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“Recte Perficitur”: Sermons to the Jews and the Rhetoric of Conversion (1572-1585)

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“Recte Perficitur”: Sermons to the Jews and the Rhetoric of Conversion (1572-1585)

A dissertation presented

by

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to

The Committee on the Study of Religion

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the rhetoric of Jewish conversion during the institutionalization of the Roman Catholic practice of preaching to the Jews under Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585).

Focusing primarily on the sermon volumes of two preachers to the Jews, this study considers how the sermons to the Jews, the papacy, and an English priest framed the mission to the Jews and Jewish conversion. I argue that both the official rhetoric emanating from the papal pronouncements and the rhetoric in the practice of preaching to the Jews (i.e. the sermons) demonstrate that orthopraxy was the ultimate goal of the enterprise and the Church’s measure of the campaign’s success.

The first half of the dissertation serves to contextualize this practice of preaching to the Jews both historically and in scholarship. A detailed historiographical essay demonstrates the development of scholarship and the themes and sources that have governed the discussion of the *predica coattiva* (“forced sermons”) in Rome. Through this historiography, I begin to revise the narrative for the establishment of the late cinquecento *predica coattiva*, pointing towards features that have been neglected and misrepresented in previous scholarship. A close reading of the papal bulls sanctioning the practice and the 1581 manuscript *Roma Sancta* reframes the nature of the proselytization of the Jews under Gregory XIII. These texts demonstrate a reform of the language regarding Jewish mission and a focus on the only aspects of proselytization and

conversion in the hands of the Church and the preacher. This rhetoric reflects the importance of *recte perficere* (“right accomplishment”).

The second half of this study focuses on the rhetoric of Jewish conversion conveyed in the sermon volumes of Evangelista Marcellino and Faustino Tasso, two Franciscans. An analysis of Tasso’s volume is introduced to scholarship for the first time here. The publication of these volumes of full text sermons to the Jews, the first of their kind, makes them an important source for the practice of preaching to the Jews and provides the best glimpse of the language utilized by preachers to the Jews. While current scholarship tends to focus on the proofs for the truth of Christianity as the content of sermons, I expand my examination to explore the way in which the preachers framed their series and their appeals to the Jews to convert. Close readings of the text demonstrate how Marcellino and Tasso viewed their role as a preacher to the Jews in an economy of salvation that ultimately depended upon God’s grace rather than persuasive arguments. In their focus on the importance of hearing the truth as the impetus for conversion, Marcellino and Tasso reveal that orthopraxy is to continually preach to the Jews. For the preacher, perseverance is the ultimate measure of success.

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Notes on the Texts and Translations

This dissertation examines and quotes from texts primarily in Italian and to a lesser extent, Latin. In the printing of sixteenth-century Italian, the letters “u” and “v” can appear interchangeably. For instance, a “v” substitutes for an “u” if the vowel is the first letter of a word, and an “u” replaces a “v” in the middle of a word frequently but not always. When I provide the original Italian in my footnotes, I have changed the “u’s” and “v’s” to reflect the letter pronounced. I have provided all Latin citations exactly as the words appear in the source cited. Unless otherwise noted, all translations provided are my own.

Introduction: Mission, Conversion, and Preaching to the Jews

We..., wishing that all men be saved and come to the knowledge of truth, therefore, ought to extend in all our regions the cure of apostolic solicitude and the disposition of charity, so that we not cease to long for and also seek with all our might not only the repentance of the heretics and the schismatics straying from the path of the orthodox faith, but also the conversion and true salvation of those who are passing away wretchedly, walking in the darkness of faithlessness, particularly the Jews.

—Gregory XIII, *Vices eius nos*, Proemio, 1 September 1577¹

On the first day of September in 1577, Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) issued the bull *Vices eius nos*, establishing the Neophyte College (*Collegium Neophytorum*) to train young Jewish and Muslim converts to “explicate, teach, and preach the mysteries of the Christian faith.”² The bull affirmed the pope’s commitment to converting the Jews through preaching, a practice already underway and compulsory in Rome in 1577. Seven years later, on September 1, 1584, Gregory XIII issued *Sancta mater ecclesia*, addressing the compulsory conversion sermon more specifically. *Sancta mater ecclesia* ordered all cities with a synagogue to follow the example of Rome and institute regular conversion sermons to the Jews. The bull outlined a new structure for preaching to the Jews, including a list of essential proofs conversion sermons should demonstrate, a designated quota of Jews to attend in rotation, and a new age of eligibility (twelve) for Jewish attendance.³ Although compulsory conversion sermons were neither a new

¹ “Vices Eius nos, ...qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire, nostrum in omnes partes apostolicae sollicitudinis curam et charitatis affectum ita debemus extendere, ut non modo haeticorum et schismaticorum ab orthodoxae fidei semita aberrantium respicientiam, sed eorum etiam, qui, in infidelitatis tenebris ambulantes, misere pereunt, praesertim iudaecorum, conversionem veramque salute exoptare, ac totis viribus quaerere non cessemus.” Gregory XIII, Catholic Church, Luigi Bilio, Francesco Gaude, Charles Cocquelines, and Luigi Tomassetti, *Bullarum Diplomatum Et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis*, (Augustae Taurinorum: Seb. Franco et Henrico Dalmazzo editoribus, 1860), 8:188-191, at 188. Hereafter cited as *B.R.*

² “Christianae fidei mysteria, ...explicare, docere et praedicare possint.” Gregory XIII, *Vices eius nos*, *B.R.* 8:189.

³ “Nos iam pridem singulis diebus sabbati in certo oratorio in alma Urbe iudaeis Christum Salvatorem nostrum...annunciari et praedicari iussimus.” Gregory XIII, *Vices eius nos*, *B.R.*, 8:487-89.

tool of conversion nor a new practice in Rome, *Vices eius nos* and *Sancta mater ecclesia* were the first official papal pronouncements endorsing the preaching to the Jews since 1278 when Pope Nicholas III (1277-1280) issued *Vineam sorec*.⁴ Unlike his predecessors, who at times acknowledged the importance of preaching to the Jews but did not compel Jewish attendance at sermons, Gregory XIII fully embraced the compulsory conversion sermon as the central strategy of his campaign to convert the Jews. Gregory XIII's two bulls institutionalized and centralized the practice in Rome. This dissertation explores the sermons to the Jews and the rhetoric of conversion during the papacy of Gregory XIII.

During his pontificate, three volumes of sermons preached to Jews in the Italian peninsula appeared in print.⁵ All three volumes were published following the promulgation of *Vices eius nos*, in a three-year period from 1583 through 1585. Evangelista Marcellino (1530-1593), the sole representative of the Roman practice, printed his *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove* in 1583, the year following their oral delivery. Vitale Medici (1559-1635), a recent

⁴ *Vineam sorec* instructed the General of the Dominican Order to train friars to preach to the Jews. (*B.R.* 4:45). In *Sancta mater ecclesia*, Gregory XIII claims to be following in the footsteps of Nicholas V (1447-1455). See, *B.R.* 8:487, §1. Nicholas V, according to Raynauldus in his 1752 *Annales Ecclesiastici*, allowed René of Anjou, King of Sicily, to force the Jews to attend sermons four times a year in January of 1447. Kenneth Stow cites this otherwise undocumented dispensation as the ruling to which Gregory XIII refers. See, Kenneth Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, (1555-1593)*, (New York: The Jewish Theological Society of America, 1977), 21, n.59. Important for Spanish history but not a part of the legitimate succession of St. Peter, the Avignon pope, Benedict XIII, ordered conversion sermons in his bull *Etsi doctoribus gentium* in 1415. However, while Benedict XIII is typically discussed in histories of Spain where he and Vincente Ferrer instituted and enforced Jewish attendance at sermons, this pope's policy is not typically mentioned in the histories of Italy.

⁵ Two volumes of sermons appeared in the year of the death of Pope Gregory XIII: 1585. However, all three volumes contain sermons preached during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. **Evangelista Marcellino**, *Sermoni quindici sopra il salmo centanove. Fatti a gli Hebrei di Roma. Dal r.p.f. Evangelista Marcellino dell'ordine de' Minori osservanti*, (in Fiorenza: Appresso Giorgio Marescotti, 1583). **Vitale Medici**, *Omelle Fatte Alli Ebrei Di Firenze Nella Chiesa Di Santa Croce, Et Sermoni Fatti in Piv Compagnie Della Detta Città*, (in Firenze: Nella Stamperia De'Giunti, 1585). **Faustino Tasso**, *Venti Ragionamenti Familiari sopra la venuta del Messia. Del r.p. Faustino Tasso, Minore Osservante. Fatti in Napoli ad alcuni Hebrei per comandamento de gl' Ill.^{mi} e R.^{mi} Vicerè, e Arcivescovo: l'anno MDLXXV. Ne' quali con l'autoritadi de' Teologi Christ.e de' Rabbini Hebr. si dichiarano i più importanti Miserii della santiss. Trinità, & i più secreti Sacramenti della venuta del Messia*, (in Venetia: Appresso Gio. Antonio Rampazetto, 1585).

convert from Judaism, published his *Omèlie fatte alli Ebrei di Firenze* in 1585. His volume includes two sermons delivered to the Jews of Florence in the Franciscan church, Santa Croce, in 1583 and 1584. Faustino Tasso's *Venti Ragionamenti Familiari sopra la venuta del Messia* claim the earliest oral delivery of 1575 and the latest printing in or after November 1585.⁶ Tasso delivered his "twenty reasonings" first in Naples during Lent of 1575 and later in Mantua sometime between 1578 and 1583 at the request of the Inquisitor, Giulio Doffi.⁷ These latter two volumes were printed after the death of Gregory XIII.

Three aspects of these printed volumes of conversion sermons demonstrate their immediate historical significance. First, despite the long practice of Christians preaching to the Jews, the three volumes are the first and only conversion sermons printed prior to the seventeenth century. That the sermons were preached to the Jews differentiates them from polemical literature which often imagined scenarios of encounters between Christians and Jews. Until 2008, the printed volumes had not received significant scholarly attention. Traditionally, most of the evidence for the history of the compulsory conversion sermon has derived from royal edicts and papal bulls, necrologies mentioning preaching to the Jews in lists of accomplishments, and polemical literature. Dates, names of preachers, and standard lines of argumentation form the general cadre of evidence available on the subject. The printed conversion sermons can help further contextualize the practice and offer the opportunity to move beyond polemic to the rhetoric and the ways in which preachers delivered traditional arguments to their audience. Since the sermons are examined by their lines of argumentation or proofs for Christianity rather than

⁶ These dates are provided by Tasso in his volume. His letter of dedication is dated November of 1585.

⁷ Giulio Doffi (also identified as Dossi in some sources) was a Dominican from Florence who held the post of Inquisitor in Mantua from 1578 to 1583. See, Luca Sabbagh, Daniele Santarelli, Herman H. Schwedt, and Domizia Weber, *I giudici della fede: l'Inquisizione romana e i suoi tribunali in età moderna*, (Firenze: Edizioni Clori, 2017): 87.

their nature as a speech represented by a literary text, a key part of this dissertation is a close reading and examination of the sermons as text.

Second, is that all three volumes were printed in a three-year span and contain sermons delivered during the pontificate of Gregory XIII as mentioned above. Marcellino's volume is the only printed representation of the flourishing practice in Rome. Preached between the promulgation of *Vices eius nos* and *Sancta mater ecclesia*, the *Sermoni quindici* provide a glimpse into the Roman compulsory conversion sermons before their official institutionalization in 1584. The printing of the sermon volumes of Medici and Tasso in 1585, after the pope's mandate to spread the conversion sermons to all cities with a synagogue is significant as well. The volumes can be read as publicized statements of obedience to the papal directive. Although far more sermons to the Jews were preached during this period, especially in Rome, than were printed, it is no coincidence that the first were printed during the reign of Gregory XIII.

The third aspect is each volume's connection to the Franciscan Order. Evangelista Marcellino, also known by his surname of Gerbi, joined the Franciscan Order at age thirteen. Later, in the 1580s, Marcellino served as an explicator of scripture in the Observant church Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome.⁸ Faustino Tasso, a Venetian, was also an Observant Franciscan. He was associated with the Franciscan church, San Francesco della Vigna in Venice. Although the convert Vitale Medici, formerly Jehiel da Pesaro, did not become a Franciscan upon his conversion, he credits the General Inquisitor of Florence, Dionigi Sammatesti da Costacciaro (d.

⁸ Angelico Piladi, *Il P. Evangelista Marcellino insigne Predicatore ed Ecclesiaste del secolo XVI* (Florence, *Studi Francescani*, 1944), 41-78, 131-155. Piladi is the most current biography of Marcellino, drawing on all the known sources for the life of the Evangelista Marcellino. His biography is divided into two parts. The first outlines his life as a preacher. The second discusses his role as a commentator on scripture from the pulpit.

1603) of the Conventual order of Franciscans, for the preaching which prompted his conversion.⁹ Additionally, Medici preached his sermons to Jews in the Franciscan church, Santa Croce, in Florence. Despite Medici's more tenuous connection to the Franciscans, the title page of all three preachers' printed volumes of sermons to the Jews displays an affiliation with the Franciscan Order. Given the prominence of the Jesuits, in particular, in the practice of preaching to the Jews of Rome in the sixteenth century and the general association of the Dominican Order with preaching to the Jews, this connection in the three printed volumes is significant.¹⁰ These volumes present scholars with a unique set of texts through which to explore the sixteenth-century mission to the Jews, introducing cities beyond Rome and a range of preachers involved in the mission.

This dissertation focuses on the two Franciscans, Evangelista Marcellino and Faustino Tasso, and their sermons to the Jews. The focus on the two mendicant preachers helps delineate two modes of supplying sermons to the Jews during the pontificate of Gregory XIII.¹¹ The first is epitomized by Evangelista Marcellino and the practice in Rome. Preachers to Jews in Rome typically lived in the city and committed to regularly preaching to the Jews. In contrast, Faustino Tasso represents the itinerant preacher called to a city to address the Jews. His encounter with the Jews was limited to the *Venti Ragionamenti familiari*. The nature of the volumes makes this a

⁹ An alternative story identifies Evangelista Marcellino as the preacher who moved this Jewish doctor and rabbi to convert.

¹⁰ This dissertation will not explore the Franciscan connection specifically beyond this observation. As will be emphasized later, there were far more religious orders involved in this practice than is typically conveyed in histories. The overwhelming association of Dominicans as *predicatori agli Ebrei* (which will become factual following Gregory XIII), obscures the nature of the early practice.

¹¹ By limiting the focus on Vitale Medici, I am eliminating an important aspect of the sixteenth-century mission—the convert preacher. Medici's sermons represent another level of the rhetoric that certainly deserves exploration. There is evidence to suggest that converts preached to confirm their conversion as well as to demonstrate the triumph of the mission.

helpful comparison as well. Both Tasso and Marcellino preached to the Jews in a series of twenty and fifteen sermons, respectively. The final reason for exploring Marcellino and Tasso is twofold: exploration of the centralized practice in Rome and comparison with the practice in other parts of Italy. Evangelista Marcellino's sermons portray the practice during the institutionalization of the sermon event by Gregory XIII in Rome, which is the primary narrative around which this dissertation unfolds. Faustino Tasso is the only preacher out of the three who published their sermons to the Jews in this timeframe who has not received direct attention in scholarship. The inclusion of Tasso and an analysis of his *Venti Ragionamenti* contributes to the overall understanding of the preaching to the Jews in the late sixteenth century. By exploring the language of Tasso's and Marcellino's sermons to the Jews and Gregory XIII's papal bulls, a rhetoric of conversion emerges.

Some explanation of the term "rhetoric" is required since it has a few meanings in the literature on sermons. The use of the term in the sixteenth century was for an academic discipline. Rhetoric is the study of the art of oratory. The humanists had revived this classical discipline in Renaissance and applied it to sacred oratory.¹² This was not an innovation but rather a return to the teachings of St. Augustine of Hippo who had designated rhetoric as one of the spoils of Egypt.¹³ In the sixteenth century, classical rhetoric increasingly became a necessary part of a preacher's training, and Rome became the center of training in this art.¹⁴ The best preachers

¹² John O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in the Renaissance: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, 1450-1521*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979).

¹³ This is an expression based upon the Israelites taking silver and gold out of Egypt as they were released from slavery by Pharaoh (Exodus 11.2-3). Augustine commonly referred to Christian use of pagan philosophy, or in this case, rhetoric, as the spoils of Egypt. See, Augustine of Hippo, *De doctrina Christiana*, Book IV, which outlines his teaching on rhetoric.

¹⁴ Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome*, (Princeton University Press, 2014).

of the era were identified by their expertise in one of the three oratorical goals: to teach (*docere*), to move (*movere*), and to delight (*delectare*).¹⁵ During the pontificate of Gregory XIII, the preachers who best exemplified eloquence were the Capuchin, Alfonso Lupo (d. 1593), the Jesuit, Francisco Toledo (1532-1596), and the Observant Franciscan, Francesco Panigarola (1548-1594). Their names were inserted in a motto which praised their particular skill: *Lupus movet, Toletus docet, et Panigarola delectat*.¹⁶ These rhetorical goals can be applied to the sermons to the Jews. As will be demonstrated, the primary purpose of the sermons to the Jews was to teach (*docere*), to explain the truth of Christian doctrine. An early witness to the sermons, the English priest, Gregory Martin, also highlights the ability of the preachers of great skill in moving the Jews.¹⁷ This *movere* added a more emotional element to the persuasion of good teaching. *Movere* is associated with leading the heart toward compunction. In contrast, as will be highlighted Faustino Tasso will explicitly distinguish his *Ragionamenti* from these emotional elements.¹⁸ His reasonings are simply teachings of truth. This notion of rhetoric provides a useful rubric for examining the purpose of the sermons to the Jews.

In the secondary literature on these sermons, one scholar has utilized rhetoric to indicate the polemical tradition of the sermons. Emily Michelson employs the term for the arguments the

¹⁵ Preachers were to aspire to all three components of oratory. However, the first two were considered fundamental for preaching. Traditionally, delighting the audience was regarded with suspicion. Cf. Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV: v. This did not change in the sixteenth century. For an example, see Evangelista Marcellino's critique of Francesco Panigarola in Angelico Piladi, "Il P. Evangelista Marcellino insigne Predicatore ed Ecclesiaste del secolo XVI," *Studi Francescani*, 15 (1943), 57-60.

¹⁶ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter, BAV) *Urb. Lat.* 1042, Avviso, 23 marzo 1577.

¹⁷ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, ed. George Bruner Parks, (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura), 1969, 78. "The one and the first, a Jesuite or some other of greate skil and good spirit, to move."

¹⁸ Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti Familiari*, 197. "Ma perche questa non è la mia intentione, lasciarò l'essagerationi, e l'amplificationi alle prediche, e mi bastera in questi ragionamenti cosi semplici, come sentite, mostrarvi l'errore, in qual voi sete, e insegnarvi il vero modo."

sermons follow to persuade the Jews to convert to Christianity.¹⁹ However, the aim of this dissertation to explore the “rhetoric of conversion” does not refer to the rhetorical art nor to the polemical tradition. Rather the rhetoric of conversion is the language, or more aptly, the message of conversion. What do the sermons to the Jews convey about the Catholic understanding of Jewish conversion? What is the preacher saying to persuade the Jew to convert? Are there elements of persuasion beyond the proof that he presents, and what do those elements say about conversion? This rhetoric does not simply derive from the sermons. It appears in a more official form, meaning the papal bulls which institutionalize the practice of preaching to the Jews, and to an extent, Gregory Martin’s *Roma Sancta*, which articulates the official form as part of a propagandizing manuscript. As I will argue, the overarching message that emerges from these texts is the importance of orthopraxy. Preaching to the Jews is the right method for converting the Jews. Moreover, orthopraxy is not determined by success in the number of conversions but is rather the measure of success.

The foundational premises of this dissertation are found in the work of two scholars on sixteenth-century Rome: Kenneth Stow and Frederick J. McGinness. The first premise is the post-Tridentine focus of the Roman Catholic Church on fashioning a devout and pious image of Rome. In his book, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome*, Frederick J. McGinness, describes the emergence of a what he calls a “self-portrait of Rome” in the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁰ The city refashioned its image to reclaim its apostolic succession, to promote its piety, and to present Rome as the model of Roman Catholicism. His book explores

¹⁹ Emily Michelson, “How to Write a Conversionary Sermon: Rhetorical Influences and Religious Identity,” *Religious Orders and Religious Identity Formation, ca. 1420-1620: Discourses and Strategies of Observance and Pastoral Engagement*, eds. Bert Roest and Johanneke Uphoff, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 235-251.

²⁰ Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory*, 3.

the idea of “right thinking” as it was expressed in preaching. I see a parallel between McGinness’ focus on *recte sentire* and the traditional view of preaching to the Jews as conversion *recte perficitur* (correctly accomplished).²¹ The sermons to the Jews in the sixteenth century highlight a renewed focus on right practice in relation to how the Church approached the Jews living in Rome and beyond. This right practice, or orthopraxy, encompasses both the mission itself and the way in which the mission was carried out. Preaching to the Jews, despite its compulsory nature, constituted right practice for the Church; it was a deed worthy of praise and emblematic of this new image of Rome.

The second premise is articulated by Stow in his *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*. During the sixteenth century, the popes began to pursue Jewish conversion out of an expectation, not just a hope, for success. They created institutions designed to aid this mission, including the House of Catechumens, the Ghetto, and the compulsory conversion sermons.²² Stow makes his argument utilizing Paul IV’s *Cum nimis absurdum*, which established the Ghetto, emphasizing that succeeding papal policies all employed a similar phrasing of the conversion rationale found in *Cum nimis absurdum*. I approach these sermons from this perspective of the sixteenth century. Conversion was the focus of papal policies towards the Jews. Gregory XIII institutionalized the sermons to the Jews in pursuit of this aim of Jewish conversion.

Stow is a medievalist, and his study best fits into medieval historiography of Jewish-Christian relations.²³ The prominent trend has been to identify watershed moments, which mark

²¹ These are the words used by Gregory I in 591. Gregory the Great, Book 1, Epistle 45 (CCSL, vol. 140, 59).

²² Kenneth Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 3-59.

²³ For instance, Stow’s argument is based upon medieval constructions of Jewish status, and the change Stow finds in those constructions in the sixteenth century. His argument is firmly rooted in medieval thought, and the best reviews of Stow’s *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy* derive from medievalists. David Berger, who appears

the deterioration of the Jews in European history. To define when Jewish status changed in medieval Europe, scholars have focused on the increase in physically violent encounters as well as theological and intellectual changes. The latter group of scholarship is fundamental for contextualizing the birth of “mission” in the sixteenth century. Polemical literature is the primary source scholars utilize to track these theological and intellectual changes in the Middle Ages. Medieval polemics against the Jews grew out of the *Adversus Judaeos* literature of patristic authors.²⁴ This was a broad range of literature that included treatises, such as Justin Martyr’s (died circa 165) *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, and sermons against the Jews and judaizing like those of John Chrysostom (347-407). These early engagements with Jews and Judaism sought to define orthodox Christianity against Judaism.²⁵ Medieval polemical literature utilizes these patristic sources and seemingly addressed Jews but was intended for a Christian readership. Lucy Pick highlights that the traditional manner of analyzing polemical literature, which is highly

in this summary of medieval scholarship on mission, criticizes Stow’s translation of *Cum nimis absurdum* in his review of the book. See, David Berger, “Cum Nimis Absurdum and the Conversion of the Jews,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 70, no. 1 (July 1979): 41-49.

²⁴ See Rosemary Radford Ruether, “The *Adversus Judaeos* Tradition in the Church Fathers: The Exegesis of Christian Anti-Judaism,” in *Aspects of Jewish Culture in the Middle Ages* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1979), 27-50. In her introduction to the analysis of the church fathers, Ruether provides a brief history of the origins and the categories of writings included in the *Adversus Judaeos* literature (27-30). She identifies three main types of writings: catalogs of testimonies derived from Christological readings, treatises dealing with specific themes or a collecting all these themes, and anti-Jewish sermons (27).

²⁵ There has been debate on whether this *Adversus Judaeos* literature addressed actual Jews or reflect a knowledge of “real” Jews. Jeremy Cohen has argued that Augustine of Hippo, in particular, employed “the Jew” as a theological construct and did not have interactions with any real Jews. See *Living Letters of the Law*. Cohen notes that Augustine’s knowledge of Jews and Judaism derived largely from his correspondence with Jerome (p. 43). Cohen makes a strong and convincing argument that Augustine’s encounters with Jews informed his writings very little (pp. 41-44). Rather, Augustine’s most important statements on Jews derive from his theology regarding biblical interpretation, his view of terrestrial history, and his ideas on human sexuality. See page 13 for a discussion of the “hermeneutically crafted Jew.” For an alternative view, see Franklin T. Harkins’ article, “Nuancing Augustine’s Hermeneutical Jew: Allegory and Actual Jews in the Bishop’s Sermons,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 36 (2005): 41-64, which argues that Augustine’s sermons address actual Jews in North Africa as potential converts to Christianity. Harkins is defending a thesis first put forward by Bernhard Blumenkranz in his *Die Judenpredigt Augustins: Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Jüdisch-christlichen Beziehungen in Den Ersten Jahrhunderten*, (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1946). Blumenkranz argued that Augustine lived in a North African Christian world threatened by the presence of Jews. Blumenkranz believed that Augustine actively sought the conversion of Jews.

derivative, is to look for signs of innovation.²⁶ This birthed the scholarship on conversion and mission.

The debate centered around the identification of the twelfth or the thirteenth century as indicative of a change in the polemic and thus, a new intent. In a 1968 article, Amos Funkenstein (1937-1995) identified the twelfth century as the beginning of a true outward focus of religious polemic with the introduction of rational and philosophical argumentation.²⁷ David Berger, Jeremy Cohen, and Robert Chazan argued in the 1980s that the thirteenth century, not the twelfth, marked the outward focus of Christian polemic. David Berger and Robert Chazan both identify “mission” as the difference between the twelfth and the thirteenth century. Berger looks at polemical literature and demonstrates that despite increased polemical literature in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the figures writing these treatises all indicate the futility of proselytizing Jews. He concludes that there was no “missionary impulse” until the thirteenth century.²⁸ Chazan’s book *Daggers of Faith* outlines the three factors which mark the establishment of actual mission in the thirteenth century.²⁹ Cohen’s *The Friars and the Jews* also argues for a significant change in the status of the Jews in the thirteenth century, but he focuses

²⁶ Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 128. This continues to be the method scholars employ to discuss the content of the sermons. For instance, identifying the sermons as following Raymond Martin’s *Pugio fidei* is found in both Shulamit Levi-Furstenberg and Emily Michelson. Another example is looking for any references to current circumstances, including world missions, or whether a preacher utilizes Cabala. These are implied in scholarship as markers of genuine desire to convert Jews or lack of a desire.

²⁷ Amos Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 172-201. This is an English translation. The original articulation of Funkenstein’s argument appeared in an article in Hebrew in *Zion* 33, 3-4 (1968): 125-144.

²⁸ David Berger, “Mission to the Jews and Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Polemical Literature of the High Middle Ages,” in *The American Historical Review*, 91, no. 3 (June 1986): 576-591.

²⁹ Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response*, (University of California Press, 1989), 3. The three factors are: allocation of church resources, establishment of methods to confront the Jews, and the development of arguments that engaged contemporary Jewish practice, specifically, rabbinic literature.

less on mission and more on an ideological change deriving from the Dominicans and Franciscans.³⁰

The recent trend in scholarship has been to identify the internal function this polemical literature played in Christianity.³¹ By focusing on the internal function, scholars question the correlation between mission and the desire for conversion. For instance, Lucy K. Pick agrees that mission increased in the thirteenth century, but she argues that to understand if Christians desired conversions to result from their mission, we must look at their understanding of conversion.³² Pick turns to Karl Morrison's study, *Understanding Conversion*.³³ According to Morrison, the medieval understanding of conversion is that conversion does not result from sound reasoning or even a desire to convert; it must be accompanied by God's grace. Morrison and Pick ask the quintessential question. Why write polemics or host public debates articulating traditional theological constructs of the Jew or proofs for the truth of Christianity "when without grace such efforts would not suffice and with grace they might be superfluous?"³⁴ The answer for Pick and Morrison is that these conversionary tools are a performance reinforcing the truth of Christianity and also a method for working out one's own conversion.³⁵

³⁰ Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 14. Chazan's book *Daggers of Faith* responds to Cohen's claims. Chazan argues that the deterioration of Jewish status cannot be definitively linked to an ideological change; these ideas had existed before the thirteenth century. Arguing against Cohen's depiction of Christian use of rabbinic literature, Chazan writes, "The innovation of the mid-thirteenth century lay not in adumbrating new positions but in gleaning newly detailed information...On the basis of the old theory and the new information, the Dominicans set out to do what had to be done—eliminate harmful teachings and exploit the correct and useful ones" (Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, 176).

³¹ See for instance, Robert Chazan, *Fashioning Jewish Identity in Medieval Western Christendom*, (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

³² Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence*, 131.

³³ Karl F. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992).

³⁴ Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence*, 132.

³⁵ There are some important parallels to the sixteenth century in the environment Pick describes as spurring Christians to a confident expectation of Jewish conversion: eschatological anxiety, broadening of the physical

This performative nature of proselytization through polemic or disputation is relevant to the current focus of scholarship on sixteenth century sermons to the Jews, which will be discussed more fully later in this paper. Like the trend in medieval scholarship, the sermons to the Jews are characterized by their function for Christian society. Essentially, the conversionary goal for the Jews is demoted to almost non-existence. For the sixteenth century, the argument is articulated by Emily Michelson.³⁶ Sermons to the Jews sought to convert Christians to a more pious life.³⁷ According to this view, conversion is theoretical and consequently, impossible for the Jew.

By basing my discussion of the rhetoric of conversion on Kenneth Stow's thesis in *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, I am pushing back against the focus of scholarship on the performative nature, not to refute this argument but to make a subtle distinction. The possibility of success or the perceived efficacy of the preaching to the Jews does not dictate the aim of the practice of preaching to the Jews. I want to challenge the assumption that a genuine desire for Jewish conversion is indicated by lines of argumentation or addressing contemporary Jewish life. Karl Morrison's and Lucy Pick's framework allows for this desire for Jewish conversion in a manner the sixteenth century argument does not. The focus on the performative nature and its internal, Christian function tends to either ignore the text by quickly categorizing its content in comparison with polemical literature or look for specific qualities that might

boundaries of Christendom, and a general reform of the Church. All three of these with the addition of the threat of Protestantism aptly characterize the sixteenth century. See, Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence*, 134.

³⁶ Emily Michelson, "Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations," *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, 25 (2012), 185-202; "How to Write a Conversionary Sermon: Rhetorical Influences and Religious Identity," *Religious Orders and Religious Identity Formation, ca. 1420-1620: Discourses and Strategies of Observance and Pastoral Engagement*, eds. Bert Roest and Johanneke Uphoff, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 235-251; and "Conversionary Preaching and the Jews in Early Modern Rome," *Past and Present*, no. 235 (May 2017), 68-104.

³⁷ This is Emily Michelson's argument throughout her articles and will be discussed later in the dissertation.

indicate a genuine desire for Jews to convert on the part of the preacher, such as addressing contemporary Jewish life.³⁸ Success and efficacy of the arguments or strategy become the rubric for assessing the sermons and the practice of preaching to the Jews rather than the Catholic notion of apostolic care, in other words, mission. In looking at the rhetoric of conversion, I will demonstrate how the Catholic Church, from its own perspective, was successful in its mission to the Jews.

I begin with a historiographical essay of the *predica coattiva*, the Italian for “forced sermon.”³⁹ The focus is primarily the establishment and institutionalization under Gregory XIII but extends to Clement VIII (1592-1605). This chapter traces the development of scholarship on the practice of preaching to the Jews from its first modern histories in the late nineteenth century through current scholarship. This chapter highlights the various ways scholarship has described the establishment of the *predica coattiva* to form a narrative of events. Two key components in this narrative—the papal bulls of Gregory XIII and the life of Andrea de Monte, the convert-preacher—are discussed to demonstrate both the development in the histories through the introduction of new sources and the gaps still present in our understanding of the practice. In this chapter, I argue that misrepresentations of sources and unacknowledged speculation pervade the historiography. As this scholarship has grown into a field of study, there has been little explicit

³⁸ Lucy Pick describes looking for a genuine desire for conversion as one of the traditional approaches to analyzing polemical literature. She also includes searching for “real” Jews in this as well. While she finds looking for novelty as problematic because it equates mission and polemic with desire for conversion, I argue that scholars noting the absence of these features as indicative of a lack of real mission or desire for conversion is equally problematic. I suggest that this emphasizes notions of success and efficacy that are anachronistic. Cf. Robert Chazan’s criticism of Jeremy Cohen in the final chapter of his *Daggers of Faith*. Chazan notes that Cohen imagines a fourth element of Paul Christian must have actually discussed in his debate with Nachmanides in 1263. Cohen notes that despite Cohen’s belief that this argument—“present-day Judaism is a deviation from classical Judaism”—must have been argued, Chazan notes that it is simply not in the text of the Disputation of Barcelona. Proving that was not Paul Christian’s goal but rather what Cohen wanted to see in the text. See, *Daggers of Faith*, 170-178. Similarly, modern expectations for persuasive language influence the way sixteenth-century sermon content is portrayed.

³⁹ Also seen in literature is the form, *predica coatta*.

correction of these errors. I seek to correct this problem by offering a historiography for the field that assesses the sources utilized by scholars, describes the dominant themes in scholarship and the emergence of English language scholarship, and begins to correct the misrepresentations in the scholarship.

In Chapter Two, I continue the corrections of the historiography through a discussion of the major papal bulls institutionalizing the preaching to the Jews in the late sixteenth century. These bulls form part of the official rhetoric of conversion under Gregory XIII. In this chapter, I argue that the preaching to the Jews experienced a “golden age” under the leadership of this pragmatic pope. There are four main characteristics of this period, which I explore that demonstrate the importance given to this missional venture: unprecedented papal involvement, a group of prominent preachers assigned to the task, a reform of Catholic proselytizing practice, and the development of new resources.

One aim of the chapters on the preachers and their sermons is to give readers a solid sense of the content of these sermons. As noted previously, these are the first sermons to the Jews in a literary form and accordingly, deserve significant attention as sermons. Emily Michelson has written on Evangelista Marcellino and has provided some quotations and a summary of one sermon in her article on the friar. Faustino Tasso’s text, on the other hand, has not been studied. This content, and not just the proofs offered in the sermons, needs to enter scholarship. As such, Chapters Three and Four include numerous quotations from the text to demonstrate the language the preachers employed as well as to highlight interesting elements of the texts.

Chapter Three explores Evangelista Marcellino as the representative of the Roman practice. Moreover, he represents what is best described as a missionary to the Jews. Joining the

mission in its formational period under Gregory XIII, Marcellino is believed to have preached to the Jews of Rome for the remainder of his life. Certainly he preached through the remainder of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. His sermons to the Jews were delivered in a pivotal year in the practice. The prized preacher, Andrea de Monte, resigned from preaching in 1582, the same year Marcellino preached his *Sermoni quindici*. This chapter looks at the overall structure of the series and the way Marcellino uses scripture and discusses knowledge and the *remnant* of Israel to explore his concept of Jewish salvation. Finally, it addresses the appeals Marcellino makes to the Jews to convert to demonstrate the sixteenth century notion of persuasion for conversion.

Chapter Four presents Faustino Tasso as the itinerant, charismatic preacher who occasionally preached to the Jews. In contrast to Marcellino, Tasso did not have a relationship with the Jews he addressed in his *Venti Ragionamenti*.⁴⁰ Tasso's engagement with the Jews is limited to this seasonal encounter, albeit over twenty days. From the information the friar provides in his volume, Tasso seems to have been requisitioned for more specialized preaching than a regular compulsory conversion sermon. He delivered a twenty-part series, not one lone sermon. Additionally, his reasonings were directed at a specific group of Jews in Naples and a single Jew in Mantua. Tasso's *Venti Ragionamenti* articulate a full set of Christian proofs for the truth of Christian interpretations of scripture and demonstrate what preachers believed the Jews needed to hear to be taught to believe. While the *Venti Ragionamenti* cannot illuminate the Roman practice, which is the primary focus of this dissertation, Tasso is discussed to consider a different form of preaching to the Jews in this period.

Chapter Five provides a synthesis of the rhetoric of conversion found in the sermons, the manuscript of Gregory Martin, and the papal bulls. I argue that the rhetoric of conversion

⁴⁰ Although we have no evidence of the extent of Marcellino's engagement with the Roman Jews outside of his sermons, his relationship consisted of his regular presence in the pulpit before the Jews.

encompasses the mindset for the preacher and the Jew, the task that must be accomplished, and the expected outcome. These consist of perseverance for the preacher and listening for the Jew; a presentation of the truth of Christianity by the preacher and an expectation for the Jew to both listen and reflect on the truth; and finally, an expectation that only a few will convert and moreover, this conversion is accomplished by the Jew in cooperation with God's grace. I argue that all three elements of the rhetoric are found in traditional teaching on proselytizing the Jews, notably in the writings of Pope Gregory I (590-604). Moreover, this rhetoric points to the importance of orthopraxy in the establishment of the *predica coattiva*.

Chapter One: The Historiography of the *Predica Coattiva* in Rome

The historiography of the compulsory conversion sermon in the last quarter of the *Cinquecento* revolves around a city—Rome, an institution—the Ghetto, a single convert and preacher—Andrea de Monte (d. 1587), and a sequence of papal directives by Gregory XIII (1572-1585), Sixtus V (1585-1590), and Clement VIII (1592-1605). Isolating these main features highlights that the historiography primarily covers the *predica coattiva* as an event rather than as the spoken word of the preacher preserved in a text.⁴¹ The focus then becomes the practice of preaching to the Jews, the elements that describe how the conversion campaign was conducted. The practice includes official directives commanding Jews to attend sermons; the revocation or modification of those same orders; instructions to the mendicant orders to train men for preaching to the Jews; the names of preachers known to have delivered these sermons; important converts involved; guidelines provided to preachers regarding the sermons; and Jewish resistance, both passive and active, to the sermons. These elements frequently appear in some form in the histories of the Jews of Rome or all Italy, the Roman Ghetto, and the relationship between the papacy and the Jews.⁴² Typically, the sermons are employed in these histories as an example of an oppressive measure of the early modern Roman Catholic Church.

The spoken word delivered by a preacher is the other definition of a sermon. In this context, the historiography of the sermon might include the method of argumentation; the exegetical strategy; scriptural citations; the sermon's doctrinal or scriptural theme; the preacher's personal understanding of conversion; and rhetorical strategies utilized to persuade Jews to

⁴¹ This description does not presume a text that exactly recounts the words as preached to auditors. Especially in the age of print, these words would have been edited by the preacher, himself, and likely his printer.

⁴² More broadly, these are the elements that appear in histories of the Middle Ages as well, not simply the early modern era.

convert. Yet, an examination of compulsory conversion sermons that were actually preached to the Jews in a particular time or place has appeared less frequently in scholarship. This is due to the general inaccessibility of conversion sermon texts. Prior to the sixteenth century and the growth of sermon print culture, it is unclear if the conversion sermons were preserved in some form by the preacher, himself, or through transcription by an auditor. There are only a handful of known and accessible texts of the sermons to the Jews from the sixteenth century as well despite the regularity of this practice in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, scholarship does not ignore the sermon content entirely. Without access to texts, the lines of argumentation are generalized and extrapolated from traditional polemics, the disputations of the Middle Ages, especially the Disputation of Barcelona in 1263, and the Dominican, Raymond Martin's *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos*, completed by 1278.⁴³ This generalized presentation of the sermons is not necessarily problematic. The church had developed polemical literature to prove the truth of Christianity to Jews and pagans since its earliest days, and preachers turned to the Church fathers for authoritative proofs and interpretations of scripture. In the thirteenth century, the Church aggressively began to employ rabbinic literature in their disputes and sermons to the Jews. Scholars of the practice of preaching to the Jews in the Middle

⁴³ The *Pugio fidei* was first printed in the seventeenth century by Cardinal Joseph Voisin. Its circulation in manuscript form seems to have been rather limited. A group of scholars are currently working on this mammoth text but have begun to identify known copies of the manuscript. There are only thirteen extant manuscripts, all with variations to the text. The oldest manuscript is the Paris Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève MS 1450. Some scholars believe it is the most complete manuscript and likely the autograph of Raymond Martin. See Ryan Wesley Szpiech, "The Aura of an Alphabet: Interpreting the Hebrew Gospels in Ramon Martí's "Dagger of Faith" (1278)." *Numen* 61, 4 (2014): 338. See also, see Görge K. Hasselhoff, "Towards an Edition of Ramon Martí's *Pugio Fidei*," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 55 (2013): 45-47. In general, access to the actual *Pugio fidei* was not common. Rather, its contents were spread through two other texts. The first is generally identified as a copy of the *Pugio fidei*: Porchetus' (d.1315) *Victoria Porcheti adversos impios Hebraeos*. The second is Pietro Galatino's *De arcanis Catholicae veritatis*, written in 1516. Martin's *Pugio fidei* has been identified as a "missionary text" and a key source of rabbinic literature useful for proving the truth of Christianity. For more on the *Pugio fidei*, see Philippe Bobichon, "Quotations, Translations, and Uses of Jewish Texts in Ramon Martí's *Pugio Fidei*," *The Late Medieval Hebrew Book in the Western Mediterranean*, ed. by Javier del Barco, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 266–93 and Alexander Fidora, "Ponç Carbonell and the Early Franciscan Reception of the *Pugio Fidei*," *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 19, 5 (2013): 567–85.

Ages have identified the themes of the proofs, as Robert Chazan does in *Daggers of Faith*⁴⁴ and his *History of the Jews in Medieval Western Christendom*,⁴⁵ to track the development of the mission to the Jews. Likewise, Fausto Parente's "Il confronto ideologico" provides an overview of the vast array of this polemical literature throughout church history.⁴⁶ Partially due to necessity, scholars have continued to address the content of the sermons in this manner, but within the last fifteen years, the practice of preaching to the Jews and, more importantly, actual sermons to the Jews in the late Cinquecento have received renewed interest.⁴⁷

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the historiography for both the practice of preaching to the Jews and the compulsory conversion sermon as text in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. This chapter is a modified historiographical essay. While it discusses the histories, which have shaped the articulation of the institutionalization of the compulsory conversion sermon under Gregory XIII, presents the different ways scholars explore the sermons in their work, and highlights recent scholarship on the preachers to the Jews and their sermons, this chapter also points to the need of a revised history of the *predica coattiva* under Gregory XIII. As this essay will demonstrate, the presentation of the practice of preaching to the Jews in scholarship contains conflicting facts, generalizations that lead to misconceptions,

⁴⁴ Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response*, (University of California Press, 1989). In this book, Chazan explores the development of the thirteenth-century mission to the Jews. The significant contribution of this book is his identification of the three markers signaling the introduction of an actual mission: allocation of church resources, establishment of methods to confront the Jews, and the development of arguments that engaged contemporary Jewish practice, specifically, rabbinic literature. *Daggers of Faith* also responds to Jeremy Cohen's *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*, (University of California Press, 1999).

⁴⁵ Robert Chazan, *The Jews of Medieval Western Christendom, 1000-1500*, (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 248-257. Chazan explores both the Christian arguments and the Jewish response in this section. He highlights which Christian lines of argumentation seemed particularly troubling for the Jews.

⁴⁶ Fausto Parente, "Il confronto ideologico tra l'Ebraismo e la Chiesa in Italia." *Italia Judaica* I, (1983): 303-381.

⁴⁷ Leading scholars in the field are Shulamit Levi-Furstenberg, Emily Michelson, and Piet van Boxel.

and also misrepresentations of key texts. In general, many of these errors have not been corrected.

Nineteenth-Century Scholarship

The flourishing of modern scholarship on the compulsory conversion sermon dates to the late nineteenth century. The dissolution of the Roman Ghetto and the final triumph of the *Risorgimento* with the annexation of Rome by the Kingdom of Italy in 1870 along with the recent memory of the termination of the conversion sermons to the Jews in 1848 invited scholars to describe and make sense of the life of the Jews living in Rome under the rule of the popes. Notably, in this phase of the historiography, Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) opened the Vatican Library to researchers as well as the Secret Vatican Archives.⁴⁸ In 1887, an Italian attorney and journalist, Ettore Natali, published his monograph, *Il Ghetto di Roma*. Natali penned his work to make known this part of Rome before it disappeared; the Ghetto walls were torn down in 1888.⁴⁹ The French historian, Emmanuel Rodocanachi (1859-1934), framed his history of the Ghetto around papal-Jewish relations in his 1891 book, *Les Saint-Siège et les Juifs*.⁵⁰ Three Germans quickly followed with their histories of the Jews in Rome.⁵¹ These four volumes cite similar sources and produced the first scholarly narratives on the practice of preaching to the Jews.

Most of the sources for these early histories are brief accounts of the preaching to the Jews found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts. These sources range from tributes to the

⁴⁸ Ludwig von Pastor utilized these new sources to produce his sixteen volume *Geschichte der Päpste*. Pastor's work influences the early twentieth century historians.

⁴⁹ Ettore, Natali, "Avvertimento," *Il Ghetto di Roma*, (Roma: Stabilimento Tipografico della Tribuna, 1887).

⁵⁰ Emmanuel Rodocanachi, *Le Saint-Siège et les Juifs: le ghetto à Rome*, (France: Firmin-Didot, 1891).

⁵¹ Abraham Berliner, *Geschichte Der Juden in Rom von Der ältesten Zeit Bis Zur Gegenwart (2050 Jahre)*, (Frankfurt: J. Kauffmann, 1893); Hermann Vogelstein and Paul Rieger, *Geschichte Der Juden in Rom*, 2 vols., (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1895-96).

piety of the city of Rome to biographies of famous Jewish converts. A source extolling the pious works in Rome is Carlo Bartoloméo Piazza's *Opere pie di Roma, descritte secondo lo stato presente*, published in 1679.⁵² Piazza devotes a chapter to his account of the preaching to the Jews in the Oratory of Sanctissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti and includes a recap of *Sancta mater ecclesia's* guidelines for preaching and praises for Gregory XIII's attempts to turn the Jews from their stubborn blindness. In a similar vein, Giovanni Battista Bovio's 1729 book, *La pieta trionfante...dell'insigne Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso di Roma*, mentions the practice and provides a brief account of its origins.⁵³ The second type of source is the account of the sermons to the Jews by visitors to the city of Rome who witnessed the event.⁵⁴ In the late nineteenth century histories, there are two that appear as sources: Michel de Montaigne's contemporary *Journal du Voyage*⁵⁵ and Ferdinand de Gregorovius' nineteenth-century *Wanderjahre in Italien*.⁵⁶ The third type of source for these early scholarly narratives of the preaching to the Jews is the biographies of the converts, particularly Andrea de Monte. Guilio Bartolucci (1613-1687), who was a professor of Hebrew in the College of Neophytes, is the main source on the life of Andrea de Monte. Most of the information that is cited about the convert

⁵² Carlo Bartoloméo Piazza, *Opere pie di Roma, descritte secondo lo stato presente*, (Roma: Per Giovanni Battista Bussotti, 1679), 753-761. Some scholarship cites the 1698 edition, *Eusevologio romano; ovvero delle opere pie di Roma*.

⁵³ Giovanni Battista Bovio, *La pieta trionfante sulle distrutte grandezze del gentilesimo nella magnifica fondazione dell'insigne Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso di Roma*, (Roma: Appresso Girolamo Mainardi a Monte Citorio, 1729), 152.

⁵⁴ Another important account of the preaching to the Jews in Rome is Gregory Martin's *Roma Sancta*. Representing the practice in 1577 and 1578, his manuscript was not circulated, studied, or printed (1569) until the 1560s.

⁵⁵ Michel de Montaigne, *Journal du voyage en Italie, Par la Suisse & l'Allemagne en 1580 et 1581. Avec des notes par M. de Querlon*. (Paris: Le Jay, 1774), 39-40. Montaigne's text was published posthumously in the eighteenth century.

