Professor Emeritus of Cultural History at the University of Cambridge and Life Fellow of Emmanuel College. His publications include *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge, 1991), *History and Social Theory* (1992), *What is Cultural History?* (2004), *Cultural Hybridity* (2009) and *A Social History of Knowledge Volume II: From the Encyclopedie to Wikipedia* (2012).

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