⁵⁶ Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre in Italien: Bd. Figuren. Geschichte, leben und scenerie aus Italien*. (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1874) 98-99.

derives from Bartolucci's entry on the convert in his *Bibliotheca magna rabbina*, a compendium of Hebrew literature compiled between 1675 and 1694, with both bibliographical and biographical information.⁵⁷ Jacques Basnage's *L'Histoire et la Religion des Juifs Depuis Jésus Christ Jusqu'à Présent* also biographizes Andrea de Monte and gives a brief description of the preaching to the Jews.⁵⁸ As this brief survey attests, most of the sources are well removed from the origins of the practice under Gregory XIII.

Ettore Natali

Ettore Natali was an attorney for the Roman giornale, *La Tribuna*, and a strong supporter of Italian unification and the abolition of the Ghetto. In his preface to *Il Ghetto di Roma*, he writes that he originally intended for his study of the Ghetto to be an article for a newspaper, but he found the confines of an article too narrow to contain all the information that he found.⁵⁹ His book is one of the first studies of the Roman Ghetto.⁶⁰ However, it is the least scholarly of the histories outlined here; Natali makes no claim that it is otherwise. Notes, annotations, and citations are all signs of "indigestible erudition."⁶¹ *Il Ghetto di Roma* is what Natali claims it to

⁵⁷ Carlo Giuseppe Imbonati and Giulio Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca magna rabbina de scriptoribus et scriptis rabbinicis & scriptis rabbinicis ordine alphabetico hebraicè & latinè digestis: pars quarta, complectens reliquas post...duodecim alphabetici literas...*, in *qua complures identidem interferuntur dissertationes & digressiones*. (Italy: ex Typographia Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1693), III, 818-819. Bartolucci included nearly 2,000 Hebrew books and manuscripts. See Steven Harvery and Resianne Fontaine, "Creating a New Literary Genre: Steinschneider's Leiden Catalogue," *Studies on Steinschneider*, 2012, 277-299.

⁵⁸ Jacques Basnage, *L'Histoire et la Religion des Juifs Depuis Jésus Christ Jusqu'à Présent*, 4 vols., (Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1706-1711)

⁵⁹ Natali, "Avvertimento," *Il Ghetto di Roma*.

⁶⁰ Emmanuel Rodocanachi confirms this when he notes that no special studies of the Ghetto existed except "l'intéressante esquisse de M. le docteur Berliner (Berlin 1886) et l'étude plutôt suggestive qu'instructive de M. Ettore Natali, dont la première partie seulement a été (Rome 1887). Rodocanachi, x-xi.

⁶¹ "Evitando le note, le chiose, le citazioni e fin la parvenza di una erudizione indigesta." Natali, "Avvertimento."

be: an exposition of the facts he gathered on the Ghetto. His presentation of the *predica coattiva* has been influential.

In his chapter, “La predica coattiva,” Natali frames the basic elements of the narrative for the practice of preaching to the Jews. His description begins with the origins of the practice. The primary origin in Natali’s history is disputations between Christians and Jews, the first of which occurred in 315 under Pope Sylvester I (314-335). He briefly mentions the great disputations of the medieval era—Paris (1240), Barcelona (1263), and Tortosa (1413-14)—but provides little description or analysis of the connection between the disputations and the sermons.⁶² Subsequent scholarship generally focuses on papal decrees for the origin rather than the disputations.⁶³ While Natali rarely provides explicit conclusions, his connection between the disputations and the preaching serves to highlight the role converts played in both practices. He notes that converts were the worst offenders in attacking Judaism because they needed to prove their Christianity and also obliterate the stain of Judaism which always made them suspicious in Christian eyes.⁶⁴ The implication in Natali’s narrative is that just as Joshua ha-Lorki (d. 1430), also known by his Christian name Gerónimo de Santa Fe, colluded with the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII (r.1394-1423) and Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419) to attack Judaism in Spain at the Disputation of Tortosa, so the convert Andrea de Monte worked alongside Pope Gregory XIII to introduce compulsory conversion sermons in Rome.⁶⁵

⁶² Natali, 223.

⁶³ As will be demonstrated later, Renata Martano’s “La Missione Inutile” identifies the importance of the disputations. She mentions the disputations alongside the standard depiction of Nicholas III’s bull, *Vineam soareth*, as origins for the practice.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 223-224.

⁶⁵ Joshua ha-Lorki is the only convert that Natali names here, although he could have identified Nicholas Donin for the Paris Disputation and Paul Christian for the Barcelona Disputation. In fact, Paul Christian would have been a more apt comparison to Andrea de Monte. He also preached to the Jews.

The second element of the narrative is the description of the popes and their papal bulls, particularly of Gregory XIII. Natali begins by comparing the sixteenth century Gregory XIII to Pope Gregory I (590-604) to demonstrate the drastic change in papal policy. While Gregory I wrote that bishops should “kindly induce” Jews to attend Christian sermons, Gregory XIII “disciplined” the obligation “in a certain way” in the 1584 bull *Sancta mater ecclesia*.⁶⁶ The discipline Natali is referring to is Gregory’s order that the Jews hear weekly sermons, but Natali does not explicitly say that the conversion sermons became obligatory in 1584. In his description of the bull, Natali records the age requirement for the obligation to attend sermons—twelve—and the presence of four “torturers” who ensured that Jews remained silent and awake during the sermon.⁶⁷ The weekly obligation, the age of eligibility to attend, and the measures taken to ensure Jewish attention are the elements of the new disciplined requirement.

For Natali, the most important figure in the establishment of these weekly sermons is not the popes but the convert, Andrea de Monte.⁶⁸ Natalis depicts De Monte as the first preacher Gregory XIII assigned to convert the Jews through sermons.⁶⁹ The convert is also responsible for the promulgation of *Sancta mater ecclesia* in 1584. Annoyed that his former co-religionists, specifically the old men (“antichi”), would not go to listen to him, Natali writes that De Monte suggested that the pope force them to do so under threat of severe penalties.⁷⁰ Natali’s discussion

⁶⁶ “Ma l’obbligo di udire la predica fu in certo modo disciplinato nel 1584 da Gregorio XIII con la bolla *Sancta Mater Ecclesia*,” Natali, 225.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 225-6.

⁶⁸ There are many variations of this convert’s Christian name as this paragraph attests. I am following Fausto Parente by using “Andrea De Monte.” His biographical entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 38 (1990) is one of the best sources for further study on the convert.

⁶⁹ Natali, *Il Ghetto di Roma*, 226. “Il primo a cui Gregorio XIII affidò l’incarico di convertire gli ebrei fu un ricco e dotto rabbino battezzato di nome Andrea del Monte che divenne fervente propagatore della fede.”

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* “Fu questi che indispettito dal vedere che niuno degli antichi correligionari si recava ad ascoltarlo, suggerì al papa di costringerli con la severità delle pene.” The complaint tied to “old men” not wanting to listen to De Monte

of De Monte reveals what Natali believes is the sequence of events in the establishment of the early modern sermons to the Jews. *Sancta mater ecclesia* enforced the obligation for Jews to listen to Christian sermons. Andrea De Monte was the key figure responsible for the strict measures of attendance outlined in 1584, and thus, the first preacher assigned to preach to the Jews. Despite these innovative measures, the campaign was not a success. In Natali's assessment, the Jews are a race that does not like to be converted and it does not seek to convert others.⁷¹ They are capable of "resisting the seduction of tolerance and the rigors of oppression."⁷²

Il Ghetto di Roma's articulation of the establishment of the preaching to the Jews is both incomplete and inaccurate at times. Nonetheless, Natali makes some important contributions. He brings attention to this practice established under Gregory XIII as a subject in its own right. By devoting an entire chapter to the *predica coattiva*, Natali highlights the sermons as a significant event in both the life of the Jews living in the Ghetto and the history of the Roman Catholic church. He also includes some information that does not appear in subsequent scholarship. As mentioned above, Natali notes that Andrea de Monte was annoyed that the old Jews (*antichi*) did not come to listen to his sermons. This particular qualification helps explain *Sancta mater ecclesia's* inclusion of a rotation of Jewish attendance; De Monte wanted to ensure that every eligible Jew attend sermons throughout the year. Natali also reports in one of his only citations in

is not repeated by the historians who follow Natali. The complaint is always generic: the Jews did not want to listen to his sermons. Natali's source is an eighteenth-century devotional text by Giovanni Battista Bovio, which is one of the few citations provided. Included in description of the sermons, Bovio claims that it was predicted that the Jews would send only children and spinsters to the sermons so the pope dictated that men and women attend. *La pietta trionfante sulle distrutte grandezze del gentilesimo nella magnifica fondazione dell'insigne Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso di Roma*, 152. "Per escludere nondimeno il Pontefice l'interpretazione de perfidi che ben prevedeva che avrebbero mandati solamente i Fanciulli e Zitelle per esimersi loro dall'udir la parola di Dio, dispose, che degli Uomini dovessero intervenire almeno cento, e delle Donne cinquanta."

⁷¹ Ibid., 227.

⁷² Ibid., 2.

the chapter, that two preachers initially preached sermons to the Jews at the Saturday event.⁷³ Natali finds this reference in an eighteenth-century book by Giovanni Battista Bovia, celebrating the basilica, San Lorenzo in Damaso, which hosted sermons to the Jews.⁷⁴ This fact about the early conversion sermons is often ignored in scholarship. However, this two-preacher structure is found in other early accounts⁷⁵ and corroborated in an account written by the English priest, Gregory Martin, who lived in Rome from the end of 1576 through 1577. Martin writes, “There come into the pulpit two excellent men, one after an other, for the space of two hours. The one and the first, a Jesuite or some other of great skil and good spirit, to move: the other, a great Rabbine, sometime of their owne, but now these manie years a zelous and learned Christian, named Andreas.”⁷⁶

Emmanuel Rodocanachi

Within five years of Natali’s publication, a French historian of medieval Rome, Emmanuel Rodocanachi, published a history of the relationship between the papacy and the Jews through the lens of the Ghetto. Rodocanachi offers *Le Saint-Siège et Les Juifs* as a corrective to Natali’s *Il Ghetto di Roma*, a book he describes as “more suggestive than instructive.”⁷⁷

⁷³ Ibid., 228.

⁷⁴ Giovanni Battista Bovio, *La pieta trionfante*, 152. “Erano a predicare fù primi anni in due, cioè l accennato Rabino, e un altro; ma adesso non altro che uno, & ancor sopravanza, poiche da cuori di sasso poco frutto si cava.”

⁷⁵ C.f. Federico Franzini, *Descrittione di Roma antica e moderna. Nella quale si contengono chiese, monasterij, hosepdali, compagnie, collegij, e seminari, tempij, teatri, ... Indice de' sommi pontefici, imperatori, e duchi. Con due copiosissime tauole*, (Roma: appresso Andrea Fei, 1643), 228-229. He claims that at first, there were two preachers who shared the space of one hour. This is different that Martin’s account of two hours. Franzini also mentions that this began in 1570 and implies that Andrea de Monte was preaching to the Jews when the guidelines of *Sancta mater ecclesia* were imposed. Needless to say, it is not the most accurate account.

⁷⁶ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, 78.

⁷⁷ He writes, “l étude plutôt suggestive qu’instructive de M Ettore Natali, dont la première partie seulement a été (Rome 1887).” Rodocanachi, x.

Critiquing Natali, Rodocanachi comments on his own use of citations in his book, noting their inclusion is not designed to make his text cumbersome, but to provide security to the reader and food for thought.⁷⁸ He includes two new sources on the convert Andrea de Monte, which consistently appear in subsequent scholarship, and describes both *Vices eius nos* and *Sancta mater ecclesia*. The result is a more enhanced narrative of the establishment of the compulsory conversion sermon.

Rodocanachi, like Natali, begins his chapter with an account of the origins of the conversion sermon. In contrast to the rest of the world, Rome did not seek Jewish conversion until rather late. This, he considers a wise choice on the part of the papacy because campaigns designed to elicit mass conversion only provoke the Jews and produce the inherent appetite in human nature to contradict.⁷⁹ When the papacy decided to seek Jewish conversion, Rodocanachi characterizes the papacy's strategy as an "illogical" method. Rodocanachi explains that elsewhere (i.e. Spain), the desire for conversion was so strong that Christians resorted to whatever measure achieved that goal, even violence. The papacy, on the other hand, rejected the violence associated with the conversions on the Iberian Peninsula, but Gregory XIII resorted to preaching to the Jews because the disinterestedness of the Jews was a serious matter.⁸⁰ Rodocanachi cares less about explicitly stating the origin of these sermons than evaluating the proselytization of the Jews. His statement on the origin is a connection, albeit in a footnote, between Gregory XIII and Nicholas III (1277-1280) who issued *Vineam Sorec* in 1278.⁸¹ This

⁷⁸ Rodocanachi, footnote 1, xi.

⁷⁹ Rodocanachi, *Les Saint-Sège et les Juifs*, 273. "à irriter en vain les esprits et à surexciter cet appétit de contradiction qui est inné à la race humaine."

⁸⁰ Rodocanachi, 273-4.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 274.

bull ordered the training of friars to preach to the Jews and is often cited as the papal precedent for Gregory XIII. Rodocanachi does not describe *Vineam Sorec*; it is somewhat irrelevant in his view since Gregory XIII accomplished what other popes had only dreamed.⁸²

Rodocanachi's elucidation of the papal bulls recounts how Gregory XIII accomplished this mission. Here, Rodocanachi implements a cause-and-effect component in his narrative to explain the establishment of this practice of preaching to the Jews. The intent is clearly to provide a rationale for each bull, but he merely succeeds in distorting the history. What follows is the sequence Rodocanachi narrates. First, Gregory XIII recommended that the Jews listen to sermons outlining their errors, citing the promulgation of *Vices eius nos* in 1577 in a footnote. The papacy encountered a problem in finding preachers for this task. The pope needed the preachers to be able to discuss rabbinic literature, but very few Christians knew Hebrew. Therefore, Gregory XIII created a college to train preachers.⁸³ Unfortunately, good preachers are irrelevant without an audience; the pope was not too exacting, and the Jews were careful not to attend.⁸⁴ Joseph Tzarphati, known by his Christian name of Andrea de Monte, organized the obligatory sermons to solve this problem. Tzarphati outlined the advantages of compulsory attendance to the pope, and Gregory XIII issued *Sancta mater ecclesia* in 1584. This bull made Jewish attendance at conversion sermons obligatory. The convert's plan was not entirely successful, however; the pope assigned a different man to be the preacher to the Jews.⁸⁵

⁸² Ibid. "Ce que d'autres papes avaient rêvé il le réalisa."

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 276. "Le juifs se gardaient bien de venir. Le pape, au reste, ne se montrait pas trop exigeant."

⁸⁵ Ibid., 276-278.

Through this sequential narrative, Rodocanachi fills expands Natali's narrative. *Vices eius nos* appears as the first stage in the papal establishment of these sermons to the Jews in Rome. His description of the bull, however, is inaccurate. In actuality, the bull establishes the college Rodocanachi claims was created in order to fulfill the recommendation the pope gave in *Vices eius nos* that Jews listen to Christian sermons. He includes details about enrollment and studies in the college. Enrollment was capped at thirty, two-thirds of the spots designated for Jews. The students were to study Hebrew, Aramaic, Chaldaic, theology, philosophy, grammar, and music. He even describes the clothing the neophytes of the college wore.⁸⁶ Additionally, Andrea de Monte gains greater importance in Rodocanachi's narrative with the discovery of new sources on the convert. More so than in Natali, De Monte is the engineer of the conversion campaign. Rodocanachi adds the account of Michel de Montaigne's attendance at one of these conversion sermons during Lent of 1581 as a source. Montaigne includes some important information in his summary of the sermon he attended, such as the number of Jews always required to be in attendance and that the sermons took place on Saturdays at Sanctissima Trinità dei Pellegrini.⁸⁷ Rodocanachi neglects to mention the quota and the location but recounts Montaigne's description of Andrea de Monte as a good preacher who argued with the Jews utilizing their own rabbis and scriptures.⁸⁸ Rodocanachi also adds a reference about De Monte's reception by the Jewish community. He notes that "the more eloquent and enthusiastic he was, the more distrust he inspired in the Jews."⁸⁹ A friend warned De Monte that the Jews were

⁸⁶ Ibid., 275.

⁸⁷ Michel de Montaigne, *Journal du voyage de Michel de Montaigne en Italie*, 176. "Il ya tousjours 60 Juifs qui sont tenus de s y trouver."

⁸⁸ Rodocanachi, *Les Saint-Sège et les Juifs*, 277.

⁸⁹ Ibid. "Plus il se montrait éloquent et enthousiaste, plus de juste défiance il inspirait aux juifs."

complaining about his preaching and would rather listen to the sermons from any other Christian than him.⁹⁰ Rodocanachi claims this warning was prophetic because at the intervention of Cardinal Sirleto, Gregory XIII assigned a different preacher to the Jews after he issued *Sancta mater ecclesia*.⁹¹

Rodocanachi concludes his account of the forced sermons by returning to his initial framework: an assessment of the proselytizing strategy of the papacy. He views the sermons as a failure, citing the records of the Jewish community. Successful conversions were not due to persuasion. This marks his transition to the remainder of the chapter where he outlines stories of the directors of the *Casa dei Catechumeni* imprisoning Jews within the house until they converted, which proved a more successful tactic.⁹² Rodocanachi lays the blame for the sermons' lack of success on the convert, Andrea de Monte. He writes that the sermons were "inspired by the grudge of an apostate rather than the ardor of an apostle."⁹³ Rodocanachi reveals in this quote his reason for calling the convert by his Jewish name; De Monte's apostasy defines his character more than his conversion. De Monte and thus, the entire papal campaign which sought to employ apostates as preachers, only succeeded in provoking anger, not defections.

The German Histories of the Jews of Rome

Following Rodocanachi's 1891 volume, two histories on the Jews of Rome were published by German historians, which include brief narratives on the establishment of the compulsory conversion sermons in Rome. Abraham Berliner's 1893 *Geschichte der Juden in*

⁹⁰ Ibid., 277-8. The citation is for *Vat. Lat.* 6792.

⁹¹ Ibid., 278. His source here is Basnage, *L'Histoire et la Religion des Juifs*, liv. IX, 863.

⁹² The kidnappings connect back to Rodocanachi's initial framework. Spain succeeded through violence; likewise, Rome's success only occurred through violence as well.

⁹³ Rodocanachi, 280. "Inspire plutôt par la racune d'un apostat que par l'ardeur d'un apôtre."

Rom von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart (2050 Jahre) and Hermann Vogelstein and Paul Rieger's two volume *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, published in 1895 and 1896, emphasize different aspects of the practice of preaching to the Jews. Whereas Natali and Rodocanachi focus on the *predica coattiva* as a significant event, devoting an entire chapter to the practice and assessing the success of the campaign to convert the Jews, the German histories place the compulsory conversion sermons in the context of general life of the Jews and papal policy. They do not attempt to identify the origin of the compulsory conversion sermon beyond the contemporary figures involved but rather recount the edicts and the interactions individual popes had with the Jews. Their narratives on the compulsory conversion sermon are therefore shorter, but no less significant in their elucidation of the sources. Indeed, these German histories each submit new facts about the early practice of preaching to the Jews in Rome.

Abraham Berliner's discussion of the compulsory conversion sermon appears in the second volume of his history, which covers the years of "Christian Rome," from 315 to 1885. This second volume is subdivided into the years up to the creation of the Ghetto in 1555 and the years following the creation of the Ghetto. Berliner mentions the sermons to the Jews in both sections, each time in the context of Andrea de Monte. In part one of volume two, Berliner gives a short biography of Andrea de Monte who converted to Christianity in 1552 and took the family name of Pope Julius III. De Monte appears last in a list of converts whose aim was to destroy the Jewish faith.⁹⁴ Berliner defines the beginning and end of De Monte's career preaching to the Jews. Berliner reveals that the convert began preaching to the Jews in 1576, but he was removed from his preaching office after the Jewish community complained to Cardinal Sirleto.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Berliner, II. Band, part 1, 107. He discusses Vittorio Eliano, Johann Baptista, Fabius Ranucci, and Fabiano Fioghi.

⁹⁵ Berliner, II. Band, part 1, 108. Although not cited by Berliner, this date derives from the work of Giulio Bartolucci.

When Berliner turns to the establishment of the regular compulsory conversion sermons under Pope Gregory XIII, Andrea de Monte appears again as the figure who prompted the pope to introduce the sermons with *Sancta mater ecclesia*. He notes that De Monte is likely the preacher Montaigne heard preach to the Jews when he was in Rome in 1581 and quotes the entirety of Montaigne's description of the sermon. While Montaigne praises the skill De Monte displayed while preaching, Berliner counters that the Jewish community feared this convert who continuously brought misfortune to the Jews with his persecution.⁹⁶ Mirroring, his previous discussion of De Monte in the first part of the volume, Berliner then lists other converts who, like De Monte, became zealots for their new faith.⁹⁷ Berliner's focus is to emphasize the role converts played in preaching to the Jews and in ultimately bringing misfortune to the Jewish community.

The second history published during this formative period is the two volume *Geschichte der Juden in Rom* by Hermann Vogelstein and Paul Rieger.⁹⁸ The second volume covering the years 1420 through 1870 is the work of Rieger and was published in 1895, prior to the publication of Vogelstein's volume one. Rieger's narrative of the sermons begins in 1577, and like Berliner, the sermons to the Jews are situated in a synopsis of the policies of Gregory XIII. In describing *Vices eius nos*, which he does not actually name, Rieger states that the pope recommended ("empfahl") that the Jews hear Christian sermons and established a school for preachers in a house near Santa Maria della Minerva.⁹⁹ Like Rodocanachi, Rieger utilizes the

⁹⁶ He references an incident in 1562, in which de Monte basically blackmailed the Jewish community. Berliner, II. Band, part 2, 19.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 20. He mentions Paul Eustachius di Nola and Alessandro Farnese.

⁹⁸ Op cit.

⁹⁹ Vogelstein and Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom: Bd. 1420-1870*, 172. For comparison, the word in *Vices eius nos* is "iussimus," meaning "we ordered." This is qualified by "iampridem," meaning "long ago." *B.R.* 8:189, §1.

word, “recommend” for Gregory’s actions in 1577, but he more clearly connects the school for preachers to this 1577 recommendation. Rieger considers this moment the “beginning of the open attack against Judaism in Rome.”¹⁰⁰ This statement is significant because Rieger is aware that regular compulsory conversion sermons were held in various parts of Italy prior to 1577. The part of Italy Rieger refers to was ruled by the Spanish at the time, and he highlights that Roman Jews were spared in previous conversion campaigns.¹⁰¹ For Rieger, the year 1577 marks a new papal policy towards the Jews.

In the next part of Rieger’s narrative, he names a new preacher who predated Andrea de Monte. This man was Father Josephus Florentia, whom Rieger claims was the “first of these preachers.” Father Josephus would call the Jews to accept baptism every sabbath at the Oratory of Sanctissima Trinitá dei Pellegrini.¹⁰² Rieger names his source for the identification of this preacher as the sixteenth century convert Ernst Ferdinand Hess who briefly noted the fruitfulness of the campaign (i.e. weekly baptisms) in the introduction to his *Flagellum Iudeorum Jüden-Geissel (1598)*.¹⁰³ While no dates are associated with Father Josephus, Rieger states that Andrea de Monte was his successor when he was appointed to the post in 1576, and that De Monte was of greater importance. Although Hess was an eyewitness to the sixteenth-century *predica coattiva*, the convert provides no date for his information. According to Daniel Soukup, Hess converted and was baptized around 1580 or 1581. His visit to Rome likely occurred after

¹⁰⁰ Rieger, 172. “Das war de Beginn des offenen Angriffes gegen das Judentum in Rom.”

¹⁰¹ Rieger’s citation is to edicts from the *Codice diplomatico dei Giudei di Sicilia, Palermo, 1884 I.2, S59 (1467), S 167 (1475)*. In the fifteenth century, Spain controlled these territories.

¹⁰² Volgestein and Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom: Bd. 1420-1870*, 172. “Der erste dieser Judenprediger, der allsabbathlich im Oratorium sanctissimae trinitatis die Juden zur Taufe aufzufordern hatte war der Pater Josephus Florentia.”

¹⁰³ Ibid.

1584.¹⁰⁴ This post-1584 date better aligns with his description. Hess seems to describe the event after De Monte's tenure, given the dates of his conversion and the one-hundred Jewish attendees cited in his account.¹⁰⁵ While Rieger assumes Hess' Florentia predates De Monte, Hess likely does not mention De Monte because the convert was not preaching when Hess visited Rome.¹⁰⁶

Rieger is the first historian to utilize Montaigne's account to establish the quota of sixty Jews obligated to attend the sermons. Other than making this clear statement of the compulsory nature of the sermons prior to 1584, Rieger gives the standard summary of Montaigne's description of Andrea de Monte.¹⁰⁷ However, the sketch of De Monte's career as a preacher to the Jews is most robust in Rieger's narrative. Rieger mentions De Monte's refutations of the Jewish faith in two texts, *Confusione de Giudei* and *Lettera di Pace*.¹⁰⁸ Rieger states that the *Lettera di Pace*, completed on January 12, 1581, led the Jewish community to submit a formal complaint to the Cardinal Sirleto, the protector of the neophytes.¹⁰⁹ Rieger notes that Cardinal Sirleto first responded to the complaints by assigning an assistant preacher to De Monte. Not long after this, De Monte chose to voluntarily resign from his preaching post, but he continued to

¹⁰⁴ Daniel Soukup, "Holy Curiosity: Circumcision as a Rhetorical Concept in a Bohemian Catholic Sermon from the 18th Century," *Judaica Bohemiae*, LIV (1), 2019: 45.

¹⁰⁵ Montaigne gives the number of sixty in 1581. It is generally assumed that the number increased with the regulations of *Sancta mater ecclesia*, typically cited as 100 men and 50 women. Under Clement VIII, the numbers increase as well.

¹⁰⁶ C.f. Ernst Ferdinand Hess, *Flagellum Iudeorum Jüden-Geissel (1598)*, 4.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 172. Rieger dates Montaigne's attendance at the sermon to Lent of 1580 rather than 1581.

¹⁰⁸ The texts are housed in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV). *Confusione de Giudei* is marked *Vat. lat.* 14627. The copy of the *Lettera di Pace* (*Neofiti* 37) that Rieger mentions is the one Bartolucci describes, not the one, which is extant at the library.

¹⁰⁹ Rieger follows Bartolucci on De Monte beginning with his appointment in 1576. Rieger interprets Bartolucci's information as a sequential account of the results of this 1581 letter sent to the synagogues of Rome. The extant copy of this manuscript, *Neofiti* 37, is not the same manuscript cited by Bartolucci and Rieger.

advocate for more stringent orders on the sermons. Ultimately, this advocacy resulted in *Sancta mater ecclesia*.¹¹⁰

Rieger includes two, separate dated events in his account of Andrea de Monte's role in the promulgation of *Sancta mater ecclesia*, which reveal a practice of preaching to the Jews of Rome prior to *Vices eius nos*. He writes that "Andrea did not stop, however, in urging Gregor to adopt a more stringent legal version of the order he had given in 1572."¹¹¹ He cites Ettore Natali here, but Natali is not his source for the 1572 date. This date is found in the writings of another German historian, Ferdinand Gregorovius, who had lived in Italy in the mid-nineteenth century, writing histories as well as a book on his travel observations. His *Wanderjahre in Italien* discusses the obligatory sermons which had only recently been abolished. He writes that Gregory XIII had ordered that Jews listen to weekly sermons as early as 1572.¹¹² The second dated event he includes in this account is the preaching activity of another convert, Domenico Gerosolimitano, who Rieger claims preached between 1573 and 1586. Although not cited by Rieger, these dates derive from *Neofiti* 35, a collection of sermons, which were incorrectly identified as Gerosolimitano's.¹¹³ They have since been identified as Andrea de Monte's by the handwriting.¹¹⁴ Rieger's inclusion of the 1572 date, Andrea de Monte's appointment as

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 173.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 173. "Andrea hörte aber nicht auf Gregor zu einer gesetzlichen schärferen seines 1572 gegebenen Befehls anzutreiben."

¹¹² Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre in Italien*, 98. "Schon Gregor XIII (1572) hatte die Verordnung erlassen, sie sollten jede Woche eine Predigt anhören." Another account of the preaching to the Jews from this period that relies on Gregorovius is Giulio Rezasco, "Del Segno degli Ebrei," *Giornale ligustico di archeologia, storia e belle arti*, vol. 15 (1888), 249-252.

¹¹³ Gustav Sacerdote, *I codici ebraici della Pia Casa de' Neofiti in Roma*, (Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1893), 27.

¹¹⁴ B. Richler, M. Beit-Arié, N. Pasternak, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Catalogue*, Studi e testi 438, (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), 553-554.

“preacher to the Jews” in 1576, and the dates of Domenico Gerosolimitano’s preaching to the Jews are demonstrate an earlier practice of preaching to the Jews. Rieger also articulates a plausible narrative for the career of Andrea de Monte, which is helpful for understanding how the convert influenced the guidelines provided in *Sancta mater ecclesia*.

Synthesis: Developments and Misrepresentations

These four histories comprise the foundational historiography in the field. There is a clear development of the narrative based upon the discovery of new sources such as the travel journal of Michel de Montaigne, Bartolucci’s biographical entry on Andrea de Monte, and manuscripts in Vatican archives. The new sources primarily elaborate details for the life of Andrea de Monte, clearly a key figure involved in the practice. The depiction of the papal bulls, however, is problematic. There are three main facts presented about Gregory XIII’s papal bulls, which misrepresent the papal pronouncements. The most common articulation of Gregory XIII’s bulls is that *Vices eius nos* (1577) gives the pope’s “recommendation” that the Jews listen to sermons while *Sancta mater ecclesia* (1584) introduces both compulsion and regular Sabbath sermons to the practice. Neither description is true. The root of the misrepresentation of the bulls is the focus on Andrea de Monte in these histories as the lynchpin of the institutionalization of the practice of preaching to the Jews. With very few dates or any contextualization, the histories attempt to explain the papal bulls through the life of Andrea de Monte. They posit that the sermons became compulsory because De Monte complained that the no one would come listen to him, and in response, Gregory XIII issued *Sancta mater ecclesia*.¹¹⁵ While twentieth-century scholarship

¹¹⁵ This story of De Monte complaining that the Jews would not listen to him appears by at least 1643 in Federico Franzini’s *Descrizione di Roma antica e moderna: nella quale si contengono chiese* (Roma: Andrea Fei, 1643). The story is rather odd, serving as the etiology of the introduction of compulsion to the sermon event in Rome. It seems to imply that the Jews were not obligated to attend the sermons introduced by Pius V or Gregory XIII prior to Andrea de Monte’s appointment as preacher to the Jews in 1576. It is possible that the Jews would rather pay a fine than listen to De Monte but adding obligation to their attendance would not correct this problem. Moreover, the very nature of sermons to the Jews is compulsory. As Peter Browe writes of Jews being forced to attend sermons, “apart

modified these misrepresentations, the loose connection with the language of the bulls continues to persist.

In the misrepresentation and mistranslation of these papal bulls, the practice of preaching to the Jews becomes distorted. This affects the understanding of Gregory XIII and Andrea de Monte, in particular. Andrea de Monte fills the role of the convert who leads the charge, so to speak, against his former coreligionists, a common trope in scholarship.¹¹⁶ Gregory XIII seems subject to the whims of this convert, and the memory of all the preachers and cardinals involved in this mission are eclipsed. This affects how the sermons as spoken word are evaluated as well. Are they compared to the description of Andrea de Monte's practice, the guidelines in *Sancta mater ecclesia*, medieval Iberian practice, or some other criteria? Furthermore, a clear, accurate portrayal of the history of the preaching to the Jews is essential to placing the three volumes of sermons printed during this pontificate in context. The printing of these volumes was not coincidental, but rather, highly influenced by the culture and rhetoric of mission, which Gregory XIII and his trusted cardinals cultivated in Rome. From this perspective, the *Sermoni quindici*, the *Omellie fatte alli Ebrei*, and the *Venti ragionamenti* can be viewed as public endorsements of and propaganda for Gregory XIII's campaign to convert the Jews.

Twentieth-Century Scholarship

During the twentieth century, scholarship moved from exposing this oppressive aspect of ghetto life in Rome to focusing on the relationship between the papacy and the Jews to better

from a few, they certainly would not have done so voluntarily." See Browe, *Die Judenmission Im Mittelalter und die Päpste*, (Roma: S.A.L.E.R., rappresentanza della Casa Editrice Herder: Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana, 1942), 16. If this story is true, the most likely explanation is that De Monte's Jews were not the Jews (i.e. the men) he wanted to hear his sermons. This problem is not corrected by compulsion but rather by the rigorous attendance guidelines in *Sancta mater ecclesia*.

¹¹⁶ C.f. my note above on the disputations in the Middle Ages. Nicholas Donin, Paul Christian, and Geronimo da Santa Fe all fill this role in the history.

understand and contextualize Jewish-Christian relations in the sixteenth century. The compulsory conversion sermon continued to be featured in histories of the Jews in Italy and studies of the Roman Ghetto. Two prominent examples of this are Cecil Roth's *The History of the Jews in Italy*, published in 1946, and Attilio Milano's *Il Ghetto di Roma*, published in 1964.¹¹⁷ Both make significant contributions in their presentation of the *predica coattiva*, and Milano's study in Italian becomes canonical in the field. This somewhat reflects the continued dominance of Italian and German language scholarship in the historiography. In general, however, advances in the field derived from a shift in the perspective of scholarship in the twentieth century. This major shift was the turn from a focus on the life of the Jews in Rome to the source of the changes that were dictated for Jewish life: the Roman Catholic Church. Within this new perspective, three main themes emerged in scholarship: mission, papal policy, and ritual or performance.

The Roman Catholic Response

In the first half of the twentieth century, Roman Catholic historians took the lead in offering an explanation of this early modern practice. Their response to the nineteenth-century exposure of Catholic oppression of the Jews through the compulsory sermons was to change the perspective and look at Church actions through the lens of mission. There are three main histories written by Catholic historians that focus on the sermons as a part of the Church's mission. Two Germans, Karl Hoffmann and Peter Browe, explore the history of the mission to the Jews. Hoffmann's book, which focuses on the House of Catechumens as the institution of mission in the sixteenth century, becomes an ubiquitous reference in the field. Browe's monograph, published twenty years after Hoffmann's study, covers the medieval mission

¹¹⁷ Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews in Italy*, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946). Milano, *Il Ghetto di Roma; illustrazioni storiche*, (Roma: Staderini, 1964).

through the end of the sixteenth century. The Italian, Alberto Zucchi, explores a slightly different angle to the mission: the preachers to the Jews, specifically the Dominicans who are generally identified as such. All three historians seek to better contextualize and rationalize the Church's encounters with the Jews.

Karl Hoffmann's *Ursprung und Anfangstätigkeit des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts* is a frequently cited source for the history of the sixteenth-century mission.¹¹⁸ Utilizing unpublished sources, Hoffmann outlines the development of the mission to the Jews from the arrival of Ignatius of Loyola and his companions in Rome in 1537 through the death of Gregory XIII in 1585. The focus of the book is the House of Catechumens as the primary institution of the mission, and the Jesuits as the missionaries of sixteenth-century Rome.¹¹⁹ In this way, Hoffmann is a key source for how the institutions in Rome worked together to convert the Jews. The Jesuits were "preaching" to the Jews in an *ad hoc* manner long before the sermons to the Jews became a structured practice. They were also at the forefront of the practice under Gregory XIII. Hoffmann is the source of Robert Bellarmine's position as preacher to the Jews prior to Antonio Possevino in 1577.¹²⁰ *Ursprung und Anfangstätigkeit* highlights these earlier iterations of preaching to the Jews in Rome, demonstrating a practice prior to the weekly Sabbath sermons as well. For instance, Hoffmann notes that Pius V introduced sermons on feast days, a practice

¹¹⁸ Karl Hoffmann, *Ursprung und Anfangstätigkeit des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der katholischen Juden- und Mohammedanmission im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1923). It is rare to see an article or book on the compulsory conversion sermon, which does not cite Hoffmann. I know little of Hoffmann's Catholic affiliation. He is named as a friar by Willy Cohn in his review of the book. Cohn blames that status for Hoffmann's inadequate treatment of the violence involved in the mission to the Jews. See, Willy Cohn, "Ursprung und Anfangstätigkeit des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts. Missions wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen und Texte," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, vol. 67 (N. F. 31), no. 4/6, (1923), 147.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Lance Gabriel Lazar, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

¹²⁰ Hoffmann, *Ursprung und Anfangstätigkeit*, 201ff.

Gregory XIII continued.¹²¹ Hoffmann's main legacy to the historiography is the first push from the Church to frame a practice that had been designated as oppressive and violent in more pious terms.

Following Hoffmann, a Dominican named Alberto Zucchi published a four-part article in *Memorie domenicane in Roma* in 1934.¹²² Zucchi notes that he plans to begin his investigation from the end of Hoffmann's.¹²³ Zucchi takes exception to what he considers is a one-sided view of the history of the preaching to the Jews. He notes in the introduction to his article that most of the writers who mention the compulsory conversion sermons, sometimes only in passing, are primarily focused on the condition of the Jews in Rome. Therefore, their work neglects to consider the "holy intentions" of the pontiffs; they are intent on ridiculing the pontifical institution instead.¹²⁴ Zucchi's primary aim in the article is to rescue the image of the Church by showing the relationship between the Jews and the pontiffs, but he also wants to produce a more accurate history for the role of the Dominican Order in the campaign to convert the Jews.¹²⁵

Zucchi glosses the establishment of the practice.¹²⁶ Gregory XIII imposed a regular practice. Andrea de Monte immediately appears in the narrative as the reason for the obligatory

¹²¹ Ibid., 201, n.1.

¹²² Alberto Zucchi, "Il predicatore degli Ebrei in Roma," *Memorie domenicane in Roma*, N.S. LI (1934): 200-5, 255-64, 313-31.

¹²³ Ibid., 200. He writes that although Hoffmann wrote an excellent book, the study is relatively unknown.

¹²⁴ Zucchi, "Il predicatore degli Ebrei in Roma," 200. C.f. 202. "Certi scrittori di sensibilità morbosa" misinterpret the intent of the ghetto. He cites the work of an archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani, who claims that the Jews were locked up to help restore the morals of the city, similar to the tactic taken with prostitutes around the same time. This is a typical Zucchi argument for holy intentions; he quotes from a secondary source to support his claim. There is little development of the argument.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 200, 313.

¹²⁶ There are very little new facts in this section. He begins with Paul IV (1555-1559) who assigned two converts, Sisto da Siena and Giuseppe Moro, to preach to the Jews in their synagogues. Ibid., 203. This Giuseppe Moro might be Joseph Tzarphati, the recent convert who took the name Andrea de Monte. I suggest this because Joseph in Italian is Giuseppe, and Tzarphati was from Fez (Morocco) and in an anonymous letter, referred to as "Moro" later in his

sermons. Zucchi finds this connection in Federico Franzini's *Descrittione di Roma antica e moderna* first published in 1643, which is a guidebook for the city of Rome.¹²⁷ Franzini writes that De Monte "began to preach in some churches in Rome, having compassion on this blind people...But because the Jews would not go to hear him, and the men, when able, avoided him, he worked with Gregory XIII" to force the Jews to "hear the word of God."¹²⁸ This collaboration with the pope seems to be dated to 1584 with *Sancta mater ecclesia*, the only date or bull that Zucchi mentions in his discussion of the practice. Zucchi quotes from *Sancta mater ecclesia* to provide the new guidelines Gregory XIII instituted and then turns to Franzini's description of the sermon event to demonstrate the enactment of the bull's orders. Franzini states that 150 men and women attended every Sabbath after lunch, and an officer carried a rod to make sure the Jews stayed awake.¹²⁹

The remainder of Zucchi's study treats the practice following *Sancta mater ecclesia*. Sixtus V, Gregory XIII's successor, reduced the number of sermons Jews were required to attend. Zucchi simply quotes a source outlining the number of times per year the Jews were required to accept the invitation to a sermon. However, this reduction is not a simple number. Sixtus V creates two categories of sermons for the Jews to attend: when called or invited by preachers and on a solemnity, either when it appears or when invited by the Ordinaries. They

life. This will be articulated later in the chapter. In the historiography, this second convert quickly falls out of the narrative. Cf. Martano, "La missione inutile," 104, n.23.

¹²⁷ Federico Franzini, *Descrittione di Roma antica e moderna: nella quale si contengono chiese* (Roma: Andrea Fei, 1643). The edition Zucchi uses is the 1678 printing. Franzini is also utilized by Hoffmann.

¹²⁸ Zucchi, 204. Franzini also identifies men as not attending these sermons prior to the ruling. See above on the footnotes for Bovio who claimed that widows and children were sent to the sermons.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 204-5.

must attend three times a year in each category.¹³⁰ Sixtus V includes this new guidance in his bull *Christiana pietas* (October 22, 1586).¹³¹ Zucchi claims that six years later Clement VIII reinstated the weekly sermons in the summer of 1592, and they were held at San Lorenzo in Damaso.¹³² Although not mentioned above, the actions of Gregory XIII's successors is a common element of the narrative of the practice in the nineteenth-century histories as well.

Zucchi also describes how the practice developed between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a significant contribution. He draws from the writing of Nicolò Antonio Cuggiò (d.1739), who served as the secretary to the Cardinal Vicar from 1700 to 1739. The Cardinal Vicar had jurisdiction over the Jews and the sermons, a role that was not present in the practice under Gregory XIII. Zucchi recounts that Cuggiò identified numerous abuses in the practice when he took his post as secretary. In Cuggiò's view, the pontifical prescriptions of Gregory XIII were being transgressed or interpreted too widely. These included, "not a few" respites ("vacanze") from the weekly sermon prescription, holding sermons in churches despite the command to not preach in a holy place, and the increase in the attendance age from twelve to eighteen.¹³³

Finally, Zucchi turns to the Dominican Order in the last section of his study, hoping to rehabilitate the Order's reputation and identify the first man appointed as preacher to the Jews. Zucchi writes that the Order of Preachers has been mocked by certain writers for their monopoly

¹³⁰ Ibid., 256-7. Although designated as a quote, he does not actually cite this source. It is clearly a secondary source. "Gli ebrei, ivi è detto, sieno tenuti ad andare alle prediche..."

¹³¹ *B.R.* 8:786-789. The new rule for sermon attendance is found in paragraph 10 on page 788.

¹³² Zucchi, 257.

¹³³ Zucchi, 257-9. He quotes from the manuscript of Nicolò Antonio Cuggiò, *Della Giurisdizione del Cardinal Vicario sugli Ebrei*, Biblioteca Angelica di Roma, Ms. 1770, 453-456.

on the position of preacher to the Jews even though they “exercised a most holy ministry.”¹³⁴ His defense is that the Dominicans did not appoint themselves; the Cardinal Vicar appointed them and continuously assigned Dominicans to that role for one hundred years. He explains that the preference for a Dominican derived from their traditional “apostolic concern for the conversion of the Jews.”¹³⁵ Additionally, the Order promoted studying Hebrew, making them perfect candidates for the task.¹³⁶ Since the historical narrative grants Dominicans the post of preacher to the Jews, Zucchi attempts to identify the first preacher named in 1584. After discrediting the commonly named Dominican, Frater Sirletus, Zucchi settles on the convert, Andrea de Monte.¹³⁷ The dates Zucchi cites for this claim are inaccurate, but he acknowledges that the lack of documentation makes tracing the preachers up to Clement VIII impossible.¹³⁸

Zucchi methodology is to let his sources speak for themselves. Rather than summarizing and making arguments, he simply quotes a source. For instance, he quotes from Cuggiò for two pages on the abuses of the practice to demonstrate the development of the practice over time. Likewise, he cites Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza’s nine reasons Christians should convert the Jews as proof for the holy intentions of the mission.¹³⁹ Zucchi utilizes mostly seventeenth- and

¹³⁴ Ibid., 313.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 313-4.

¹³⁶ Zucchi admits that there was a group of Hebraists in Rome at the time and names four Jesuits that excelled: Possevino, Eliano, Torres, and Bellarmino. He states that these would not have been chosen as preachers to the Jews because of the controversy stirred up by Giovanni di Torano. However, in its early stage under Gregory XIII, both Bellarmino and Possevino were assigned to preach to the Jews.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 316-318.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 318-319. For instance, Zucchi utilizes Montaigne’s description of De Monte, but cites the date for that as 1591, not 1581. Also, he attempts to identify the coadjutor assigned to De Monte but concludes that this would not have occurred under Gregory XIII because De Monte had resigned in 1582. Zucchi believes that De Monte received a coadjutor following his new assignment in 1584. This section is rather convoluted.

¹³⁹ Zucchi, 255-256. He quotes from Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza’s *Eusevologio Romano*.

eighteenth-century Catholic writers. This is no different from Natali, Rodocanachi, Berliner, and Rieger. However, Zucchi seems to expect his reader to simply accept the holy intentions behind the preaching to the Jews from sources that are well-removed from the event. Franzini's Andrea de Monte is full of compassion rather than full of the vitriolic language other sources describe.¹⁴⁰ His own language regarding the Jewish people, highlights the lack of depth to his argument. Zucchi writes in the introduction that the Dominicans are typically mocked, but they should be admired "for their patience with a stiff-necked people."¹⁴¹ Despite the overall weaknesses of his study, Zucchi is frequently cited by scholars and rarely criticized.¹⁴² Zucchi's main contribution to scholarship is that he serves as a reminder that the historiography was skewed towards the effects of papal policy on the Jewish community. In nineteenth-century scholarship, the compulsory conversion sermon was Jewish history, and the convert preacher took precedence over all other preachers as the adversary of his former coreligionists. Zucchi reminds scholars that the *predica coattiva* is a part of church history, that the institution rested upon the work of many preachers, not just the convert Andrea de Monte, and that the aim of the Church is an important aspect for study.

Following Zucchi, a Jesuit scholar, Peter Browe, explored the mission to the Jews in the Middle Ages in his *Die Judenmission im Mittelalter und die Päpste*.¹⁴³ The scope of the work is

¹⁴⁰ Op. cit. 204.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 200.

¹⁴² Zucchi's article can be found in the footnotes of almost every article or book that follows in the historiography. However, his "argument" is not discussed; he is simply utilized as a source. The one exception I have found is Marina Caffiero's "Domenicani, Ebrei, Inquisizione. Tra predicazione forzata e censura libraria," *Praedicatores Inquisitores. III, I domenicani e l'inquisizione romana: atti del III seminario internazionale su "I domenicani e l'inquisizione" 15-18 febbraio 2006*, ed. Carlo Longo, (Roma. Istituto Storico Domenicano, 2008): 205-234. Caffiero specifically addresses Zucchi's discussion of Stefano Sirleto as the first Dominican preacher to the Jews. She also notes Zucchi's anti-Jewish comments. See 218 ff.

¹⁴³ Peter Browe, *Die Judenmission Im Mittelalter und die Päpste*, 13-44.

vast, both chronologically and geographically, covering the entirety of what any academic field designates the medieval period and extending well into the early modern era.¹⁴⁴ The monograph also draws sources from Spain, France, England, Germany, and Italy, treating each country separately within the study. While the second half of *Die Judenmission* analyzes the success of the mission to the Jews, the first half outlines the range of proselytizing tools the papacy wielded in the Middle Ages. These include the public disputations, polemical literature, liturgy and prayer, baptism, the catechumenate, and the *Zwangspredigten* (forced sermons). The latter is the first chapter of his monograph, in which Browe catalogs accounts of preaching to the Jews or edicts ordering preaching to the Jews in western Europe through a one-thousand-year period.¹⁴⁵ In the chapter, he implies two important points about the nature of proselytizing Jews with preaching. First, the number of sermons to the Jews is far greater than what sources indicate. For instance, Jews would have been forced to attend a sermon before they were forced to the baptismal font. Second, sermons to the Jews are compulsory regardless of whether the source specifically indicates force. As Browe states, apart from individuals, the Jews would not voluntarily attend sermons.¹⁴⁶ However, he clearly claims that the compulsory conversion sermon as an institution does not appear until the thirteenth century.

¹⁴⁴ Although he briefly mentions the biblical narratives of proselytization and the Emperor Justinian, his catalog of sources begins with Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum* with the story of the Jews of Clermont who converted in 576 CE. His next source, which actually occurred prior to the conversion of the Jews of Clermont, is of Bishop Ferreolus of Uzès. Exiled for three years due to his leniency with Jews in his diocese, the bishop returned in 558 CE and offered the Jews the choice of baptism or exile. Browe, *Die Judenmission*, 14-15. Browe's sources for forced preaching cover the sixth through the sixteenth century, and he mentions a few additional events in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

¹⁴⁵ Browe, *Die Judenmission*, 13-54.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 16. "Auch wo man sie anderswo mehr oder weniger gewaltsam zur Taufe zu bewegen suchte oder wo sich tatsächlich eine grössere Anzahl bekehrte, darf man ohne weiteres vermuten, dass man ihnen vorher eine Predigt gehalten hat, die sie gezwungen worden waren anzuhören; freiwillig hätten sie das ja, von einzelnen abgesehen, bestimmt nicht getan."

In his narrative, the main popes involved in establishing the practice of preaching to the Jews are Nicholas III (1277-1280), the Avignon pope Benedict XIII (1394-1423), and Gregory XIII (1572-1585). The inclusion of the anti-pope, Benedict XIII, is somewhat unique, but Browe highlights that Benedict XIII was the first to give the sermons a guiding structure in his bull *Etsi doctoribus gentium* (1415). For sixteenth-century Italy, Browe notes a shift in papal action with Paul IV (1555-1559), who commissioned the Dominican and convert, Sisto da Siena, to preach in the synagogues. However, the Inquisition, rather than the pope, introduced compulsion for the first time in Rome. Cardinal Vicar, Giacomo Savelli (d. 1587), at the influence of Cardinal Charles Borromeo (d.1584), ordered the Jews to attend a baptism of a converted Jew in 1561.¹⁴⁷ At the baptism, Diego Laynez (d. 1565), the General of the Jesuit Order, delivered a sermon. Browe credits Cardinal Borromeo the Archbishop of Milan, with making sermons to the Jews a law in his diocese in 1565, an example which Rome and other cities followed.¹⁴⁸ In 1568, Pius V (1566-1572), commanded Jews to attend sermons on their feast days. Gregory XIII renewed this order at the beginning of his reign.¹⁴⁹ Browe offers no evidence of this ruling of Pius V and renewal by Gregory XIII. However, a renewal of his predecessor's order for compulsory conversion sermons would support Gregorovius' comment that Gregory XIII had already instituted sermons to the Jews in 1572. Nevertheless, Browe's catalog demonstrates that Gregory XIII assumed the papacy in an era in which compulsory conversion sermons to the Jews were no longer an anomaly in Rome.

¹⁴⁷ This is an interesting aspect of the early preaching. Although there is no mention of the Cardinal Vicar's role in the preaching under Gregory XIII, the Cardinal Vicar runs the practice by 1600.

¹⁴⁸ Browe, 40.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

Browe's description of *Vices eius nos* and *Sancta mater ecclesia* is concise. He places the beginning of the weekly Sabbath sermons with the papal order in 1577, in which Gregory XIII also established a college to train preachers. Because Browe has already stated that Gregory XIII forced Jews to listen to sermons on feast days, *Vices eius nos* is not marked as the beginning of the compulsory conversion sermon under Gregory XIII in his account. This fact is also prominent in his description of *Sancta mater ecclesia*. The bull extended the compulsory conversion sermon everywhere.¹⁵⁰ Browe quotes a significant portion of the bull which outlines the rigorous attendance laws and the expertise required of the preacher, but his depiction of *Sancta mater ecclesia* reveals that he believes the practice is already well-established in Rome in 1584.

The Mid-Century Histories of the Jews

Around the middle of the twentieth century, the focus returned to the life of the Jews. Cecil Roth published his monograph, *The History of the Jews in Italy*, in 1946.¹⁵¹ Roth, also the author of the "Sermons to the Jews" entry in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, introduces the early modern practice of preaching to the Jews to an English language readership.¹⁵² While Berliner and Rieger frame their discussion of the sermons around the contrast between Gregory XIII's policies that favored the Jews versus his proselytization of the Jews, Roth provides an explanation of the policies enacted. He describes Gregory XIII as "weak and ineffective," which made him susceptible to the "more reactionary members of the College of Cardinals."¹⁵³ In

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 40-41.

¹⁵¹ Op cit.

¹⁵² Cecil Roth, "Sermons to the Jews," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second Edition, Vol. 18, (Detroit: Macmillan, 2008): 312-313.

¹⁵³ Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews in Italy*, (Philadelphia: the Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946), 315.

Roth's view, Gregory XIII misgoverned the Papal States and was influenced to enact anti-Jewish policies. In contrast, Sixtus V reversed anti-Jewish policies that had been in place for thirty years to govern the Papal States effectively. The treasury needed replenishing, and the Jews paid for every privilege Sixtus V granted them.¹⁵⁴ The sermons to the Jews act as the policy that helps demonstrate this difference between the two popes.

Roth's narrative is concise in comparison with the nineteenth-century histories. Although only identified by the date not the name, *Vices eius nos* introduces compulsion in his study. Interestingly, Roth does not mention that these are weekly sermons but rather, held on "certain occasions."¹⁵⁵ The practice spread to other parts of Italy as indicated by the publication of the convert Vitale de' Medici's sermons to the Jews of Florence in 1583. This mimicry of the Roman practice to other parts of Italy is one of his key points. "Orthodoxy was to a great extent a question of imitation or obedience."¹⁵⁶ Roth's description of *Sancta mater ecclesia* also provides a new perspective on the bull. "The conditions [were] finally elaborated in light of recent experience."¹⁵⁷ This is one of the more insightful statements on *Sancta mater ecclesia* since it considers the development of the practice from 1577. When Roth turns to Gregory XIII's successor, Sixtus V, he speculates that the sermons to the Jews may have been entirely suspended under Sixtus V.¹⁵⁸ Clement VIII inaugurated the era of the degradation of the Jews in their ghettos throughout Italy in the early modern era.¹⁵⁹ While Roth offers a new perspective on

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 317.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 318.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 316.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 381.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 319-328.

the development of the practice and explanations of papal policy, his narrative of the practice does not enter the mainstream historiography of the compulsory conversion sermon. Roth's study never replaces the Berliner or the Vogelstein-Rieger volume. This demonstrates the status of English language scholarship in the field in the middle of the twentieth century; it had yet to gain momentum or to make a significant enough contribution to be utilized by the scholars driving this field.

Some seventy years after Natali published his history of the Roman Ghetto, Attilio Milano, wrote about the forced sermons as part of life in the ghetto. To a certain extent, Milano became the new authority on the preaching to the Jews, almost entirely replacing Natali and Rodocanachi. His first study on the *predica coattiva* is found in a 1952 article, "Un sottile tormento nella vita del ghetto di Roma."¹⁶⁰ In this article, in which he calls the sermons a subtle torment, Milano writes about the establishment of the practice under Gregory XIII and how the Jewish community responded to this conversion strategy. Later, he places the sermons to the Jews in the context of Jewish life in the Ghetto in his 1964 book *Il Ghetto di Roma*.¹⁶¹ Much of his chapter on the "predica coatta" is reproduced almost verbatim from his earlier article, excepting citations. Scholars must consult his article to track his sources for the book. Like Natali and Rodocanachi, Milano devotes an entire chapter to the *predica coatta* and begins the chapter with a discussion of the origins of this practice in history. He traces the Italian practice to Pope Nicholas III. The pope, in his 1278 bull *Vineam Soreth*, ordered the superior of the Dominican Order to select the most qualified friars to preach to the Jews. Milano describes this

¹⁶⁰ Attilio Milano, "Un sottile tormento nella vita del ghetto di Roma: la predica coatta," *La Rassegna di Mensile di Israel*, terza serie, Vol. 18, No. 12 (Dic. 1952): 517-532.

¹⁶¹ Attilio Milano, *Il Ghetto di Roma*, Op. cit.

early practice as sporadic and more of an “oratorical exercise” on the part of the preacher. The preaching to the Jews quickly devolved into stirring up Christian hatred of the Jews. Gregory XIII gave this “shapeless practice precise form” with his two bulls, *Vices eius nos* and *Sancta mater ecclesia*.¹⁶²

Milano chooses to collapse the two bulls and describe Gregory XIII’s conversion program based on the form he created for the practice. He outlines four ways the pope provided structure to his conversion campaign. The chronology of the practice completely disappears in this schema; although he does provide the dates for the bulls when he names them, the bulls are completely disconnected from their actual mandates in the description of the “precise form” Gregory XIII gave the practice. Milano’s systematization of Gregory’s policy starts with *Sancta mater ecclesia* and ends with *Vices eius nos*. First, Gregory XIII established a principle: all cities with synagogues should commence weekly compulsory conversion sermons. Second, he established the nature of the obligation: one-third of the community was required to attend each sermon, all men and women over the age of twelve counted towards the quota, and the attendees would rotate every week. In other words, the same third of the Jews could not attend every week. This would ensure that all the Jews of the community heard sermons.¹⁶³ Third, he established a method: the preacher should be a specialist in Old Testament theology and should begin his sermon with the passage from the scripture which had been read in the sabbath synagogue service that day. Fourth, he established training: he instituted a college to prepare preachers to give sermons to the Jews.¹⁶⁴ Milano’s systematization of the campaign effectively demonstrates

¹⁶² Milano, *Il Ghetto di Roma*, 269.

¹⁶³ While it seems preposterous that the same Jews would attend every week, Milano states that the community would designate a particular group to attend the sermons. It was a strategy they employed to lessen the burden on the community. Milano, *Il Ghetto di Roma*, 279.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 270.

his claim that Gregory XIII took a shapeless and derailed proselytization technique and gave it a precise structure in which it could thrive. In characterizing the four parts to Gregory XIII's structure without identifying which papal bull contains those guidelines, Milano is able to achieve a greater balance perhaps than previous histories between the role of the papacy and the role of Andrea de Monte.

Milano's treatment of Andrea de Monte is rather short. He introduces De Monte as the pope's rod, employed to "torment" the Jews.¹⁶⁵ Milano repeats Rieger's inclusion of a predecessor to the convert and states that Joseph Florentia was the true initiator of the regular sermons to the Jews. Andrea de Monte succeeded him in 1576 and was more ardent and forceful; he led Gregory XIII to issue both *Vices eius nos* and *Sancta mater ecclesia*.¹⁶⁶ Milano's assessment of all the converts involved aligns with Rodocanachi and Berliner. The converts, or apostates as Milano calls them instead, are the greatest antagonizers of the Jewish community. Milano claims that the forced sermons were their favorite weapon despite its inefficacy.¹⁶⁷ Milano names some of the early converts involved in this preaching: Jechiel da Pesaro (Vitale de' Medici), Fabiano Fiocchi, and Domenico Jerushalmi (Gerosolimitano).

One new aspect of Milano's narrative is a detailed explanation about the regularity of the sermons as well as the logistics of the rotation of Jews. His sources are from the late seventeenth century. Nonetheless, these sources answer some important questions on how the practice was conducted. Generally, the preaching is characterized as occurring every sabbath. In actuality, there were designated weeks in which the sermons would not be delivered, including both

¹⁶⁵ "Se Gregorio XIII aveva disposto gli arnesi per questo tormento, un ebreo convertito fu la ferula nelle sue mani." Ibid., 271.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 271.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

Christian feast days and Jewish holidays. Some of these dates were fixed, while others such as Rosh ha-Shanah or Sukkoth would only exempt the community if they fell on a sabbath. Milano reproduces a summary from a “detailed list” of the sermons given in the years from 1673 to 1676 and finds that as few as twenty sermons and as many as twenty-seven were preached in a given year. The same list from his source demonstrates how the rotation of one-third of the Jewish community worked. Milano states that there were six temples functioning in the ghetto at that time. These temples were placed in pairs, and each of those three pairings were placed in a rotation responsible for sending the required quota of Jews to attend the sermons in their designated week.¹⁶⁸

The final element of the nineteenth-century narratives that Milano also includes is his assessment of the proselytizing technique. Milano describes the sermons to the Jews as a method of collective conversion based partly on persuasion and partly on reprimand, which “did not have great prospects for success.”¹⁶⁹ He writes that the words of persuasion and reprimand are destined to remain in mid-air without hope of affecting anyone. Perhaps most clearly in his article, Milano praises the ability of the Jews to withstand the torment the Catholic Church heaped upon them during this period. Collective conversion methods could not penetrate the community which had defended itself by creating a close-knit society, bonded by religious life, family, and distribution of burdens.¹⁷⁰ Milano’s praise is rooted in sources rather than a general perspective on the Jewish people like Rodocanachi, but his conclusion is similar. Discussing this close-knit community in the Ghetto, Milano writes that it is easy to see how the slander of a

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 277.

¹⁶⁹ “Non avesse grandi prospettive di successo,” Milano, “Un sottile tormento,” 528. In *Il Ghetto di Roma*, he changes “persuasion” to “interpretation of sacred texts,” p. 280.

¹⁷⁰ Milano, “Un sottile tormento,” 518-519.

Christian preacher would be unable to break them. In a poignant conclusion of the practice, he writes that those who had been mockers (*beffati*) appear today as the mocked (*beffeggiatori*).¹⁷¹

Mission, Papal Policy, and Ritual in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century

In between Milano's two publications, a rather detailed history of the establishment of the compulsory conversion sermon was published in a 1960 study on St. Lawrence of Brindisi (d. 1619) by Father Arturo Carmignano.¹⁷² Lawrence of Brindisi, one of the most celebrated Capuchins of the Franciscan Order, began preaching to the Jews in Rome in 1592.¹⁷³ St. Lawrence is not tied to the compulsory conversion sermons in the historiography for the establishment of the practice. One discovers these non-convert preachers by researching the histories of various religious orders.¹⁷⁴ In general, this represents one of the trends of the historiography in this field until the twenty-first century; scholarship on the preaching to the Jews has been slow to incorporate scholarship on the non-convert preachers.¹⁷⁵ Although St. Lawrence's sermons to the Jews derive from a later era in the practice, Carmignano traces the history of the practice and provides more literal readings of Gregory XIII's bulls. His narrative demonstrates a grasp of the important figures and key developments in the practice.

Additionally, his footnotes are a wealth of information, often providing an explanation for

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 519.

¹⁷² P. Arturo M. da Carmignano di Brenta, *San Lorenzo da Brindisi, Dottore della Chiesa Universale (1559-1619), Miscellanea Laurentiana*, vol. 4 (Venezia: Curia Provinciale dei FF. MM. Cappuccini, 1960).

¹⁷³ Ibid., 296. Carmignano claims that St. Lawrence was likely the man who influenced Clement VIII to reinstate the sermons to the Jews.

¹⁷⁴ I consulted Anscar Zawart's *The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers (1209-1927): a Bio-Bibliographical Study*, (New York: J.F. Wagner, 1982) to find the names of preachers to the Jews and attempted to trace as many of them as possible. I came across Carmignano's chapter on preaching to the Jews early in my research and set it aside when I decided to focus on the early period.

¹⁷⁵ Another example of this is the apostolate of Antonio Possevino.

wording that other scholars ignore or including information on other preachers to the Jews during this period.¹⁷⁶ Carmignano is a very careful scholar, always citing a source for his facts, and his narrative is a helpful source.¹⁷⁷

Carmignano traces the history of preaching to the Jews from the time of Gregory the Great through the medieval popes before turning to the “predica coattiva” in Rome.¹⁷⁸ His depiction of Gregory XIII is similar to Browe’s. Initially, Gregory XIII limited himself to following the example of his predecessor, Pius V, who had ordered sermons for Jewish feast days. Encouraged by the results of the practice, the pope established a college to train future apostles in his bull *Vices eius nos*. In a footnote, he calls attention to the language of the bull, highlighting that the weekly sermons likely predated the 1576 appointment of Andrea de Monte since *Vices eius nos* indicated a timespan “considerably longer than a year.”¹⁷⁹ He continues that in addition, Gregory XIII was already planning the bull to extend the weekly sermons to all Catholic countries. Carmignano cites an entry from January of 1581 in the papers of Cardinal Santa Severina to support this claim.¹⁸⁰ The pope’s plan became a reality in 1584 with *Sancta mater ecclesia*.¹⁸¹ Carmignano’s description of Sixtus V’s reduction of the sermon obligation to six times a year is the only source that specifically mentions that only Jewish men are addressed in the bull.¹⁸² In general, scholars only discuss the reduced number, which appears as either three

¹⁷⁶ See page 295, footnote, 91.

¹⁷⁷ NB. He cites the date 1585 for *Sancta mater ecclesia* rather than 1584.

¹⁷⁸ Carmignano, *San Lorenzo da Brindisi*, 268-276.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 278, n. 31.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 279, n. 33. Cardinal Santa Severina is an important figure in Carmignano’s discussion of the compulsory conversion sermons. He is the primary figure pushing for the sermons to the Jews.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 279.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 280.

or six times a year.¹⁸³ Carmignano's careful presentation of sources continues in his description of the return of the weekly sermon under Clement VIII. He writes that "From the beginning, Clement VIII, even without issuing new documents, restored the weekly preaching, effectively annulling the brief of Sixtus V."¹⁸⁴ Carmignano's source is the same avviso from July of 1592 that Zucchi cites. Although Carmignano does not mention this, given the dates he provides for St. Lawrence's preaching to the Jews of Rome, this avviso likely references St. Lawrence, himself, as the "certain Cappuchin" the Jews are ordered to hear.¹⁸⁵ Carmignano claims that St. Lawrence initiated the renewal of the practice by requesting that he be able to preach to the Jews.

As seen with previous scholars, the inclusion of the biography of Andrea de Monte can complicate the narrative of the compulsory conversion sermon. The standard biography for De Monte depicts the convert as responsible for the compulsory nature of the conversion sermons. Carmignano mostly follows this framework to show the development of compulsion in the papal bulls. He utilizes the sources a little differently in that he recognizes that compulsion was present when Montaigne heard De Monte preach in 1581.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, De Monte's request for compulsion occurred prior to that date; Carmignano speculates that De Monte influenced the

¹⁸³ I will clarify this discrepancy in the next chapter. For now, this is the breakdown of scholars on this reduction. Natali (225), Berliner (22), Attilio Milano (*Il Ghetto di Roma*, 272), and Emily Michelson ("Resist, Refute, Redirect," 351) all claim that attendance was reduced to three times a year. Rodocanachi (280), Vogelstein and Rieger (179), Peter Browe (42), and Kenneth Stow (24) all state obligatory attendance at six sermons per year.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. "Clemente VIII, pur senza emanare, da principio, nuovo documenti, ripristinava la predicazione settimanale, annullando di fatto il breve di Sisto V." Interestingly, this is almost the exact wording for Carmignano's description of Gregory XIII's adoption of Pius V's feast day sermons to the Jews. "Come si vede, Gregorio XIII, *pur senza emanare nuove disposizioni*, ricalcava le orme di san Pio V." See page 278, footnote 31.

¹⁸⁵ C.f. BAV, *Urb. Lat. 1060, II*, avviso del 29 luglio 1592, 462r. "Sabbato passato furono intimati tutti gli hebrei di Roma huoi pero ad una predica di certo cappuccino nella Chiesa di san Lorenzo in Damaso per ridurli." Carmignano writes that he preached to the Jews in Rome after Lent in 1592 through spring of 1594. See Carmignano, 296.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 282, n. 42. Carmignano did not have access to Gregory Martin's testimony of compulsion in 1577.

pope through Cardinal Santa Severina to make the sermons compulsory.¹⁸⁷ *Sancta mater ecclesia* provided the later, official sanctioning of compulsion. Carmignano emphasizes the influence De Monte had on *Sancta mater ecclesia*, specifically. The “drafting and publishing was perhaps not extraneous to the personal work of Andrea de Monte.”¹⁸⁸

While Carmignano’s goal is not explicitly to defend the practice of preaching to the Jews, he does address the violent nature of this practice. He notes that if severe measures had not been taken to ensure Jewish attendance and listening, the enterprise would have failed at the very beginning. While a very Catholic response, Carmignano attempts to explain the motives and practice by contemporary rather than “current” criteria.¹⁸⁹ In general, Carmignano shows an awareness that finding the merit in this practice is a difficult task. He acknowledges that this practice seems inconceivable or intolerable to people today but cautions his readers to consider the sixteenth-century perspective.¹⁹⁰ He proposes that the Jews and preachers often came to a compromise, what he terms a *modus vivendi*. The Jews were “not always snarling or foaming at the mouth” nor were the preachers always speaking in the “acrid tone of polemics.”¹⁹¹ Carmignano is therefore more successful than Zucchi in addressing the nature of both the church’s intentions as well as the less palatable aspects of the practice.

An Eyewitness Account: Gregory Martin’s *Roma Sancta*

¹⁸⁷ Carmignano is working without a key source that will further emphasize Cardinal Santa Severina’s role in the practice of preaching to the Jews.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 282. “Alla cui redazione e pubblicazione, forse, non fu estranea l’opera personale dello stesso Andrea del Monte.”

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 287.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 291.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. St. Lawrence of Brindisi is one of the preachers Carmignano claims can help demonstrate a different relationship between the Jews and the preacher to the Jews.

The key source that illuminates the preaching to the Jews of Rome in the years 1576 through 1578 first appeared in print in 1969. This source is the manuscript named *Roma Sancta*, written by the English priest, Gregory Martin (d. 1582).¹⁹² Martin, who is most well-known for his translation of the Vulgate into English, lived in Rome from December of 1576 to June of 1578, serving in the English Hospice, which became the English College just a few months before he was sent to Reims in 1578. A loyal Catholic, Martin wrote *Roma Sancta* in praise of all the devout and charitable activities in the holy city.¹⁹³ *Roma Sancta* is clearly a work of propaganda, designed to counter the Protestant attacks on the papacy and the city of Rome and also bolster the morale of other loyal, English Catholics.¹⁹⁴ Nonetheless, *Roma Sancta* is an important testimony for the early practice of preaching to the Jews. Ideal characterization of the sermons aside, his account provides details confirmed by other sources. Martin reveals a unique structure for the sermons, attests to prominent non-Jewish preachers who filled the role of preacher to the Jews and confirms the compulsory and weekly nature of the practice in the year 1577.

Historians writing on the sermons in the late nineteenth century did not have access to Martin's account. In fact, through more than half of the twentieth century, Martin's manuscript remained unavailable for scholars to consult. Although Martin had personally prepared *Roma Sancta* for printing at the time of its composition at Reims in 1580 and 1581, the manuscript

¹⁹² Gregory Martin and George Bruner Parks, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1969).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹⁹⁴ Frederick J. McGinness cautions scholars to not take Gregory Martin's account of preaching too literally. McGinness notes that Martin's account too closely adheres to the dictums of the Council of Trent on preaching. Rather than a reflection of reality, Martin conforms what he sees to Tridentine ideals. See, Frederick J. McGinness, "Preaching Ideals and Practice in Counter-Reformation Rome," *The Sixteenth-Century Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1980): 108-128.

remained unpublished, likely due to funding issues. While its provenance is not entirely clear, *Roma Sancta* was preserved in English religious houses in continental Europe, perhaps until 1837 when the English, Lord Clifford of Chudleigh is known to have possession of the manuscript. George Bruner Parks gained access to the manuscript in 1950 through the eleventh Lord Clifford who later granted him permission to publish *Roma Sancta*.¹⁹⁵

In the first book on the devotion in Rome, Martin includes a chapter on the preaching to the Jews, describing the sermons “according as I saw and hearde for the space of one year and a halfe.”¹⁹⁶ He describes a compulsory and weekly practice. “Upon every Satterday which is their Sabbath day and wherein they worke not, bycause they shal have no excuse of other business, they are bound under a penaltie to be present in the churche of the Company of the B. Trinitie. there to heare what may be sayd for Christianitie agaynst their Judaisme.”¹⁹⁷ What Martin describes about the structure of the Saturday sermons, Natali alone recounted in his history with far less detail. “There come up into the pulpit two excellent men, one after an other, for the space of two houres. The one and the first, a Jesuite or some other of greate skil and good spirit, to move: the other, a great Rabbine sometime of their owne, but now these manie years a zelous and learned Christian named maister Andreas.”¹⁹⁸ Martin’s description reveals that De Monte worked alongside another preacher, and each preacher had a specific role to play. The first preacher was not a convert, and he would be skilled in the rhetorical art of *movere* so that he might move the Jews towards conversion. De Monte would follow and teach (*docere*) the Jews

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., ix.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 75. The chapter on the preaching to the Jews is found on pages 75-82.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 77.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 78.

how to appropriately read their own scriptures and rabbinic literature. To move and to teach are two of the goals of sacred oratory; the third, to delight, was regarded as less desirable on its own since it might reflect little substance.¹⁹⁹

Much of Martin's description focuses on the manner in which Andrea de Monte proves the truth of Christianity to the Jews, but he also reveals the names of three additional preachers: the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, the Capuchin, Alfonso Lupus (d. 1593), and the Oratorian Francesco Maria Tarugi (d.1608). They are "al famous men and full of Zele and charitie."²⁰⁰ These three men appear in the manuscript as some of the premier preachers of their day, but they were also well-known outside of Martin's manuscript.²⁰¹ For instance, Alfonso Lupus was immortalized for his particular expertise in the art of moving (*movere*) his audience in a saying that celebrated the tripartite goals of sacred oratory. "Toletus docet, Lupus movet, et Panicarola delectat."²⁰² A contemporary of Tarugi dubbed him the "dux verbi," prince of words. Moreover, all three men had access to Gregory XIII, either directly or through the papal curia, due to their preaching and their work on behalf of their religious order. For instance, Possevino acted as the Jesuits' representative to Gregory XIII, approaching him for funding for various colleges,

¹⁹⁹ C.f. Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory*. McGinness notes that the art of sacred oratory, through education in oratorical arts and writings on rhetoric, was at its height under Gregory XIII.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 82.

²⁰¹ The description of the preachers which follows has significant overlap with Piet van Boxel's description in his *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*, 17ff. It is difficult to describe these men in the context of preaching in Rome without highlighting these same facts. Emily Michelson provides much the same account in her "Conversionary Preaching in Rome," noting that she discovered Van Boxel's account only after she had completed her article. See "Conversionary Preaching in Rome," 84. These biographical facts demonstrate both why these particular preachers were chosen to preach to the Jews as well as why Martin includes them in his manuscript.

²⁰² BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1042, Avviso, 23 marzo 1577. I use this motto since it derives from the exact period in which Gregory Martin is describing Alfonso Lupus. There are variations of this saying, which substitute other preachers into the role of the teacher.

including those outside of Rome.²⁰³ The early preaching practice was entrusted to capable men who were known to the pope. Likewise, the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Oratorians all devoted their best preachers to this vocation.²⁰⁴

Although Frederick J. McGinness warns scholars to be wary of Martin's description which presents an ideal view of preaching, I believe Martin's account mostly reflects reality.²⁰⁵ First there is a memory of the two-preacher structure still present in the early eighteenth century.²⁰⁶ As mentioned above, Natali quotes from a text which mentions that two preachers initially preached to the Jews. Alberto Zucchi, who will be discussed below, also mentions this aspect of the practice from an earlier sixteenth-century book with an excerpt on the sermons. Additionally, the life of Antonio Possevino confirms his preaching tenure in 1577. Possevino took over the post from Robert Bellarmine.²⁰⁷ Martin only names three non-Jewish preachers; if they each took a post of six months, this would cover Martin's stay in Rome. Possevino notes that he, at the urging of Cardinal Santa Severina, preached to the Jews in Rome for six months in 1577.²⁰⁸ Martin's manuscript identifies this Cardinal Santa Severina as the "president" of the preaching to the Jews; he is the chief figure in attendance at these sermons.²⁰⁹ Given that these

²⁰³ Donnelly, J. "Antonio Possevino: From Secretary to Papal Legate in Sweden," *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture, 1573-1580*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., (Saint Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004): 324-5.

²⁰⁴ C.f. Piet van Boxel, *Hebrew Books in Christian Hands*.

²⁰⁵ McGinness is discussing a chapter on the great Italian preachers in Rome, not the chapter on preaching to the Jews. However, his point is relevant. Martin's manuscript is a piece of propaganda, designed to rehabilitate the image of Rome. Op. cit.

²⁰⁶ Giovanni Battista Bovio, *La pieta trionfante*, 152.

²⁰⁷ Karl Hoffmann, *Ursprung und Anfangstätigkeit des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts*, 201. Cf. Piet van Boxel, *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*, 16.

²⁰⁸ Donnelly, "Antonio Possevino: From Secretary to Papal Legate in Sweden," 326.

²⁰⁹ Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 77. Evangelista Marcellino also confirms the importance of Cardinal Santa Severina in these sermons by dedicating his volume to the cardinal.

details in Martin's manuscript are attested elsewhere, his rationale for having two preachers is plausible despite how ideal the practice appears as a result.

Another aspect of the practice which Gregory Martin witnesses is Andrea de Monte's use of the Sabbath synagogue reading for the basis of his sermons. He writes, "These principal pointes and the like he doth cheefely handle and stand upon, alleaging for us agaynst them, first the Law and the prophetes as they are in Hebrew, and as they read them in theyr Synagog the same day, that is, on their Sabbath day....And therefore of purpose he taketh those lessons every day for his text."²¹⁰ The exposition of the Sabbath synagogue reading appears to be a special strategy associated primarily with De Monte in this early period. Certainly, the examples of printed sermons to the Jews that were preached during Gregory's pontificate do not adhere to this formula.²¹¹ Martin, likewise, does not connect the first preacher to this technique. He describes that de Monte "is chosen of purpose to confute them out of their owne books and doctors...knowing the greatest poyntes that then blinded him self."²¹² Martin then notes this Sabbath reading technique and provides a couple of examples of how de Monte argues the truth against the Jews. The description of "the other that preacheth before him immediately and in the first place" seems an afterthought. He "useth al other kinde of Reasons and proofes out of the old Scriptures and the fathers that have written of purpose agaynst the Jewes."²¹³ Outside of *Roma*

²¹⁰ Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 79.

²¹¹ Marcellino expositis Psalm 109, Vitale de' Medici discusses baptism in one sermon and the divine sacrifice in his second, and Faustino Tasso provides twenty discourses on the Trinity and the advent of the Messiah.

²¹² *Roma Sancta*, 78.

²¹³ Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 81. See also, Piet van Boxel, *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*, 22. This is Van Boxel's reading of the text as well, but he is seemingly unaware of Emily Michelson's article on Evangelista Marcellino, which states that the sermons employed the Sabbath reading as their text. See, Emily Michelson, "Evangelista Marcellino," 191. Here, I have offered this full explanation of Gregory Martin to demonstrate how the Sabbath reading was employed prior to 1584.

Sancta and the sermons of De Monte, there is no evidence of the use of the Sabbath synagogue reading until 1584 when it appears as the recommended strategy for composing sermons in *Sancta mater ecclesia*. The bull states that sermons or lessons are to be given on Old Testament scriptures, namely of Moses and the prophets, and are to be expounded to them in accordance with the Church Fathers and the true Catholic sense, particularly those scriptures which are read on the Sabbath in their synagogue.²¹⁴ De Monte seems the likely source for suggesting this practice along with the sermons in the Hebrew language. In this sense, the afternoon would directly counter the morning synagogue service.

Sixteenth-Century Papal Policy

In the 1970s, Kenneth Stow produced the first significant scholarship in the field in the English language. Stow's 1977 book, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593*, is a corrective to the work of Karl Hoffmann and Peter Browe.²¹⁵ Although their focus on mission gives the compulsory conversion sermons a new significance in the historiography, Kenneth Stow notes that Hoffmann and Browe fail to see the significance that converting the Jews took in the sixteenth century. Stow seeks to correct this oversight in his book. He argues that papal policy towards Jews radically changed in the sixteenth century from toleration, irrespective of Jewish conversion, to toleration for the purpose of Jewish conversion. This argument is based upon a comparison of legal language in the *Constitutio pro Iudaeis* bulls of the Middle Ages and Paul IV's *Cum nimis absurdum*, which established the Roman Ghetto.²¹⁶ The subtle change in

²¹⁴ *Sancta mater ecclesia*, B.R., 8:488, § 1. "Sermones vel lectiones haberi, in quibus illis exponantur scripturae Veteris Testamenti, Moysis scilicet et prophetarum, praesertim vero, quae eo sabbato leguntur seu lectae in eorum sunt synagogis, iuxta sanctorum tamen Patrum interpretationes et verum catholicae Ecclesiae sensum."

²¹⁵ Kenneth R. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593*.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 7-10.

language from a concessive clause (*licet—although*) to a purpose clause (*ad hoc, ut—in order that*) demonstrates the transformation in papal policy; in the sixteenth century, conversion became “the core to which all of Jewry policy was united.”²¹⁷ Stow identifies the conversion sermons as one of five programs the papacy instituted over the course of the sixteenth century to achieve mass Jewish conversion.²¹⁸

Stow’s book is not about the sermons to the Jews. The focus is a legal tract by Marquadis de Suasannis in 1558, which Stow argues reflects the radical change Paul IV makes in Jewry policy.²¹⁹ As he writes in his introduction, “Bulls of other sixteenth-century popes are brought in only to show that Paul IV’s decrees were not shots in the dark, heard once to disappear and be forgotten seconds later. Rather, they introduced fundamental changes, which represent the end of a tradition.”²²⁰ Stow utilizes his preface to articulate the medieval policy and the attempts at a mission to the Jews to provide the contrast for sixteenth century. He describes with examples what happens to the preaching mission in Italy following Nicholas III’s *Vineam Sorec* in 1278. Stow gives names to the preachers whom Milano describes as rekindling hatred towards Jews instead of preaching for conversion of the Jews.²²¹ In his first chapter, Stow moves through the policies of the popes in the sixteenth century, highlighting the new language that appears in their bulls. *Vices eius nos* and *Sancta mater ecclesia* are not the only bulls of Gregory XIII that Stow addresses; his thesis is that conversion is a consistent aim across all policy towards the Jews not

²¹⁷ Ibid., 5.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 58. The five programs are: the *domus catechumenorum* (1543), burning of the Talmud (1553), the Ghetto (1555), expulsions (1569 and 1593), and the missionary sermons (1584).

²¹⁹ The work is called *De Iudaeis et Aliis Infidelibus*.

²²⁰ Ibid., xxvii.

²²¹ Ibid., xvi.

simply in the programs designed to specifically induce conversions. However, Stow outlines the conversionary aims Gregory XIII states in these bulls. He characterizes Gregory XIII as “both maintain[ing] and broaden[ing]” Pius V’s concern with conversion.²²² In *Vices eius nos*, the pope introduces his bull with an acknowledgement that his duty is to draw heretics and schismatics back to the church and seek conversion of the infidels. Stow quotes Gregory’s words about ordering weekly Sabbath sermons in Rome “some time ago,” and adds that the bull establishes a college for neophytes.²²³

Sancta mater ecclesia, in Stow’s opinion, is “the true beginning of the use of sermons as a conversionary device.”²²⁴ Stow does not explain his rationale for this statement. He follows it with translations of key portions of the bull that outline the guidelines for the practice and Gregory XIII’s stated purpose in imposing the sermons in all lands. This characterization of *Sancta mater ecclesia* has a distinct meaning though. Stow is a very careful translator and interpreter of papal bulls. For instance, he includes a rather detailed footnote on Gregory XIII’s comment in the bull that he is following in the footsteps of Nicholas V (1447-1455) and other popes by ordering all prelates to establish conversion sermons in their diocese. Stow notes that *Sancta mater ecclesia* does not resemble any prior papal order for preaching. Regarding Nicholas V, Stow writes that “the difference between granting permission for forced preaching in Provence and instituting it by papal initiative in Rome is very great.”²²⁵ In this same footnote, he

²²² Ibid., 18.

²²³ Ibid., 19.

²²⁴ Ibid., 20. In this description, Stow claims that *Sancta mater ecclesia* dictates that the sermons are to be delivered in the synagogue. Typically a careful translator, this is a mistake. The bull only dictates that the sermons not be held in a sacred place.

²²⁵ Ibid., n. 59, p. 21

also redefines how scholars should view Nicholas III's bull, *Vineam sorec*, which is often depicted as the first real papal edict ordering the compulsory conversion sermons. Stow disagrees; Nicholas III "merely orders the Franciscans to preach, and adds that if Jews will not listen, the friars should inform the pope, who will think of a remedy."²²⁶ In his depiction of *Sancta mater ecclesia*, Stow clearly recognizes that preaching to the Jews is occurring already in Rome and is mandated by the papacy. Nevertheless, Stow's entire argument rests upon the clear changes he finds in papal pronouncements that institutionalize conversionary measures. By this evaluation, the compulsory conversion sermon is not institutionalized until 1584 because *Vices eius nos* does not mandate conversion sermons and does not provide any guidance for converting the Jews. Both occur in *Sancta mater ecclesia*.

Stow's depiction of Gregory's bulls and his placement of the sermons in an overarching papal policy that changes in the sixteenth century is a helpful a context for exploration of the conversion sermons. His argument is rather convincing from the perspective of the institution of preaching to the Jews. Gregory XIII took a practice that had originated in the thirteenth century and had never been employed effectively by the papacy, established its regular use in Rome, founded an institution to train and supply its primary workers, and gave detailed guidelines for its practice in Rome and other cities. This context and discussion of institutionalization is not always present in the historiography following Stow.

1980s Italian Language Scholarship

The compulsory conversion sermons gained renewed interest from scholars in the 1980s. In 1983, Fausto Parente published an essential study for the field.²²⁷ His "Il confronto ideologico

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Fausto Parente, "Il confronto ideologico tra l'Ebraismo e la Chiesa in Italia," *Italia Judaica* I, (1983): 303-381.

tra l'Ebraismo e la Chiesa in Italia” outlines polemics from the fourth century with John of Chrysostom through the eighteenth century. He frames his study around the difference between the heretic and the Jew in regard to the Church, which dictated proper belief for both groups. The Jew was asked to do something profoundly different than the heretic: renounce their identity.²²⁸ Parente discusses the sermons to the Jews as part of this ideological confrontation, noting that this practice was institutionalized and disciplined by Gregory XIII.²²⁹ Parente’s discussion of the convert Andrea de Monte’s is brief in “Il confront ideologico,” but his appendices provide two documents relevant to the convert’s life. Parente is also the author of the biographical entry on the convert in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* and an additional article in French, “Notes Biographiques sur André de Monte,” exploring the most important aspects of the convert’s life. He is considered the authority on Andrea de Monte.²³⁰

A key point that Parente highlights in his “Note Biographiques” is how De Monte navigated his roles in Rome. He posits that “the opinion of converted Jews was always “accommodated” according to the opinion of the one who had asked for it.”²³¹ Later, in the article Parente describes De Monte as the “perfect courtier.” He said what was asked of him.²³² Although his preaching was celebrated by the Church, it was also heavily supervised. His words were monitored and approved beforehand, and he always preached in the presence of

²²⁸ Ibid., 303-5.

²²⁹ Ibid., 323-4.

²³⁰ See, Fausto Parente, “Andrea de Monte,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 38 (1990): < https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-de-monte_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ > (Accessed 2015). See also, Fausto Parente, “Notes Biographiques sur André de Monte,” *Les juifs et l'Église romaine à l'époque moderne (XV^e-XVIII^e siècle)*, (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007), 177-203. An earlier version was published in 1986: *Clio* XXII (1986): 121-136. This chapter discusses the 2007 version.

²³¹ Ibid., 192.

²³² Ibid., 202.

ecclesiastical authorities. Simply put, his conversion remained suspicious.²³³ Indeed, evidence exists that De Monte failed to fully grasp Christian concepts. Parente notes that this is a characteristic of all Jewish converts. They translate from a Hebrew perspective. Parente provides the example of De Monte writing that “Jesus is the true Messiah,” and another hand adding, “and true God.”²³⁴

Parente’s other contribution is clarifying De Monte’s biographical narrative. As I stated previously, the primary source of information on De Monte derives from Bartolucci’s entry on the convert in his *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*. This includes the assignment in 1576 of preacher to the Jews, the complaints from the Jewish community, Cardinal Sirleto’s appointment of a coadjutor, and De Monte’s retirement in 1582.²³⁵ Fausto Parente only deals with three of these facts. First, he accepts the 1576 date as the origin of De Monte’s official title as a preacher to the Jews. This fact derives from the convert himself in a text—*Lettera di pace*—De Monte wrote and had delivered to the synagogues of Rome in January of 1581. Included in his letter of dedication to Cardinal Santa Severina, De Monte notes that Gregory XIII assigned him to the post in 1576.²³⁶ Although Parente notes that Bartolucci had access to a text which is no longer extant, he accepts the 1576 date. He deduces, based upon a library inventory for the convert’s household, that Bartolucci’s source was the original copy of De Monte’s *Lettera di pace*, and therefore, his transmission of the date is valid.²³⁷

²³³ Unlike other converts, De Monte never speaks of his conversion.

²³⁴ Parente, “Notes Biographiques sur André de Monte,” 203.

²³⁵ Bartolucci, III, 818-819.

²³⁶ *Neofiti* 37 is the extant text of the *Lettera di pace*. It is dedicated to Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto.

²³⁷ Parente, “Notes Biographiques sur André de Monte,” 199.

Parente also discusses the complaints of the Jewish community as expressed in an undated letter from an anonymous writer.²³⁸ The letter begins by stating that this friend wants to warn De Monte what the Jews are saying against him. “They resolutely say that they do not want to come to your sermons.”²³⁹ The author of this letter then describes one Jewish response to the convert’s argumentation. While De Monte sees the Jews’ circumstances as indicative of Christian triumph, the Jews view it the same as any other time they have been oppressed; God will rescue them, as he did from the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, and the Persians. The letter concludes with this oft-quoted statement. “They would rather hear the lessons and the discourses of any other Christian than yours.”²⁴⁰ The letter emphasizes this sentiment more profoundly in the statement which immediately precedes and is typically not quoted. The Jews reveal that they do not have to pay for De Monte’s sermons to them.²⁴¹ The depth of their animosity towards De Monte is so great that they would rather pay a Christian preacher than listen to De Monte preach for free.²⁴² For Parente, this letter is simply an indication of the animosity the Jews held toward

²³⁸ Ibid., 193. The letter is one of his appendices in “Il confronto ideologico.” See pp. 378-379. Charles Dejob was the original scholar to publish the letter. See, “Documents tires des papiers du Cardinal Sirleto,” *Revue des Etudes Juives*, IX, 1884, 86-87. The letter is part of the BAV *Vat. Lat.* 6792 volume. In Parente’s footnote for the letter, he notes the mistake Dejob made in identifying the sender of the letter as “Moro da Fessa.” Parente argues that this actually points to Andrea de Monte, who was from Fez.

²³⁹ Charles Dejob, “Documents,” 87. “Ils disent résolument qu'ils ne veulent pas venir à vos sermons.”

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 87-88. “E lis préféreraient entendre les leçons et les discours de n'importe quel chrétien plutôt que le votres.”

²⁴¹ Ibid., 87. “Et, bien qu'on dise que vous êtes leur serviteur pour leur prêcher et expliquer la loi sainte de Dieu sans nul salaire de leur part, toutefois votre enseignement ne leur agréé point.” This statement immediately precedes the second half of the quote cited above.

²⁴² I wonder if this mention of a salary might help provide an estimated date for this letter. If De Monte ever received a payment for his preaching to the Jews, it is possible that a record exists. Furthermore, this idea of a salary may indicate an early date for this letter before he earned an official assignment. If so, the stories which circulate in the histories about De Monte complaining that “the old men” or any Jew would not listen to him and thus spurring him to request that the Jews be obligated to listen to him, gain some legitimacy.

De Monte. It stands in contrast in his article to Montaigne's praise, demonstrating the two disparate perspectives of this convert.²⁴³

The third fact Bartolucci provides is the assignment of a coadjutor in response to Jewish complaints. There is no date for this assignment nor any documentation. Paul Rieger implies that this post was assigned in response to Jewish complaints following the circulation of the *Lettera di Pace*.²⁴⁴ This seems rather logical and fits with De Monte's resignation the following year. Complaints likely intensified as the pamphlet circulated. If the Jews were forced to listen to his sermons, he should not be allowed to also address them in their synagogues.²⁴⁵ Alternatively, Zucchi suggests this might be the source of the two-preacher system that Franzini noted.²⁴⁶ Either scenario requires more research and explanation with the sources that have been discovered since Zucchi and Rieger wrote. Parente chooses not to mention the coadjutor in his biographies, a significant choice given his expertise on De Monte's life and familiarity with the sources. His omission signals that this topic should be avoided as it cannot be verified.²⁴⁷

²⁴³ Parente, "Notes Biographiques sur André de Monte," 192-3.

²⁴⁴ Op. cit. As will be seen later, Emily Michelson gives it the date of 1582 initially.

²⁴⁵ See Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*. His discussion of *sicut Judeis* is helpful for thinking about Christian respect or the lack of respect for Jewish religious space.

²⁴⁶ Op. cit.

²⁴⁷ Parente is willing to accept Bartolucci's facts as long as he can offer a second source to confirm them, as with the 1576 dating for De Monte's post as preacher to the Jews. I call this topic a landmine because I can generate plausible scenarios based on sources for an early dating for this assignment as well as a later date. Any scenario must engage with Gregory Martin's description of the two-preacher structure and define the particular role the coadjutor played. In a chapter on Sermons in Italy, Carlo Delcorno provides a description of a coadjutor as a substitute. He notes that the Fourth Lateran Council "commends" mendicants to the bishops as coadjutors. He glosses coadjutor as "substitute." The mendicant assists the bishop by preaching in his stead. See, Carlo Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200-1500)," in Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *The Sermon* (Turnhout-Belgium: Brepols, 2000) 459. If a substitute is an appropriate role for the coadjutor, this would change the way we discuss this assignment.

The final aspect of the convert's life in Bartolucci is the "spontaneous" resignation of De Monte in 1582. The convert submitted a letter to Cardinal Sirleto, indicating that he would cease preaching to the Jews at the end of June. This letter, like the anonymous letter from a friend, is found in the manuscript, *Vat. lat. 6792*. Parente notes that the letter is "very difficult to decipher."²⁴⁸ He is forced to use the description contained in Bartolucci. The resignation is attributed to the extreme hostility of the Jews towards De Monte. In his assessment of De Monte's six-year tenure as the "preacher to the Jews," Parente credits the convert with "inspiring" the establishment of the compulsory conversion sermons.²⁴⁹ Overall, Parente clarifies the biography of De Monte by addressing and confirming the verifiable facts and eliminating a sequential narrative. He is still able to claim that the convert influenced the papal bulls, but Parente does not fabricate pieces of narrative to do so. This sets a standard for dealing with De Monte's life.²⁵⁰

Also in the 1980s, Attilio Milano's *Il Ghetto di Roma* was printed in a second edition. This publication solidified Milano's prominence in the historiography. However, the most influential studies for the field are articles published by Renata Martano and Anna Foa, focusing on the sermon event.²⁵¹ Martano is more clearly addressing the period of the mission under

²⁴⁸ Parente, "Notes Biographiques sur André de Monte," 193.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 189.

²⁵⁰ I also note that Fausto Parente is one of the only scholars in the field who directly addresses and corrects misinformation in other scholarship. I mentioned above that Parente corrects Rodocanachi's misidentification of the anonymous letter. He also notes that Hoffmann and Wolf, who like Bartolucci, compiled a compendium of Hebrew literature, utilized the German version of Franzini causing them to make errors. See, "Notes Biographiques sur André de Monte," 188.

²⁵¹ For scholars exploring the seventeenth-century practice, see Fiamma Satta, "Predicatori agli ebrei, catecumeni e neofiti a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento," *Itinerari ebraico-cristiani* (1987): 111–27. Satta demonstrates the new attacks on the Jews concerning their religious customs in the sermons. She argues that the institution was more important than the actual conversion. In this way, Satta's article is very similar to the conclusions of Martano and Foa.

Gregory XIII, while Foa's thesis is independent of a particular timeframe in the practice although Andrea de Monte appears in her article. The studies of both Martano and Foa implicitly challenge the common assumption that the sermons had a goal of converting the Jews. In her article, "La missione inutile: la predicazione obbligatoria agli Ebrei di Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento," as the title indicates, Renata Martano assesses the efficacy of the mission to the Jews.²⁵² Moreover, Martano asks whether the preachers believed the Jews capable of conversion.²⁵³ Throughout the article, there are hints of Rodocanachi.²⁵⁴ Like Rodocanachi, Martano compares the more "pastoral" Italian mission with the more violent Spanish mission as the opening framework to her discussion of the sermons. She also assesses the role of Andrea de Monte in the success of the campaign.²⁵⁵ Martano claims that the mission failed the moment De Monte was removed from his post. Nonetheless, at the core of their studies, both Rodocanachi and Martano place the papal mission to the Jews in a framework of contradiction. As Rodocanachi ironically states in his chapter, it was either too much or not enough.²⁵⁶ These fundamental contradictions indicate the inevitable failure of the mission.

Martano relies on Ettore Natali and Attilio Milano for her account of the obligatory preaching. She begins her discussion of the practice of preaching to the Jews with an account of the origins of the practice. She follows Natali's view that the disputations are the origin of the

²⁵² Renata Martano, "La missione inutile: la predicazione obbligatoria agli Ebrei di Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento," in *Itinerari Ebraico-Cristiani: Società cultura mito*, eds., M. Caffiero, A. Foa, and A. Morisi Guerra, (Fasano: Schena Editore, 1987), 93-110.

²⁵³ Martano does not address Stow in her article. However, her conclusions challenge Stow's underlying thesis that the policy changed because the papacy had true expectation that the Jews would convert.

²⁵⁴ Martano cites Rodocanachi in a footnote providing a bibliography for the House of Catechumens and the College of Neophytes. She does not directly cite him as a source in her work. *Ibid.*, 97, n. 6.

²⁵⁵ They arrive at different conclusions.

²⁵⁶ Rodocanachi, *Le Saint-Seige et les Juifs*, 280.

preaching to the Jews. The custom in medieval Iberia was for a sermon to follow a debate between Jews and Christians.²⁵⁷ Martano describes *Vineam sorec* (1278) as the official recognition of the establishment of the obligatory preaching. Turning to the sixteenth century, she describes Gregory XIII's two bulls in the same manner as Milano. The compulsory preaching received precise and rigid regulations with the two documents. She collapses the two bulls but does not articulate what the bulls command.²⁵⁸ Instead, she focuses on articulating the new face of this proselytizing technique. It aims to degrade Jewish customs and religion by preaching on the Sabbath as well as preaching on the very passage read in the synagogue that morning. The practice also has a weakness in that it depends on converts to fulfill this task. It is one of the ironies of the campaign to convert Jews; the church wants to convert the Jews through preaching, but to do so, it needs converted Jews to lend the church their voices and words.²⁵⁹

The remainder of her article discusses the lives and the writings of two convert preachers, Andrea de Monte and Fabiano Fioghi (d. 1611).²⁶⁰ Martano uses their writings as a reflection of the arguments their sermons would contain to question whether these converts had confidence in the success of this mission. De Monte's oratory, as one might expect, is full of contempt while Fioghi's is calm and patient.²⁶¹ Martano generally believes using the Jewish converts to preach to

²⁵⁷ Martano may be referencing the sermons following the Disputation of Barcelona in 1263. King James I is said to have delivered a conversion sermon following the dispute. Friar Paul Christian was invited to Provence to preach to the Jews there. Additionally, Vincent Ferrer traveled around Catalonia preaching to the Jews in the wake of the Disputation of Tortosa (1413-14). However, while this is a true statement, it is not the case that preaching to the Jews only occurred in concert with disputations.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 102.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 103.

²⁶⁰ Emily Michelson will use a similar analysis, adding a third convert Giovanni Paulo Eustachio, in her article, "How to Write a Conversionary Sermon," 244-248.

²⁶¹ Martano, "La missione inutile," 107.

the Jews is a weakness of the campaign. De Monte, on the other hand, seems to have been the only preacher able to shake the hearts of the Jewish people since they lodged official complaints about him until he voluntarily retired from preaching. Martano concludes that “pressure from the population of the ghetto would not have been sufficient to eliminate a figure so dear to the pope if the desire to shake Jewish minds had been real and consistent.”²⁶² This serves to emphasize the contradiction of a church which had resources to persuasively convert Jews but a crude and ineffective practice. Contradictions pervade the practice. Martano concludes that the strong, Catholic belief in the immutable nature of the Jew is the core of the contradiction in the conversionist policy of the church. The Christian concept of the Jew is fundamentally incapable of conversion. The uselessness of the practice is not so much the scarce results or the relatively little effort invested by the church in comparison to other missions but that the practice fundamentally rejects the other, which is a premise consistent in the history of the obligatory sermon.²⁶³

Contradictions and ambiguous notions of Jewish conversion are part of Anna Foa’s work as well. She explores the contradictory aims of the mission to the Jews from the perspective of a theatrical performance in her article, “Il gioco del proselitismo.”²⁶⁴ Foa begins her study where Martano ended, and asks what was the function of the sermon event in Christian society if Christians did not believe the Jews could convert? Her argument is that the mission to the Jews is a play in which the Church and the Jew have predetermined roles. While on the stage, conversion

²⁶² Ibid., 106. “Appare quindi probabile che la sola pressione della popolazione del ghetto non sarebbe bastata ad eliminare una figura così cara al Papa se il desiderio di scuotere gli animi ebraici fosse stato reale e coerente.”

²⁶³ Ibid., 108-110.

²⁶⁴ Anna Foa, “Il gioco del proselitismo: politica delle conversione e controllo della violenza nella Roma del Cinquecento,” in *Ebrei e cristiani nell'Italia medievale e moderna: conversioni, scambi, contrasti*, eds., Michele Luzzati, Michele Olivari, and Alessandra Veronese, (Roma: Carucci, 1988), 155–69.

of the other is represented, but behind the curtain is the maintenance of this performance.²⁶⁵ This performance stabilizes the pre-assigned roles and also achieves a balance of order, violence, and repression.²⁶⁶ The sermons display both the ritual and theatrical elements of proselytization. These sermons reverse the Sabbath rite of the Jews, flipping the morning's activities in the synagogue into a Christian form in the afternoon. The Christian crowd that jeered at the Jews as they walked from the ghetto to the sermon also fulfilled a role of circumscribed violence. Foa likens the sermon event to Carnival with its ritualized violence. She argues that this acceptable violence during the procession stabilized the relationship with the Jew as other, living amongst Christians.²⁶⁷ Foa's argument is not tied to a particular moment in the history of this practice, abstracted from specific dates.²⁶⁸ Once scholars begin utilizing Gregory Martin's *Roma Sancta*, Foa's argument becomes increasingly important.

The Twenty-First Century and the Growth of English Language Scholarship

In 2008, Marina Caffiero identified a problem in the historiography of the preaching to the Jews in her article "Domenicani, ebrei inquisizione."²⁶⁹ Caffiero calls this problem an "historiographical removal." Within sermon studies, preaching to the Jews is ignored. The same can be said of missions and the Inquisition.²⁷⁰ Caffiero writes that the way scholarship tends to

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 156.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 158.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ In fact, if the discussion of the violence during the procession of the Jews is tied to actual sources, then Foa's thesis might better be suited to the period beginning with Clement VIII. Notices to the Roman population warning them to not disturb the Jews as they walk to the sermons appear in the 1590s. C.f. Carmignano, 287, footnote 62. The overarching problem in the field is the lack of evidence for the early period.

²⁶⁹ Marina Caffiero, "Domenicani, Ebrei, Inquisizione. Tra predicazione forzata e censura libraria," *Praedicatores Inquisitores: III, I domenicani e l'inquisizione romana: atti del III seminario internazionale su "I domenicani e l'inquisizione"* 15-18 febbraio 2006, (Roma: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 2008): 205-234.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 209-10.

treat the relationship between Christians and Jews is “ultimately marginal and irrelevant for non-Jews.” Consequently, all the institutions and law that affect the Jews are considered disconnected from the narrative of Christian society.²⁷¹ Caffiero’s description is apt. This chapter has attempted to highlight some of the ways in which this field has suffered from treating the sermons to the Jews as disconnected from other policies and institutions created by the Catholic Church.²⁷² Caffiero focuses on the connection between the Inquisition, the Dominican Order, and the post of preacher to the Jews in her article. By doing so, she explains in a more robust manner than Zucchi the Dominican Order’s prominent role in the preaching to the Jews following *Sancta mater ecclesia*. For instance, she points to the important fact that this mission to the Jews and the Inquisition became dependent upon convert knowledge. Often a preacher to the Jews also acted as a censor of Hebrew books. While Zucchi highlights the knowledge of Dominicans as a reason for their selection as preachers to the Jews, Caffiero notes that the Dominican Order was the order accepting converts as members at the time. Other orders, including the Jesuits, had denied them access.²⁷³

Following Caffiero, there was a surge in English language scholarship on the compulsory conversion sermons. A range of studies have appeared mentioning the sermons to the Jews, including in art history. For instance, Gerd Blum has a discussion of the practice of preaching to the Jews in his article in *The Art Bulletin* on Giorgio Vasari and the Moses of Michelangelo.²⁷⁴ In

²⁷¹ Ibid., 210.

²⁷² C.f. my later discussion of the College of Neophytes, modeled on the national seminaries. Also, I would point to scholarship on individual preachers (i.e. Antonio Possevino and St. Lawrence of Brindisi), which has largely been disconnected from this field as a symptom of the trends in scholarship.

²⁷³ Caffiero, “Domenicani, Ebrei, Inquisizione,” 215-216.

²⁷⁴ Gerd Blum, “Vasari on the Jews: Christian Canon, Conversion, and the Moses of Michelangelo,” *The Art Bulletin*, 95:4 (2013), 557-577.

2015, Martine Boiteux published a study on the practice and art. Due to the nature of the field in English, Boiteux summarizes much of the scholarship on the sermons in “Preaching to the Jews in Early Modern Rome: Words and Images” to contextualize these paintings found in churches where the sermons were preached to the Jews.²⁷⁵ Relatedly, art historian Barbara Wisch’s study of the Oratory of Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini has yielded new information on the establishment of the practice in that space in 1576.²⁷⁶ This is indicative that academic disciplines are becoming more aware of the sermons to the Jews and, in general, the importance of the mission to Jews in sixteenth-century Rome.

One major development in this historiography is new work on actual sermons to the Jews. In 2008, Shulamit Furstenberg-Levi published the first of three articles on Vitale de’ Medici’s *Omellie fatte alli Ebrei di Firenze*. She published “The Boundaries Between "Jewish" and "Catholic" Space in Counter-Reformation Florence as Seen by the Convert Vitale Medici”²⁷⁷ in 2008 and followed that with “The Sermons of a Rabbi Converted to Christianity: Between Synagogue and Church”²⁷⁸ and “The Book of Homilies of the Convert to Catholicism Vitale Medici: Two Models of Identity”²⁷⁹ in 2012. As is demonstrated by the titles, Furstenberg-Levi

²⁷⁵ Martine Boiteux, “Preaching to the Jews in Early Modern Rome: Words and Images,” *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, eds. Jonathan Adams and Jussi Hanska, (New York: Routledge, 2015), 296-322.

²⁷⁶ Barbara Wisch, “Promoting Piety, Coercing Conversion: The Roman Archconfraternity of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti and its Oratory,” no. 47 (2020): 255-277, CXC-CCXVII. Her contributions were discussed above.

²⁷⁷ Shulamit Furstenberg-Levi, “The Boundaries Between "Jewish" and "Catholic" Space in Counter-Reformation Florence as Seen by the Convert Vitale Medici,” *Italia*, no. 18, (2008): 65–90.

²⁷⁸ Shulamit Furstenberg-Levi, “The Sermons of a Rabbi Converted to Christianity: Between Synagogue and Church,” *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature*, (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 281-298.

²⁷⁹ Shulamit Furstenberg-Levi, “The Book of Homilies of the Convert to Catholicism Vitale Medici: Two Models of Identity,” *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* XXV (2012): 153-168.

focuses on identity and conversion. Her studies revolutionized the field, not only because she produced the first studies on the content of these sermons, but she also published in English. Furstenberg-Levi represents the expansion of the field to outline the practice in the other cities of Italy.

Another scholar who approaches the practice from a new perspective is Piet van Boxel. In *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*, Van Boxel explores three texts which were originally housed in the *Collegio dei Neofiti* and are now a part of the Vatican Library's Latin manuscript collection.²⁸⁰ The primary manuscript of the project, which took place from 1578 to 1583, is *Vat. lat.* 14628. The texts had previously been utilized to emphasize a rivalry between the *Congregation of the Index* and the *Congregation of the Holy Office* over the censorship and expurgation of Hebrew books during Gregory XIII's pontificate.²⁸¹ Van Boxel argues that these texts were actually a part of a different project designed not to simply censor and expurgate blasphemous works but to use as preaching manuals for converting the Jews. The argument builds upon Gregory Martin's *Congregatio Hebraeorum librorum*, headed by Cardinal Santa Severina, which van Boxel claims was a genuine and separate entity designed for the specific

²⁸⁰ These manuscripts are currently identified as *Vat. lat.* 14628 (formerly Neofiti 39), *Vat. lat.* 14629 (Neofiti 49), and *Vat. lat.* 14630 (Neofiti 50). Van Boxel discusses the manuscripts in the second chapter of his book *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*, 39-55.

²⁸¹ The existence of these two congregations and the censorship of books in Early Modern Italy has troubled scholars before Gregory Martin's manuscript was discovered and published in the mid nineteenth-century. Pope Gregory XIII established the Congregation of the Index as one of his first official acts as pope in 1572. Among the cardinals named to the Congregation were Guglielmo Sirleto and Gabriele Paleotti, with Sirleto heading the congregation. However, one of the official tasks of the Roman Inquisition was the oversight of prohibited literature. As van Boxel notes, the Pope failed to redefine the scope of power of the *Congregation of the Holy Office* when he instituted a new congregation to create an index of condemned books and expurgate other texts. Thus, scholars have debated the relationship between Cardinals Sirleto and Santa Severina who were fighting over which congregation had ultimate authority over the printing of books. Van Boxel argues that Sirleto and Santa Severina were actually working together more than has been previously assumed, precisely because Santa Severina was the liaison between the pope and the congregation working to expurgate Hebrew texts, in particular. Piet van Boxel, "Cardinal Santoro and the Expurgation of Hebrew literature," in *The Roman Inquisition, the Index and the Jews: Contexts, Sources and Perspectives*, ed. Stephan Wendehorst (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 19-34.

purpose of converting the Jews.²⁸² Comparing expurgation templates and these manuscripts demonstrates a markedly different technique, skill level of the contributors, and thus use for the manuscripts. The involvement of Robert Bellarmine and Giulio Antonio Santoro, neither of whom were named to the *Congregatio Indici* although Bellarmine would later join that congregation in 1587,²⁸³ further emphasizes that this group was indeed a separate entity designed for the purpose of preparing “a manual of Christian interpretation of Scripture in confrontation with Jewish biblical exegesis.”²⁸⁴ Van Boxel highlights the work of Bellarmine and the Sacred Master of the Palace who were responsible for approving the expurgations and arbitrating any areas of doubt. Santoro enters as a figure with ultimate oversight over the work and a liaison to the pope. Although Carmignano had highlighted the role of Cardinal Santa Severina, Giulio Antonio Santoro, in the institutionalization of the practice of preaching to the Jews, Santoro’s involvement has been largely overlooked in scholarship.²⁸⁵ Van Boxel corrects this oversight.

Van Boxel contextualizes this study with a discussion of the establishment of the practice of preaching to the Jews under Gregory XIII. This chapter is one of the first robust discussions of Gregory Martin’s chapter on preaching to the Jews in *Roma Sancta*, a manuscript which will be discussed in the next chapter. Although the manuscript had become available in print in 1969, scholars in the field did not utilize the text to its full potential. A notable exception

²⁸² Writing on the censorship of books, Fausto Parente does not reject Gregory Martin’s discussion of this Congregation outright. As Parente includes in a footnote, Santori may have proposed such a congregation, but it was never officially established. See, Fausto Parente, “The index, the Holy Office, the condemnation of the Talmud and publication of Clement VIII’s index,” in *Church, Censorship, and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Gigliola Fragnito, trans. Adrian Belton, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), footnote 28, 172.

²⁸³ See Peter Godman, *Saint as Censor: Robert Bellarmine Between Inquisition and Index*, (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 52.

²⁸⁴ Van Boxel, *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*, 12-13. Gustavo Sacerdote is the scholar who categorized these manuscripts in 1895 as expurgated by the Congregation of the Index.

²⁸⁵ Carmignano also mentions Bellarmine as a preacher to the Jews.

is Fausto Parente who includes a section on Martin's description of Andrea de Monte's preaching in his biographical notes on the convert.²⁸⁶ Van Boxel treats Martin's text as a legitimate source and expounds on the information that Martin provides. He provides biographical information on the Christian preachers Martin names and the names of the famous converts Martin mentions in addition to Andrea de Monte. The latter is extremely helpful since Martin describes but does not name these converts.²⁸⁷ Van Boxel also expands on the preaching career of Andrea de Monte, filling in dates for sermons the convert gave, which are preserved in *Neofiti* 35. Although Van Boxel does not mention this, *Neofiti* 35 had been misidentified previously as the sermons of Domenico Gerosolimitano.²⁸⁸ Van Boxel also notes that De Monte's "Hebrew autograph summary of sermons" reveals a mission to the Jews with broad support amongst the religious orders, challenging the typical depiction of this practice.²⁸⁹ He writes, "The involvement of the Jesuits, Franciscans, Oratorians and Dominicans, who opened their churches for this particular missionary activity and to which they even more importantly contributed by providing their most prominent preachers, illustrates how much importance was assigned to it."²⁹⁰ While some of the examples he provides for this conclusion are not germane—

²⁸⁶ Fausto Parente, "Notes biographiques sur André de Monte," *Les juifs et l'église romaine à l'époque moderne*. (Paris: Champion, 2007): 177-203. The section on Gregory Martin is found on pages 189-192.

²⁸⁷ Piet van Boxel, *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*, 13-18.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 22, footnote, 64. See also 25-26 for sermons delivered prior to his appointment in 1576. Until this is specifically corrected in a monograph on the sermons to the Jews, Domenico Gerosolimitano will continue to be cited as a preacher to the Jews from 1573 to 1586.

²⁸⁹ In general, histories describe the preachers to the Jews as Dominicans. Van Boxel does not cite any scholarship here. As Caffiero writes in her 2008 article mentioned above, the Dominicans as preachers to the Jews "is a well-known fact." *Op. cit.*, 214. Lance Gabriel Lazar's depiction of what he terms the "compartmentalization" of the orders by the pontificate of Gregory XIII reveals how pervasive this characterization is in scholarship. "Dominicans were selected more and more frequently for the post of Preacher to the Jews, whereas Jesuits concentrated on the catechetical teaching of the catechumens and neophytes, and a non-religious priest, as rector, was responsible for the orderly functioning of the house." Lance Gabriel Lazar, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy*, 116. Van Boxel highlights that this was not the case during the pontificate of Gregory XIII.

²⁹⁰ Piet van Boxel, *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*, 24.

they provide evidence of sermons preached to Christians, not Jews—*Roma Sancta* certainly supports his claim.

Emily Michelson

The final scholar I will discuss in this chapter has made the preaching to the Jews in early modern Rome the primary focus of her research over the last ten years. Emily Michelson, like Shulamit Furstenberg-Levi, began her work with a particular preacher and his published sermons to the Jews.²⁹¹ Starting from the career of the Franciscan, Evangelista Marcellino, Michelson has expanded her focus to the broader practice of preaching to the Jews in early modern Rome.²⁹² The historiography outlined above directly influences her work. Michelson’s scholarship aptly demonstrates certain trends in the historiography, the current focus of the field, and the gaps in our knowledge of the practice.

Michelson has published three articles on the sermons to the Jews, utilizing sixteenth-century figures and texts, and a recent fourth article on Jewish reactions to the sermons, utilizing primarily seventeenth-century accounts. Her first article, “Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations,” establishes her working theories on the “conversionary sermons,” which she continues to explore and elaborate through her subsequent articles.²⁹³ First, these sermons are a product of the reform era when the Catholic Church sought to redefine itself as a model of

²⁹¹ In fact, her first article is published along with Furstenberg-Levi’s “The Book of Homilies of the Convert to Catholicism Vitale Medici: Two Models of Identity” in the twenty-fifth volume of *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*.

²⁹² Emily Michelson, “Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations,” *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, 25 (2012), 185-202. See also, Emily Michelson, “How to Write a Conversionary Sermon: Rhetorical Influences and Religious Identity,” *Religious Orders and Religious Identity Formation, ca. 1420-1620: Discourses and Strategies of Observance and Pastoral Engagement*, eds. Bert Roest and Johanneke Uphoff, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 235-251; “Conversionary Preaching and the Jews in Early Modern Rome,” *Past and Present*, no. 235 (May 2017), 85.

²⁹³ “Conversionary sermon” is the term Michelson utilizes for the *predica coattiva*.

Christian virtue and reaffirm its validity in the face of threats from Protestantism in the sixteenth century.²⁹⁴ Second, the sermon event was a spectacle for the Christians of Rome as well as visitors to the city.²⁹⁵ Third, the traditional, medieval arguments of the sermons indicate a theological and therefore, theoretical conversion of the Jews.²⁹⁶ Fourth, “the Jew” serves a necessary function in society as a foil for the Christian. Consequently, Jewish conversion is not actually desirable. Michelson argues throughout her articles that Christians, not Jews, were the primary audience, and the intent of the conversion sermons was to convert Christians to a more pious life.²⁹⁷

Michelson’s articles are best grouped with the work of two Italian scholars, Renata Martano and Anna Foa, in the 1980s. She follows their more generalized description of the practice of preaching to the Jews and develops the main themes of their articles more fully. Martano’s “immutable Jew” fits nicely into Michelson’s claim that the conversion offered by the sermons is theoretical. Foa’s articulation of the sermons as performance with designated roles for the Jew and the Christian influences Michelson’s idea that the Jew is necessary for Christianity. Michelson’s elaboration of this event as a spectacle derives from the groundwork Foa laid in her “Il gioca del proselitismo.” I mentioned above that these scholars implicitly challenge Kenneth Stow’s argument in *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy* that the popes of the sixteenth century changed their policies to actively pursue conversion of the Jews precisely because they expected Jews to convert. Michelson explicitly does so.

²⁹⁴ Michelson, “Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations,” 188.

²⁹⁵ C.f. Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*.

²⁹⁶ Michelson, “Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations,” 199.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 202.

One of Michelson's main contributions to the field is the use of Evangelista Marcellino's *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove*.²⁹⁸ The focal point of her 2012 article, Marcellino appears in her subsequent articles as a representative of preaching to the Jews in the late sixteenth century. In "Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations," she approaches the sermons through the career of this Franciscan who claims a long-standing involvement in the mission to the Jews as a preacher and a career as a reader of scripture in Santa Maria Aracoeli.²⁹⁹ The beginning of Michelson's study contextualizes the practice and Evangelista Marcellino's role, while the latter half concentrates on a comparison between Marcellino's presentation of Jews in his sermons to the Jews and his discussion of Jews in his sermons to Christians. This framing is Michelson's response to Marina Caffiero's critique that sermons to the Jews are neglected in the field of sermon studies. Michelson identifies the sermons to the Jews as a subset of Marcellino's scriptural lessons to a Christian audience, which emerged from his role as an explicator of scripture.³⁰⁰ This latter role made Marcellino particularly desirable as a preacher to the Jews. *Sancta mater ecclesia's* guidelines indicate that the preacher should preach on the Old Testament.³⁰¹

Michelson notes Marcellino's "traditional approach" in the composition of his sermons to the Jews. He relies on medieval polemic and utilizes grammatical explanations and scripture to

²⁹⁸ As Michelson highlights, she is the first scholar to utilize actual sermons to the Jews to discuss the Roman practice of preaching to the Jews. *Ibid.*, 187.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 186. Michelson cites Marina Caffiero's article on the Dominicans and the Inquisition to emphasize that Marcellino's dual position as a preacher to the Jews and an explicator of scripture was rare. Caffiero writes of a later time period in which the preacher to the Jews was a more specialized position. And in fact, she notes that they often held the position of a censor of Hebrew books.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 194.

³⁰¹ C.f. All of Marcellino's printed scriptural lessons are on books of the Old Testament.

prove the superiority of Christianity.³⁰² This goal demonstrates to Michelson that the intended audience cannot be the Jews.³⁰³ She offers a few reasons. The conversion presented in Marcellino's sermons is purely theological;³⁰⁴ the Jew must reject all their beliefs in order to convert.³⁰⁵ A theological approach seems to only target educated men who were familiar with scripture. Since women and families were such desirable converts, the sermons were an ineffectual strategy if their intent was actual conversion.³⁰⁶ A theological conversion goes along with the theoretical conversion; conversion was possible but unlikely. Moreover, Marcellino does not mention the daily life of sixteenth-century Jews, but rather presents a hermeneutical Jew in his sermons. This hermeneutical Jew, a concept articulated by Jeremy Cohen, is a Jew frozen in biblical time and characterized by descriptions in scripture. The Jew is therefore disconnected from current circumstances.³⁰⁷ As Michelson's use of the term demonstrates, it is frequently employed in scholarship to indicate a non-evangelistic or internal focus. The Jew acts primarily as a foil for the Christian in this sense. For Michelson, this becomes the primary function of the

³⁰² Ibid., 193.

³⁰³ She writes, "It is somewhat facile, perhaps, to observe that conversionary sermons to Jews are in fact intended to convert Christians to a better and more pious life, but Marcellino's sermons...show how true and necessary that interpretation is." Ibid., 202. See also, a comment on pages 198-9. "As all students of conversionary preaching eventually realize, the Christian listeners and readers are as much the destined audience as the Jewish ones, and in this Marcellino is a prime example."

³⁰⁴ Marina Caffiero emphasizes this point in "Domenicani, Ebrei, Inquisizione," 209. Caffiero discusses the doctrinal and theological awareness of the auditors that scholarship ignores.

³⁰⁵ I would argue that this is vital to conversion of the Jews. Is this not the intent of catechesis? Christian doctrine and theology must be fully embraced in order to be baptized.

³⁰⁶ Michelson, "Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations," 197.

³⁰⁷ See Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). His chapter on Augustine is where he articulates this idea that the Jew is a construct used by Christians for a specific theological purpose. See also his review article of Paula Fredriksen's book *Augustine and the Jews*. Cohen, Jeremy. "Revisiting Augustine's Doctrine of Jewish Witness." *The Journal of Religion*, vol. 89, no. 4, The University of Chicago Press, (2009): 564-78 <https://doi.org/10.1086/600873>.

sermons; they strengthen Christian belief rather than persuading the Jews to convert. Michelson emphasizes as well that the Jews, in this role, continue to be a necessity for the Catholic faith.³⁰⁸

Their necessity negates the expectation for conversion.

Her second article, “How to Write a Conversionary Sermon: Rhetorical Influences and Religious Identity,” explores the medieval mendicant influence upon the conversion sermons.³⁰⁹

While the term “rhetoric” is new here, Michelson elaborates on her discussion of the “traditional approach” from her article on Marcellino. She identifies medieval literature deriving from polemics and anti-Jewish preaching as the sources for materials and the style of conversionary sermons.³¹⁰ What she intends by the first category is not simply medieval polemical literature but literature and sermons deriving from medieval disputations.³¹¹ To emphasize the performative nature of the conversionary sermons, Michelson directly connects medieval sermon rhetoric and the disputations—she names Paris and Barcelona.³¹²

Michelson provides a simplified overview of a complex mission to the Jews in Spain. The remainder of the article compares the rhetoric of Marcellino and three converts. She notes that convert rhetoric, which she derives from treatises not sermons, demonstrates innovation

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 199.

³⁰⁹ Emily Michelson, “How to Write a Conversionary Sermon: Rhetorical Influences and Religious Identity,” 235-251. Familiar arguments appear in this second article. The conversion sermons’ true purpose was to bolster Catholic religious identity, the sermons were a performance for a Christian audience, and the imaginary Jew played the role of foil for the Christian audience member.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 238.

³¹¹ This framework seems to derive from Martano who writes that it was the custom for a sermon to follow a medieval debate (C.f. “La missione inutile,” 102). Unfortunately, access to the sermon literature in this genre for the Middle Ages is almost non-existent. Robert Chazan is able to extrapolate from a Jewish account of the sermon themes Paul Christian covers when he preached to the Jews in France following the Disputation of Barcelona. I am unaware of other extant sermons to the Jews from this period.

³¹² “How to Write a Conversionary Sermon,” 238-240. It is curious that she does not mention the Disputation of Tortosa (1411-1412), which is linked to one of the most famous preaching campaigns. Vincent Ferrer embarked on his mission to the Jews in a preaching tour following the devastation Tortosa wreaked upon the Jewish community.

while Marcellino's holds to the traditional medieval approach.³¹³ Converts displayed more antagonism towards their former co-religionists than Marcellino, and they utilized contemporary events in their discussions of conversion where these are almost "imperceptible" in Marcellino. In the sixteenth century, these innovations do not appear in sermons.³¹⁴ By implication, she argues that convert rhetoric might have achieved better success, at the very least in that it attempted to address actual Jews. Michelson identifies the refusal to deter from a medieval polemical framework as indicative that the Jews were much more profitable in Christianity as a foil for the laity than they were as converts.

In "Conversionary Preaching and the Jews," Michelson focuses on the "imaginary Jew." While she admits overlap in both content and themes with "Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations," Michelson notes that "Conversionary Preaching and the Jews" reflects the development of her research.³¹⁵ This is apparent in the framing of her argument, the amount of secondary literature she cites, and a debatable tempering of an earlier claim.³¹⁶ Michelson does not veer from her previous claim about the true intention of the sermons. "Its conversionary function for Jews was subordinate to the various purposes it could serve for

³¹³ This is the method Renata Martano utilizes in "La missione inutile."

³¹⁴ "How to Write a Conversionary Sermon," 249.

³¹⁵ "Conversionary Preaching and the Jews," 70, ft., 6.

³¹⁶ In comparison with this article, Michelson is rather loose with citations and the breadth of research in her first two articles. Many times, her statements yield more questions than answers. In "Conversionary Preaching," her writing reflects more work with the sources. A great example is her coverage of the sixteenth century preachers found in Gregory Martin's *Roma Sancta*. She offers at least three sources to consult for further reading corresponding to each preacher. She does the same for Marcellino. In "Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations," Michelson only cites Angelico Piladi's study on the preacher. While she qualifies Piladi as the best biography of Marcellino, the lack of a more robust bibliography for the subject of her article is not a typical approach in historical studies. A quick scan of the articles will also reveal that citations are simply more abundant in "Conversionary Preaching and the Jews." There is a direct correlation between the copious citations and her deeper explanations of her arguments.

Christians.”³¹⁷ However, she is willing to acknowledge the Jew as a target of the sermons. In her conclusion she writes, “It is tempting to conclude here with a neat hypothesis that conversionary sermons aimed to convert Christians rather than Jews, but we must not do so.”³¹⁸ Reading the section that follows, however, Michelson leaves very little to conclude other than that “neat hypothesis” in which her research is invested.

Michelson’s starting point is David Nirenberg’s work on the role the imaginary Jew has played throughout western Christendom.³¹⁹ While Nirenberg explores the places where real Jews do not exist, such as Shakesporean England or post-1492 Spain, Michelson notes that she applies Nirenberg’s concept to Rome, the center of an ancient Jewish community and also the source of the imaginary Jew.³²⁰ Her goal in the article is to demonstrate an imaginary Jew that is different from what Nirenberg finds in other moments and spaces in Christendom. She sees much more fluidity in the concept. For instance, the imaginary and the real Jew are not opposites, and the real Jew can play the role of the imaginary Jew and does at the sermon event.³²¹

Michelson covers two aspects of the sermons: the spectacle and the rhetoric.³²² In her section on the spectacle, Michelson discusses the ritual roles the Jew fulfilled in Rome. At the sermons, they were a model for penitence.³²³ The Christian audience is “essential” to this

³¹⁷ “Conversionary Preaching and the Jews,” 71.

³¹⁸ Ibid., 100.

³¹⁹ David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2013).

³²⁰ “Conversionary Preaching and the Jews,” 70-71. Michelson does not provide citations here. She describes Rome as “the place that manufactured the imaginary Jew” (71). Also, she writes that “Rome’s Holy See, over many centuries, also generated most of Europe’s anti-Jewish rhetoric and theology” (70-1). These are comments that require references and examples.

³²¹ Ibid., 72.

³²² Ibid., 85. She identifies Evangelista Marcellino as the preacher who best represents both aspects.

³²³ Ibid., 82.

enterprise as they are to imagine themselves in the various roles of this performance. The Christian is a “pious spectator” who might respond in penance, the Jew models the possibility of this penance, and the neophyte demonstrates that “inner transformation was indeed possible.”³²⁴ Discussing rhetoric, Michelson utilizes the Catholic sermons of Cornelio Musso and Evangelista Marcellino to argue that the “Jew” was a generic term across Roman sermons. Catholics were accustomed to hearing it in sermons and recognizing themselves in the Jew that the preacher admonishes. The same generic use of “Jew” exists in the conversionary sermons to the Jews so that every auditor—Christian, neophyte, or Jew—was supposed to place themselves in the position of the Jew.³²⁵ As she concludes her article, Michelson reiterates that the sermons had a more fundamental goal in “bring[ing] Christians to penitence.”³²⁶

In her most recent article on conversion sermons, Emily Michelson explores Jewish responses to sermons from the 1580s through the early eighteenth century. “Resist, Refute, Redirect: Roman Jews Attend Conversionary Sermons” seeks to complete the picture of the compulsory conversion sermons in the early modern era. I mention this article here to highlight her research into an important aspect of the sermon event, which early histories always mentioned but never developed. The content is primarily from a later period where sources are more abundant. Her article demonstrates the Jew did not simply accept the designated role Catholics provided but attempted to push back against this oppressive system. Michelson

³²⁴ “Conversionary Preaching and the Jews,” 89.

³²⁵ “Conversionary Preaching and the Jews,” 89-98. This indicates a change from her analysis of Catholic sermons in “Evangelista Marcellino,” where she concluded that Marcellino spoke about Jews differently to Catholics versus to Jews. To the former, Marcellino acknowledged their presence in Rome and their current ritual observances, whereas the Jews were disconnected from current life in sermons to the latter.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 98-99.

highlights a dynamic that is missing in the brief descriptions of Jewish resistance or in the focus on Catholic thought.³²⁷

Michelson's articles represent the current direction in scholarship on the compulsory conversion sermons. While she began by exploring a conversionary sermon text, she has moved to the sermon event in her studies. To a large extent, the sermon content has been set aside in favor of depicting the sermons to the Jews as a spectacle for Christian Rome. Her argument is compelling and focuses on a vital component for the institution of preaching to the Jews.

Michelson rightly emphasizes that the presence of Christians at the sermons adds another level of meaning and function to the event. On the other hand, Michelson's scholarship is rooted in this historiography, which contains misrepresentations, generalizations, and loose connections to the primary sources. Her articles reflect a reliance on this secondary literature, repeating some of these errors. For example, Michelson's description of *Vices eius nos* reflects most of twentieth-century scholarship. In her first article, she offers a generalized description of the practice. However, in her most recent article, she describes *Vices eius nos* as the "mandate" for weekly preaching on Saturday afternoons and identifies De Monte as the source of this bull even though "we have no hard evidence."³²⁸ As will be outlined more fully in the next chapter, scholarship tends to ignore the actual words of the papal bulls.

³²⁷ Reading this article alongside Marina Caffiero's "Domenicani, Ebrei, Inquisizione: Tra predicazione forzata e censura libraria" paints a fascinating picture of the practice and the relationship between the preachers and the Jews in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

³²⁸ Michelson, "Resist, Refute, Redirect," 350. This is her strongest articulation of *Vices eius nos* as ordering the sermons. She also describes the bull as proscribing Saturday afternoon sermons. The afternoon is not specified in the bull but rather found in the descriptions of Montaigne and Gregory Martin. She collapses the two bulls in "Evangelista Marcellino," 187 and 189. See also, "Conversionary Preaching," 79. For the involvement of Andrea de Monte, see "Resist, Refute, Redirect," page 356. Here, she writes that "Jewish animosity led De Monte to seek papal support, and this, in turn, led to the first papal bull requiring conversionary preaching in 1577." The qualification that there is no hard evidence is unique to this 2020 article. In general, Michelson offers some information as fact without any evidence or explanation. This reflects her reliance on secondary literature.

Additionally, Michelson's articles contain factual errors and also a claim unsupported by the evidence she provides. There are two significant errors worth explaining here as they have yet to be corrected in scholarship. Perhaps the most egregious is her discussion of the letter of dedication to Cardinal Santa Severina, which she includes in both "Evangelista Marcellino" and "Conversionary Preaching." The mistake is an improper identification of the Cardinal; she fails to identify Giulio Antonio Santoro (1532-1602) as Cardinal Santa Severina in both articles, providing a different and incorrect name each time. In "Evangelista Marcellino," she identifies the addressee of the letter as Francesco Antonio Santoro, the "Archbishop," not the Cardinal, of Santa Severina. Francesco was Cardinal Santa Severina's brother.³²⁹ In "Conversionary Preaching," Michelson actually discusses Giulio Antonio Santoro, although not by the title Cardinal Santa Severina, as one of the cardinal protectors of the College of Neophytes.³³⁰ When she turns to the letter of dedication several pages later, she identifies Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-1585) as Cardinal Santa Severina.³³¹ Here, she mistranslates the text. Marcellino writes, "Now, as your most Illustrious Lordship sees, yes in one, as in another, I have failed because they were published and not otherwise than they were said, of which you are able to be a witness, because

³²⁹ "Evangelista Marcellino," 190. I presume she believed she was correcting the error in Marcellino's text. Searching for a Cardinal Santa Severina in the Catholic Church registers of titles will reveal only an archbishop. The title of Cardinal Santa Severina belonged to one man only. In December of 1572, Gregory XIII transferred the archbishopric of Santa Severina from Cardinal Giulio Santoro to his brother Francesco. However, he allowed Cardinal Giulio Santoro to keep the benefices of Santa Severina. Giulio Antonio Santoro continued to be identified as Santa Severina but as Cardinal Santa Severina. See, Saverio Ricci, *Il Sommo Inquisitore Inquisitore: Giulio Antonio Santori tra Autobiografia e Storia (1532-1602)* (Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2002), 265-6. The proper identification of Cardinal Santa Severina can be found in *Vices eius nos* as well as numerous sources covering the period. He was a prominent and influential cardinal who will later become head of the Inquisition (as secretary) in 1587. See, Christopher Black, *The Roman Inquisition*, 24.

³³⁰ She mentions Giulio Antonio Santoro and Guglielmo Sirleto as these protectors in her discussion of *Vices eius nos*. Sirleto is identified as the head of the Congregation of the Index and Santoro is identified as the head of the Roman Inquisition (appointed in 1587). Having named Giulio Santoro as an important figure, she does not make a connection to Santa Severina. Emily Michelson, "Conversionary Preaching," 79.

³³¹ Emily Michelson, "Conversionary Preaching and the Jews in Early Modern Rome," 86.

you heard many and many (together with the most illustrious Sirleto and Paleotto) as it has always been your custom for seven continuous years already.”³³² Marcellino’s letter includes Cardinals Sirleto and Paleotto as attendees in addition to Cardinal Santa Severina.³³³

Another instance of questionable sourcework is Michelson’s identification of Marcellino as the coadjutor assigned to Andrea de Monte.³³⁴ Michelson states that De Monte received a coadjutor in 1582.³³⁵ She supports her conclusion that Marcellino was this coadjutor with two pieces of evidence.³³⁶ First, a diary entry from the period records on May 6, 1581, “I went to the Oratory of the Trinity to the sermon to the Jews of P. Marcellino and M. Andrea.”³³⁷ Second, Michelson introduces Marcellino’s acknowledgment of his association with De Monte in his scriptural lessons on the book of Ruth, printed in 1586. He notes that the two men “have been

³³² Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, a 2^a. “Hora come sua Signoria Illustrissima vede, si nel vno, come nell’altro hò mancato; poiche in luce dati sono, e non altrimenti che come furon detti, del che ella ne puo esser testimonio, poiche molti e molti nè vdi (insieme con l’illustrissimo Sirleto, e Paleotto) si come è stato sempre suo costume gia per sette anni continoui.”

³³³ She also translates that “many people have already heard” the sermons. Grammatically, “molti e molti” cannot take a third person singular verb “udí.” Michelson, “Conversionary Preaching and the Jews,” 86. See also, “One Preacher, Two Congregations,” 190. In her 2012 article, Michelson mistakenly writes that the “Archbishop” had attended the sermons for ten years rather than seven. This mistake is corrected in “Conversionary Preaching.” In these articles, she cites scholars’ work, such as Piet van Boxel, that properly identifies Giulio Antonio Santoro as Cardinal Santa Severina. Cf. Piet van Boxel, “Cardinal Santa Severina and the Expurgation of Hebrew Literature,” *The Roman Inquisition, the Index, and the Jews*, ed. Stephen Wendehorst (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 20.

³³⁴ The argument she makes in 2012 serves as her source when discussed in her later articles.

³³⁵ Michelson, “Evangelista Marcellino,” 190. She cites Renata Martano for this date, but Martano provides 1582 as the retirement date for Andrea de Monte’s preaching career. “La reazione dei suoi ex-correligionari alle sue omelie, che dobbiamo immaginarci violente e polemiche, risulta quindi tanto vivace e tanto ‘scomoda’ per la Chiesa che inizialmente viene affiancato al del Monte un coadiutore e che in seguito, nel 1582, egli stesso presenta ‘spontanee’ dimissioni.” See, Martano, “La missione inutile,” 105.

³³⁶ However, in subsequent articles, Michelson simply assigns the assistantship to Marcellino. He was “clearly the associate hired to accompany Andrea de Monte.” “Conversionary Preaching and the Jews,” 85-6.

³³⁷ Quoted in Michelson, “Conversionary Preaching and the Jews,” 82. While Michelson assigns this to the year 1587, this is a mistake. She records the date as 1581 in “One Preacher, Two Congregations,” 190. I have not been able to check this source to confirm the correct date, but De Monte retired from preaching to the Jews in July of 1582. Furthermore, Pope Sixtus V had decreased the sermon requirements for the Jews in 1586, and Michelson notes that the diarist records attending four sermons within three months. This could not have been the case in 1587.

joined against the Jews for ten years now.”³³⁸ The main problem is that she does not clearly define the role of coadjutor in a way that indicates why her evidence is relevant in concluding that Marcellino was in fact assigned to the post in 1582. This problem persists. In a later article, she states that De Monte was “constrained first to preach with an associate and, soon after, to give up the pulpit.”³³⁹ This leaves the reader to wonder how the association between the two men changed in 1582 if they were already preaching alongside each other. Michelson does not provide an explanation. Moreover, in relation to this identification, Michelson inserts Marcellino into Gregory Martin’s text in a troubling manner. She writes, “Where Martin notes another preacher in the pulpit with De Monte, and the diarist hears ‘P. Marcellino and M. Andreas’ together, Marcellino himself confirms their association.”³⁴⁰ The statement is misleading. Martin provides the names of three preachers who appeared in the pulpit alongside De Monte, but none of them are Marcellino.³⁴¹ To clearly identify Marcellino as the coadjutor requires more engagement and explanation of the sources.³⁴²

Conclusions

Throughout this chapter, I have attempted to demonstrate the growth of this field and highlight the key pieces of scholarship and sources that form the historiography. The field for the

³³⁸ Quoted in Michelson, “One Preacher, Two Congregations,” 190. See also, “Conversionary Preaching and the Jews,” 86.

³³⁹ “Conversionary Preaching and the Jews,” 86.

³⁴⁰ Michelson, “Conversionary Preaching and the Jews,” 86.

³⁴¹ Essentially, she implies that Martin indicates Evangelista Marcellino as the other preacher when in fact, he does not mention the Franciscan in his text but does identify the names of the three preachers he sees in the pulpit with De Monte. At the very least, Michelson should explain the reasons Marcellino might not have been mentioned by Martin.

³⁴² On the other hand, Fausto Parente, the scholarly authority on De Monte, completely ignores the assignment of a coadjutor. Parente actually omits this fact from both the biographical entry and his article on the convert. I believe he does this because Bartolucci is the only source. Cf. Fausto Parente, “Notes biographiques sur André Monte” and also “Andrea de Monte,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 38 (1990).

study of the *predica coattiva* is rather unique. In comparison with other fields, there are relatively few scholars conversant in the sources or actively producing scholarship. It sits at the crossroads of many different fields, such as mission, the censorship of Hebrew books, and the Inquisition, which all have a more established network and cohesive history. Rather than a sense of clear positions or schools of thought, scholarship is often lumped together as the “bibliography” on the practice.³⁴³ This is partially due to the limited space given to the *predica coattiva* in scholarship. No monographs exist on the practice of preaching to the Jews or the sermons to the Jews. The nature of the historiography as culled from book chapters, excerpts in a book chapter, and articles, naturally limits the amount of engagement with this historiography. On the other hand, scholarship rarely names or directly engages with prior scholarship in a critical manner. It might build upon another’s work as Emily Michelson’s studies do with Renata Martano’s and Anna Foa’s, but scholarship is less likely to directly position itself against a different and named argument. For example, Martano does not engage with Kenneth Stow’s *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy* even though her argument counters his claim that the Church developed policies of conversion because it expected Jews to actually convert. This gives the illusion that the sources and the histories all point towards the same conclusions, which have simply been further developed over time.

One of the key problems that results is a field that is largely unregulated. This is the source of repeated errors. There is a positive trend towards a more critical engagement with the historiography and more importantly, the key sources which describe the practice. These key sources are both contemporary, like Gregory Martin, and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts, such as Franzini’s guidebook for Rome or Bartolucci’s *Bibliotheca Magna*. Fausto Parente

³⁴³ This is how Renata Martano includes the sources. She writes in a footnote that the bibliography is numerous on the topic of mission in the sixteenth century. “La missione inutile,” 97, n. 6.

models how to work with a source that is removed from the context it describes by almost a century, in his discussion of Bartolucci's bio-bibliographical entry on the convert Andrea de Monte. Parente's treatment of the convert is a subtle corrective of the many narratives produced regarding the role Andrea de Monte played in the establishment of practice of preaching to the Jews.³⁴⁴ Marina Caffiero calls for scholars to start treating this practice as part of history, not just Jewish history. Piet van Boxel addresses Gregory Martin's description of the practice in his 2016 monograph on the Church's use of Hebrew books. Rather than citing facts, Van Boxel performs a careful reading of the text. His study also looks at a group of texts that Van Boxel argues were incorrectly identified and posits a new function for these texts. Emily Michelson takes up Caffiero's challenge in her first article, "Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations." Marcellino was the perfect subject to explore the practice through the perspective of Christian preaching in Rome. Additionally, Michelson brings the innovative studies of scholars in medieval Jewish-Christian relations to bear on this early modern practice, broadening the approach to the assessment of the sermons. Utilizing scholarship by these medievalists helps assert a historiographical position and therefore, some regulation for the field. Despite these positive trends, errors remain largely uncorrected.³⁴⁵ A revised history is still warranted.

I propose that there are five important characteristics of the practice of preaching to the Jews during the pontificate of Gregory XIII that are either ignored or underemphasized in the historiography as well as misrepresentations of the papal bulls, *Vices eius nos* (1577), *Sancta mater ecclesia* (1584), *Christiana pietas* (1586), and *Caeca et obdurata* (1593). First, there were

³⁴⁴ This is discussed in the following chapter.

³⁴⁵ Without explicit correction and a growth of scholars conversant in both the primary sources and the historiography, this will not change. It is incredibly easy in this field to accept compelling yet unverifiable facts.

two distinct phases of Gregory XIII's plan to utilize preaching to proselytize the Jews of Rome and then to spread that method across Roman Catholic Christendom. These phases are outlined in his two bulls, *Vices eius nos* in 1577 and *Sancta mater ecclesia* in 1584, and their distinctive features highlight the development in the practice of the compulsory sermon as well as the broader, apostolic mission in the sixteenth century. Second, there were two key figures, both former preachers to the Jews, who influenced the promulgation of the two bulls. The Jesuit, Antonio Possevino, with the help of Cardinals Sirleto and Santa Severina, advocated the training of converts for preaching to the Jews as outlined in *Vices eius nos*, while Andrea de Monte's experience and methodology as a preacher underlies the structure of the practice found in *Sancta mater ecclesia*. Third, Cardinal Santa Severina played a far more important role in the practice of preaching to the Jews than has previously been acknowledged in scholarship, a notion recently highlighted by Piet van Boxel but also found in Arturo Carmignano's study on St. Lawrence of Brindisi.³⁴⁶ The fourth characteristic of the practice is a two-preacher structure in the early years. This part of the description of the early practice in Rome has been ignored by most scholars. The final characteristic of the practice during the pontificate of Gregory XIII is the wide range of religious orders—Jesuits, Franciscans, Capuchins, Oratorians, and Dominicans—represented as preachers to the Jews in the years prior to *Sancta mater ecclesia*. I will address some of these neglected characteristics in the following chapter.

³⁴⁶ Piet van Boxel, *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*. Van Boxel approaches this idea from Santa Severina's involvement in a project to expurgate rabbinic works in preparation for the preachers training in the *Collegio dei Neofiti*. Evangelista Marcellino's volume of sermons to the Jews, which is dedicated to Cardinal Santa Severina, is evidence of his prominence as well. Gregory Martin's *Roma Sancta* outlines the Cardinal's special role in the sermons. Arturo Carmignano, *op cit*.

Chapter Two: Gregory XIII, Gregory Martin, and the Rhetoric of Conversion

In the previous chapter, I argued that the narrative for the institutionalization of the preaching to the Jews warrants a revision. Errors remain uncorrected, particularly involving the language of the papal bulls, and the historiography focuses primarily on one figure, Andrea de Monte. This chapter will outline the history of the practice of preaching to the Jews and its institutionalization under Gregory XIII, revising the narrative where needed to reflect the development of the practice more accurately. In addition to providing a corrective for the historiography, I will also consider the pontificate of Gregory XIII as a “golden age” for the practice of preaching to the Jews. This “golden age” can be identified by four main characteristics: the unprecedented involvement of the papacy in this practice, the involvement of multiple religious orders in the practice, the reform of Catholic practice regarding Jewish conversion, and the development of new resources for preachers. This chapter provides the context for the sermons and demonstrates the official rhetoric of Jewish conversion under Gregory XIII.

Unprecedented Involvement of the Papacy

As mentioned briefly in the Introduction, Pope Gregory XIII was the first pope to utilize the compulsory conversion sermon as the primary means of converting the Jews. The model for the sixteenth century practice had first appeared in the Kingdom of Aragon at the behest of the mendicant orders.³⁴⁷ There, King James I (r. 1213-1276) ordered Jews to attend sermons whenever an archbishop, bishop, or Dominican or Franciscan friar decided to deliver a

³⁴⁷ Kenneth Stow provides an excellent explanation for tracing the origins to the mendicant-driven preaching to the Jews in the thirteenth century. See, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 20-21, ft. 59. See also, Peter Browe, who in his chapter on “Zwangspredigten” states a true mission can’t be claimed until the thirteenth century. See, *Die Judenmission im Mittelalter*, 18. Robert Chazan also identifies mission with preaching in his *Daggers of Faith: thirteenth-century Christian missionizing and Jewish response*.

conversion sermon. The 1242 decree orders royal officers to compel Jews and Muslims to attend regardless of excuse.³⁴⁸ While King James I vacillated on this practice at times, granting Jews immunity from attending sermons, his overall support of the practice fueled a preaching campaign to the Jews along with the production of resources and education for this mission.³⁴⁹ Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) approved King James' decree in a letter dated 1245. The pope's letter simply duplicates the royal decree and provides a few statements, endorsing the decree *in toto*.³⁵⁰ At the time, however, the papacy was content to leave the practice in the hands of the friars and King James I. Some thirty years later at the height of the establishment of schools to train preachers to Jews and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, Pope Nicholas III (1277-1280) issued the first proactive papal order on preaching to the Jews. In his bull *Vineam sorec* (1278), the pope ordered the Prior of the Dominican Order in Lombardy to train upright and knowledgeable men to preach to the Jews.³⁵¹ Often cited as the first papal order on the compulsory conversion sermon, Kenneth Stow notes that Pope Nicholas III did not dictate

³⁴⁸ See Robert Chazan, ed., *Church State and Jew in the Middle Ages* (West Orange, New Jersey: Behrman House, 1980), 255-56. The ruling follows a long list of protections for converts. Chazan's translation of the order is as follows. "Likewise, we desire and we hereby decree that, whenever an archbishop, bishops, or Dominican or Franciscan friars visit a town or a place where Muslims or Jews dwell, and whenever they wish to preach the word of God to the said Jews or Muslims, these shall gather at their call and shall patiently listen to their preaching. Our officers, if they want to attain our favor, shall, heedless of excuse, compel them to do this."

³⁴⁹ Yitzhak Baer outlines the rulings on the sermons to the Jews in his book *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, Vol. I*, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1992), 151-2, 155. This vacillation by James I is a pattern that continues through subsequent monarchs as Baer narrates. On the production of new resources, see Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, 3 and 14ff. Chazan identifies allocation of resources as one of the three signs that a true mission to the Jews was established.

³⁵⁰ See Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century: a Study of Their Relations during the Years 1198-1254, Based on the Papal Letters and the Conciliar Decrees of the Period*, Rev. [2nd] ed., (New York: Hermon Press, 1966), 256-257, no. 105. Since Innocent IV never implemented any preaching strategy towards the Jews and the pope's words are confined to speaking about protecting converts, Kenneth Stow interprets the endorsement as only referring to the protection rather than an active campaign to convert Jews.

³⁵¹ The Latin text of *Vineam sorec* can be found in Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century, Vol. II 1254-1314*, ed. & arrang. by Kenneth R. Stow, (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of American, 1989), 143-145, no. 42.

compulsion in his letter. Rather, he asked to be apprised of progress and to be notified if Jews did not attend sermons so that he might come up with a solution.³⁵²

By the end of the thirteenth century, the conversion sermon to the Jews had spread into the Italian Peninsula. However, compulsion for Jewish attendance could only be ordered by the city's rulers, and Roman Jews were excepted from this proselytization. In narratives of the compulsory conversion sermon in Italy, scholars note that rather than becoming the audience of conversion sermons, Jews increasingly became the target of anti-Jewish tirades in sermons, a practice which reached a peak in the fifteenth century.³⁵³ The preaching of Bernardino da Siena (preached, 1405-44), Giovanni da Capistrano (1420-1440), and Bernardino da Feltre (1480s), all Franciscans, incited anti-Jewish sentiment amongst Christians. The fifteenth century popes in Rome such as Martin V (1417-1431), Eugene IV (1431-47), Nicholas V (1447-1455), and Pius II (1458-1464) repeatedly dealt with the rogue preachers who were stirring up anti-Jewish sentiment. Martin V and Eugene IV forbade the preaching of certain men known to inflame the public, such as John of Capestrano while Nicholas V and Pius II added that Jews should not be forced to attend mendicant sermons in certain locales.³⁵⁴ These fifteenth century popes did not change papal policy regarding the compulsory conversion.

Meanwhile, on the Iberian Peninsula, Dominicans, primarily, continued to actively pursue the conversion of the Jews through preaching. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Dominican Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419) along with the Avignon anti-pope, Benedict XIII

³⁵² Kenneth Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 20-21, ft. 59.

³⁵³ Peter Browe, *Die Judenmission im Mittelalter Und Die Papste*, 34. See also, Attilio Milano, *Il Ghetto di Roma*, 269.

³⁵⁴ Browe, 36-37. Nicholas V granted Jews living in the earldom of Este a reprieve from listening to mendicant sermons in 1448. In 1459, Pius II ordered the bishops of Spoleto, Bologna, and Ferrar to cease compelling the Jews to attend sermons.

(1328-1423) mounted a centralized preaching campaign to the Jews. In his *Etsi doctoribus gentium* (1415), Benedict XIII outlined a plan for compelling Jews to attend conversion sermons on three particular days: the second Sunday of Advent, the day following Easter, and the Sunday in which the Gospel passage, Luke 19.41, is sung.³⁵⁵ Benedict XIII required all Jews, men and women, over the age of twelve to be present at the sermons.³⁵⁶ He also provided the theme for each of the three sermons. In the first sermon during Advent, the preacher should declare and prove that the Messiah has already come. In the second sermon, the topic is Jewish blindness; the preacher should also demonstrate all the ridiculous vanities and errors contained in the Talmud. The third sermon is a history lesson to prove that the destruction of the Temple and the perpetual captivity of the Jews was clearly predicted by the prophets and Christ.³⁵⁷ While Benedict XIII's orders impacted Spain and her kingdoms, a preaching mission to the Jews did not receive active papal sponsorship in the rest of the Latin West until Gregory XIII.

Gradually, during the sixteenth century, the papacy began to actively pursue Jewish conversion.³⁵⁸ As the histories of Karl Hoffmann, Alberto Zucchi, and Peter Browe highlight, Rome's Jews increasingly were subjected to Christian sermons beginning with Paul IV (1555-1559) who sent a convert to preach in the synagogues. Christian preaching in synagogues was not unprecedented, but the institutionalized practice required Jews to attend sermons in Christian spaces.³⁵⁹ Browe identifies Pope Pius V (1566-1572) as the first pope to mandate regular

³⁵⁵ *Etsi doctoribus gentium*, §XII, in Don José Amador de los Rios, *Historia Social, Política y Religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal*, Tomo II, (Madrid: Imprenta de T. Fortanet, 1876), 648-650.

³⁵⁶ Pope Gregory XIII includes the same requirements in his bull *Sancta mater ecclesia* of 1584.

³⁵⁷ *Etsi doctoribus gentium*, §XII, in Don José Amador de los Rios, *Historia Social, Política y Religiosa* 649-50.

³⁵⁸ C.f. Kenneth R. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593*.

³⁵⁹ The two most well-known examples of a Christian preaching to the Jews in their synagogue are the ninth-century mission in Lyons, directed by Florus of Lyons, and Paul Christian's preaching in southern France following

conversion sermons for the Jews of Rome on feast days, an order Gregory XIII (1572-1585) renewed in the early days of his pontificate.³⁶⁰ By the time Gregory XIII ascended the papal throne, Rome's Jews were no longer exempt from this medieval practice. However, Gregory XIII made the conversion sermons the center of the Catholic Church's mission to the Jews by institutionalizing the practice.

The previous chapter highlighted the inconsistencies in the description of Gregory XIII's papal bulls. Considering that these bulls are designated as the institutionalization of the practice, it is important to engage with the actual text. As stated in the Introduction, *Vices eius nos* established the College of Neophytes as a seminary to train converts, both Jews and Muslims, for the task of converting their former coreligionists.³⁶¹ The designation of this sermon as the mandate or recommendation for sermons to the Jews obscures this important feature of Gregory XIII's plan and instead emphasizes the role of Andrea de Monte. However, the College of Neophytes aligned with the pope's general strategy for missions; it was not particularized for the Jews. By this I mean that Gregory XIII organized the proselytization of the Jews with the same structure he was both supporting and expanding for the conversion of the schismatics and Protestant heretics—the national seminaries.³⁶² These colleges utilized men whose language and culture matched the people to be proselytized. They trained these loyal Catholics to return to their home kingdom as missionaries for Roman Catholicism. At the beginning of his pontificate,

his 1263 disputation with Nachmanides in Barcelona. However, this Christian preaching in synagogues arguably violates the foundational and often re-issued papal policy of protection for the Jews, *Sicut Iudaeis*, by allowing Christian practice to invade the Jewish synagogue. I discuss *Sicut Iudaeis* below.

³⁶⁰ Peter Browe, 40. In a remarkably well-documented book, there is no citation for this fact.

³⁶¹ *Vices eius nos*, B.R. 8:189, §2.

³⁶² C.f. the prooemium to *Vices eius nos* which states that the pope's apostolic duty is to seek the repentance of heretics and schismatics and also the conversion of the Jews.

both the German College and the Roman College were training ecclesiastics. Over the course of his pontificate, Gregory XIII expanded the college system and supported the growth of the Roman College.³⁶³ In 1573, Gregory XIII issued a bull providing the German College with a new building.³⁶⁴ Beginning in 1577, the pope officially approved the establishment of several more of these colleges: the College of Neophytes (September 1577),³⁶⁵ the Greek College (January 1577),³⁶⁶ the English College (April 1578),³⁶⁷ the Hungarian College (March 1579) which was joined to the German College,³⁶⁸ and the Armenian College (October 1584).³⁶⁹ The pope also provided funding and support for these national seminaries outside of Rome, notably the English seminaries at Douai and Rheims.³⁷⁰

By creating a seminary for these converts, *Vices eius nos* groups Jews among heretics and schismatics; they all err by adhering to false interpretations of scripture. The primary method to return these peoples to the orthodox faith is to reveal the errors of their scriptural interpretation.³⁷¹ This overarching missionary strategy is an important part of the compulsory conversion sermon history that is often neglected. Since converts are typically infamous for their

³⁶³ The Roman College was later named the Gregorian University in honor of Pope Gregory XIII.

³⁶⁴ *B.R.* 8:52-56.

³⁶⁵ *B.R.* 8:188-191.

³⁶⁶ *B.R.* 8:159-162.

³⁶⁷ *B.R.* 8:208-214.

³⁶⁸ *B.R.* 8:250-254.

³⁶⁹ *B.R.* 8:493-496.

³⁷⁰ John Donnelly, "Antonio Possevino: From Secretary to Papal Legate in Sweden," 324-5.

³⁷¹ As will be seen in the chapter on Evangelista Marcellino, this is also the Tridentine method to prevent heretical ideas in the laity as well. The people and the Jews need a preacher to "read" the scriptures to them.

involvement in prior missions to the Jews, the creation of the College of Neophytes can deceptively appear the domain of Jewish-Christian relations alone.³⁷²

Preaching to the Jews is only mentioned twice in the entire bull, and it is neither a recommendation nor a mandate. The best characterization of the reference to the sermons is a rationale for the creation of the College of Neophytes. The first mention follows the proœmium, which declares the pope’s apostolic duty to seek the conversion of heretics, schismatics, and also Jews.³⁷³ Gregory XIII writes, “We ordered long ago that each Sabbath day in a certain oratory in Rome, Christ our Savior...be announced and preached to the Jews.”³⁷⁴ This statement reveals that the preaching to the Jews was ordered, not recommended by the pope. More importantly, this order occurred prior to *Vices eius nos*. Until 2020, a mandate had not been discovered that defined *iampridem* (long ago) with a date. However, a recent discovery by Barbara Wisch confirms that the pope was, indeed, directing a weekly practice in the year 1576—the same year Andrea de Monte claims the pope named him a preacher to the Jews.³⁷⁵ The meeting minutes on November 18th of the confraternity at the Oratory of Sanctissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti note that Gregory XIII designated that the weekly sermons were to be held at the oratory. Given the wording of *Vices eius nos*, this designation is likely the order Gregory XIII refers to in the bull. While *Vices eius nos* might aptly be the “papal imprimatur” of the pope’s

³⁷² This reveals a problem that is not unique to the characterization of the College of Neophytes; scholarship on Catholic mission and on individual preachers is frequently disconnected from scholarship on the Jews and vice versa.

³⁷³ Gregory XIII’s words are quoted at the beginning of the Introduction to this dissertation. I will return to this important statement when discussing the official rhetoric.

³⁷⁴ “Nos iampridem singulis diebus sabbati in certo oratorio in alma Urbe iudaeis Christum Salvatorem nostrum,...annunciari et praedicari iussimus.” Ibid., §1.

³⁷⁵ Barbara Wisch, “Promoting Piety, Coercing Conversion,” 265-6.

order for Jews to attend sermons as Barbara Wisch recently described the bull, the weekly *predica coattiva* had commenced by order of the pope prior to September 1, 1577.³⁷⁶

Gregory XIII continues that it is the success of this practice of weekly sermons that has produced converts from whom might be drawn “workers suitable for the work of the Gospel who will be able to explicate, teach, and preach the mysteries of the Christian faith in this same city and other Italian locales, and also all parts of the world in which the Jews and infidels dwell.”³⁷⁷ The success of the sermons, not the lack of suitable preachers, is the rationale for establishing the College of Neophytes. The remainder of the bull outlines the enrollment, the funding, the studies, and the cardinal protectors assigned to this new institution.

Andrea de Monte is typically associated with *Vices eius nos* because the bull is overwhelmingly described as the order for obligatory sermons. A story with unknown origins about De Monte provides a rationale for this association. The convert complained that the Jews did not want to listen to his sermons, so he convinced the pope to force them. In the previous chapter, I addressed how this story is somewhat problematic. It is highly implausible that a preacher would hold an expectation of Jews attending his sermons without some element of force. Furthermore, there is an alternative figure who offers a stronger connection to *Vices eius nos*, the Jesuit, Antonio Possevino (d. 1611).³⁷⁸ Scholarship on Possevino provides the best evidence to counter the idea that Andrea de Monte influenced the promulgation of *Vices eius nos*

³⁷⁶ Wisch, “Promoting Piety, Coercing Conversion,” 265.

³⁷⁷ *Vices eius nos*. “Operarii ad opus Evangelii idonei, qui in ipsa Urbe ceterisque Italiae locis, atque adeo in monibus terrarum orbi partibus, in quibus iudaei et infideles degunt, christianae fidei mysteria...explicare, docere, et praedicare possint.” *B.R.*, 8:188-9, §2.

³⁷⁸ Kenneth Stow and Piet van Boxel have both addressed Possevino in their discussion of the compulsory conversion sermons. See Kenneth R. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593*, 209-211. Stow discusses Possevino’s articulation of conversionary strategy in his *Bibliotheca Selecta*, published in 1593. Piet van Boxel discusses Possevino in the context of his mission to the Jews in Rome in 1577. See, *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*, 16.

because no Jews would listen to the convert preach. Antonio Possevino was the acting Secretary of the Society of Jesus and had been appointed preacher to the Jews in late 1576 or early 1577. He spent six months preaching to the Jews in Rome before he was sent to Sweden as a papal legate. Scholars of the Jesuit credit Possevino with approaching the pope about establishing a college to train neophytes to preach.³⁷⁹ This is a compelling argument given the papal rationale for establishing the College of Neophytes—successful conversions—and Possevino’s recent success in converting fourteen souls through his preaching. Also, the Jesuits and some influential cardinals were strong proponents of the national colleges. In his role as secretary, Possevino requested funding from the pope for the Roman and German Colleges as well as the English College at Douai. Furthermore, Possevino, himself, claims that Cardinal Santa Severina, Giulio Antonio Santoro (d.1602), and Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (d. 1585) urged him to take this matter before the pope.³⁸⁰ Both cardinals are named by Gregory XIII in *Vices eius nos* as protectors of the College of Neophytes.³⁸¹

The most robust account of the sermons to the Jews derives from this early period in the institutionalization of the practice. The English priest, Gregory Martin, arrived in Rome in December of 1576. Martin likely witnessed some of the first sermons to the Jews in this new weekly practice hosted at the Oratory of Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti.³⁸² He

³⁷⁹ John Donnelly, “Antonio Possevino: From Secretary to Papal Legate in Sweden,” 327. Possevino was the Secretary from 1573-1577. See page 324.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 327.

³⁸¹ *B.R.* 8:190, §7.

³⁸² N.B. Some histories refer to a location of the sermons as San Benedetto in Arenula (Ettore Natali and Ferdinand Gregorovius, for instance). The church and adjacent convent were given to Philip Neri, the founder of the Oratorians. The former San Benedetto in Arenula becomes the location of the Oratory and the church Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti.

arrived in the city within a few weeks of Gregory XIII's designation of the Oratory as the location for the weekly sabbath sermons.³⁸³ From Martin, we know some of the names of the preachers, the general strategy of Andrea de Monte's preaching, and that two preachers—a convert and a Christian—delivered sermons. Beyond summer of 1578, less is known about the preachers or developments in the structure of the practice. For instance, the longevity of the two-preacher structure is unknown. Michel de Montaigne only mentions Andrea de Monte in his 1581 account of the sermons to the Jews. However, Emily Michelson discovered a diary recording the diarist's attendance at the conversion sermons of Andrea de Monte and Evangelista Marcellino in 1581 as well.³⁸⁴ Montaigne's omission may not signify anything other than Montaigne's fascination with the convert. *Sancta mater ecclesia* does not provide information that would solve this mystery. The primary fact from this inter-bull period is the resignation of Andrea de Monte in 1582. Given his prominence and six-year tenure as a preacher to the Jews, it is possible that his departure spurred a reorganization, but little is known about the practice in these years.

Unlike *Vice eius nos*, the misrepresentations of *Sancta mater ecclesia* were corrected from Browe onward. Initially, *Sancta mater ecclesia* was described as the introduction of compulsion or simply the establishment of the practice. The bull is the formal institutionalization of the practice, providing guidelines for establishing the practice in cities with a synagogue and outlining a more rigorous practice for Rome as well. *Sancta mater ecclesia* provides a structure, indicating how often the sermons should occur, the general location for the sermons, the qualifications for a preacher, the scriptural readings to employ, a long list of topics to be covered,

³⁸³ Wisch, "Promoting Piety, Coercing Conversion," 266.

³⁸⁴ Emily Michelson, "Evangelista Marcellino," 190.

the demeanor of the preacher, and the purpose of the sermons. It dictates that sermons should be held weekly on the sabbath or another designated day.³⁸⁵ There should be a predetermined location that is neither sacred nor where the sacred objects are held.³⁸⁶ The preacher ought to be a master of theology or some other suitable man who is skilled in the Hebrew language to give sermons or readings in which he expounds scripture. This preacher is to receive an appropriate salary, paid for by the Jews.³⁸⁷ He should expound the Old Testament scriptures, specifically Moses and the prophets. Moreover, he should take his text from the day's sabbath reading in the synagogue and expound according to the interpretations of the holy Fathers and the true sense of the Catholic Church.³⁸⁸ The bull then lists numerous topics to present to the Jews, including their utter desolation, the advent and incarnation of the Son of God, and the false interpretations of scripture provided by the rabbis. The first half of the list deals with Christian teachings while the second half attacks Jewish belief. Finally, this section ends by noting that all these topics are elucidated in order to correct Jewish error and convert them to the orthodox faith. As such, the preacher should act wisely, demonstrating from holy scripture and speaking without disparagement or anger. Rather he should attempt to reveal to them the true light with great charity and modesty.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁵ *Sancta mater ecclesia*, B.R. 8:487, §1. "current sabbati vel alio cuiuscumque hebdomadis statuto die."

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, "in locum praestitutum, non tamen sacrum ne cubi sacra confici solent."

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 8:487-8, §1. "per aliquem magistrum in theologia aliumve idoneum virum ab eis eligendum, cum mercede congrua illi ex ipsorum hebraeorum collatione aut alias, prout commodius eis videbitur, assignata, Hebraicae (quantum fieri poterit) linguae peritum, sermones vel lectiones haberi, in quibus illis exponantur scripturae."

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 8:488, §1. "Veteris Testamenti, Moysis scilicet et prophetarum, praesertim vero, quae eo sabbato leguntur seu lectae in eorum sunt synagogis, iuxta sanctorum tamen Patrum interpretationes et verum catholicae Ecclesiae sensum."

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 8:488, §1. "ad errorum suorum correctionem, ad orthodoxamque fidem convertere, . . . prudenter agant, veris et ex sacra Scriptura depromptis demonstrationibus, nulla cum obtreptione aut iracundia, sed magna cum caritate et modestia, veritatis lumen illis aperire conentur."

Sancta mater ecclesia also institutes more rigorous attendance rules. Both men and women, twelve years and older, must attend. Each sermon must be attended by one third of the community under penalty of a fine.³⁹⁰ And this fraction of the community is to rotate so that every eligible member of the community will listen to multiple sermons per year.³⁹¹ Three years prior to *Sancta mater ecclesia*, Montaigne provides the number sixty for the Jewish attendees. The numbers associated with the new attendance requirements increase to one hundred men and fifty women.

I suggest that *Sancta mater ecclesia* reflects an aspiration for the practice as much as a codification of an existing structure. Certainly, individual guidelines in the bull were practiced prior to its promulgation. For instance, Jews traditionally paid the salary of the preacher, and the list of proofs to expound are traditional arguments of the Church in confrontation with Jews, whether those confrontations were real or literary constructs. However, there are aspects of the bull which point towards a development over the eight years of papal-sanctioned weekly sermons. These appear to address issues of attendance and scope of the practice. The more rigorous attendance guidelines are a clear expansion of the practice in Rome. The specific inclusion of men and women gestures towards the stories proliferated about De Monte's complaints that only women and children attended his sermons or alternatively, that the old men would not attend. Based Martin's description in *Roma Sancta*, we know that both men and

³⁹⁰ Ibid. 8:488, §2. "Ad quos sermones et lectiones volumus universos et singulos utriusque sexus iudaeos a duodecim annis supra,... vicissim ac tripartite saltem, nec umquam minus convenire."

³⁹¹ This rotation of the community is not present in the main text of the *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum*, published by Augustae Taurinorum. However, the rotation is present in the text in the first publication of a *Bullarium* by Laerzio Cherubini (1556-1626). The Taurinensis edition acknowledges this difference. Ibid., 8:488, n.1. It reads, "Locum hunc ita legit Cherub.: *habeant, ita per circuitum convenire ut tertia saltem eorum pars, nec umquam minus, semper adsit.*"

women attended the sermons prior to 1584.³⁹² *Sancta mater ecclesia* codifies the requirement. In practice, a greater proportion of men than women were designated to fill the quota. The additional inclusion of a rotation for attendance allowed proselytization to extend to a majority of the Jewish community, expanding the Church's reach. The use of the synagogue liturgical readings for the sermon also becomes a standard in the bull, again pointing to the influence of Andrea de Monte, who is noted as employing this strategy in *Roma Sancta*. Finally, the inclusion of a description of the preacher's demeanor perhaps points to the experience of De Monte as well. A preacher's language and demeanor should not draw complaints from the Jewish community.

Within two years of *Sancta mater ecclesia*, Sixtus V radically reduced the rigor of the institution. On October 22, 1586, in his bull *Christiana pietas*, Sixtus V reduced the number of sermons the *male* Jews were obligated to attend to six per year. This reduction is the source of another discrepancy in scholarship, as seen in the previous chapter. From Natali to Michelson, this reduction is cited as either three or six times a year.³⁹³ The bull states that Jewish men are to attend three sermons a year when invited by a preacher and three *other* sermons a year on a solemnity when the Ordinary invites them to attend. The rest of the year, they are welcome to attend Christian sermons but will not be compelled.³⁹⁴ The difference between a reduction to six

³⁹² Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta* (1581), 77-78.

³⁹³ Not one of these scholars notes the discrepancy, however. This is the divide between the scholars and is also found in the previous chapter. Natali (225), Berliner (22), Attilio Milano (*Il Ghetto di Roma*, 272), and Emily Michelson ("Resist, Refute, Redirect," 351) all claim that attendance was reduced to three times a year. Rodocanachi (280), Vogelstein and Rieger (179), Peter Browe (42), and Kenneth Stow (24) all state obligatory attendance at six sermons per year.

³⁹⁴ "Li uomini maschi ebrei siano tenuti andare ad udire prediche e sermoni di cristiani tre volte l'anno quando invitati o chiamati da predicatori e tre *altre* volte l'anno in qualche solennità quando paresse o fossero invitati dalli ordinari; nel resto del tempo niuno sia astretto ma possi andarvi à suo beneplacito anco non invitato." *B.R.* 8:788, §10 (my emphasis). Note, not just an "and" but also the word "altre," meaning "other" and qualifying "times a year."

or three sermons seems to derive from interpreting Sixtus V as giving an “either-or” command rather than an “and” command. There is clearly an “and” between Sixtus V's two statements of “three times a year.” Additionally, Sixtus V qualifies the second “tre volte” as “tre altre volte,” meaning “three other times.” It is not surprising that the scholars—Peter Browe, Arturo Carmignano, and Kenneth Stow—who utilize the text of all the papal bulls directly in their studies state a reduction to six times a year.³⁹⁵ Meanwhile, Carmignano is the only scholar who highlights another important aspect of this reduction: this ruling applies to the men.

The final pope included in this institutionalization of the practice is Clement VIII. Scholarship tends to treat his bull *Caeca et obdurata* of February 1593 in the same manner as *Vices eius nos*. Rather than summarize the words of the bull, some scholars depict *Caeca et obdurata* as the order for the sermons to resume in Rome. This is a loose representation of the bull. *Caeca et obdurata* specifically reinstates or re-mandates the expulsion of the Jews in the Papal States; the expulsion was ordered by Pius V in 1569 and reversed by Sixtus V in 1586.³⁹⁶ In the bull, Clement VIII realigns his policy with his predecessors, Paul IV and Pius V, and rescinds all the privileges granted to the Jews by Sixtus V.³⁹⁷ The conclusion is that *Caeca et obdurata* effectively cancels *Christiana pietas* and therefore, the reduction in sermons made in 1586. Scholars mark this bull as a mandate to return to Gregory XIII's weekly sermon

³⁹⁵ See Peter Browe, *Die Judenmission*, 42; Kenneth Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 24; and Arturo Carmignano, *San Lorenzo da Brindisi*, 280. Based upon my reading of this scholarship, I surmise that the perpetuation of these discrepancies for *Christiana pietas* as well as all the bulls discussed in this chapter, derives from reliance on secondary sources rather than the actual text.

³⁹⁶ *Caeca et obdurata*, B.R. X:22-25.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, See paragraphs 4 and 5. He also mentions rescinding privileges granted by Pius IV. Gregory XIII is not mentioned in this bull.

practice.³⁹⁸ However, *Caeca et obdurata* never actually mentions the sermons to the Jews.³⁹⁹

Two scholars, however, offer a different date for the resumption of sermons to the Jews: Alberto Zucchi and Arturo Carmignano. They both cite 1592, which derives from a papal avviso from the 29th of July, noting that the previous Sabbath, the Jews were told they were to attend a sermon in San Lorenzo in Damaso by a certain Capuchin.⁴⁰⁰ Like the bull, the avviso is not a direct statement ordering the weekly sermons to commence, although this is the conclusion Ludwig von Pastor makes in his *History of the Popes*.⁴⁰¹ The 1592 date should not be discounted however; its inclusion in the papal records marks it as significant and perhaps indicative of a moment of change.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the practice of preaching to the Jews of Rome was well-established. Sources for the next period of the practice are more abundant. The studies of Zucchi and Milano demonstrate the administrative side of the practice, which required appointment of preachers and coordination of the rotation and attendance records. Gregory XIII emerges from this narrative as the first pope to make preaching to the Jews a priority of the Church. His bulls demonstrate his commitment to the practice by devoting resources, controlling

³⁹⁸ Only some scholars mention *Caeca et obdurata* in connection with the preaching to the Jews. For instance, out of the nineteenth-century histories I discussed, only Rodocanachi includes the bull as the return to the sermons after Sixtus V (*Les Saint-Siège et Les Juifs*, 280). However, Clement VIII appears frequently enough to mention the representation of his bull in scholarship.

³⁹⁹ I translated the entirety of the bull to confirm this statement. Cf. Kenneth Stow's discussion of the bull in *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*. He states that *Caeca et obdurata* is so similar to Pius V's *Hebreorum gens* expulsion of the Jews in 1569 that he does not even discuss the Pius' bull in detail. The bull is fundamentally about expelling the Jews.

⁴⁰⁰ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Urb. Lat.* 1060/II, *Avviso del 29 luglio 1592*, 462r. This manuscript is now part of the Digital Vatican Library. Carmignano and Ludwig von Pastor cite this date as well. Pastor is actually the source for both Zucchi and Carmignano; he describes this Avviso as the introduction of the sermons. This Capuchin might be St. Lawrence of Brindisi, who is credited with re-establishing the practice in Rome in 1592 under Clement VIII.

⁴⁰¹ Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei papi dalla fine del medio Evo... Volume XI: Storia dei papi nel periodo della riforma e restaurazione cattolica: Clemente VIII (1592-1605)*, (Roma: Desclee, 1929), 479. I cite the Italian translation, which Zucchi and Carmignano utilize.

the content of sermons, establishing a structure for the practice, and mandating its use in Catholic lands.

The Involvement of Multiple Religious Orders

The papacy's unprecedented involvement in the practice of preaching to the Jews under Gregory XIII corresponds with the involvement of various religious orders in hosting the sermons and preaching to the Jews. The Dominicans are regarded as the preachers to the Jews across the span of this practice. In the thirteenth century, Dominicans are identified as the main preachers to the Jews. Nicholas III's *Vineam Sorec* specifically commands the Dominican Order to choose knowledgeable men for the task.⁴⁰² This was not to the exclusion of other orders, but the Dominicans generally took up the mission to the Jews and produced the main resources and linguistic training necessary for the mission.⁴⁰³ Following *Sancta mater ecclesia*, Dominicans, once again, become the *predicatori degli ebrei*. However, during the pontificate of Gregory XIII, the Dominicans do not seem to dominate the task. The known names of the preachers are Jesuits, Franciscans, and Oratorians. Piet van Boxel highlights this nature of the early practice. All of the religious orders in Rome were contributing to the mission, particularly "by providing their most prominent preachers."⁴⁰⁴ These were not obscure preachers of the sixteenth century but men highly regarded in Rome for their knowledge and preaching skills and closely connected to Gregory XIII.⁴⁰⁵ The prominence of these early preachers is perhaps the clearest indication that

⁴⁰² Cf. Alberto Zucchi.

⁴⁰³ There are four Dominicans in the thirteenth century who are known for their contributions to the mission: Paul Christian, Raymond Martin, Raymond Peñafort, and Raymond Lull.

⁴⁰⁴ Van Boxel, *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*, 24.

⁴⁰⁵ See the previous chapter.

preaching to the Jews experienced a “golden age” in the 1570s. Histories of the practice as it continued under subsequent popes fail to produce this array of prominent preachers.

In his study of Jesuit confraternities in early modern Rome, Lance Lazar writes that by the pontificate of Gregory XIII the proselytizing roles of the various religious orders compartmentalized. He highlights that the Dominicans increasingly assumed the role of preacher to the Jews while the Jesuits of the Roman College taught the converts.⁴⁰⁶ Gregory Martin’s list of preachers reveals that this trend had not yet occurred in 1577; rather, the mission to the Jews was a task shared by various religious orders in Rome. It is likely that this compartmentalization of the proselytizing roles began with the institutionalization of the practice of preaching to the Jews, starting with *Vices eius nos*, and the expansion of the college system. Gregory XIII designated converts as the future preachers to the Jews. The creation of new national colleges was a compartmentalization of proselytization, not by religious order but by nationality. As Marina Caffiero notes, the dominance of the Dominican Order in filling the position of the preacher to the Jews coincides with the rejection of New Christians to the ranks of other religious orders.⁴⁰⁷

Scholars have highlighted that preaching to the Jews was a career builder for the preacher. As Arturo Carmignano writes, the position was quite coveted.⁴⁰⁸ He notes that the preacher was well-paid, but perhaps more importantly, earned a position directly connected to the papal curia. The position offered the possibility for greater recognition and elevation in the church. Moreover, these preachers were generally esteemed as men of high culture and learning,

⁴⁰⁶ Lance Gabriel Lazar. *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 116.

⁴⁰⁷ Caffiero, “Domenicane, Ebrei, Inquisizione,” 214-15. The Dominican Order was the only order accepting Jewish converts at the end of the sixteenth century.

⁴⁰⁸ “piuttosto ambito.” Carmignano, *San Lorenzo da Brindisi*, 295.

which Carmignano states “tickled the self-esteem of many.”⁴⁰⁹ Carmignano’s depiction of the preachers does not seem to apply to the preachers from 1576 through 1578, the timeframe for the only named preachers. Robert Bellarmine, Antonio Possevino, Alfonso Lupo, and Francesco Maria Tarugi did not require the post to boost either their renown or to gain the ear of the pope. They already had achieved both.

The Reform of Catholic Practice and the New Rhetoric

The third aspect of this golden age of preaching to the Jews is the reform of Catholic practice to reflect orthopraxy. In essence, this is the new rhetoric of conversion which emerges with the institutionalization of the preaching to the Jews. During the sixteenth century, the papacy re-articulated its relationship with the Jews. Kenneth Stow argues in *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy* that the sixteenth-century papacy posited a new rationale for its policies regarding the Jews: conversion.⁴¹⁰ Gregory XIII aligns with this rationale. The opening lines of *Vices eius nos* clearly states this intention. The pope acknowledges his apostolic duty to lead the Jews to true salvation.

We..., wishing that all men be saved and come to the knowledge of truth, therefore, ought to extend in all our regions the cure of apostolic solicitude and the disposition of charity, so that we not cease to long for and also seek with all our might not only the repentance of the heretics and the schismatics straying from the path of the orthodox faith, but also the conversion and true salvation of those who are passing away wretchedly, walking in the darkness of faithlessness, particularly the Jews.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., “solleticava l'amore proprio di parecchi.” Carmignano describes one preacher—Fra. Sirleto—as using his position as preacher to the Jews as a basis for his greedy and ambitious aspirations. See note 91, page 295.

⁴¹⁰ See my discussion of Stow’s argument in both the Introduction and Chapter One.

⁴¹¹ This quotation was cited at the beginning of the Introduction. I include it here again to demonstrate the language Gregory XIII employs. Op.cit. *B.R.* 8:188.

The significance of this change is apparent when compared to the dominant medieval understanding of Jewish conversion, perhaps best displayed in its connection to the papacy by Bernard of Clairvaux's treatise of advice, *De consideratione*, for his former pupil and current Pope Eugenius III (1145-53). In a section on the pope's pastoral responsibility for the care of all souls, Bernard writes, "We perceive then that you must strive to the utmost that the unbelieving may be converted to the faith, that those converted may not turn aside, that those who have turned away may turn back...As regards the Jews, I grant time may be your excuse; they have their fixed limit, which cannot be anticipated. The fullness of the Gentiles must first come in."⁴¹² Bernard's words on the Jews refer to Romans 11.25-26, where the Apostle Paul explains the mystery of Israel's salvation. "A partial hardening has come upon Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles has come in. And in this way all Israel will be saved."⁴¹³ Although patristic and medieval theologians formulated various interpretations of specific words and ideas in these verses, the general understanding was that Jewish conversion is delayed until eschaton, which will occur when all the Gentiles marked for salvation have entered the church.⁴¹⁴ In practice, medieval popes had a theological excuse for not committing resources to convert the Jews. Willing to acknowledge the rightness of preaching to the Jews throughout its history, nevertheless, the papacy maintained a practice which signified little hope in the efficacy of seeking Jewish conversion in the present.

⁴¹² Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, 3.1.3. "Interest proinde tua, dare operam quam possis, ut increduli convertantur ad fidem, conversi non avertantur, aversi revertantur...Esto, de Judaeis excusat te tempus: habent terminum suum qui praeveniri non poterit. Plenitudinem gentium praeire oportet."

⁴¹³ Romans 11.25b-26a.

⁴¹⁴ See Jeremy Cohen, "The Mystery of Israel's Salvation: Romans 11:25-26 in Patristic and Medieval Exegesis," in *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 98, no. 3 (July 2005): 247-281. For instance, the word *Israel* could be interpreted to indicate the Jews or *verus Israel*, which includes Gentiles who believe in Jesus.

While the sixteenth-century popes had already begun to rationalize their policies with the intent to convert Jews, Gregory XIII's statement reflects a clear reassessment of the papacy's apostolic responsibility in connection with an active evangelistic policy.⁴¹⁵ Consider Paul IV's words in his bull *Cum nimis absurdum* regarding how conversion will be achieved in contrast to Gregory XIII's. Paul IV writes that the piety and kindness of the Apostolic See should lead the Jews to recognize their errors.⁴¹⁶ The kindness and piety to which Paul IV refers is his creation of the Ghetto so that through their experience of living in poverty and subjugation the Jews might recognize that they are indeed the servant while the Christian is free.⁴¹⁷ Gregory XIII, on the other hand, employs language denoting papal duty in the care of all souls. The rhetoric in *Vices eius nos*, in particular, emphasizes the rightness of the method.

This connection is made explicit by Gregory XIII following his acknowledgment of his apostolic duty. He states, "In this same spirit, we ordered long ago that each Sabbath day in a certain oratory in Rome, Christ our Savior,...be announced and preached to the Jews."⁴¹⁸ The preaching is the representation of his apostolic duty towards the Jews. He describes the preaching as offering the Jews the opportunity for conversion and salvation. This "was done in order that some of them, with heavenly grace and mercy shining forth, having been illuminated,

⁴¹⁵ I use this description to differentiate the sermons to the Jews from the establishment of the Ghetto and the expulsion of the Jews, two other policies sixteenth century popes claimed were designed to convert the Jews. Out of all the policies Kenneth Stow names, the compulsory conversion sermons and the House of Catechumens are the two institutions created that had an active evangelistic goal, which I would identify as using Catholic teaching rather than creating harsh circumstances to persuade the Jews to convert to Catholicism.

⁴¹⁶ *Cum nimis absurdum*, B.R. 6:498.

⁴¹⁷ See *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 6-7.

⁴¹⁸ *Vices eius nos*, B.R. 8:188:§1. "Hoc sane animo nos iam pridem singulis diebus sabbati in certo oratorio in alma Urbe iudaeis Christum Salvatorem nostrum,...annunciari et praedicari iussimus."

received the Christian faith and were baptized.”⁴¹⁹ *Sancta mater ecclesia* expresses a similar notion. Gregory XIII writes that he is daily devising some plan by which he can appropriately provide the Jews with a chance to convert and be saved.⁴²⁰ Although the desired goal is conversion, the sermons only provide an opportunity, not a guarantee of salvation. There are two important points Gregory XIII makes. First, only some will convert, and the pope explicitly acknowledges that the mission is undertaken for those few. Second, the reason only some will convert is the necessity of God’s grace or favor to illuminate them.⁴²¹

Gregory Martin’s manuscript, *Roma Sancta*, proves useful in identifying the official rhetoric which emerged in the 1570s. As a tribute to the piety of Rome and a defense of Roman Catholicism, *Roma Sancta* portrays the ideal image of the city. In the opening lines to his chapter entitled “Preaching to the Jewes for Their Conversion” in the 1581 manuscript, Martin writes, “What neede I stand here in the comendation of this exercise? it concerneth the conversion of them that were alwayes the greatest enemies to Christ and the Christian Religion. my self was never delighted wyth any one thing in Rome more than this.”⁴²² While *Roma Sancta* is typically cited to demonstrate the nature of the sermons as a spectacle, to identify the early preachers to the Jews, and to describe the preaching of Andrea de Monte, the first few pages of his chapter have been ignored in scholarship. In these pages, Martin articulates the rhetoric of conversion.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid. “factum est ut nonnulli ipsorum, superna eis gratia et misericordia affulgente, illuminati, Christi fidem susceperint et baptizati sint.”

⁴²⁰ *Sancta mater ecclesia*, B.R. 8: 487. “in dies semper aliquid excogitamus, unde eorum conversion et saluti opportunius provideatur.”

⁴²¹ *Sancta mater ecclesia* uses different words to express the same intent. The Jews will come to the way of understanding by the favor of God. Ibid., “ipsique ad intelligentiae viam, quam sibi praecluserunt, valeant, Deo propitio, pervenire.”

⁴²² Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta* (1581), 75.

As a preface to his account of the compulsory conversion sermons, Martin includes a theological narrative of the Jews in the Christian era before proceeding to a description of the current state of the Jews in the city of Rome. Both narratives serve to emphasize the necessity of this practice of preaching to the Jews in addition to praising the Roman Catholic church for its just and in its view, biblically justified treatment of the Jews. The brief theological narrative recapitulates Augustine of Hippo's (354-430) influential doctrine of witness.⁴²³ Martin begins with the foundational tenet of the doctrine. According to the Christian tradition that Augustine inherited, the Jews are a figure of Cain, who killed his brother, Abel, the figure of Jesus. Like Cain's punishment to be a vagrant and a wanderer upon the earth,⁴²⁴ the Jews have been scattered and subjected to foreign rule and servitude as their punishment "for their horrible sinne of crucifying our Saviour and their Messias."⁴²⁵ Martin continues,

"But since the reigne of Christianitie they have been alwayes suffered to live and shal be for sundrie great causes; namely, for the confirmation of our faith (as S. Austen sayth)...but principally for that God would have many of them also saved from time to time by few and few, which in Scripture are called Reliquiae (the remnant) and in the end al together that are leaft by the preaching of Enoch and Elias. In these respectes the Holy Churche by Gods providence spareth theyr lives."⁴²⁶

⁴²³ Augustine developed this doctrine of witness over the last thirty years of his life through several of his writings. The initial iteration of the doctrine grew out of a defense against the Manichaean dualism. Beginning with *Contra Faustum* (397-398), Augustine elucidates his view of the Jews and the purpose for their continued survival despite their grave iniquity of killing Christ. The full doctrine of witness does not appear for another fifteen to twenty years. Augustine's *Enarratio in Psalmo 58* (ca. 414) and *De civitate Dei* (314-325) provide the complete articulation of the doctrine, with Psalm 58.12 (Psalm 59.12 in a modern edition) anchoring the argument. For a thorough discussion of the doctrine of witness, see Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*, 27-41.

⁴²⁴ Genesis 4.12. Augustine first posits this line of argumentation in *Contra Faustum* 12.12-13, written around 397-398. He adds that like Cain who bore a mark that ensured his survival, the Jews also bear a mark of protection. However, this aspect of the doctrine of witness, which provides protection for the Jews, is not fully developed in Augustine's writings until he turns to Psalm 58.

⁴²⁵ Martin, *Roma sancta*, 75. Martin refers to God's punishment of Cain after he kills his brother Abel. "You will be a vagrant and a wanderer on earth" Genesis 4.12. In Christian theology, the Jews are linked to Cain as carnal Israel and thus not inheritors of the promise. Also, like Cain, the Jews are accused of fratricide, the parallel most prominent for Martin in citing this text.

⁴²⁶ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 75 (my emphasis).

Augustine's pivotal phrase for the doctrine derives from God's command that the Jews be allowed to live, in fulfillment of the prophecy of Psalm 58.12 (Vulgate). "Slay them not, lest at any time they forget Your law; scatter them in Your might."⁴²⁷ Moreover, for Augustine, "slay them not" refers not merely to their physical preservation but to the preservation of their continued religious observance. Both their physical presence and their religious observance witness the truth and triumph of Christianity. The Jews demonstrate in their subjugation and dispersion the fulfillment of the prophecies contained in their own scriptures. By their continued religious observance, they preserve these texts which contain the prophecies fulfilled in Christ and his church.⁴²⁸ As Martin summarizes his version of the doctrine of witness, the Jews are allowed to live "for the confirmation of our faith."⁴²⁹ Martin adds another and what he claims to be the primary reason that Jewish life has been spared: for their salvation, both in the present and at the end of time.⁴³⁰

Martin's contribution to the Augustinian doctrine of witness is twofold. First, he qualifies Augustine's justification for toleration of the Jews. While Jewish presence confirms the Christian

⁴²⁷ Augustine first begins to utilize Psalm 59.11 (Psalm 58.12 in the Vulgate) in his doctrine of witness in the *Enarrationes in psalmos* written around 414 and also in *De civitate Dei*, written between 414 and 425.

⁴²⁸ These implications of Psalm 58 are most fully explicated by Augustine in *De civitate Dei*, 18.46.

⁴²⁹ *Roma sancta*, 75.

⁴³⁰ Ibid. In elevating the conversion of the Jews to the principal *raison d'être* of the Church's relationship with the Jews, Martin, in effect, supplants Augustine's doctrine of witness. The doctrine of witness, arguably, had been insignificant from a practical perspective since the Christianization of western Europe. A Jewish presence was no longer required to validate the truth of the Christian faith. However, the doctrine remained influential as it not only gave a reason for Christians to tolerate (in the very limited medieval sense of the word) Jews but also provided a theological rule by which clergy and laity alike should judge their actions towards Jews. Augustine's interpretation of Psalm 58 warns against killing Jews and destroying their worship. Both their physical presence and their continued practice of the Jewish faith demonstrate the fulfillment of the prophecies contained in their scriptures, the very same prophecies which prove the authenticity and veracity of Christianity. See Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*.

faith, conversion is the “principal” reason the Jews have been allowed to live under Christian rule. This is a subtle shift from Paul IV’s articulation in *Cum nimis absurdum*, which appends conversion as another rationale. Paul IV writes, “the Roman Church tolerates the Jews in testimony of the true Christian faith *and* to the end that they, led by the piety and kindness of the Apostolic See, should at length recognize their errors, and make all haste to arrive at the true light of the Catholic faith.”⁴³¹ The second contribution is the idea of the *reliquiae*, which during the Middle Ages tended to signify the Jews who would convert at the end of times.⁴³² This is the view held by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) and Gregory IX (1227-1241) in the thirteenth century. The Jewish remnant would convert “at length” because God will not reject his people forever.⁴³³ Martin, however, describes the *reliquiae* as the Jews “saved from time to time by few and few.” Those Jews who are left at the end of time will all be saved by the preaching of Enoch and Elijah, who had been exegetically identified to have this eschatological role of turning the Jews back to God.⁴³⁴ This definition of the *remnant* steers the reader away from focusing on eschatological predictions along with their expectation of mass conversion and instead, directs the reader to the new emphasis in preaching to the Jews: right practice.

⁴³¹ *Cum nimis absurdum*, B.R. 6:498. I am using Kenneth Stow’s translation from *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 6, my emphasis.

⁴³² In contrast, Jeremy Cohen notes that most patristic thinkers chose to interpret the remnant as filled during the first coming of Christ (256). End time conversions were not this remnant. Cohen notes, however, that the exegetical tradition of the remnant is complex. See, “The Mystery of Israel’s Salvation,” 247-281.

⁴³³ See Innocent III, *Etsi non displiceat* (1205) and Gregory IX, *Lachrymabilem* (1236) in Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (New York: Hermon Press, 1966), 104 and 226.

⁴³⁴ Malachi 4.5-6. Malachi only mentions Elijah, but the Apocalypse of John 11.3-7 refers to two witnesses. In the early patristic tradition, Moses and Jeremiah are the other contenders for the second witness. By the early Middle Ages, Enoch was confirmed as the second witness. The thirteenth century Spiritual Franciscan, Peter John Olivi, traced this identification all the way to Augustine. “According to Augustine, Gregory, and Richard, these two witnesses are literally Elijah and Enoch, and this is generally held.” Olivi, *Postilla super Apocalypsim* 45, quoted in Rodney L. Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days: The Theme of ‘Two Witnesses’ in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 37.

Roma Sancta is devoted to extolling all the charitable and pious practices occurring in Rome. Martin invites his readers to see that Rome truly is the city on the mountain from Matthew 5.14, acting as a light to the world, and the city has not departed from its ancient Christian ways. Out of all the activities he describes, he states that he is most delighted with the preaching to the Jews. While this statement is to some extent hyperbole, the practice of preaching to the Jews best reflects Martin's image of a pious and faithful Rome that not only holds sound beliefs but also sound practice. Seeking the conversion of the Jews—the greatest enemies of Christ—is the right practice and preaching to them is the right way to seek their conversion. He reveals these ideas in his description of the sermons.

First, these sermons to the Jews are the ultimate act of Christian charity. The sermons are designed to lead the Jews to the truth and thus, salvation. Charity is the word Gregory XIII uses in his explanation that he will not cease to seek Jewish conversion. In *Sancta mater ecclesia*, Gregory XIII states that pity and sadness for the state of the Jews move him to plan ways to provide an opportunity for the Jews to convert.⁴³⁵ Martin provides another example of charity in *Roma Sancta*. For these few hours every Saturday, Christians place Jews in a position of importance, something contrary to the Church's idea of the natural relationship between a Christian and a Jew. Martin tells his reader, "And see here the charitable provision in his behalfe for them."⁴³⁶ All the seats close to the pulpit are reserved for the Jews by the Oratorians. If all those seats are filled, more seats are brought out for the Jews, and in the case that no seats are

⁴³⁵ B.R. 8:487.

⁴³⁶ Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 77.

available, “the Christians are caused to geve place, yea of themselves in that case they will yield to a Jew, that will no where els.”⁴³⁷

Martin’s description of the preachers and their sermons emphasizes the notion of correct practice. The convert, Andrea de Monte, is the central figure in his chapter. “Well, this man is chosen of purpose to confute them out of their owne books and doctors, and to confound them by their owne peevisch opinions and absurd Imaginations and folish practices, which he knoweth well.”⁴³⁸ Martin describes specific scriptures and Jewish beliefs that De Monte addresses in his sermons. Martin’s description reveals the proper strategy for preaching to the Jews: confute and confound. Likewise, Martin’s brief description of the preacher who delivers a sermon before Andrea de Monte highlights correct practice. These Christian orators, in contrast to De Monte, use Christian authorities and the scriptures against the Jews.⁴³⁹ Their role in this two-part Sabbath sermon is to “move and persuade” the souls of the Jews.⁴⁴⁰ While the convert uses his knowledge to prove that Jews believe in error, the Christian utilizes the prized oratorical skill of *movere* to lead the Jew to compunction. In his conclusion to the chapter, Martin writes, “So by this meanes it cometh to passe, that now one, and now an other, and sometime a whole household, . . . are received, and baptized.”⁴⁴¹ Martin’s focus on the correct action of the preacher alongside “God principally working withal in their hartes” is the manner in which true conversions are achieved in Rome.

The Development of New Resources

⁴³⁷ Martin, 77.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 81.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 82.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

The final aspect of the practice under Gregory XIII that characterizes this period as a “golden age” is the development of new resources for the practice. This is not a category typically associated with the sixteenth-century mission. It derives from Robert Chazan’s study of “missionizing” in the thirteenth century. Chazan identifies the development of resources as a sign of mission in his book *Daggers of Faith*.⁴⁴² There are clear parallels between the resources Chazan identifies in the thirteenth century and the sixteenth century. The first is training of preachers. In the thirteenth century, schools developed to teach Hebrew and Arabic to preachers; in the sixteenth century, Gregory XIII established the College of Neophytes. The converts required training in Christian theology and preaching to the Jews. The second important resource developed was a text to aid the preacher in employing Jewish literature to prove the truth of Christianity. Paul Christian demonstrated the use of these texts in the Disputation of Barcelona in 1263, and Raymond Martin compiled rabbinic literature and Christian responses in his *Pugio fidei* (1278). Likewise, Hebraists in the sixteenth century sought more to develop more resources from rabbinic literature to use against the Jews in the sermons. Piet van Boxel argues that a project formerly identified as an expurgation of Hebrew literature was intended for another purpose. The theologians involved worked with Jewish texts to produce new material for the sermons to the Jews.⁴⁴³

Conclusion

In his account of Gregory XIII’s relationship with the Jews, Cecil Roth describes the pope as “weak and ineffective.”⁴⁴⁴ Roth described Gregory XIII as weak because he viewed the

⁴⁴² Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, 3.

⁴⁴³ Piet van Boxel, *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*. A discussion of Van Boxel’s argument can be found in the previous chapter.

⁴⁴⁴ Op. cit. Roth, *History of the Jews in Italy*, 315.

pope as subject to the whims of his cardinals. This is consistent with how scholarship has depicted Andrea de Monte's influence upon *Vices eius nos* and *Sancta mater ecclesia* as well. The pope allowed others to dictate his policies.⁴⁴⁵ I propose that rather than weak or ineffective, Gregory XIII's institutionalization of the preaching to the Jews was the action of a pragmatic pope.⁴⁴⁶ He chose to promote practices and institutions that aligned with Tridentine reforms and were thought to best display the orthodoxy and orthopraxy of Roman Catholicism.⁴⁴⁷ The most efficient and practical use of resources was to train loyal Catholics from heretical lands or the faithless, such as Jews and Muslims, to return to their people as missionaries. The College of Neophytes operated the same as the other national colleges. *Sancta mater ecclesia* imposed structure and attendance guidelines so that that mission truly extended to all Jews. Finally, the choice to establish sermons to the Jews as the primary proselytizing tool also demonstrates this pragmatism, which is evident in his rhetoric on the preaching. The Jews must be given the opportunity to convert and be saved, and the proper way to provide this opportunity for the few who God will favor is through preaching. As I highlighted above, this was a reform of the previous policy of Paul IV and institutes a more active measure to the sixteenth-century policy of conversion.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. the account of Antonio Possevino's influence on the pope for *Vices eius nos* as well.

⁴⁴⁶ Thomas Dandeleit, "Gregory XIII and Political Pragmatism in the Age of the "Pax Hispanica"," in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. 54 (2009): 31-39. Dandeleit's argument that Gregory XIII was able to stay relevant in political and ecclesiastical affairs through his political pragmatism despite the dominant Spanish presence in Italy is applicable to his dealings with Jews and reform as well.

⁴⁴⁷ Before ascending the papal throne, Ugo Buoncampagni attended two sessions of the Council of Trent.

Chapter Three: Evangelista Marcellino, a Missionary to the Jews of Rome

In the city of Rome, he [Marcellino] did not labor from Friday until Saturday evening, to be fasting for the conversion of the Jews to the faith, preaching to them both with the Rabbis and with the scripture, he proved to them that the Messiah had come; *whereby, moved by divine grace and by the loving words of the preacher*, the most expert [Jews] with their families rejected Judaism and affirmed Jesus Christ, son of the Virgin Mary, crucified for our sins, to be the true Messiah promised to them in the ancient law.⁴⁴⁸

While expounding scripture to a Christian audience in 1579, Evangelista Marcellino began his explanation of *commoremur in villis*, “let us abide in the villages,” from *Song of Songs* 7.11, by referring to his role as a preacher to the Jews of Rome. “I do not lose hope, if indeed, after so much preaching to the Jews, still they are seen to become hard. Let us note that it says *commoremur*, as if to say, let us persevere.”⁴⁴⁹ At the time Marcellino spoke these words in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, he had been persevering as a preacher of conversion sermons for around two years, having commenced his mission to the Jews of Rome in the year 1577, according to his own testimony.⁴⁵⁰ The year 1577 is significant. Marcellino joined the mission to the Jews near

⁴⁴⁸ “Nella Città di Roma non curava dal venerdì sin’ al sabato sera star digiuno per convertire gl’Ebrei alla fede predicando loro, e con i Rabbini, e con le scritture gli provava esser venuto il Messia; onde dalla divina gratia, e dalle amorse parole del Predicatore mossi i più periti con lor famiglie renuntiavano l’Ebraismo, ed affermavaano Giesù Cristo figlio di Maria Vergine crocifisso per i nostri peccati, esser’ il vero Messia promesso a loro nella legge antica.” Jacopo Peri, “Breve discorso della vita del P.F. Vangelista Marcellino da Pistoia Min. Osser. Predicatore Apostolico,” *Prediche della passione e resurrezione, di Giesu Christo nostro redentore. Fatte l’anno 1592. In Roma dal R.P.F. Vangelista Marcellino da Pistoia. Predicatore Apostoli. del Ord. Minor. Osservante.* (Firenze: Appresso Pietro Cecconcelli, 1622), 7-34. Quoted selection is found on pp. 16-17 (emphasis, mine).

⁴⁴⁹ “Io non perdo la speranza, se bene doppo tante prediche fatte a gli Ebrei, anco si veggano star duri. Notiamo che dice *commoremur*, come a dire perseveriamo.” Evangelista Marcellino, *Lezioni sopra la Cantica del Molto R. P. F. Vangelista Marcellino De Minori Osservanti. Fatte da lui in Roma l’anno 1579. E date oggi in luce dal P. Fra Cosimo Sansonetti da S. Marcello suo nipote*, (Firenze: appresso Giorgio Marescotti, 1599), 341.

⁴⁵⁰ Evangelista Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove*, 51. “Non è questa la prima volta che ci parliamo ne il primo anno essendo il sesto chi disputo & contendo con voi.” See also, Evangelista Marcellino, *Lettoni sopra Daniele profeta del r.p.f. Vangelista Marcellino de Min. osservanti. Fatte in Roma, in Araceli, l’anno MDLXXXV. Nuovamente poste in luce. Con vna predica del venerdì santo, fatta in Arcivescovado di Napoli, l’anno MDLXXXVI*, (Venetia: appresso i Giunti, 1588), 225. “Gli ostinati Giudei contro i quali otto anni continui ho havuto Guerra et l’haverò sempre; non si vergognano d’interpretar questo luogo contra il nostro glorioso e benedetto Salvatore, e Redentore Christo Giesù.” Both Angelico Piladi and Emily Michelson cite the *Lettoni sopra Daniele* as

the time when Gregory XIII began giving official statements endorsing the preaching to the Jews. Marcellino continued preaching to the Jews of Rome throughout Gregory XIII's pontificate.⁴⁵¹ His first hagiographer, a fellow Franciscan named Jacopo Peri, praised Marcellino for his commitment to the important task of converting the Jews, writing that the preacher would fast every Friday in preparation for his sermon on the Jewish Sabbath.⁴⁵² As a result of his dedication to this task, Marcellino saw great fruit from his labors in the conversion of "many" Jews.⁴⁵³

Peri mentions Marcellino's ministry to the Jews four times in the short *vita*.⁴⁵⁴ In fact, it is the first activity of Marcellino's in the city of Rome that Peri recounts. Clearly, Peri regarded the *predica coattiva* as one of Marcellino's most praiseworthy tasks. Both his preaching *in toto* and his success in converting Jews are provided by Peri as reasons that Gregory XIII wanted to make the Franciscan a cardinal, an honor Marcellino requested that the pope not bestow.⁴⁵⁵ Perhaps, Peri's praise of Marcellino and his commitment to preaching to the Jews speaks more to the religious climate of 1622 when he published his brief discourse on the friar than forty years earlier when Marcellino preached his *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove* to the Jews of

the source of the beginning date of Marcellino's preaching to the Jews, but the dating is also confirmed in the *Sermoni quindici* as cited above.

⁴⁵¹ So little is known about this period and the naming of the preacher to the Jews. Marcellino is not mentioned as a preacher to the Jews by the one eyewitness who names the preachers during this period from 1577 through summer of 1578. See Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 82. Given Marcellino's consistent reference to 1577 as the beginning of his "war" with the Jews, Martin's exclusion of his name is curious.

⁴⁵² Op. cit., 16.

⁴⁵³ Peri mentions the "many" conversions on pages 17, 23, and 31.

⁴⁵⁴ Peri, "Breve discorso della vita del P.F. Vangelista Marcellino," 16-17, 20, 23, and 31.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 23.

Rome.⁴⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Peri's constant return to the *predica coattiva* highlights the longevity of Marcellino's tenure in this mission, which is unparalleled for this period with the exception of the convert, Andrea de Monte. Marcellino was one of the few career preachers to the Jews prior to the promulgation of *Sancta mater ecclesia* in 1584. We know of no other preachers from this early period (1576-1584) who preached for more than a season and were not converts.⁴⁵⁷

Although during these same years, he occupied other roles, including preaching scriptural lessons in Santa Maria Aracoeli, and traveling to preach in other cities, Marcellino indicates that he maintained his mission to the Jews of Rome through at least the reign of Gregory XIII.

This chapter on Evangelista Marcellino presents the *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove* as one example of the preaching mission to the Jews prior to the practice's official institutionalization with *Sancta mater ecclesia* in 1584. These are the sermons of a preacher, who might best be called a missionary to the Jews; Marcellino's relationship with the Jews of Rome is based upon his regular, Sabbath sermons delivered to them. As the sole representative of the Roman practice in the published sermon volumes from this era, Marcellino's *Sermoni quindici* provide a glimpse into the oral rhetoric of conversion in 1582 Rome. A foundational aim of this chapter is to display the *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove*. By exhibiting the words of this sixteenth century Franciscan through both quotation and description, the nature of mission and persuasion are best demonstrated. Other aims include highlighting Marcellino's arguments, exploring the role of the Old Christian preacher in contrast to the convert preacher, investigating

⁴⁵⁶ By 1622, the practice of preaching to the Jews of Rome had been thriving for thirty years following a sharp decrease in attendance requirements during the pontificate of Sixtus V. Clement VIII had revived the practice in 1692, and many of the structural characteristics of the practice that Attilio Milano describes proceed from this era. Also, in 1622, the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, an institution devoted to missions, was established.

⁴⁵⁷ The list of known "Old Christian" preachers to the Jews is rather short: Roberto Bellarmino, Antonio Possevino, Alfonso Lupo, and Francisco Maria Tarugi. These men all served in this capacity for a limited duration.

the reason Marcellino printed these sermons, and placing Marcellino's rhetoric of conversion in the context of the official rhetoric proceeding from the papacy. In this chapter, I will argue that the life and sermons of Evangelista Marcellino demonstrate that the *predica coattiva* had two primary goals, rooted in the reforming spirit of Tridentine Rome. The first is the actual conversion of the Jews, not *en masse* but "few by few," to use the words of Gregory Martin.⁴⁵⁸ Scholarship has downplayed this goal over the last thirty years, focusing on the nature of the practice as a spectacle for Christian Rome. In the spirit of Alberto Zucchi, a closer look at the intent of the practice as articulated in actual sermons is warranted. The second goal is orthopraxis, simply the fulfillment of the church's apostolic duty to the Jews.⁴⁵⁹ The compulsory conversion sermons were a sign of Christian piety on the part of the preacher and marked the right method for converting the Jews. In Tridentine Rome, orthopraxis was the measure of success.

Vita of Evangelista Marcellino

In our day, his name is almost completely forgotten because it does not belong to the official ecclesiastical tradition, the one shared and proposed to the faithful. Therefore, the memory of his deeds is buried in the pages of the martyrologists of the order to which he belonged and resurfaces in the wall inscriptions now smoothed by the passage of time. But at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the situation was very different since the friar enjoyed a widespread reputation for sanctity.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁸ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 77.

⁴⁵⁹ This is what Pope Gregory I (590-604) called *recte perficitur* when advising the bishops of Arles and Marseilles to have preachers persuade the Jews to convert with "the sweetness of preaching" rather than forcing them to the baptismal font. Gregory the Great, Book 1, Epistle 45 (CCSL, vol. 140:59). "Fraternitas ergo uestra huiusmodi homines frequenti praedicatione prouocet, quatenus mutare ueterem magis uitam de doctoris suauitate desiderent. Sic enim et intentio nostra recte perficitur et conuersi animus ad priorem denuo uomitum non mutatur."

⁴⁶⁰ Miguel Gotor, *I Beati del Papa: Sanità, Inquisizione e Obbedienza in Età Moderna*, (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 2002), 79. "Ai giorni nostri, il suo nome quasi del tutto dimenticato perché non appartiene alla tradizione ecclesiastica ufficiale, quella condivisa e proposta ai fedeli. Perciò, la memoria delle sue gesta è sepolta fra le pagine dei martirologi dell'ordine a cui appartenne e riaffiora nelle iscrizioni murarie ormai levigate dal trascorrere del tempo. Ma all'inizio del Seicento la situazione era ben diversa giacché il frate godeva allora di una diffusa fama di santità."

Born Lorenzo Gerbi in 1530 near the Tuscan town of Pistoia, Marcellino, also referred to in sources as Evangelista Gerbi, Father Gerbi, or by his secular *nom de plume*, Lorenzo Selva, joined the Observant Franciscans at the age of thirteen.⁴⁶¹ He was sent to the University of Paris to study theology and commenced his preaching career upon his return to Tuscany around the year 1553 when he is recorded in a church register preaching a sermon at Lent.⁴⁶² Offered two bishoprics in the 1560s, Marcellino rejected both, a fact that elevates the friar in the opinion of his biographers.⁴⁶³ Marcellino likely settled in Rome around 1576, taking a post as a “reader” of scripture, perhaps first in San Lorenzo in Damaso.⁴⁶⁴ This was a relatively new position in churches outlined by the Council of Trent. In its fifth session in 1546, Trent dictated that churches which had a stipend for a Doctor of Theology were required to employ that theologian or another competent candidate “to expound and interpret the said sacred Scripture” for the people.⁴⁶⁵ As Jacopo Peri writes regarding Marcellino’s role in this task, “Let me say that if he was not the inventor, he was at least the one who renewed the practice of reading the divine scripture in the church.”⁴⁶⁶ Marcellino held this post in Santa Maria in Aracoeli beginning in

⁴⁶¹ Angelico Piladi has written the most recent biographical article on Evangelista Marcellino.

⁴⁶² Angelico Piladi, 43. Jacopo Peri, 13.

⁴⁶³ Ibid. As noted above, Peri believes Marcellino was also offered the office of cardinal by Gregory XIII.

⁴⁶⁴ Some of his biographers write that Marcellino preached in Rome continuously for 24 years. Cf. Peri, “Brevi discorsi,” 14. Angelico Piladi tempers this characterization to Marcellino’s preference for Rome (Piladi, 45), but Miguel Gotor writes that Marcellino “illustrated the Bible to the Romans” for eighteen consecutive years, meaning that Marcellino took a post of “reader” in 1576. (*I Beati del papa*, 80). This date for his stable presence in Rome is consistent for Marcellino’s own words in a 1586 scriptural lesson that he had been working with Andrea de Monte for ten years.

⁴⁶⁵ The Council of Trent (Session 5, ch. 1, June 1546). In an Avviso di Roma, Marcellino is associated with San Lorenzo in Damaso in 1578 (BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1046, 35. February 15, 1578). His appointment to this role in Santa Maria in Aracoeli in the 1580s is clearer. See also, Emily Michelson, “Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations” for this role.

⁴⁶⁶ Peri, “Brevi discorsi,” 17. “Siami lecito dire, che se non fu l’Inventore, fu almeno quello, che rinovò l’uso di leggere nella Chiesa la divini Scrittura.”

1581.⁴⁶⁷ He also continued to travel and preach, particularly Lenten sermons, in the major cities of the Italian peninsula.⁴⁶⁸ Piladi identifies four types of Marcellino's preaching: sermons to religious men and women, sermons to the people, sermons to the Jews, and scriptural lessons.⁴⁶⁹ He left published examples of each type of his preaching, and the bulk of his sermons, scriptural lessons, and other writings were printed in the 1580s.⁴⁷⁰

At the time of his death in January of 1593, Evangelista Marcellino was a well-known preacher throughout the Italian peninsula. He had preached from all the "best pulpits in Italy,"⁴⁷¹ and he had appeared in almost every diary from the period.⁴⁷² His preaching in San Lorenzo in Damaso, caught the attention of the papacy in 1578,⁴⁷³ and as he made his home primarily in Rome, Marcellino's reputation as a preacher and expositor of scripture grew. By 1585, Marcellino had earned a place alongside the most celebrated preachers of his day, a distinction attested in a late sixteenth-century French journal.⁴⁷⁴ Marcellino's preaching reputation traveled

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 10. Peri notes that Marcellino read scripture for twelve years in Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

⁴⁶⁸ Peri, "Brevi discorsi," 14-15. Piladi attempts to provide better definition to Marcellino's travelling career in his biography. This is a difficult task that he is largely unable to complete.

⁴⁶⁹ Piladi, 65.

⁴⁷⁰ Some of his scriptural lessons were also published posthumously.

⁴⁷¹ "Calcò i migliori pulpiti d'Italia." Sigismondo da Venezia, "Marcellino, Evangelista," in *Biografia serafica degli uomini illustri: che fiorirono nel Franceseano Istituto per santità, dottrina e dignità fino a nostri giorni*, (Venezia: Tipografia di G. B. Merlo, 1846), 484.

⁴⁷² "Meno nota è forse invece la figura di un frate cappuccino, fra' Evangelista Marcellino, del quale parla diffusamente il Settimani, e a cui accennano, più o meno, tutti i diari del tempo." Irene Pannoncini, "Il sentimento religioso in Firenze dalla caduta della Repubblica alla fine del Cinquecento," in *Rassegna Nazionale*, an. 42 (1920), vol. 26, 224.

⁴⁷³ BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 1046, 35, Avviso di Roma February 15, 1578, remarks on his renown as a preacher in San Lorenzo a Damaso.

⁴⁷⁴ This is an obscure reference to Marcellino that I have not found in any other scholarship on Evangelista Marcellino. The article by Lucien Auvray, cited below, is rather loosely connected to the historiography on Andrea de Monte. Giordano Bruno speaks of a Jew who is the best preacher in Rome. There was a scholarly debate over the identification of this "Hebraeus."

to Paris via Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), most famously known for his condemnation by the Roman Inquisition to burn at the stake for heresy. Over several conversations in the spring of 1586 with Guillaume Cotin, the librarian at the Abbey of St. Victor, Bruno described preaching in Rome.⁴⁷⁵ “Last year, there were four preachers in Rome who had these titles: Toledo teaches, Panigarola delights, Marcellino instructs (as far as morals), and Lupo excites.”⁴⁷⁶ A connection with the 1577 motto celebrating the three goals of sacred rhetoric and the preachers who exemplified them best demonstrated a preacher’s achievement of eloquence in late sixteenth-century Rome.⁴⁷⁷

In addition to his preaching, Marcellino’s popularity in Rome revolved around his holy life, to such an extent that a cult arose in the wake of his death. Early accounts of his life record having to reclothe his body three times before his burial due to onlookers taking pieces of his habit as relics.⁴⁷⁸ Miracles were recorded at his tomb, and his effigy was circulated around the

⁴⁷⁵ Lucien Auvray, “Giordano Bruno à Paris, d’après le témoignage d’un contemporain (1585-1586),” *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de l’Ile-de-France*, (France: H. Champion, 1901) 288-301. Guillaume Cotin was the librarian at the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris. Giordano Bruno visited Paris and Cotin in 1585 through 1586. Cotin recorded his conversations with Bruno in his diary; the librarian was particularly interested in hearing about preaching in Rome. Bruno discussed the Franciscan, Francesco Panigarola, the Jesuit, Francisco de Toledo, whom Bruno greatly despised, and Gabriele Fiamma.

⁴⁷⁶ “L’an passé estoient à Rome 4 prédicateurs qui eurent ces tiltres: Toletus docet, Panicarola delectat, Marcellinus instruit (quoad mores), Lupus inflammat.” Quoted by Lucien Auvray, “Giordano Bruno à Paris, d’après le témoignage d’un contemporain (1585-1586),” *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de l’Ile-de-France*, (France: H. Champion, 1901) 292, footnote 2, continued from previous page.

⁴⁷⁷ See Frederick J. McGinness, *Right-Thinking and Sacred Oratory*, While Lupo and Panigarola maintain their position as the most skilled in *moventi* and *delectanti*, other preachers were substituted for Toledo. For instance, a seventeenth-century biographical portrait of Marcellino records the saying as, “Marcellino docet, Panigarola delectat.” Dondori. Cf. Emily Michelson, “Preaching Scripture Under Pressure in Tridentine Italy: A Case Study of Gabriele Fiamma,” *Dutch Review of Church History*, Vol.85 (2005), 257-268. Michelson records that Gabriele Fiamma is associated with this saying after he preached in the year of Jubilee 1575. “Flamma docet, Lupus movet, Panigarola delectate” (quoted on page 262). The role of the teacher seemed to be a skill more easily acquired than moving or delighting an audience. Another iteration substitutes “Hebraeus” in the role of the teacher. This refers to Alessandro Franchesci, a convert.

⁴⁷⁸ Cesare Campana, *Delle historie del mondo descritte dal sig. Cesare Campana, gentil'huomo aquilano volume secondo, che contiene libri sedici. Ne' quali diffusamente si narrano le cose auuenute dall'anno 1580 fino al 1596. Et con vna nuoua aggiunta per fino all'anno 1600. Con vn discorso intorno allo scriuere historie.* (Pavia: appresso Pietro Bartoli, 1601), 695.

city as a votive image.⁴⁷⁹ Within ten years of his death, the newly created Congregation of Beatification (1602) placed Marcellino on a list of potential candidates for sainthood alongside Ignatius of Loyola, Philip Neri, and Carlo Borromeo, the three from the list who were eventually canonized.⁴⁸⁰ However, Marcellino was cut from consideration amidst “bitter conflicts” between the various factions promoting their candidates.⁴⁸¹ The Franciscan did not have a strong political coalition advocating for his canonization, and the very quality which Giordano Bruno mentions in his characterization of Marcellino—instruction in morals—likely contributed to his removal from the list of candidates.⁴⁸² He preached against common vanities in sixteenth-century society such as tufts and hair pieces,⁴⁸³ but also did not shy away from criticizing powerful leaders. In 1582, Marcellino found himself the enemy of Medici supporters in Florence, following a sermon in which he said, “Open your eyes to your thieves Florence, you have made yourself a public harlot.”⁴⁸⁴ Franciscans, in particular, who were zealous for moral reform and did not hesitate to reprimand leaders, whether spiritual or secular, did not fare well in the Congregation of Beatification, regardless of their reputation as living saints or the cults which arose upon their

⁴⁷⁹ Gotor, *I Beati di papa*, 79.

⁴⁸⁰ See Miguel Gotor’s chapter on Marcellino in *I Beati di papa*.

⁴⁸¹ R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, 2nd edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 132. Hsia writes, “Clerics considered either too controversial or too undisciplined, such as the Observant Gerbi and the Franciscan Del Pas were dropped.” Ultimately the three men canonized from this list of potential candidates in which Evangelista Marcellino appeared were Carlo Borromeo (1610), Ignatius Loyola (1622), and Philip Neri (1622). Borromeo was the first of these three to achieve beatification; Clement VIII did so in the same year Borromeo was nominated (1602).

⁴⁸² Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: santità, inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna*, (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 2002). Hsia notes that Marcellino was considered controversial but provides no more information.

⁴⁸³ Peri writes, “Molte gentildonne Venetiane lasciorno le vanità de ciuffi e capillature morte.” Peri, “Breve discorsi,” 15.

⁴⁸⁴ Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 80-81.

deaths.⁴⁸⁵ Likewise, Marcellino's memory has not fared well in history; knowledge of this preacher now certainly does not match Marcellino's renown during his own age.

Scholarship on Evangelista Marcellino and the *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove*

Despite Marcellino's relative obscurity in the ecclesiastical tradition, a fact noted by both Angelico Piladi and Miguel Gotor, there is a substantial bibliography for the Franciscan. His publications alone, granted him an entry in various eighteenth and nineteenth century encyclopedic volumes of Tuscan authors. Many of his contemporaries mentioned him in their own works, including diarists, but also Antonio Possevino, Francesco Panigarola, and Cesare Campana. Jacopo Peri published the first substantial *vita* of Marcellino in 1622. Peri's biography is the source for Marcellino's early life as well as his major contributions to church life.⁴⁸⁶ In 1853, Frederico Frediani revitalized interest in Marcellino with an updated *vita* in his *Prose et Versi*.⁴⁸⁷ Frediani includes substantial notes for his biography and an annotated bibliography of all Marcellino's published works, including every edition printed. At the conclusion to this work, Frediani provides a third bibliographic section noting all the authors who speak of Marcellino in their works.

⁴⁸⁵ Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 79-95. Marcellino appears in the chapter called, "I Beati Perdenti." In this fascinating study, Gotor argues that preachers who followed in the footsteps of Savonarola (d.1498) and challenged the morals of city leaders as well as ecclesiastical leaders were considered dangerous, particularly if their cults were vibrant. In the end, Marcellino's personal actions may not have ultimately caused his removal from the list. Rather, the activities of other preachers, such as the Franciscan Bartolomeo Cambi (d.1617), highlighted the danger of particular types of preaching at the very moment in which the Congregation was meeting to discuss candidates. Gotor's discussion of Cambi begins on page 86.

⁴⁸⁶ Peri divides his *vita* into five sections, a template he borrows from 1 Corinthians 14.19: "In church I would rather speak five intelligible words." He credits Marcellino with introducing the ringing of the bell for the Ave Maria, marking the change from day to night (17). Gregory XIII bestowed upon Marcellino the title, "Predicatore Apostolico" (8). He preached in the mornings in St. Peter's and read scripture in Santa Maria in Aracoeli during the day (20).

⁴⁸⁷ Frederico Frediani, "Ricordi per servire alla vita del P. Evangelista Marcellino M. O.," in *Prose e versi del p. Francesco Frediani*, (Prato: della Tipografia Alberghetti E.C., 1853), 85-161.

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, scholars have focused on three main aspects of Marcellino's life that made his reputation in late Cinquecento Rome: his role as a reader of scripture, his sanctity, and his preaching to the Jews. Ninety years after Frediani's *vita*, Angelico Piladi once again rescued Marcellino from obscurity, focusing on the preacher's role as an explicator of scripture. In his two-part study, Piladi utilizes Marcellino to demonstrate the history of the Bible in Italy following a mandate by Pius V that no one be allowed a vernacular bible without express permission from the pope.⁴⁸⁸ Piladi shows that Marcellino made scripture available to the people of Rome in his post as a reader of scripture.⁴⁸⁹ The next scholar to focus on the life of Marcellino was Miguel Gotor. In a 2002 study of the new canonization process instituted at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Gotor included Marcellino as one of the "losing" candidates. His description of Marcellino's life is concise and highlights two problematic aspects: his admonishment of the Florentine government and his publication of a secular book. Gotor identifies both aspects as making Marcellino too controversial in the eyes of the Congregation of Beatification, but particularly his challenge to secular and ecclesiastical authority. The chapter on Marcellino is more about Bartolomeo Cambi, another Franciscan preacher, than Marcellino, himself; Gotor argues that Cambi's preaching in the early seventeenth century caused Marcellino's moralistic chastisements to appear dangerous by association. Therefore, Marcellino became a nebulous figure in church history.

⁴⁸⁸ "Col passare degli anni la sua memoria fu avvolta dalla nebbia dell'oblio." Angelico Piladi, "Il P. Evangelista Marcellino insigne predicatore ed ecclesiaste del secolo XVI," *Studi Francescani*, 15, (1943), 41-78, 131-155. Piladi's biography of Marcellino, the preacher and explicator of scripture, serves to counter the claim that the Bible had no history in Italy for two centuries following Pius IV's prohibition of vernacular translations.⁴⁸⁸ Piladi sets out to refute this idea made popular by Salvatore Minocchi in his "La Bibbia nella Storia d'Italia," *Studi Religiosi*, an. IV (1904), 470.

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. Peri's comment that Marcellino renewed the reading of scripture in churches.

Prior to 2012, the studies of the Franciscan were all in Italian, and none had explored the sermons to the Jews in depth.⁴⁹⁰ The first scholar to both write about Evangelista Marcellino's sermons to the Jews and publish in English was Emily Michelson. She published "Evangelista Marcellino: Two Preachers, One Congregation" in 2012.⁴⁹¹ Since then, Michelson has utilized her research on Marcellino to develop a broader study of the conversionary sermons in Rome and has published three additional articles.⁴⁹² Her most recent article focuses on Jewish reactions to the *predica coattiva*, while the first three explore the conversionary sermons as a spectacle intended primarily for the benefit of its Christian auditors.⁴⁹³ With her first article on Marcellino in 2012, Michelson joined Shulamit Furstenberg-Levi in writing about printed conversion sermons preached to the Jews of Italy. As Michelson notes in her first article, scholars had been utilizing texts that were not sermons to discuss sermons.⁴⁹⁴

Michelson's position as the scholarly authority on Marcellino and the Jews makes her a natural interlocutor for this chapter. She published the foundational work on Evangelista Marcellino. Michelson introduced the *Sermoni quindici* to English scholarship, described the physical aspects of the sermon volume, categorized the sermons as homilies, and provided a

⁴⁹⁰ Marcellino wrote a book under a pseudonym, Lorenzo Selva, which has garnered interest in scholarship on sixteenth-century literature. His *Della metamorfosi overo transformatione di un virtuosos* (1582) was an immensely popular book, if the number of subsequent printings and translation into French are any indication. Michelson is the first to write specifically about Marcellino's preaching, but other articles on Marcellino as Lorenzo Selva exist, such as Susanne Magnanini, "Between Straparola and Basile: Three Fairy Tales From Lorenzo Selva's *Della metamorfosi* (1582)," *Marvels & Tales: Journal of Fairy-Tale Studies*, Vol. 25, no. 2 (2011): 331-369.

⁴⁹¹ Emily Michelson, "Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations."

⁴⁹² Op.cit. Emily Michelson, "How to Write a Conversionary Sermon: Rhetorical Influences and Religious Identity;" "Conversionary Preaching and the Jews in Early Modern Rome;" and "Resist, Refute, Redirect: Roman Jews Attend Conversionary Sermons."

⁴⁹³ See Chapter One for a full discussion of the argument Michelson makes regarding the conversion sermons across her articles.

⁴⁹⁴ Michelson, "Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations," 187.

general overview of the content of the sermons. Consequently, there will be some overlap between this chapter and Michelson's articles as I set the context and describe the *Sermoni quindici*. However, Michelson has a different approach to the *Sermoni quindici*; her treatment of the sermons is largely conceptual. As discussed more fully in Chapter One, she is interested in broad concepts of the Jew in western Christendom. Jeremy Cohen's hermeneutic Jew, Renata Martano's immutable Jew, and David Nirenberg's imaginary Jew influence Michelson's reading of the *Sermoni quindici* and the practice of preaching to the Jews. Since these concepts are in place operating below the surface, then the intent of the compulsory conversion sermons cannot be actual conversion of the Jews. Michelson's claim that the sermons targeted Christians to spur greater piety and to reinforce fidelity to the Catholic Church is one aspect of the practice of preaching to the Jews.⁴⁹⁵ I propose that applying these concepts to the conversion sermons draws the focus away from the actual text. The words matter less than the predetermined role that each participant plays in the "performance" of the conversion sermon. While the concepts Michelson employs in her discussion of Marcellino are influential on Christian thought and practice regarding conversion, the nature of these conversion sermons as spectacle paints an incomplete picture, something Michelson, herself, acknowledges in "Conversionary Preaching and the Jews."

My approach in this chapter is to treat the *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove* as if conversion of the Jews is the actual intent of the compulsory conversion sermons. If Jewish conversion is the aim, what is the concept of conversion and the accompanying rhetoric that appears in the *Sermoni quindici*? This approach reopens the text for analysis, placing focus on the whole of the text. As the first published conversion sermons, the *Sermoni quindici* can reveal

⁴⁹⁵ Michelson prioritizes this aspect over every function the conversion sermons performed. I think it is fair to characterize her as demoting conversion of the Jews to the lowest goal of the sermons.

late sixteenth-century Roman ideas of persuasion and Jewish conversion. By focusing on the text in contrast to the sermon event, we can better understand why this practice was both necessary and fitting in the mission to the Jews. The importance of orthopraxis as well as the importance of Jewish acceptance of Christian teaching for genuine conversion appear in this focus. A focus on the wisdom or efficacy of preaching as a strategy of conversion has long been an aspect of the historiography for the preaching to the Jews, but this tends to place greater emphasis on success of the mission when the goal is fundamentally different.

*Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove*⁴⁹⁶

This is not the first time that we speak here, nor the first year,
being the sixth that I dispute and contend with you.⁴⁹⁷

—Sermon 5

In the year 1582, Evangelista Marcellino ascended a pulpit in Rome to begin his fifteen-part sermon series on Psalm 109 to the Jews. Marcellino's choice to both preach and publish these sermons on Psalm 109 was strategic. The psalm had been a point of contention between Jews and Christians since the birth of Christianity. Various parts of the psalm, especially verses one and five, are quoted, paraphrased, or alluded to numerous times in the New Testament, providing an early and canonical, Christological reading of the text.⁴⁹⁸ Jerome (347-420) notes in

⁴⁹⁶ I would like to thank the librarians at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze who helped me navigate a new library system and graciously located and held their copy of Evangelista Marcellino's *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove* in addition to other Marcellino volumes for my use in their rare books room. Special thanks to Dr. Emily Michelson, as well, for granting me access to her digital copy of the *Sermoni quindici*, which helped correct more than one of my transcription mistakes.

⁴⁹⁷ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 51. "Non è questa la prima volta che ci parliamo ne il primo anno essendo il sesto chi disputo & contendo con voi." The year 1582 is provided by Marcellino on the previous page of his sermon (p. 50) marking 1577 as the beginning of his mission. His lessons on the book of Daniel also confirm the year 1577 as the start of his preaching to the Jews (*Lettoni sopra Daniele*, 284). This latter text is the one cited by Piladi and Michelson as establishing the 1577 date, but it appears within the *Sermoni quindici* as well.

⁴⁹⁸ See Matthew 22.41-46, Mark. 12.35-37, and Luke 20.41-44 for the account of Jesus' discussion of verse one with the Pharisees. See also among others, Acts 2.34-36, 1 Corinthians 15.25-28, Ephesians 1.22, Hebrews 1.13; 4.14-15; 5.10; 6.20; 7.15-26; 8.1; 10.13.

his homily on Psalm 109 that “the Savior has revealed the meaning of these words in the Gospel.”⁴⁹⁹ Perhaps as important as Jesus’ interpretation of the first verse of the psalm is Christ’s ability to confound the Jews, the most prized skill of a preacher to the Jews. The Gospel of Matthew’s account concludes the vignette, “And no one was able to answer him a word, nor from that day did anyone dare to ask him anymore questions.”⁵⁰⁰ Jerome recognized the significance of this text, its messianic interpretation, and its utility in confrontations with the Jews. Expounding on Jesus’ discussion with the Pharisees over the first verse, he writes in his *Commentary on Matthew*, “The question of Jesus still helps us today against the Jews.”⁵⁰¹ Like Jerome, Marcellino expresses this psalm’s unique suitability for contending the truth of Christianity with the Jews. “In this Psalm, proving himself to be King and Priest and son of God, how can he not be the true Savior and the true ladder through whom we ascend to heaven? And the true Messiah?”⁵⁰² The psalm lends itself as a perfect proof-text for Marcellino to demonstrate the fallacy of Jewish belief and thus persuade the Jews of the truth of Christianity. He is able to address key Christian teachings which are often stumbling blocks to the Jews, including

⁴⁹⁹ Jerome, Homily 36, *The Homilies of Saint Jerome*, vol. 1. Fathers of the Church, vol. 48, (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2010), 270.

⁵⁰⁰ Matthew 22.46. The dialogue begins at verse 41. “Now while the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them a question, saying, “What do you think about the Christ? Whose son is he?” They said to him, “The son of David.” He said to them, “How is it then that David, in the Spirit, calls him Lord, saying, ““The Lord said to my Lord, “Sit at my right hand, until I put your enemies under your feet””? If then David calls him Lord, how is he his son?” And no one was able to answer him a word, nor from that day did anyone dare to ask him anymore questions.”

⁵⁰¹ Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew*, Fathers of the Church, vol. 117, (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2010), 257. Evangelista refers to Jerome’s commentary in his first sermon (*Sermoni quindici*, 8).

⁵⁰² Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 3. “Nel qual Salmo provandosi esser e Re, e Sacerdote, e figliuolo di Dio, come non sarà il vero Salvatore e la vera scala per alzarci al Cielo. E il vero Messia.”

Christology, the Trinity, the position of the pope, and the sacrament of the Eucharist.⁵⁰³

Moreover, it is a model series for demonstrating how to preach to the Jews.

Emily Michelson describes the *Sermoni quindici* as a departure from the usual practice of basing sermons upon the Old Testament readings from the Law and Prophets at the morning synagogue service.⁵⁰⁴ This characterization is somewhat misleading. In terms of the published sermons from Gregory XIII's pontificate, none of the three utilize the Sabbath liturgical text. For the Roman practice, there is simply not enough evidence to warrant this characterization in the year 1582. The instructions to use the Sabbath synagogue readings as the text for the conversion sermon first appears in 1584 in Gregory XIII's bull, *Sancta mater ecclesia*. As discussed in a previous chapter, the convert Andrea de Monte is generally acknowledged as the primary influence for this 1584 bull. Prior to 1584, the strategy of utilizing the Sabbath liturgical texts for preaching to the Jews is linked specifically and only to the convert Andrea de Monte. Gregory Martin includes this fact in his description of the convert's sermons in *Roma Sancta*.⁵⁰⁵ The two

⁵⁰³ In his bull, *Sancta mater ecclesia* of 1 September 1584, Gregory XIII lists all the topics which should be proven to the Jews in the conversion sermons. Although the pope's list is promulgated two years after the *Sermoni quindici* were delivered, it gives an idea of the expectations for the sermons. (For more on *Sancta mater ecclesia*, see Chapter One.) Marcellino is able to address all the primary points of contention between Christians and Jews through his choice of Psalm 109 for the sermons.

⁵⁰⁴ Michelson, "One Preacher, Two Congregations," 191. Michelson asserts this characterization as a fact and does not cite a source. However, there are two sources for this that she could cite although they require further explanation. This characterization of Marcellino's sermons derives from secondary literature, in which the sermons are described for the early modern period, not the first seven years. Throughout her article, she heavily relies on Renata Martano (op. cit. 103) and Anna Foa, both of whom mention the use of the Sabbath synagogue reading as a deliberate reversal of the Jewish Sabbath, for her historical context.

⁵⁰⁵ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 79. "And therefore of purpose he taketh those lessons every day for his text." Prior to this statement, Martin begins his discussion of content by noting the "principal quæstion" addressed in the sermons (78). This is not so much a question as a proof or argument. The sermons seek to prove to the Jews that their Messiah, who they believe will come as royalty and return them to Jerusalem, has already come "in humilitie and poverty and affliction unto the very death of the Crosse" (79). De Monte's methodology for proving this principal belief is to start from the synagogue Sabbath text and also to use rabbinic literature. Martin's description of the first man to preach is rather terse in comparison. The first preacher uses "al other kinde of Reasons and prooves out of the old Scriptures and the fathers that have written of purpose agaynst the Jewes" (81). He gives no explicit indication that this preacher employed the same text as the convert. The first preacher's methodology for proving the principal belief is to use traditional arguments from the Church Fathers and Scripture.

sources detailing this compositional structure are both linked to Andrea de Monte, and he is the only preacher in Rome whose sermons are available for comparison with Marcellino's prior to 1584.⁵⁰⁶ The structure of basing the conversion sermons on the Sabbath liturgical texts best depicts the practice post-*Sancta mater ecclesia*.

According to Marcellino's own words, 1582 marked the sixth year of his preaching to the Jews.⁵⁰⁷ His letter of dedication informs us that three cardinals attended these sermons: Giulio Antonio Santoro, known as Cardinal Santa Severina, Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, and Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti. Marcellino's dedication confirms Gregory Martin's account, which ascribes particular importance to Cardinal Santa Severina in the practice of preaching to the Jews. Beyond these three facts—the date, how many years he had been preaching to the Jews, and the names of three prominent attendees—Marcellino reveals little of the context for his sermons. For instance, he does not mention preaching alongside another preacher, the month he began the series, the number of Jewish attendees, where he preached, or any other specific details about the practice of preaching to the Jews in 1582. Some information can be deduced from other sources. Marcellino likely preached the *Sermoni quindici* at the Oratory of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, designated by Gregory XIII in November 1576 as the home of this new enterprise and the one location consistently attested for this early period.⁵⁰⁸ Likewise, we can presume that sixty

⁵⁰⁶ Across her articles, Michelson cites no other sermons from the 1580s in Rome which would offer some clarity to whether Marcellino's sermons are unusual in their construction. As noted before, she does not attempt to cite a source or a comparison with any other preacher for her characterization. Additionally, Michelson acknowledges that she has no access to Andrea de Monte's sermons. When she discusses his sermons in her article, she follows the methodology Renata Martano employs to look at the "sermons" of Andrea de Monte and Fabiano Fioghi. Michelson writes that his "sermons must be surmised from his later polemical treatises" ("One Preacher, Two Congregations," 197). In her defense, De Monte's sermons were long misidentified as another convert's, Domenico Gerosolimitano. She is unaware of the correction of this misidentification in 2016. Michelson notes in "How to Write a Conversionary Sermon," that she has not yet been able to consult Gerosolimitano's sermons for comparison (p.249). These are actually Andrea De Monte's sermons.

⁵⁰⁷ Op. cit. See quote at beginning of section.

⁵⁰⁸ See Barbara Wisch, "Promoting Piety, Coercing Conversion," 265-66.

Jews attended Marcellino's series of sermons based upon Montaigne's account from the previous year. The series of fifteen sermons required a minimum commitment of close to four months from Marcellino, assuming a very literal interpretation of "each Sabbath" documented by Gregory Martin, Michel de Montaigne, and Gregory XIII. More likely, however, the series was preached over a longer period due to breaks for feast days.⁵⁰⁹

The year Marcellino preached these sermons—1582—proved to be a pivotal year in the practice. In June of that year, Andrea de Monte resigned his post as a preacher to the Jews. As discussed in a previous chapter, Paul Rieger places the impetus for the eventual resignation on De Monte's *Lettera di Pace* (*Letter of Peace*), which the convert sent around to the Roman synagogues in 1581. It is not difficult to imagine that the Jews would take particular affront to the *Lettera di Pace* and lodge complaints; they might be forced to attend De Monte's Sabbath sermons in Christian quarters, but they should not have to bear De Monte's presence (even if simply in writing) in their synagogues. Despite attempts to assuage the Jewish community, De Monte eventually resigned, likely at the behest of his superiors rather than voluntarily. Although Marcellino states in Sermon 5 that he is preaching in 1582, he does not indicate when the *Sermoni quindici* were delivered in relation to De Monte's resignation.⁵¹⁰ However, he seems to allude to the controversy between De Monte and the Jewish community in two ways in his

⁵⁰⁹ Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 24, n. 72. Kenneth Stow calculates that Jews were required to attend seventeen sermons during Gregory XIII's pontificate. He hypothesizes the reduction by Sixtus V to six sermons a year may have been due to a lack of competent preachers. The seventeen-sermon calculation might be a little shy of the actual number given what the records from the 1670s reveal when the "vacations" from the weekly sermons depended upon Christian and Jewish feast days. A more likely figure would range from twenty to thirty sermons a year. Cf. Milano, *Il Ghetto di Roma*, 277.

⁵¹⁰ Textually in Sermon 1, it is possible to make a sound and convincing hypothesis, although certainly not a definitive argument, that the *Sermoni quindici* were delivered after De Monte resigned. Marcellino opens the series saying, "Behold that I return to you again, oh Jews...And so, as you have seen, taking myself from you for many days, I have kept silent. But today, returning to you, as you see, I break the silence and speak to you." *Sermoni quindici*, 1. Michelson seems to imply a post June 1582 date based upon her conclusions about the structure of the sermon series.

sermons. First, in Sermon 1, he alludes to a letter De Monte received expressing Jewish opinion of De Monte's preaching. The Jews would rather listen to any other preacher than De Monte. Marcellino presents himself as this "any other preacher." He says to the Jews, "I perceive the great desire that you have to listen to me."⁵¹¹ Angelico Piladi claims that the Jews freely chose to listen to the friar "due to his excellent qualities of the mind and of the heart, his great knowledge of Sacred Scripture and of the Hebrew language."⁵¹² This assessment is rather sophistic, given that the Jews were compelled to listen to Evangelista Marcellino. Nevertheless, given his close association with De Monte, Marcellino would have been aware that the Jews preferred other preachers to Andrea de Monte. Second, the complaints about De Monte focused largely on his vitriolic language; Marcellino alludes to the complaints. For instance, in Sermons 1 and 9, he says that he does not want to "annoy" or "trouble" the Jews with so many citations.⁵¹³ Marcellino seems to be citing actual Jewish reactions to the sermons. This is clearer in Sermons 2 and 14 where Marcellino acknowledges that some rhetoric provokes anger or disdain in the Jews. "But we do not multiply words that more quickly are able to provoke you to anger than persuade you to the truth."⁵¹⁴ In Sermon 14, Marcellino notes that certain rhetoric will cause the Jews to not listen peacefully.⁵¹⁵ While these statements may reflect a genuine desire to exclude language that would impede conversion, the verbal recognition of the Jews' anger, disdain, and unwillingness

⁵¹¹ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 1. "sento il desiderio grande che havete di udirmi."

⁵¹² Piladi, 69

⁵¹³ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, Sermon 1 (8) and Sermon 9 (99).

⁵¹⁴ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 23. "Ma non moltiplichiamo parole che più tosto possano prouocarvi à ira che persuadervi il vero."

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 154.

to listen likely refers to current circumstances and may signal an attempt to assuage the Jewish community.⁵¹⁶

The Dedication Letter

“Most Illustrious Monsignor, I did not want step beyond any of your reminders, that these sermons were not to be published, but I ought to hold them close and make some portion available to friends. If they were to be published, I ought to return them to the Latin tongue, whence they would have gone forth with that Majesty, with which they are not able to issue in the vulgar tongue. Now, as Your Most Illustrious Lordship sees, yes, in one as in the other, I have failed because they were published and not otherwise than they were said.”⁵¹⁷

Marcellino published the *Sermoni quindici* shortly after he preached them in Rome; his dedication letter is dated April of 1583. The Franciscan tells us that the printed sermons accurately reflect their oral delivery. They are “not otherwise than they were said.”⁵¹⁸ He cites the presence of Cardinals Santa Severina, Sirleto, and Paleotti as attestation of the verity of his claim. Marcellino even excuses Cardinal Santa Severina from reading the printed text since the cardinal had already heard the sermons.⁵¹⁹ His claim is not unique. In the early modern period, preachers consistently assert this claim in their published volumes, regardless of its accuracy.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁶ In Sermon 14, this recognition seems rather flippant. It does not prevent Marcellino from introducing the very material he says he will not exposit. “Dearest Jews, believe me that I could tell you much more, since I could show you that the maledictions narrated by our David in Psalm 109...all have had a beginning in you...even as I have said so much, so much I have kept silent.” (*Sermoni quindici*, 155.) “Carissimi Hebrei, crediatemi che molto più poteuo dirvi, da che io potevo mostrarvi che le maledtioni narrate dal nostro Daudid nel salmo centonove...tutte in voi hanno havuto principio...come si sia tanto ho detto, & tanto ho taciuto.”

⁵¹⁷ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, The numerical pagination of the printed volume does not begin until the first sermon. Each *recto* where space permits in the pages prior to the numeric pagination are labeled in the middle of the bottom margin for printing purposes with an “a” or a “b” with a number. The dedication letter runs from “a2” to “a4,” but does not include the *verso* of “a4.” Since I will be covering the dedicatory letter in some detail, I will identify the page number by the printer’s mark, noting where applicable if the reference is on the *verso*.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., Letter of Dedication, a2^v. “e non altrimenti che come furon detti.”

⁵¹⁹ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, a3^v. “non perche impieghi il tempo in legger quello che gia ha udito e benissimo sa.”

⁵²⁰ As Stefano Dall’Aglia highlights, preachers will claim this fidelity to the spoken word even as they also note they have edited their sermons. Dall’Aglia explores the reasons for this common *leitmotiv* in his article, “Faithful to the

As Stefano Dall’Aglío’s examples of this common *leitmotiv* demonstrate, we should be highly skeptical of such claims of true textual correspondence to the oral version. Sermons were edited for printing by the preachers themselves, their printers, and sometimes by other ecclesiastical figures.⁵²¹ This analysis accounts for differences in the words. The text is also void of the oratorical style of the preacher: his cadence, his gestures, his volume changes, and his tone.⁵²² Since the remainder of this chapter treats Marcellino’s *Sermoni quindici* as if they are the words spoken to the Jews, I would like to think here about how Marcellino presents this volume, why he published these sermons, and the accuracy of his claim. These sermons are fundamentally a printed text, intended for a specific audience. The question to answer is how this affects their analysis as a speech act delivered to a different audience.

The *Sermoni quindici*’s letter of dedication provides the only explicit account, albeit shrouded in a common theme, of Marcellino’s purpose for publishing the text. He dedicates the letter to Cardinal Santa Severina, whom he identifies as faithfully attending the sermons for seven years.⁵²³ Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro, also known as Cardinal Santa Severina, was a strong proponent of the compulsory conversion sermons and heavily involved in the practice under Gregory XIII.⁵²⁴ He is linked to Antonio Possevino’s appointment as a preacher to the

Spoken Word:’ Sermons From Orality to Writing in Early Modern Italy,” *The Italianist* 34:3, (2014): 463-477, at 464 and 470.

⁵²¹ Ibid., 465-467. In this example, Dall’Aglío looks at a sermon of which there are three different versions. These show the complexity of a preacher’s claim that their printed sermons faithfully correspond to the oral version.

⁵²² Studies on medieval sermons have explored this problem. See for instance, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, “Medieval Sermons and their Performance: Theory and Record,” *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig, (Leiden: Brill, 2002): 87-124. See also, Augustine Thompson, “From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as an Event,” in the same volume (pp. 11-37).

⁵²³ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, Letter of Dedication, a2^v. “si come è stato sempre suo costume già per sette anni continovi.”

⁵²⁴ See the previous chapter for a discussion of the misidentification of Cardinal Santa Severina by Emily Michelson in two of her articles. Some material here may overlap with the earlier discussion. I will highlight in the footnotes

Jews in 1576 through 1577 and the establishment of the College of Neophytes (coincidentally, he was named a cardinal protector of the college by Gregory XIII). Additionally, he is identified as the presiding cardinal of the preaching to the Jews by Gregory Martin, and he was part of a special project on Hebrew texts, which was specifically intended to develop new materials for the conversion sermons as recent work by Piet van Boxel demonstrates. Marcellino's dedication confirms Cardinal Santoro's position of prominence at the sermons. As the presiding cardinal who attended these sermons for "seven continuous years," Cardinal Santoro was Marcellino's immediate superior for this post.

Marcellino provides very little details about his sermons or a concrete purpose in printing them in his dedication letter to the *Sermoni quindici*. In stark contrast to his other dedicatory letters, Evangelista Marcellino makes no reference to the content of the sermons which follow in the volume. Generally, the opening lines of his dedicatory letters for his scriptural lessons include at least the name of the prophet or biblical book which is the subject of the lessons. For instance, following the salutation to Cardinal Paleotto in his *Lettoni sopra Giona Profeta*, he writes, "I began there, Most Illustrious Monsignor, the Prophet Jonah...but I was not able to finish it."⁵²⁵ A notable exception to this habit of introducing the sermon text or subject in the

where I diverge from her comments on both the letter and Cardinal Santa Severina. In her most recent article, Michelson identifies Santa Severina as Cardinal Sirleto, who is also an important figure in the oversight of the neophytes and catechumens but is not Santa Severina. Her misidentification derives from a mistranslation of the text.

⁵²⁵ Evangelista Marcellino, Letter of Dedication to Cardinal Paleotto, *Lettoni sopra Giona profeta*. *Dal r.p.f. Evangelista Marcellino dell'ordine de Minori osservanti. All'Illustrissimo & Reverendissimo Monsignore Cardinale Paleotto vescovo di Bologna*, (in Bologna: per Alessandro Benacci, 1579). "Cominciai costà (Monsig. Illustriss.) Giona Profeta, ma...non potei finirlo." These lessons were printed a second time in Camerino in 1581. The same letter of dedication is included. However, the last few lines of the letter which provide the date and Marcellino's name are excluded in the second edition. This edition also indicates in its title that the lessons were given in the Roman church San Lorenzo in Damaso. *Lettoni sopra Giona profeta. Fatte in Roma nella chiesa San Lorenzo in Damaso. Dal r.p.f. Evangelista Marcellino dell'ordine de' Minori osservanti* (in Camerino: appresso Girolamo Strengari Veronese & gli heredi d'Antonio Gioioso, 1581).

opening of his dedication is the letter to Pope Sixtus V in Marcellino's *Lezioni diciannove sopra Rut*, which does not mention Ruth until the second page.⁵²⁶ The dedicatory letter for his sermons preached on Holy Friday in the Duomo in Florence in 1585 likewise includes a letter that specifically refers to the subject of the sermon, provides the location of the preaching, and offers three reasons for the dedication.⁵²⁷ The letter for the *Sermoni quindici*, however, is rather generic. Marcellino never cites Psalm 109 and neglects to mention the Jews. Cardinal Santa Severina's attendance and his seven-year long habit of attending these sermons are the only references to the actual sermon event and the practice of preaching to the Jews. The lack of specificity over the content and the original audience serves to sever the connection between the warnings and the content of the sermons. The entirety of the letter revolves around Marcellino's choice to publish these sermons in Italian, the language in which they were preached.

Marcellino begins his dedication stating that Cardinal Santa Severina had given some guidance to the Franciscan about his sermons. The Franciscan should not publish but rather share them with close friends. However, if Marcellino decided to publish, he would need to translate them into Latin. Marcellino notes that he failed to fulfill either instruction, which is how he

⁵²⁶ Evangelista Marcellino, Letter of Dedication to Pope Sixtus V, *Lezioni diciannove sopra Rut. Del r.p.f. Vangelista Marcellino de' Minori osservanti*, (in Firenze: appresso Giorgio Marescotti, 1586). Marcellino opens the letter in discussion of the gifts given in the tabernacle as an introduction to the gift of this volume of lessons on Ruth to the pope. "Postrato a' suoi santissimi piedi, il libro di Rut, da me letto l'anno passato qui in Ara celi, gli offerisco." The pages of the letter of dedication are not numbered but begin on the *recto*. This first reference to the book of Ruth occurs on the first *verso*, continuing to the second *recto*.

⁵²⁷ Evangelista Marcellino, "Alle molto Rever. Madri le suore de Torre di Specchio in Roma," *Predica del venerdì Santo. Fatta nel Duomo di Fiorenza, del'anno 1585. Dal molto r.p.f. Evangelista Marcellino de' Minori osservanti di San Francesco*, (in Fiorenza: appresso Giorgio Marescotti, 1585). Marcellino begins the letter with three reasons for offering the volume to the sisters. He does not mention the subject of the sermon immediately, but over the course of the letter mentions the nature of the sermon, even indicating that he preached the sermon in the Duomo in Florence for three and a half hours. This is the famous sermon, mentioned by the diarist Agostino Lapini, in which Marcellino addresses the tension between himself and the ruling Medici family, by saying, "I know you want to kill me."

introduces his claim that the printed sermons are “not otherwise than they were said.”⁵²⁸ He thus supplies an implicit stamp of approval to both the written and spoken sermons by mentioning the Cardinals who attended them.⁵²⁹ His claim also assures the reader that the volume is a substitute for the oral sermon, a selling point for early modern readers.⁵³⁰ The remainder of the letter provides Marcellino’s excuse for not following the guidance of the cardinal, focusing specifically on his use of the vernacular. Marcellino writes,

The reason why they were given thus was not done for not observing your warnings, which ought to have been inviolable precepts to me, but for not being able to say no to the many who had asked, by saying that to lack of the majesty, they fail, which is not of such importance as much as is the good that can result, going forth in the manner in which they are. Because to lack in such majesty does not seem important except for a certain little greatness of the Author, when the good that is able to result increases the praise of God.⁵³¹

Marcellino employs an argument about style. He is not elevating his language for the printed sermons, which again supports his claim that the printed words are true to the oral version.⁵³² He equates printing in Latin—or at least rendering Italian sermons into Latin—with human vanity. While Marcellino does not describe what “good” can result, he notes that the glory ultimately

⁵²⁸ Op. cit.

⁵²⁹ This is one of the reasons Stefano Dall’Aglione cites for the repeated insistence that sermon volumes reflect the words spoken by the preacher. See “Faithful to the Spoken Word,” 471.

⁵³⁰ Ibid. Dall’Aglione focuses on this as a primary reason preachers insisted on claiming fidelity to the oral sermon. The readers expected that a sermon volume substitute for the actual sermons. Readers did not want the style of the sermons elevated in the printed work.

⁵³¹ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, Letter of Dedication, a2^v-a3^r. “La causa perche così son dati non è già stata per non osservare i suoi avvertimenti, che inviolabili precetti mi debbono esser, ma per non sapere disdire à molti che gli hanno chiesti, col dire che mancare della maestà che mancano, non è di tanta importanza quanto è quell bene che ne può risultare, andando fuori nella guise che sonon, perciò che’l mancare di tal maestà non par che importi altro se non una certa poca grandezza dell’Autore, quando il bene che ne può risultare, aumenta la laude di Dio.”

⁵³² Dall’Aglione, “Faithful to the Spoken Word,” Cornelio Musso is cited as condemning this practice of elevating the language of printed sermons.

goes to its proper source: God. He then cites two scriptures to enforce this idea: Isaiah 48.11 and Psalm 115.1. God will not allow his glory to go to others, and our job is to render glory unto him. He concludes by affirming that the publication was “done to the praise of God.”⁵³³

The letter of dedication somewhat resembles a humility trope. Marcellino only published because he had received requests. The Franciscan also disavows publishing for the increase of his own vanity. Rather, this volume was printed to increase the praise of God. Alongside the insistence that the volume is the same as the oral version, these elements of the dedication letter can be explained by patterns seen in other dedication letters from this period.⁵³⁴ However, the “reminders” and “warnings” of Cardinal Santa Severina do not fit a documented pattern. I do not have an interpretation of these reminders that clearly accounts for both their meaning and Marcellino’s failure to comply. However, I suggest that Marcellino’s letter addresses the expected audience for the printed sermons.

When Marcellino chose to publish these sermons, he clearly anticipated that they would sell, whether he believed he had a guaranteed readership, as the many requests suggest, or a probable readership for his *Sermoni quindici*. He, and his printer, simply would not have published them otherwise. Unlike his oral sermons, which were delivered to the Jews and also Christians, the printed volume targeted a Christian audience. Textually, there are features, such

⁵³³ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, Letter of Dedication, a3^v-a4^r. “ma per far mia scusa di quanto ho fatto rendendomi certo che anco appo quella sarà tenuto per ben fatto, credendo esser fatto à laude di Dio.”

⁵³⁴ In English, Brian Richardson is the foremost scholar on paratext in sixteenth-century Italian books. See *Printers, Writers, and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 52-57. Also, Brian Richardson, “Inscribed Meanings: Authorial Self-Fashioning and Readers’ Annotations in Sixteenth-Century Italian Printed Books,” in *Reading and Literacy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Ian Frederick Moulton, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2004), pp. 90-94. In Italian, see Marco Paoli, *La Dedicata: Storia di una Strategia Editoriale (Italia, secoli XVI-XIX)*, (Lucca, Italy: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 2009). In his second chapter, Paoli outlines the typical reasons for the dedication (pp. 35-47). Stefano Dall’Aglio’s article, “Faithful to the Spoken Word,” posits reasons for the early modern insistence on claiming the printed version is the same as the oral version of sermons.

as scriptural citations in the margins and a table of topics, which indicate that the volume was intended to be consulted like a reference work and studied rather than read straight through like a sermon. The printed format of the *Sermoni quindici* resembles Marcellino's scriptural lessons more than his printed sermons. Marcellino printed more scriptural lessons than he did his sermons. Angelico Piladi hypothesizes that the content of Marcellino's sermons derived from his scriptural lessons, indicating why the lessons were favored for printing over the sermons.⁵³⁵ All of Marcellino's printed volumes are in the vernacular, not Latin.⁵³⁶ Marcellino's emphasis on Latin in the dedication letter is even more curious since this trend was not unique to his publications; Emily Michelson notes that sermons were printed in the vernacular more often than Latin by the 1580s.⁵³⁷ This statistic indicates that a new readership existed for sermon literature: the literate laity. Latin remained the printed language of choice for clergy.⁵³⁸ Cardinal Santa Severina may have issued guidelines about printing to mark the conversion sermons for a clerical audience who might utilize them as a model or resource for their own sermons. At the time of Marcellino's preaching, Santa Severina was involved in a project to produce more resources on rabbinic literature for preachers to utilize in their conversion sermons. By printing the *Sermoni quindici*, especially in the octet format, which was the cheapest option, Marcellino broadened the

⁵³⁵ Angelico Piladi, 64.

⁵³⁶ This excludes his quoting of scripture, which is typically found in Latin. See the section below on Scripture in the *Sermoni quindici* for more on his use of Latin and the vernacular with regard to scripture.

⁵³⁷ Emily Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013), 29.

⁵³⁸ Studies of sermon printing in the sixteenth-century demonstrate that the language of printing did indeed signify an intended audience. See Amy Nelson Burnett, "Preaching and Printing in Germany," in *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, eds. Malcolm Walsby *et al*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 140-142. For instance, sermons that were preached in a vernacular might be translated into Latin for dissemination amongst clergy, in particular. Printing in Latin would allow the printed work to travel beyond the area where that vernacular was spoken. Burnett's study on Germany indicates that the vernacular would be printed for less educated clergy and literate laity, while the educated clergy would use printed Latin sermons as resources and models for their vernacular sermons (141).

possible accessibility of the conversion sermon. And yet, in this dedication letter, Marcellino does not mention any particularities about the content or nature of these sermons. Rather, he steers his argument toward human vanity and substitutes “majesty” for “Latin” precisely in order to divert attention away from the issue of language, audience, and content.

The exact connection between this printed volume and the oral delivery remains a question. Can we trust Marcellino’s claim that this volume contains the words “not otherwise than they were said?” Emily Michelson argues that, yes, the *Sermoni quindici* are fairly true to the oral version.⁵³⁹ She cites their brevity, their style, and the reference to the cardinals in attendance as indicators that Marcellino’s claim can be trusted. I agree with Michelson’s assessment. We can read the *Sermoni quindici* as a good representation of the oral delivery from 1582, and I will treat the sermons in this manner. Nevertheless, the *Sermoni quindici* volume is a text, and as such, does not exactly reproduce the oral version. As mentioned above, the oratorical style of Marcellino is not present in the written version. We should also wonder about the sermon length, which ranges from 1500 to 3500 words.⁵⁴⁰ An average speaking speed would produce an eleven and a half minute to twenty-seven-minute sermon with these word counts.⁵⁴¹ Factoring in time to assemble and register the Jews in attendance, this word count seems rather short for the two-hour, two-preacher sermon event Gregory Martin notes in *Roma Sancta*.⁵⁴² What the text lacks might be more than simply the pauses, gestures, and tone; it seems probable

⁵³⁹ Michelson, “Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations,” 191.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid. Emily Michelson provides these numbers in her description of the sermons.

⁵⁴¹ Speaking speed is 100 to 200 words per minute. The time above is calculated by the average of 130 words per minute.

⁵⁴² Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 78. “...there come up into the pulpit two excellent men, one after an other, for the space of two houres.” It is entirely possible that sermon event has been reduced to one hour in the four years since Gregory Martin last witnessed a sermon to the Jews in Rome.

that the *Sermoni quindici* do not contain all the spoken words from the sermon event despite Marcellino's assurances otherwise. Marcellino, himself, provides an explanation in another work.⁵⁴³ The reader and the auditor are different. The written text thus differs from the oral version.

The voice requires more prolixity than the written [word], as to be heard by those who know and by those who do not know, when the written presupposes that whoever reads knows some thing. And as well because the word, [which] commonly is not spoken except one time, ought to be declared with such prolixity that it is easily understood, whereas the written is able to be read and reread two or three times, can be understood easily although by its brevity it is obscure. Moreover, imagining myself that these writings of mine (although they are in the vulgar language) might serve people both intelligent and experienced in the divine scripture more than simple people, whereas the lessons serve these more than those.⁵⁴⁴

Although Marcellino is explaining a clearly abbreviated version of his scriptural lessons in this passage, he reveals his expectations for his readers versus his congregation. First, he acknowledges that vernacular printing is not typically associated with a learned audience. However, he states that the written version, even in the vernacular, expects the reader to know something, while his oral version must address both those who know and do not know the material. Second, he explains that the spoken word must be more verbose than the written so that

⁵⁴³ In his dedication letter for his *Annotazioni di libri Giudici*, printed in 1589, Marcellino explains why his publication differs so much from his lengthy lessons given in Santa Maria in Aracoeli. While the Annotations are a completely different genre of publication, which Marcellino does not claim is the same as the oral delivery, he reveals his ideas about the reader and the auditor. This helps us understand why a printed work might be claimed as “faithful to the spoken word” and yet lack every word spoken at the sermon event.

⁵⁴⁴ Evangelista Marcellino, *Annotazioni sopra il libro de' Giudici del r.p. fra Vangelista Marcellino de' Minori osseruanti. Cauate dalle lettioni da lui lette in Roma in Araceli l'anno 1587. Nuouamente poste in luce.* (In Venetia: Lucantonio Giunta il giovane, 1589). “Per ricercare piu prolissità la voce, che lo scritto, si per esser udita da chi, sa e da chi non sa, quando lo scritto presuppone, che chi legge qual cosa sappia, e si perche la parola, comunemente non dicendosi se non una volta, deve esser cosi con prolissità dichiarata, che facilmente sia intesa, quando lo scritto, due e tre volte potendosi leggere, e rileggere, può commodamente esser inteso benche per la sua brevità sia oscuro, oltre di ciò imaginandomi io che questi miei scritti (ben che sieno nella volgar lingua) habbiano a servire piu a persone intelligenti e pratiche nella divina scrittura, che a persone semplici, quando le lettioni piu a queste che a quelle servano.”

his meaning is easily understood by his diverse auditors. Even with this rubric, we can safely conclude that Marcellino’s assurance that the words of the printed volume “are not otherwise than they were said” is accurate. He does not claim that his oral delivery is transcribed verbatim in his volume, but that what a reader reads in the volume was said by him in his sermon.

The Structure of the Series

Before we come to this exposition, let us narrate, as usual, the various translations. That of the Seventy, you have heard; that of Saint Jerome says thus...that of Pagnino says...the Chaldaic Paraphrase says...⁵⁴⁵

—Sermon 13

The psalm is composed of eight verses, or seven by the count of the Hebrew, Chaldaic (i.e. Targum), and the Septuagint translations. The separation of the first verse into two verses, at the word *donec* is unique to “our holy Mother Church,” as Marcellino explains in his fifth sermon.⁵⁴⁶ Marcellino moves through the psalm verse by verse beginning with the superscription, “Psalmus David.” He expositis each verse in at least one single sermon, but some verses receive more attention. For instance, sermons two through four all cover some aspect of the Vulgate’s first verse. Verses two, four, five, and eight merit two sermons. Although the fifteenth sermon begins with an exposition of the second half of verse eight, Marcellino employs this final sermon to restate all the verses of the Psalm along with the points he elucidated in conjunction with those first fourteen sermons. See Table 1 for the correlation between each sermon and verse of Psalm 109.

⁵⁴⁵ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 145. “Prima che veniamo alla esposizione, narriamo secondo il solito, le varie traduttioni. Quella de’settanta voi l’havete udita, quella di San Girolamo cosi dice....Quella del Pagnino dice....La Parafrasi Caldaica dice.”

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., 43. “Al secondo versetto siamo arrivati del nostro salmo carissimi Hebrei e dicolo secondo l’uso della *nostra santa Madre Chiesa*. Perciò che quanto alla verità Hebraica e quanto alla Caldaica traduttione, e di più secondo il testo de 70 tutto questo è un solo versetto.... Adunque è il solo uso della Santa Chiesa che ne fa dui,” (emphasis mine). The exposition of *donec* comprises almost half of this sermon.

Table 1: Structure of the *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove*

	Verse	Doctrinal or Theological Point(s)	Prefigurations
Sermon 1	Superscription: <i>Psalmus David</i>	Jesus is the true Messiah & true Savior	
Sermon 2	1a: <i>Dixit Dominus domino meo,</i>	The divine essence is plural—the Trinity	
Sermon 3	1b: <i>sede a dextris meis,</i>	Christology—true God, true man	Benjamin ~ Incarnated Christ Rachel ~ the Synagogue
Sermon 4	1b: <i>sede a dextris meis,</i>	Excellence of Christ	
Sermon 5	2: <i>donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.</i>	Jews are the greatest enemies of Christ	
Sermon 6	2: <i>donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.</i>	Jews at the footstool of Christ (an honor) but at the footstool of every nation (contempt)	
Sermon 7	3: <i>Virgam virtutis tuae emittet Dominus ex Sion, dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum.</i>	The rod of the Messiah’s strength: 1. shepherd’s rod for Christians 2. rod of cruelty and fury to trample Jews	
Sermon 8	4: <i>Tecum principium in die virtutis tuae in splendoribus sanctorum, ex utero ante luciferum genui te.</i>	Christology 1. <i>Principio</i> =greatness of Christ with respect to human operations 2. <i>ex utero</i> ...shows greatness with respect to divinity	
Sermon 9	4b: <i>ex utero ante luciferum genui te.</i>	Eternal begotten-ness/nativity of Christ; the Trinity	
Sermon 10	5: <i>Iuravit Dominus, et non poenitebit eum tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech.</i>	Christ’s eternal priesthood: 1. Priest is sinless 2. Sacrifice offered once & sufficient for always Pope as the Vicar of Christ	Priesthood of Aaron—the new Priesthood, which will never fail, enduring to the end of the world
Sermon 11	5: <i>Iuravit Dominus... secundum ordinem Melchisedech.</i>	5 Reasons the Sacrifice is excellent Eucharist = a “continuous memory” of the one sacrifice	
Sermon 12	6: <i>Dominus a dextris tuis confregit in die irae suae reges.</i>	Christ the final Redeemer who has broken & conquered all the Kings	Moses proved his coming with miracles ~ Jesus came with miracles <i>and</i> scripture
Sermon 13	7: <i>Iudicabit in nationibus implebit ruinas, conquassabit capita in terra multorum.</i>	Total destruction of the unbelievers will be fulfilled in the day of judgment	
Sermon 14	8: <i>De torrente in via bibet, propterea exaltabit caput.</i>	Suffering of Christ both fitting and necessary—it was painful and also fruitful	
Sermon 15	8b: <i>propterea exaltabit caput.</i>	Summary of belief statement in every verse	Joseph saved Egypt; pardoned his brothers ~ pardon & participation offered by Christ

The individual sermons do not follow a set, structural pattern. Marcellino does not commence the sermons in the same manner nor does he treat each verse the same. The first six

sermons begin with an address to the Jews while Sermons 7 and 8 along with 12 through 15 all start with the verse of the psalm quoted in Latin. The series features a mix of sermons that focus on theological or doctrinal explanations and sermons that appear more explicitly exegetical, structurally. For instance, Sermon 14 is a rather theological sermon, which sounds Anselmian with its explanation of the suffering of Christ as both “fitting and necessary.”⁵⁴⁷ In fact, although never cited, Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) has a strong presence in the text. Anselm’s influence on the sermons can be seen in Marcellino’s discussion of knowledge, faith, and belief as well. Additionally, Marcellino discusses the Trinity and the eternal begotten-ness of Christ (Sermon 9) and outlines five reasons Christ’s sacrifice is most excellent (Sermon 11). He also explains the sacrament of the Eucharist and the position of the pope.⁵⁴⁸ The sacrament of Baptism, which one might expect to be more prominent in a conversion sermon, is mentioned in passing but is not a focal point for instruction.⁵⁴⁹

Some sermons have a more exegetical structure, which appears in the format of a list, either of expositions of a specific word or various translations of the verse. Certain words, such as *donec* (Sermon 5), *virgam* (Sermon 7), and *principium* (Sermon 8) receive particular exegetical attention. Marcellino lists his authoritative interpretations for these problematic

⁵⁴⁷ Anselm of Canterbury’s *Cur Deus homo* (1097/1098) explains the Incarnation of Christ by addressing reasonable objections of the unbelievers to this core belief in Christianity.

⁵⁴⁸ Marcellino mentions the Eucharist in Sermon 4 (p. 98) but notes that he will discuss the sacrament more fully in a later sermon. He explains the Eucharist in Sermon 11 (pp. 125-126). His discussion of the position of the pope as the Vicar of Christ is found in Sermon 10 (117-118). Cf. pages 60 and 91 for other mentions of the pope.

⁵⁴⁹ *Sermoni quindici*, Sermon 9, 103-104. Marcellino briefly mentions baptism in Sermon 9. He appeals to the Jews to “receive Holy Baptism,” something promised in Ezekiel, so that they will receive a new heart and a new spirit and will undoubtedly know God. “Ricevete sopra di voi il Santo Battesimo che è quell’acqua promessavi in Ezechiele Cap. 36. acciò che lavati e mondi vi facciate il cuor nuovo & riceviate lo spirito nuovo quivi promessovi, che indubitatamente voi conoscerete Iddio.”

words.⁵⁵⁰ Jerome, along with Athanasius (d. 373), Augustine (354-430), and John Chrysostom (347-407), are some of the recurring church authorities Marcellino employs for the Christian understanding of scripture in his sermons.⁵⁵¹ He does not ignore disparate interpretations but explains them. “And thus, however varied are the expositions of this word *principio*, all hold to the end which is to exalt Christ.”⁵⁵² Sermon 4 is unique in its exegetical nature; after expounding in Sermon 3 how Christian interpretation of the “right hand” demonstrates the excellence of Christ, Marcellino devotes an entire sermon to using rabbinic literature to prove that the ancient rabbis preached the same thing. Elsewhere in the series, when he brings forward rabbinic interpretations, Marcellino equates this technique to the sword of Goliath, which David used to cut off the head of the giant.⁵⁵³

In every sermon, Marcellino reminds the Jews of their current status as a subjugated people who live in miserable wretchedness. As Kenneth Stow argues in his book *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, this is the essence of the sixteenth-century conversionary plan. It forms the rationale behind the establishment of the ghetto in 1555; Jewish life should reflect the prophecies in the Bible in order that the Jews might recognize that they are indeed the slave.⁵⁵⁴ In 1584, Gregory XIII includes this reminder in his guidelines for the composition of

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid. As noted above, *donec* is discussed in the first half of Sermon 5 (43-48). *Virgam* is found in Sermon 7 (69-82). Sermon 8 explores the way *principio* is interpreted by the “holy doctors” (83-95).

⁵⁵¹ Marcellino cites other church authorities, including Tertullian, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Theodoret, Ambrose, and Bernard of Clairvaux. Jerome, Augustine, John Chrysostom, and Athanasius are cited most frequently. Marcellino refers to Jerome frequently in the text as the author of the official Catholic bible, the Vulgate. Thus, Jerome’s thoughts and arguments for word choice and interpretation of scripture receive greater authoritative force in Marcellino’s sermons.

⁵⁵² Ibid., 86-87. “Et così comunque varie sieno l’espositioni di questa voce principio, pur tutte tendano à un fine che è di esaltare Christo.”

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 31. See also, Sermon 14, 164.

⁵⁵⁴ Kenneth Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593*, 6-7.

conversion sermons.⁵⁵⁵ Evangelista Marcellino seizes upon the Vulgate's verse 2 of Psalm 109 as a prophecy of this subjugation. Sermons 5 and 6 focus on the unique status of the Jews as proof that their beliefs and their rituals have been judged false by God. Fittingly, Marcellino's rhetoric becomes more antagonistic in these two sermons.

The main structural pattern in the *Sermoni quindici* is dictated by Psalm 109. Marcellino utilizes the natural progression of the psalm toward the day of judgment to demonstrate the prophetic progression of the Jews in the divine economy of salvation. From the beginning of the series to its conclusion in Sermon 15, the Jews progress towards greater obstinacy and hardness, until they deliberately reject the truth. In Sermon 1, Marcellino describes the Jews as desiring to listen to him;⁵⁵⁶ by Sermon 7, they do not want to listen.⁵⁵⁷ Likewise, their blindness moves from passive to active. They have been struck blind in Sermon 1, in accordance with the words of Moses in the book of Deuteronomy. They are groping around at midday in the manner of the blind who have never seen.⁵⁵⁸ In the final sermon, the Jews make a deliberate choice not to see. Marcellino likens them to a person who closes his eyes so as not to see the sun.⁵⁵⁹ This same progression applies to the Jews' knowledge. In Sermon 1, Marcellino states that their ignorance is so great that the Jews never had any knowledge.⁵⁶⁰ Marcellino adds foolishness to their

⁵⁵⁵ *Sancta mater ecclesia*, B.R. 8:487-8, §1.

⁵⁵⁶ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 1.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 70. He says they are fulfilling the words of Ezekiel 3.7.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 4. "Per tutto ò Hebrei è il mezzo giorno, & nondimento i vostri moderni Rabbini (& voi con loro) vanno palpando à guisa di ciechi. non à guisa di chi non vede lume essendo allo scuro, ma à guisa di cieco, che non mai ha veduto.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 175. "Laqualcosa benche non vogliate vedere simile à chi chiude gli occhi per non vedere il Sole."

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 4-5. Tale & tanta è l'ignoranza vostra, che mostrate che non mai habbiate saputo nulla.

ignorance in Sermon 6,⁵⁶¹ but in Sermon 14, he warns the Jews that their continued denial of “manifest things” will be seen as not only ignorance but obstinance.⁵⁶² Marcellino utilizes Psalm 109 to walk the Jews through their place in salvation history in order to demonstrate a fundamental point. As Marcellino states in his final sermon, “So long as the voice of those who preach Christ to you goes around, oh Jews, you are at a time for the benefit of your salvation.”⁵⁶³ The Jews who have listened to these sermons and closes their eyes so that they cannot see, and the Jews who close their ears so that they cannot hear have placed themselves in a moment in which their repentance might be too late.

Angelico Piladi describes Marcellino’s rhetoric as mild in his *Sermoni quindici*.⁵⁶⁴ “Marcellino...does not rage harshly against them, as unfortunately other preachers had done and did. He aims solely at their conversion, and, although he sometimes gives them a lashing, he always treats them with great charity.” Marcellino’s language is largely unremarkable in terms of how he characterizes the Jews. He expresses a typical sixteenth-century perspective. As Emily Michelson highlights in her work, Marcellino’s Jews are hermeneutical Jews; they are Jews as depicted in scripture rather than sixteenth-century Jews.⁵⁶⁵ Marcellino does not make any

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., 68.

⁵⁶² Ibid., 159. “Deh non vogliate così negare le cose manifeste che altri habbia à presumer in voi non pure ignoranza ma ostinatione.”

⁵⁶³ Ibid., 178. “infino che la voce di chi vi predica Christo, ò Hebrei va attorno, siete à tempo per conto della vostra salute.”

⁵⁶⁴ Angelico Piladi, 68. “il Marcellino...non inveisce acerbamente contro di essi, come purtroppo avevano fatto e facevano altri predicatori. Egli mira unicamente alla loro conversione, e, sebbene qualche volta dia loro delle sferzate, pure li tratta sempre con molta carità.

⁵⁶⁵ Emily Michelson, “Evangelista Marcellino, 195.” She describes them as the “imaginary Jew” in later work. Scholars commonly employ this categorization to emphasize the failure of the mission to the Jews or the lack of actual desire for conversions. However, from a different perspective, the focus on right belief demonstrates that genuine Jewish conversion was the goal. Jewish acceptance of the Christian interpretation of their shared scripture would be the ultimate sign of the validity of Christianity.

departures from a standard Catholic understanding of the Jews. They are blind and deaf, they do not know God, their rituals and observance are an abomination, they are the greatest enemies of Christ, and they have been led into false beliefs by modern rabbis. He berates the Jews for these failures throughout the sermons. However, as noted above, Marcellino's rhetoric may have been considered mild by the Jews themselves. Marcellino acknowledges that some rhetoric is not conducive to persuasion. After acknowledging that some works provoke anger he says, "Let us contend in the manner of serious persons with firm reasons and not with insults as is the custom of the common man."⁵⁶⁶ Likewise, in the opening to his fourteenth sermon, Marcellino utilizes scripture to temper his words.

Oh Jews, mindful of the sentence which Saint James says in the first chapter of his Epistle, that with meekness we ought to receive the divine word, I abstained in the exposition of the previous verse...from saying what I could say so as not to provoke you to disdain and give you a madness so that you will not listen peacefully to me. Because desiring to persuade you of the truth, which is not accustomed to find its place in a disturbed soul, I desired to say that alone which you have heard and not that which I was able to say about you having been shaken by my blessed Christ.⁵⁶⁷

These are two of the explicit recognitions by Marcellino that the language he uses affects his message. However, there is an implicit recognition of this as Marcellino cites a passage in the Gospel of John in Sermon 6. In this passage in John 8 (incorrectly numerated as John 5 in the

⁵⁶⁶ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 23. "Ma non moltiplichiamo parole che più tosto possano provocarvi à ira che persuadervi il vero. Contendiamo à guisa di persone gravi con salde ragioni & non come suole il vulgo con impropri."

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 154. "Ricordevole ò Hebrei del la sentenza che dice San Iacopo nella sua Epistola al Capitolo primo, cioè che con mansuetudine dobbiamo ricevere il verbo divino, mi sono astenuto nello sporre il precedente versetto..., di non dir ciò che haverei potuto dire, per non provocarvi à sdegno & darvi materia che pacificamente non mi ascoltiate, perciò che volendovi persuader quel vero che nell'animo conturbato non suol trovar luogo, quel solo che udito havete & non quello che potevo ho voluto dire dell'esser voi stati conquassati dal mio benedetto Christo."

volume), the Jews tell Jesus that they are the seed of Abraham and have never been slaves.⁵⁶⁸ Marcellino is making a point that the Jews have gloried in possessing three things: freedom, God, and wisdom. The friar points to this encounter between the Jews and Jesus in the Gospel of John to prove that the Jews gloried in the first two. Marcellino only cites what the Jews say to Jesus in the gospel passage, but Jesus' reply includes these famous words. "You are of your father the devil."⁵⁶⁹ Marcellino's sermon does not make this obvious scriptural connection and exploit this belief about the Jews. This is a curious and, I believe, deliberate choice to not provoke the Jews to anger. Sermon 6 exposit the verse that Marcellino uses to discuss the Jews as the greatest enemies of Christ, and yet, he does not exploit John 8.44.⁵⁷⁰

Marcellino's conception of what he is doing in this mission to the Jews is revealed in his rhetoric, the terms he employs, and in his lessons for Christians. In the *Sermoni quindici*, he calls his preaching contending and disputing. Elsewhere, it's a battle. His references outside of the sermons to the Jews indicate that the mission was never far from his thoughts. Marcellino calls the Jews "carissimi," a form of address he also utilizes in his sermons to Christians.⁵⁷¹ His use of *carissimi* as *beloved* or *dearest* is not indicative of the overall tone, whether antagonistic or somewhat benign; when used, it mostly appears in the opening lines of the sermon or to emphasize a point. The Jews were as much a congregation to him as his Christian one and more in need of proper interpretation of scripture. Marcellino also expresses frustration with the Jews.

⁵⁶⁸ Evangelista Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 62. Marcellino indicates that the passage is from John 5, but the reference is actually John 8.39.

⁵⁶⁹ John 8.44.

⁵⁷⁰ Marcellino is very careful in his use of scripture. His descriptions of the Jews and their nature typically derive from the Hebrew scriptures, where they are prophetic.

⁵⁷¹ He uses "carissimi" in nine of the fifteen sermons.

There are times when he reminds the Jews that he has demonstrated a point one-thousand times.⁵⁷² Similarly, immediately following his comment that he has been preaching to them for six years, he implies their deliberate rejection of the truth. “You know very well that the ninth chapter of Daniel shows that the coming of the Messiah has caused every aspect of your cult to fail and has caused your destruction until the end of the world.”⁵⁷³ Marcellino uses these expressions to demonstrate the futility of continuing to reject Christianity.

Marcellino’s Use of Scripture

To understand a place in scripture well, it is first necessary to understand the sense of the letter...⁵⁷⁴

Now, have you not considered that your exposition is mendacious? That you say that I should not by the plural number understand the plural but the singular? If so, then this scripture deceives me, because saying one thing to me I ought to understand the contrary...If by saying bread, I ought to understand wine, how can I learn the truth?⁵⁷⁵

Scripture is the primary proof Marcellino offers in these fifteen exegetical sermons. He employs scripture in straightforward quotations, allusions, and paraphrases. As a professional explicator of scripture in Rome, Marcellino was particularly qualified to preach to the Jews by expositing a single psalm. This exegetical format catered to his specific skills.⁵⁷⁶ Additionally,

⁵⁷² Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 168. See also Sermon 11, 127. While Sermon 14 is connected to himself, Sermon 11 is impersonal. The Jews have been shown one-thousand times that they vainly wait for the third temple.

⁵⁷³ Ibid., “Sapete bene che vi s’è mostro per il non capo di Daniello, che venuto il Re Messia ha da mancare ogni vostro culto, & ha da durare la distruttione vostra infino al fine del mondo.”

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 13. “...bene intender un luoga della santa scrittura convien prima intender il senso della lettura.”

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., 24. “hor non considerate voi che la vostra espositione è mendace? che direte che io non debbo per il numero plurale intendere il plurale ma il singulare? se così è dunque m’inganna essa scrittura, poiche dicendomi una cosa io debbo intendere, il contrario.... se dicendo pane io debbo intendere vino che verità potrò imparare?”

⁵⁷⁶ This is also the format of preaching that Marcellino most often published, perhaps explaining why this set of what must have been many sermons to the Jews ended up in print. Angelico Piladi argues that the content for Marcellino’s sermons derived from his scriptural lessons. Therefore, he didn’t publish many of his sermons because he did publish many of his series of scriptural lessons.

Marcellino's discussion and use of scripture in the *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove* demonstrate some of the key developments in scripture that occurred during the sixteenth century. These developments revolved around the Latin Vulgate and the use of vernacular scriptures. Marcellino's sermons, therefore, provide a glimpse into these developments in 1582.

Marcellino preached his sermons in the vernacular. In his printed volume, most scripture is provided in the vernacular. The notable exception is the text of Psalm 109 itself, which almost always appears in Latin. The various translations of the psalm are also provided in Latin to better highlight the differences in particular wording. Very rarely is Psalm 109 quoted in the vernacular. One instance is when Marcellino cites Jesus quoting the psalm in Matthew 22.⁵⁷⁷ Another example is in the final sermon, which includes a prayer or address to Christ asking a different question for each verse. Marcellino quotes the verses, or the most pertinent section of the verse, in Italian beginning with the first. "What part of the habitable earth is so unknown that does not hear your praises sung? The Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right hand. Which man of sound judgment will be able to not admire your royal power perceiving that the scepter of your power was given to you from Zion, and that you rule in the midst of your enemies?"⁵⁷⁸ He continues this type of quotation through the rest of the psalm. Marcellino's use of Latin for the main scripture he expounds in the sermon is the same pattern he uses in his scriptural lessons. The scriptural lessons follow a more distinctly exegetical pattern than the *Sermoni quindici*. Marcellino begins by quoting the verse in Latin before expounding the passage in the vernacular. Sometimes, scripture in his published lessons is italicized to differentiate it from his own words;

⁵⁷⁷ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 9. In general, Marcellino provides the scripture in Italian if he is quoting someone like Jesus or a rabbi who is quoting scripture.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 175. "Qual parte della terra habitabile è così incognita che non senta cantare à tua laude. disse il Signore al Signor mio siedì alla destra mia. qual'huomo di sano giuditio potrà non ammirare la tua regia potenza sentendo che lo scettro della virtù tua t'è data da Sion, & che tu domini in mezzo de tuoi nimici?"

this includes scriptural references he makes while expositing the main passage. Likewise, Psalm 109 is printed in Latin and italicized in the *Sermoni quindici*. Unlike his exegetical teachings for his Christian congregation, Marcellino quotes most other scripture primarily in the vernacular for the Jews.⁵⁷⁹

The extensive use of the vernacular for scripture in these sermons is significant. Although vernacular sermons were the dominant mode of preaching in the sixteenth century, vernacular scripture was a source of anxiety and distrust for the Catholic Church. Commonly associated with heresy since the Middle Ages, the Protestant use of vernacular scripture reinvigorated this distrust in the sixteenth century. While the Council of Trent did not produce a definitive statement on the use of vernacular bibles, Pope Pius IV banned their use in 1564 unless one received special written permission.⁵⁸⁰ Marcellino's printing of sermons with vernacular quotations from scripture is notable. The vernacular did not prevent its printing; the inquisitor of Florence, Donigio Costacciaro, gave the volume his stamp of approval. However, Marcellino addresses the printing of the sermons in the vernacular in his dedication letter to Cardinal Santa Severina. He notes his failure to render the sermons in Latin, "whence they would have gone forth with that Majesty with which, in the vulgar tongue, they are not able to issue."⁵⁸¹ Marcellino does not connect the need to render the sermons in Latin specifically to his use of vernacular scripture. Nevertheless, given that all of Marcellino's sermons and scriptural lessons

⁵⁷⁹ There are exceptions to this general trend. For instance, he quotes from John Chrysostom and Augustine of Hippo in Sermon 5, and leaves the scriptures in Latin, while his summary of the commentary is in Italian. *Sermoni quindici*, 45-46.

⁵⁸⁰ Acta Apostolica Sedis, vol. XL (1907), pp. 593-650. *Dominici gregis custodias*, March 24, 1564. This is a papal encyclical.

⁵⁸¹ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, a2^v. "onde de con quella Maestà uscisser fuore, con la quale nella volgar lingua non possano uscire."

are published in the vernacular, and vernacular sermons were not an anomaly in publication in the late sixteenth century, Marcellino's discussion of Latin in his dedication letter points to a different issue. I believe the issue is these particular sermons in which scripture has been quoted in the vernacular and not Latin for the printed version, as was customary.

The use of the vernacular by Marcellino to prove his points through scripture confirm that the *Sermoni quindici* are primarily intended to persuade the Jews.⁵⁸² The language matters in respect to the audience. With his Christian congregation, Marcellino teaches the scripture through the Latin text, explaining what the passage means. Even if a Catholic does not know Latin, the primary language of the faith is Latin, and the primary language of scripture for the Catholic is Latin. Therefore, the expectation is for Christians to learn scripture through this language. So Marcellino's lessons to Christians teach both the Latin text and the proper interpretation. This perspective of his scriptural lessons applies to both their oral delivery, which might have included a vernacular translation of the Latin, and their printed format. His Jewish congregation, on the other hand, does not need to be taught Latin; they need to hear and understand the proper interpretation of scripture in contrast to their false interpretation. Quoting scripture in Latin would obfuscate crucial parts of the argument, hindering conversion. Marcellino, therefore, utilizes the shared language of the vernacular to ensure a basic level of understanding.

The same rationale implicitly applies to his use of the Septuagint for the text of Psalm 109, at least from the perspective of how he refers to the translations of scripture. This divinely

⁵⁸² While this seems an obvious statement, Emily Michelson argues in her articles that the conversionary sermons actually target the Christian audience more than the Jews. The Jews are present as a foil against which Christians measure their own faith. See "Evangelista Marcellino." In effect, Michelson's argument mirrors scholarship on polemical literature in the Middle Ages. The conversion sermons and polemical literature present themselves as attempting to convince Jews of the truth of Christianity, but in reality, their primary audience is Christian.

inspired translation of the Hebrew scriptures by seventy Jews, according to tradition, into Greek around the third century BCE represents a shared text between Jews and Christians. For a Christian, it is the fitting text from which to argue with the Jews. Marcellino refers to the Septuagint as either “the 70” or “our text” in the *Sermoni quindici*. For the Psalms in particular, the Latin translation Marcellino cites as “the 70” was produced by Jerome between 389 and 392; it is one of three versions Jerome translated or emended and is known as the psalter *iuxta Septuaginta* or *Gallicanum*. This is the translation found in the Vulgate, the Latin version of the Bible which the Council of Trent declared the authentic text in 1546.⁵⁸³ By identifying the primary Psalm text as the Septuagint, not simply the church’s text, Marcellino reinforces that the authentic text the Catholic Church uses is the very same scripture that came from the Jews.

In Sermon 2, Marcellino introduces his explanation of this translation in relation to the Chaldaic Paraphrase and the Hebrew.

Who does not see that it [the Chaldaic Paraphrase] takes away from that excellence that our text (which is that of 70) attributes to Christ? It is not ours alone, that is, that of 70, which says thus, but yours also which is this. *Dixit dominus domino meo sede ad dexteram meam*. Hence, by saying the Chaldaic in the way that you have heard it, it is possible through it to prove very little of the divinity or the sublime excellence of Christ. On the other hand, since we have to believe much more in the text of 70 and in the same Hebrew letter, which fully conforms with this, I cannot see in what way through the Chaldaic it ought to be rendered other than this.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸³ Theresa Gross-Diaz, “The Latin Psalter,” *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, II (2012): 427-445. See also, Council of Trent, Session IV, second decree.

⁵⁸⁴ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 13-14. “Chi non vede che si toglie da quella eccellenza chel testo nostro (che è quello de 70.) à Christo attribuisce? ne il nostro solo, cio è quello de 70. cosi dice, ma il vostro ancora il quale è questo. *Dixit dominus domino meo sede ad dexteram meam*. Onde dicendo la Caldaica nel modo che udito havete si può per mezzo suo prouar molto poco la divinità, overo la sublime eccellenza di Christo. dall’altro canto dovendo noi molto più credere al testo de 70. & all’istessa lettera Hebraica, che appieno con quello si conforma, non so vedere in che modo per il testo Caldaico debbia altri da quegli ritrarsi.”

Marcellino makes three points about the translations in this brief passage. First, the Septuagint is the text of the Catholic Church. Calling it the text of the 70 should remind the Jews that the Catholic Church's scriptures are from the Jews. Second, the Jewish text in Hebrew is the same as the church's scripture. Third, the Jews prefer to believe the Chaldaic, which is a translation that clearly distorts their own scripture. In fact, Marcellino accuses the Jews of falsely attributing their version of the Chaldaic Paraphrase to Rabbi Jonathan ben Uzziel. Their version was written three-hundred years after Christ and accordingly changed the texts to deny Jesus as the Messiah.⁵⁸⁵

Throughout the sermon series, Marcellino expounds on the various translations of the verses in the psalm. This trend becomes more pronounced beginning in the fifth sermon, where enumerating the translations is a main feature of the sermon. The main three texts that he provides in Latin are the Septuagint, Jerome's translation, and the Chaldaic Paraphrase. The Septuagint that Marcellino cites is as mentioned above, the text from the Latin Vulgate, written by Jerome and modified by Alcuin (d. 804) in the Carolingian court. Jerome's translation in the *Sermoni quindici* is what is referred to as the Psalter *Hebraicum*. Jerome specifically designates in the preface to this translation that he created this version to aid polemics with Jews since their texts differed from the Septuagint.⁵⁸⁶ The Chaldaic translation, as Marcellino refers to it, is the Targum or the Aramaic paraphrase of the Hebrew scriptures. As part of the framework for his argument that Jewish literature and scriptures point to Christological interpretations, even amongst Jewish authorities, Marcellino continuously cites the Chaldaic Paraphrase. The Targum was one of the scriptures included in the two polyglot bibles produced in the sixteenth century.

⁵⁸⁵ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 14.

⁵⁸⁶ See Gross-Diaz, "The Latin Psalter," 429.

Although not always cited, Marcellino also refers to the literal translation of the bible from Hebrew produced by Santes Pagnino in 1527. Pagnino's translations appear in Sermons 9, 10, 12, and 13.

Throughout the series, Marcellino explicitly refers to the new resources that make such an exposition based upon numerous translations possible: the Complutensian polyglot bible (completed in 1517) and the Plantin polyglot (also called the *Biblia Regia* or Antwerp polyglot, 1573). The first printed polyglot of the entire bible in the sixteenth century, the Complutensian polyglot (1520), only included the Targum Onkelos on the Torah along with the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. The Plantin or Antwerp Polyglot (1573) included targums for the remainder of the Old Testament, most importantly the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Prophets. Marcellino refers to Jonathan ben Uzziel frequently in his sermons because his Targum gave seemingly Christian interpretations of the prophetic literature. As for the polyglots' link to conversion, it was generally assumed that the Jews would not contradict the Targums, and thus their inclusion highlighted the apologetical nature of the polyglots.⁵⁸⁷

Marcellino offers his opinion of these two polyglots in the *Sermoni quindici*. In Sermon 3, Marcellino notes that "his Chaldaic translation is according to the *Biblia Regia* of Plantino."⁵⁸⁸ He specifically discusses this choice in Sermon 8. He has a warning about the Chaldaic

⁵⁸⁷ The Christian use of the Targum against the Jews for their conversion was not new in the sixteenth century. Both Raymond Martin and Nicholas of Lyra emphasized the importance of the Targum for the Jews and its suitability for converting the Jews to Christianity. However, its inclusion in a polyglot bible did produce debate in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Although the location of each translation strategically designated the authority of the Vulgate in comparison to the other scriptures, the Targum's appearance in the text designated it as scriptural even if it was placed in the most inferior position on the page. For a discussion of these issues, see E. Staalduine-Sulman and Johanna M. Tanja, "Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles," *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*, eds. Alberdine Houtman, *et al.*, (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 208-230. See pages 216-217 especially for the apologetic mission of the polyglot bibles.

⁵⁸⁸ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 29. "la traduttione Caldaica che va attorno nella Bibbia regia del Plantino dice."

translation. The exemplary Complutensian polyglot was produced by a fellow Franciscan, Francisco Ximenes; that Chaldaic translation only included the five books of Moses. The *Biblia Regia* includes the Chaldaic translation of other parts of the Old Testament, including this psalm, but these are full of the dreams of rabbis and their insipidity, which Marcellino thinks should not have been placed in the sacred volumes.⁵⁸⁹ However, despite his personal feelings, he quotes from the *Biblia Regia*, which is why his audience might notice the multiple senses of the words he is expositing.⁵⁹⁰

Marcellino's sermons are based primarily upon the Old Testament, the shared text between the Jews and Christian. However, he occasionally quotes or alludes to passages from the New Testament. These New Testament references seem to follow some general patterns, which can shift from sermon to sermon. The first pattern is to avoid the oral communication of the citation. The quotation or summary of a story might be provided, but Marcellino tends to omit a direct citation in the text. For instance, Marcellino refers to three different passages from the New Testament in his first sermon; none of the scriptural references are included within the text.⁵⁹¹ The two passages from the Gospel of John receive marginal notations, presumably added

⁵⁸⁹ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 88. "auvertendo una cosa circa la traduzione Caldaica. cioè che gli esemplari complutensi che sono quella Bibbia fatta l'anno 1510. da Francesco Simenio, Frate dell'istesso ordine che son'io, Arcivescovo di toledo, & Cardinale di Santa Chiesa titolo S. Balbino. di cui fa mentione Filippo Re Cattolico nella sua Bibbia Regia d'Anversa in una sua Epistola al Duca d'Alba, in quella Bibbia adunque ove era il testo Hebreo, Caldeo, Greco, & Latino, il Caldeo cioè la Caldaica traduzione non era se non sopra i cinque libri di Moisè. col dire che negli altri luoghi era così piena di sogni di Rabbini & di loro insipidezze, che non me ritava esser posta ne sacri volumi."

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., "Questo ho voluto dire, acciò che altri non si maravigli se citando io essa Caldaica traduzione (secondo che in essa Bibbia Regia d' Anversa si vede) sentirà tanta moltitudine di parole." In Sermon 2, Marcellino claims the Jews have a different Chaldaic translation than the true text. Their version is not actually the one from Rabbi Jonathan but a rabbi from three-hundred years after the birth of Christ, indicating that their version was deliberately distorted in order to pervert the truth (13-15).

⁵⁹¹ Marcellino quotes John 9.39—"I have come in judgment..."—on page 5. The story of Jesus quoting Psalm 110 to the Pharisees is recounted on page 8. The most robust account of this conversation is found in Matthew 22.41-44, but the story can also be found in Mark 12.35-37 and Luke 20.41-44. Marcellino may omit citations from the Gospels in particular precisely because the stories can appear in multiple places. The final reference is found in John 19.30, appearing on page 9 of the sermon. Like with the first reference from John, there is a marginal notation

for the readers and not delivered orally in the sermons. By contrast, the majority of the citations for Hebrew scriptures appear in the actual text, even if the chapter number only appears in a marginal note. “Alas, hear Isaiah who says, ‘Listen to me oh you hard of heart who are far away from righteousness.’”⁵⁹² The marginal note provides the chapter (“Cap. 46”) while the text provides the author or book. There is one notable exception to this pattern of omitting the New Testament citation. “The Apostle Saint Paul” typically receives credit for his words within the text.⁵⁹³

The other important pattern is that New Testament passages, which contain the textual and thus oral citation, only appear in support of an idea presented first in the Hebrew scriptures. A good example of how this works appears in the sixth sermon as Marcellino describes how the Jews are particularly the enemies of Christ. The first New Testament reference in this excerpt has no citation. Marcellino answers the perceived protest that the enemies of Christ would not just be the Jews. “And who does not know, oh Jews, that not only these men [i.e. pagans and other persecutors of Christ] but also false Christians are the enemies of Christ since, as is said, *whoever is not with him is against him?*”⁵⁹⁴ Marcellino’s statement found in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke does not directly support Hebrew scripture, but rather a general idea about

pointing to the Gospel of John. The quotation of “it is finished,” appears parenthetically in the text. These parenthetical comments appear to be asides added for some dramatic effect.

⁵⁹² Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 9. “deh sentite Isaia che dice. Uditemi ò duri di cuore che siete lontani dalla giustizia.”

⁵⁹³ Ibid., See for instance page 15, where Paul’s “epistle to the Hebrews” is cited for showing that Christ’s excellence surpasses all men and the angels. Sermon four does quote Philippians 2.9 that Christ has the “name above every name” without a reference to Paul, but this is rare. Another way that Pauline material is introduced to the text without a citation is when he paraphrases or cites authorities. For instance, 1 Corinthians 15.27-28, which is itself a quotation and interpretation of Psalm 110.1, enters the text by way of Athanasius. See page 47.

⁵⁹⁴ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 58-59, “e chi non sa che non pure cotesti tali ma anco i falsi Christiani sono nimici di Christo? Atteso che come esso dice, chi non è seco è contra di lui?” (My emphasis to highlight the paraphrase from scripture: Matthew 12.30 and Luke 11.23).

enemies. The succeeding point builds upon Micah 7.6, which states that the true enemies of a man are from his household. Noting that the “pagans and the Turks” cannot be this enemy since they do not know Christ, Marcellino brings in the words of Christ in support of Micah 7.6. “And indeed, wanting to reveal you as the enemies as I say, our Christ said according to what appears in Saint Luke, chapter 19, *veruntamen inimicos meos illos qui noluerunt me regnare super se, adducite huc et intersicite coram me.*”⁵⁹⁵ Only the shared scriptures should be offered as primary evidence for the truth of Christian interpretation; this is abundantly clear from the few references to the New Testament found in the sermons.

The primary purpose of Marcellino’s exposition of the translations is to lead his congregation to agree that despite their variance, the sense of the scripture does not change. As he expounds the verse *Virgam virtutis tuae emictet Dominus ex sion*, Marcellino notes that the diversity in the text comes from the term *virtutis*. Jerome’s translation from the Hebrew gives *fortudinis* as does the Chaldaic. He explains in Italian that the translations only vary in the use of *fortezza* or *virtù*. Clearly, the differences do not make a diverse sense.⁵⁹⁶ These expositions of translations are necessary to address any potential criticism that Marcellino is arguing based upon an incorrect text. However, he makes two points about the Chaldaic translation which are notable in relation to this necessary step of expounding the diverse translations. The first is that in some cases, the Jews have a corrupted version of the Targum. As he seeks to prove the excellence of the Messiah in sermon two, Marcellino states that true version of the Targum is not the one the Jews have but rather the one he has cited, and it conforms to both the Hebrew and the

⁵⁹⁵ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 59, “e bene esso nostro Christo volendo mostrarvi nimici come dico, secondo che appare in San Luca al Cap. 19. disse. veruntamen inimicos meos illos qui noluerunt me regnare super se, adducite huc et intersicite coram me” (my emphasis). The passage in Latin is from Luke 19.27.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

Septuagint.⁵⁹⁷ This point reinforces Marcellino's argument that the rabbis are mendacious and purposefully seek to steer the Jews from any scriptural path leading to Christ. The second point is the Targum is sometimes more messianic in its translations than the Christian scriptures. For instance, in his sixth sermon Marcellino provides two places in which the Targum states "messiah" for other terms in the scriptures. Jeremiah 33 states that the seed of David will be germinated. Marcellino notes that the Jews now interpret this as the seed of justice, when the Chaldaic says the Messiah. Similarly, Zechariah 6 speaks of a man whose name is Orient; the man's name is Messiah in the Chaldaic.⁵⁹⁸ Marcellino does not give the "Caldaica traduttione" the status of scripture; he always designates it as a translation in his sermons. However, acknowledging that the text is authoritative for the Jews, he willingly exploits the text when applicable.

Marcellino's inclusion of Christian and rabbinic authorities as well as his exposition of the diverse translations is a demonstration of the proper way to interpret scripture. More importantly, scripture gives the guide for interpreting scripture. He quotes Proverbs 8 in his conclusion to his second sermon in order to demonstrate one way in which scripture is the rubric by which scripture is interpreted. Scripture does not deceive. "All the ways of my mouth are righteous; there is nothing twisted or crooked in them."⁵⁹⁹ He contrasts this proper method with the Jewish way of reading scripture. Marcellino devotes some time in his second sermon to reveal the errors that arise from the interpreting scripture as a Jew. In this sermon, he clearly

⁵⁹⁷ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 15. "la vera Caldaica traduttione, non sia quelle havete voi, ma quella che v'ho citata io, si per conformarsi col testo Hebraico e col testo de 70."

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁵⁹⁹ Proverbs 8.8.

provides the Jews with the rubric for understanding scripture well. Begin with the literal sense.⁶⁰⁰ Marcellino then proceeds to provide the literal sense of the first verse as he argues that scripture teaches the plurality of God. For example, at creation, God speaks in the plural voice.⁶⁰¹ Marcellino offers other scriptural examples of this plural voice before moving on to expositing the triplicates, which point more specifically to the truth of the Trinity.⁶⁰² When Isaiah sees the vision of the angels crying, “Holy, holy, holy,” the repetition does not merely indicate greatness but an address to each person of the Trinity.⁶⁰³ In his conclusion to the sermon, Marcellino makes his critical point. “Have you not considered that your exposition is mendacious, that you say that I should not by the plural number understand the plural but rather the singular? If so, then this scripture deceives me because saying one thing to me, I ought to understand the contrary....If by saying bread, I ought to understand wine, how can I learn the truth?”⁶⁰⁴ The problem with the Jews is that they make and believe fiction. They cannot learn truth if their method of interpreting scripture is erroneous.

The notion of Jewish fiction appears more harshly in subsequent sermons. The fiction changes from deception to inanities and foolish nonsense. Their stories forge a God who is stricken by impotence and subject to human emotions. Marcellino mocks the miserable Jews

⁶⁰⁰ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 13. “e conciosia cosa che à volere bene intender un luogo della santa scrittura convien prima intender il senso della lettera, giudico esser ven fatto che circa l’intelligenza letterale del predetto verso alquanto dimoriamo.”

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., 16-17. Marcellino mentions both the creation of the heavens and the earth in Genesis 1.1 and the creation of man in Genesis 1.26 and 3.22.

⁶⁰² Ibid., 17-21.

⁶⁰³ Ibid., 19. Isaiah 6.3. This is one of several verses Marcellino includes to prove his point, but he does not expound on the verse.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., 24. “hor non considerate voi che la vostra espositione è mendace? che direte che io non debbo per il numero plurale intendere il plurale ma il sungulare? se così è dunque m’inganna essa scrittura, poiche dicendomi una cosa io debbo intendere, il contrario.”

who are so blinded in the mind that they would fashion stories of a God who complains and tells them his woes, and a God who wants to help but cannot.⁶⁰⁵ The charges of foolishness in Jewish literature was particularly common when discussing Talmudic vignettes, and Marcellino's sermons are no different. Marcellino charges the Jews with being worse than Muslims in this regard. Muhammad hardly wrote these "insipid and foolish" words about God in his Koran.⁶⁰⁶ In the following sermon, Marcellino refers again to the foolish words of the rabbis. Marcellino notes that he is ashamed to cite such nonsense. Furthermore, he does not want the Jews to hear them.⁶⁰⁷ Instead, he wants the Jews to listen to the Gentile church authorities who like Moses' father-in-law Jethro, offer truth.⁶⁰⁸

Knowledge

Therefore, to listen to the divine word makes us silent, not following evil. And who does not know how evil it is to not know God? Now, does Isaiah chapter five not say, that through not knowing we are made prisoners? And does not Hosea chapter four say that knowledge is more pleasing to God than the sacrifices? And what knowledge except that which Jeremiah chapter nine mentions, where he says that whoever wishes to glory is to glory in knowing God alone. Oh how great is such knowledge, oh how sublime, oh how fruitful and useful. But who will be able to teach us if not the Messiah King?⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁵ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 64. "ò miseri che siete, e che Iddio v'andate fabricando il qual dolendosi dica guai à me che ho fatto e detto, che ho distrutta la casa mia. Iddio infinita bontà e infinito gaudio piange, e dice guai à me? ò miseri come è possibile che venghiate à tanta cecità di mente....deh rispondetemi di gratia. questo vostro Iddio che così si lamenta, vuole aiutarvi e non può, ò pure può e non ivuole?"

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., 64-65. "ò miseri come è possibile che venghiate à tanta cecità di mente. che quello scriuiate nel vostro Talmud, che à pena scriverebbe Macometto nel suo alcorano?" Ibid. Further down, Marcellino describes how the Jews have brought these fictions to their sacred literature. "ma perche voi tanta fede portate à simili vostri libri, quanto alle sacre scritture, chel vostro Iddio non sia altro che uno di quelli Dei che anco ne templi de gentili mandava fuori simili voci insipide e scioche."

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., 71. "Vi confesso bene che quando empierono i fogli di quelle insipidezze, & sciochezze di che l'empiano molti vostri Rabbini secondo che più volte s'è detto, ch'io non vorrei che voi l'ascoltaste, & io mi vergognerei à citarveli."

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., 70-71.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., 181-2. "Adunque l'ascoltare il verbo divino ci fa quiescere, non seguitando il male. & chi non sa quanto sia male il non conoscere Iddio? hor non dice Isaia Capitolo quinto, che per non sapere siamo fatti prigionieri? & Osea Capitolo quarto, non dice che più è grata à Dio la scientia che i sacrifici? & quale scienza se non quella che accenna

In order for the Jews to be able to convert, they must acquire understanding. Naturally, knowledge is a prominent theme running throughout the sermons. Marcellino frequently chastises the Jews for not only their lack of knowledge but also their intentional desire to not know.⁶¹⁰ Knowledge is at the heart of the reason the Jews are the particular enemy of Christ. They knew him but did not recognize him.⁶¹¹ Marcellino's discussion of knowledge and understanding is not unique; he employs traditional stereotypes of the Jews and their ability to know and understand. However, he also utilizes "knowing" to rhetorically move his audience into agreement with his arguments. Speaking of corporeal and spiritual circumcision, Marcellino says, "Who does not know that a sign cannot endure except for a certain time, that is up until the signified comes? And who is the signified of the circumcision and every ancient ceremony if not Christ?"⁶¹² The "chi non sa" questions recur frequently in the sermons, pointing the Jews toward the right belief. Marcellino will also use a statement form. "You know, Jews, that when Benjamin the last son of Jacob was born, the mother Rachel who died at the birth, called him Benoni, which means as much in your language as in ours, son of my pain."⁶¹³ In contrast to "chi non sa," the "voi sapete" statements typically refer to what Marcellino assumes are undisputed

Gieremia Capitolo nono, dove dice che chi si vuol gloriare, glorisi solo di sapere Iddio. ò quanto è grande tale scienza, ò quanto sublime, ò quanto fruttuosa & utile. Ma chi ce la potrà isegnare se non il Re Messia?" The verse from Hosea is misidentified; the quotation comes from chapter six, not four.

⁶¹⁰ For instance, see Sermon Six, pages 66-67. Marcellino notes that the Jews do not want to understand that the time of the Messiah had come with Christ (p. 66: "benche nol vogliate intendere"). On the following page, he states that the Jews are so hard and obstinate that they don't want to know (p. 67: "voi non volete conoscere il vostro").

⁶¹¹ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 59.

⁶¹² Ibid., 53. "e chi non sa chel segno non può durare se non per un certo tempo? cio è infino che venga il segnato? chi è il segnato della circuncisione e d'ogni cirimonia antica, se non Christo?"

⁶¹³ Ibid., 27. "Voi sapete Hebrei che quando nacque Beniamin ultimo figliuolo di Giacob, la madre cio è Rachel che morì in sul parto il chiamò Benoni, che tanto vuol dire nella vostra lingua, quanto nella nostra figliuolo del dolor mio."

facts. The purpose of both is to rhetorically progress the argument from a shared base of knowledge.

These recognitions of Jewish knowledge appear alongside Marcellino's claims that the Jews are without knowledge. In his first sermon, speaking about the foolishness and blindness of the Jews as written in Deuteronomy 28.28, Marcellino states that "your ignorance is so great that you show that you never had any knowledge."⁶¹⁴ The passage in Deuteronomy speaks of the blind groping around during the middle of the day. Marcellino concludes that the Jews are not simply in darkness but are like ones those who have never seen. There is a constant tension between Jewish knowledge and ignorance running through the sermons. This mirrors another epistemological tension Marcellino holds.

Knowledge is also an extremely difficult acquisition for the Jews.⁶¹⁵ Their senses have been so incapacitated that they cannot recognize truth. Furthermore, they are misled by their rabbis. Any discussion of knowledge in the sermons necessarily leads into a discussion of the incapacitated senses of the Jews. Jewish hardness, blindness, and deafness are why the Jews do not have knowledge. Scripturally, as Marcellino notes, God is the one who has compelled the Jews to not see, to not hear, and to not understand.⁶¹⁶ Therefore, while Christian intent in the compulsory conversion sermons is to provide Jews with the proper understanding of their

⁶¹⁴ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 5. "tanta è l'ignoranza vostra, che mostrate che non mai habbiate Saputo nulla."

⁶¹⁵ Marcellino's sermons present knowledge as an epistemological conundrum for the Jews. The point of the sermons is to offer the truth so that hearing the words might spur understanding. However, the capacity to truly hear is rather limited in Jews. On the other hand, Marcellino also explains that the Jews must first believe so that they might understand. This is likely why Marcellino concludes his series with a call to have faith, what he calls the easy commandment. I will say more on this subsequently.

⁶¹⁶ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 5. Marcellino quotes Isaiah 6.10. "Blind the heart of this people, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes: lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted and I heal them."

scriptures so that they can attain the knowledge that will lead them to convert, the knowledge is generally denied to the Jews. The theological reality expressed in the sermons and throughout Christian tradition is that the Jews need understanding of the Messiah Jesus to convert, but there is a barrier erected by God himself, which prevents such understanding.

The flip side to the Jewish inability to acquire the right understanding and knowledge of God which would lead to salvation is that knowledge is actually given after belief. Speaking to the Jews on the eternal begotten-ness of the Son in sermon nine, Marcellino cites this opinion. Christians can say that Christ was “generated from eternity” not by reason but through faith.⁶¹⁷ “Remember, oh Jews, what is written in Isaiah 7, according to the text of the 70. If you will not believe, you will not understand...Therefore, accept my faith that you soon will have the capacity and will understand this eternal begotten-ness exceedingly well.”⁶¹⁸ The call to faith reappears in the final sermon as well. There, faith is described as the easy commandment. It should be easy for the Jews to convert themselves to God because all they have to do is call upon the Lord with faith, and he will answer and save them.⁶¹⁹ Marcellino’s discussion of the Eucharist in his eleventh sermon requires belief before understanding as well but does not include an exhortation for faith. Describing the Christian remembrance as an offering of the same Christ rather than a different offering every year like the Jews, Marcellino says the

⁶¹⁷ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 103-4. “bisogna dire che nella sostanza divina sia propriamente tale generatione, & così ab eterno è generato Christo,... Et se voi diceste, perche ragione ò in che modo ponete voi Christiani in Dio questa generatione? che altro vi potrei rispondere, se non che quì non si assegna ragione, ma fede.”

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., 104. “ricordatevi ò Hebrei che gli è scritto Isaia 7. secondo il testo de 70. se non crederete non intenderete. [Isaiah 7.9]... accettate adunque la mia fede, che subito sarete capaci & benissimo intenderete questa eterna generatione.”

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 183-4. “Et così la fede è quel comandamento facile, & così appare che con molta facilità potete à Dio convertirvi. Et perche nò essendo scritto, chiunque chiamerà il Signore sarà salvo, e ciò s’intende con fede, percioche senza fede, che sarebbe altro quel tale se non uno de Sacerdoti di Baal, i quali chiamando dalla mattina infino al mezzo di, non era chi rispondesse quando la persona fedele come narra Isaia Capitolo cinquantaotto, subito che chiamerà li sarà risposto.”

following. “And if you say, ‘Now, how can this be?’ Oh Jews, believe first, and then you will know how this can be.”⁶²⁰ Marcellino cites Isaiah 7 again.⁶²¹

An equally difficult Christian doctrine to understand receives a similar treatment. Discussing the reason Christ died, Marcellino notes a way into a full understanding. The Jews simply need an introduction into knowledge and to emulate Christ in a particular way. Drawing from Paul’s words in Philippians, Marcellino notes that if the Jews would follow Christ’s example of humility and obedience, then “oh how fully you might understand that his death was not only fitting but necessary because of the aforementioned reason and moreover to fulfill the scriptures.”⁶²² Marcellino continuously offers the Jews a way to bypass knowledge and understanding because ultimately, they can’t acquire them. Faith, belief, humility and obedience can spur the Jew into true knowledge.

Marcellino’s frequent discussions of knowledge in the sermons serve to highlight the epistemological conundrum for the Jews and their conversion. They don’t have the capacity for knowledge and understanding because God has deafened and blinded them. Yet, these preachers present readings of Hebrew scriptures weekly in order that the Jews might see and understand that their own readings are false. As Marcellino prays in his second sermon, “May God grant you dear Jews that such things may be known to you as they are known to us.”⁶²³ In addition to this divinely imposed spiritual incapacity, Marcellino claims that knowledge follows upon faith or

⁶²⁰ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 126. “Et se voi diceste. hor come può star questo? ò Hebrei, credete prima e poi saprete come può stare.”

⁶²¹ Ibid., “Ricordatevi che è scritto, se non crederete non intenderete, il che sopra v’è stato citato.”

⁶²² Ibid., 163. “felici voi Hebrei se introdotti in questa scienza quello faceste che ha fatto Christo. ò come appieno intendereste che era non pur conveniente, ma necessaria la morte sua per le predette cagioni, & oltre di ciò, per adempire le scritture.”

⁶²³ Ibid., 163. “concedavi Iddio carissimi Hebrei che per tali sieno da voi conosciute per quali da noi conosciute sono.” Ibid., 25.

belief. This puts another step in between the sermon, which gives a true understanding of scripture, and actual knowledge. Thus, it seems that the true intent of Marcellino's sermon series is not necessarily to foster full understanding of scripture but to spur the Jews to choose faith. Once they have faith, they will gain knowledge. Through this discussion, he builds to his conclusion in Sermon 15 that faith is both facile and within reach. All the Jew must do is believe.

Salvation

Who does not see how diversely this rod has come upon you and upon us? Because upon us, he has come as a shepherd to his flock [and] has led us back again as sheep...But upon you, he has come in such a way, full of cruelty and fury...Whereby, indeed, you are broken so minutely, that you are not able to demonstrate the least spark of those ancient benefices and gifts made to you before, neither are you able to attain more than the least drop of former mercies. Yet, notwithstanding all that, some remnant of you remains.⁶²⁴

The discussion of knowledge in the *Sermoni quindici* places salvation in the grasp of the Jew. The question remains, however, whether Marcellino held a genuine expectation that the Jews would convert. There are two ways to assess this in his *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove*: his discussion of the remnant (*reliquiae*) of Israel and his appeals to convert in the fifteen sermons. His articulation of the remnant and his appeals to convert help answer this question and give clues to what Marcellino and, ultimately, the Catholic Church believed were persuasive motivators for conversion. As always with Marcellino, his discussion of doctrine and appeals to convert follow the text of Psalm 109 closely. Since the main pattern of the *Sermoni quindici* is this recapitulation of Jewish history through the exegesis of the psalm, the Jews arrive

⁶²⁴ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 81-2. "Chi non vede quanto variamente è veunta sopra di voi questa verga, & sopra di noi? Poiche sopra di noi venuta come pastore così al suo gregge ci ha ridutti che come pecorelli...ma sopra di voi venuta come ripieno dira & di furore...onde ben che siate spezzati tanto minutamente, che non potete mostrar una minima scintilla di quegli antichi beneficii & doni per innanzi fattivi, ne potete conseguire più una minima gocciola delle pristine misericordie, pur con tutto ciò di voi resta qualche reliquia."

in the time before the day of judgment in Sermon 15. Therefore, the final sermons are the most critical for assessing Marcellino's expectations for the salvation of the Jews to whom he is preaching.

It is unsurprising that the notion of the *reliquiae* appears in the *Sermoni quindici*. Based upon the Apostle Paul's discussion of the salvation of the Jews in his Letter to the Romans, the understanding of the remnant and often, the immanence of the eschaton, could determine the expectation for Jewish salvation in a given period. In Pauline terms, the *remnant* is the group of Jews "chosen by grace" who "will be saved."⁶²⁵ Although Paul's teaching is ambiguous, lending itself to a variety of interpretations throughout church history, the remnant is the theological underpinning of the mission to the Jews.⁶²⁶ One's reading of Paul and also the current age in salvation history often dictated whether a mission to the Jews should be undertaken.⁶²⁷ The *remnant* was part of the rhetoric of the compulsory conversion sermon in the late sixteenth

⁶²⁵ In Romans 11.5, Paul compares the remnant to the 7,000 men who did not bow to Baal. "So too at the present time there is a remnant, chosen by grace." In Romans 9, Paul employs the words of Isaiah. "And Isaiah cries out concerning Israel: 'Though the number of the sons of Israel be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them will be saved'" (Romans 9.27, referring to Isaiah 10:22).

⁶²⁶ For an overview of the most relevant Pauline passage and its interpretation in church history, see Jeremy Cohen, "The Mystery of Israel's Salvation: Romans 11:25-26 in Patristic and Medieval Exegesis," *Harvard Theological Review* 98, no. 3 (2005): 247-81.

⁶²⁷ One of the most poignant applications of the understanding of Paul's teaching on the salvation of the Jews in Romans is the letter of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) to his former pupil, Pope Eugenius III (1145-1153), excusing the pope from his apostolic duty to the Jews. "We perceive then that you must strive to the utmost that the unbelieving may be converted to the faith, that those converted may not turn aside, that those who have turned away may turn back....As regards the Jews, I grant time may be your excuse; they have their fixed limit, which cannot be anticipated. The fullness of the Gentiles must first come in." Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, 3.1.3. "Interest proinde tua, dare operam quam possis, ut increduli convertantur ad fidem, conversi non avertantur, aversi revertantur....Esto, de Judaeis excusat te tempus: habent terminum suum qui praeveniri no poterit. Plenitudinem gentium praecire oportet." As David Berger has demonstrated, this understanding of conversion was dominant in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In general, there was a reluctance to pursue conversion of the Jews. "Mission to the Jews and Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Polemical Literature of the High Middle Ages," in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 3 (Jun. 1986), pp. 576-599.

century. In Gregory Martin's brief theological summary of the Jews in salvation history, he includes the remnant of Israel.

But since the reign of Christianitie they have been alwayes suffered to live and shal be for sundrie great causes: namely, for the confirmation of our fayth (as S. Austen sayth)...but principally for that God would have many of them also saved from time to time by few and few, which in Scripture are called *Reliquiæ* (*the remnant*.) and in the end al together that are leaft by the preaching of Enoch and Elias.⁶²⁸

There are two primary understandings of the *remnant*. The first is that the *remnant* is tied specifically to the eschaton; the Jews in these days will convert by the preaching of Enoch and Elijah, who will return to earth to convert hearts.⁶²⁹ The second is the interpretation, which Gregory Martin espouses in his text. The remnant includes all the Jews “saved from time to time by few and few” and in the end of times *en masse*.⁶³⁰ Martin's understanding of the *remnant* eliminates the pressure to assess the spiritual nature of the historical age; since the Jews are tolerated by Christian society “principally” so that they will convert, Christians should always act for Jewish conversion. In this way, Martin conforms his interpretation of the *remnant* to the new papal policy towards the Jews in the sixteenth century. The primary intent is Jewish conversion.

Marcellino's articulation of the remnant first appears in Sermon 7. Preaching on verse 3 (in the Vulgate)—*The Lord sends forth the rod of your strength from Zion to dominate in the midst of your enemies*—, Marcellino discusses the rod (*virgam*) of the Messiah that teaches, nourishes, but also smites. The rod for the Jews is a rod of destruction. Marcellino makes a

⁶²⁸ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 75.

⁶²⁹ Cf. Malachi 4.6.

⁶³⁰ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 75.

comparison between two key texts in his discussion of the remnant: Daniel 2 and Isaiah 30. Daniel 2 recounts a dream of King Nebuchadnezzar and its interpretation by Daniel. Marcellino focuses on the description of the statue which has been utterly destroyed so that it has been reduced to dust which the wind blows away.⁶³¹ The good news for the Jews is that they are not like this statue. However, they are like the broken, earthen vessel described in Isaiah 30, which cannot carry a spark of fire or a drop of water. Although broken and useless, the vessel has a remnant. Marcellino makes two points about the *reliquiae*, which he connects to Paul's discussion of the remnant of Israel in Romans 11. First, the *remnant*, which he has just described in accordance with Isaiah 30, is the seed of those who will be converted at the second coming of Christ.⁶³² Second, the *remnant* of the Jews is the rod of teaching for Christians; the remnant demonstrates that the justice of God is severe.⁶³³ Marcellino refers to Paul's analogy of the olive tree from Romans 11. "Because if he punishes you, who were his people and the natural olive trees so, how [are] we not punished who are grafted onto you as the first wild olive shoots?"⁶³⁴ While Paul's letter states that the Jews can be grafted back into the olive tree if they believe, Marcellino is not interested in emphasizing this positive notion for Jewish salvation. Rather, he

⁶³¹ Cf. Daniel 2.35.

⁶³² Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 81-2. This statement is based upon an interpretation of Romans 11.25b-26a. "A partial hardening has come upon Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles has come in. And in this way, all Israel will be saved." Although there were different interpretations of terms in this excerpt, it was fairly accepted that "the fullness of the Gentiles" would trigger the second coming of Christ. See Jeremy Cohen, "The Mystery of Israel's Salvation: Romans 11:25-26 in Patristic and Medieval Exegesis," *Harvard Theological Review* 98, no. 3 (2005): 247-81.

⁶³³ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 82. "poi che nel vedervi ci ricordiamo non tanto del principio della nostra fede che da voi ha havuto origine, quanto della severa giustizia di Dio."

⁶³⁴ Ibid. "poiche se voi così punisce che ervate suo popolo & naturali ulive, come non punità noi che siamo sopra voi innestati essendo prima oleastri?" See Romans 11.17-24.

highlights that the example of the Jews is “almost our punishment” since Christians leave behind that foolishness that Solomon says the rod takes away.⁶³⁵

Unlike Martin’s account of the *remnant*, Marcellino does not tie the *remnant* to salvation. In fact, he provides a literal interpretation of this concept. The *remnant* is the remainder or what is left after the destruction of the Jews. Salvation is not determined by one’s status as the *remnant* until the second coming of Christ. This interpretation does not necessarily exclude conversion prior to the second coming, but conversion appears delayed in comparison with Gregory Martin’s account. Likewise, Marcellino bypasses the Augustinian doctrine of toleration of the Jews as carrier of the books and proof of the veracity of Christianity, to give the Jews a different principal function: a continuous lesson for Christians about the severe justice of God. While Martin’s similar demotion of the Augustinian call to toleration places conversion as the principal function for the Jews in Christian society, Marcellino disconnects conversion from the *remnant* until a future date. His thoughts on the *reliquiae* conclude Sermon 7, one of the few sermons without an appeal to convert at the conclusion. Hope for Jewish conversion is markedly absent.

The *remnant* appears one additional time in the *Sermoni quindici*. In Sermon 13, Marcellino is preaching once again on the destruction of the Jews, but a destruction in a future time, not the historical past. In the day of judgment, God will complete the ruin which Christ had commenced in his first coming with a total destruction of the unbelievers.⁶³⁶ He preaches that there is a time in which it will be too late for the Jews to seek salvation.⁶³⁷ “In the day of

⁶³⁵ Ibid., 82. “onde essendo l’esempio vostro quasi nostro gastigo, lasciamo appieno quella stoltitia che legata nel cuore dello stolto fanciullo come dice Salamone, la verga la toglie via.” Cf. Romans 11.23-24.

⁶³⁶ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 13, 148. “Altri intendono per la gia detta rovina la totale distruttione degli increduli, la quale cominciatasi nel primo avvento di Cristo, nel secondo sarà compiuta.”

⁶³⁷ Ibid., 148-9. “come si vedrà nel di ultimo, quando non sarà il tempo di potersi emendare, il che hora sarebbe.”

judgment, the eye of God will be opened, which now appears to be closed...It seems that he does not wish to see now that which will then be so because seeing the iniquity of the impious will make them like dung.”⁶³⁸ Marcellino mentions the *reliquiae* in this context. “You have remained, oh Jews, after the death of Christ (which was an earthquake that shook you) thus broken and smashed, that stripped you of the usual ornaments, [and] in you the divine presence no longer dwells. And why not? Isaiah having said that you shall remain...as a city destroyed...? And if you have not remained totally destroyed, all is in order that the *remnant* is saved.”⁶³⁹ In contrast to his discussion of the *remnant* in the seventh sermon, the thirteenth sermon conveys a measure of hope for conversion. He also connects the *remnant* to those who will be saved in this sermon. The hope is directly related to the moment in salvation history that Marcellino describes. Through his exegesis of the psalm, Marcellino rhetorically places the Jews in the very moment in which they are still able to convert. God’s eyes have not yet been opened as they will be in the final days. His appeal in his concluding comments reflects the possibility of conversion. “Alas, do not be thus, oh Jews. Alas, do not wait until the final fury, when your repentance will not profit you at all. Alas, know that now you are at a time for your good, your salvation, and that is what I so much desire for you.”⁶⁴⁰ While salvation is available to the Jews, Marcellino’s perspective is seemingly less inclusive than Martin’s.

⁶³⁸ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 148. “Nel di del giuditio s’apirà l’occhio di Dio, che hora par che sia chiuso...hora par che non voglia vedere il che all’hora non sarà così, percioche vedendo le iniquità degli empii, li rendera simili allo sterco.”

⁶³⁹ Ibid., 149. “Voi siate rimasi, ò Hebrei dopo la morte di Christo (che fu un terremoto che vi commosse) così rotti & fracassati che spogliati de soliti ornamenti, in voi non più habita la divina presenza. Et perch nõ? havendo detto Isaia che voi restereste...come una città distrutta...? & se non siete rimasi totalmente distrutti tutto è acciò che le *reliquie* si salvino” (my emphasis).

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., 153. “deh conoscete hor che siete à tempo il ben vostro, la salute vostra, e quello che io tanto e tanto vi desidero.”

In Sermon 13, Marcellino also mentions Psalm 58—*slay them not lest my people forget*. Perhaps the most ubiquitous scripture about the Jews in Christian thought, the passage was adopted by the church as the scriptural rationale for the scattering of the Jews and the Christian duty to tolerate their presence in society. Gregory Martin cites Psalm 58 as the first reason that Jews have been allowed to live in Christian society—the confirmation of the faith—a doctrine he attributes to Augustine of Hippo.⁶⁴¹ Marcellino alludes to Psalm 58 in Sermon 7 when he claims that the *remnant* is a source of continuous teaching for Christians. He dismisses the notion that this teaching is a reminder that Christianity has its origins from the Jews in favor of emphasizing the justice of God.⁶⁴² The origin of the faith is the foundation of the Augustinian notion of tolerance that Gregory Martin cites. Marcellino’s inclusion of Psalm 58 in Sermon 13 refers back to his discussion of the *remnant* in Sermon 7.⁶⁴³ Once again, he ignores the typical articulation of this passage in church doctrine; this is clear by his reference to Theodoret of Cyrus (393-457) over Augustine and his focus on a different benefit for Christians. Immediately following his quotation of Psalm 58, he refers back to his comments on the *remnant* from Sermon 7. “This was already said elsewhere that, therefore, you remained because in seeing you, we are more strengthened in God, and of more as Theodoret says upon that Psalm, it is possible that some of you are converted, turning to repentance.”⁶⁴⁴ By “strengthened in God,” Marcellino intends the

⁶⁴¹ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 75.

⁶⁴² Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 82. “si per esser un continuo nostro ammaestramento poi che nel vedervi ci ricordiamo non tanto del principio della nostra fede che da voi ha havuto origine, quanto della severa giustitia di Dio.”

⁶⁴³ He cites both Daniel 2 and Isaiah 30 a few lines before he quotes Psalm 58.

⁶⁴⁴ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 153. “gia altrove s’è detto che per ciò siete rimasi, perche noi nel vedervi più ci consolidiamo in Dio, & di più come dice Teodoreto sopra quel salmo possibile è che alcuni di voi si convertino, tornado à penitentia.”

putting aside of foolishness that would attract God’s justice, which he discussed in Sermon 7. This does not quite match Martin’s reference to the “confirmation of the fayth;” however, like Martin, Marcellino adds conversion as a “possibility” for “some” of the Jews, referencing Theodoret. Theodoret’s words have a slightly different inflection in his *Commentary on the Psalms*. “I beg you, he is saying, not to let them undergo complete ruin: there are *many* of them who are being cured by the remedies of repentance.”⁶⁴⁵

Marcellino utilizes the *remnant* to provide a reason for why the Jews live in a state of misery but have not been completely destroyed. The Psalm foretells their eventual fate in verse 7, with the words *implebit ruinas* (he will complete the destruction). Out of this scriptural teaching, Marcellino presents the option of conversion to “some” Jews. Gregory Martin does the same in his account of Catholic belief on the conversion of the Jews; they can convert “from time to time, few by few.”⁶⁴⁶ Martin writes to a Christian audience and presents an overview of the Jews in the divine economy of salvation. His account includes the Pauline notion of mass conversion of the Jews in the end of times.⁶⁴⁷ Marcellino, on the other hand, addresses a Jewish audience he hopes to persuade to convert. The verse he expositis does not discuss the days before the final judgment when a mass conversion is supposed to occur. His verse discusses the final judgment. Marcellino targets the “some” that can convert now. They are a special group who will actively convert through the hearing of the word.

⁶⁴⁵ Theodoret of Cyrus, *Commentary on the Psalms, Psalms 1-72*, (Maryland: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 239 (my emphasis). Marcellino’s choice of Theodoret in support of this understanding of Psalm 58 might also be attributed to the words “complete ruin,” which echo the words of the verse of Psalm 109 he is expositing: *implebit ruinas*. Marcellino so closely follows his text that this reason for citing outside of the traditional articulation of the doctrine is very possible.

⁶⁴⁶ Op. cit. 77.

⁶⁴⁷ See Romans 11.25-27.

The Appeals to Convert

Therefore, accept my faith, and you will soon have the capacity and will understand exceedingly well the eternal begotten-ness. Accept Christ as your master leading him as a spouse into the bedroom of the mother, that is, into the church, so that I might teach you according to what appears in the Canticle, that you might be fully capable of such a mystery. Receive upon you Holy Baptism, which is the water promised to you in Ezekiel chapter 36, in order that washed and spotless, you might receive a new heart and receive a new spirit promised to you there, that undoubtedly, you will know God.⁶⁴⁸

Marcellino is rather more reserved than Gregory Martin in the presentation of his expectation for Jewish conversion. His teaching on the *remnant* reveals that conversion for the Jews is available in a period before the final judgment but is not possible for all Jews. Marcellino makes this latter aspect very clear in his description of conversion, while Gregory Martin allows for more inclusive conversion in the final days. Both Marcellino and Martin limit conversion in the present with a caveat that salvation is always dependent upon God's grace.⁶⁴⁹ Nonetheless, conversion is possible, and the preacher's task is to offer that possibility to the Jews. Marcellino expresses the importance of his task by highlighting the power of his words. For instance, in Sermon 7, Marcellino appeals to the Jews to not be numbered among the men which Job describes as telling God they do not want his knowledge nor want to understand his ways.⁶⁵⁰ He

⁶⁴⁸ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 104-5. "accettate adunque la mia fede, che subito sarete capaci & benissimo intenderete questa eterna generatione. accettate Christo per vostro maestro menandolo con la sposa nel cubicolo della madre cioè nella chiesa, acciò che vi ammaestri secondo che al Capitolo ottavo della Cantica appare, che appieno sarete fatti capaci di tanto misterio. ricevete sopra di voi il Santo Battesimo che è quell'acqua promessavi in Ezechiele Cap. 36. acciò che lavati e mondi vi facciate il cuor nuovo & riceviate lo spirito nuovo quivi promessovi, che indubitamente voi conoscerete Iddio."

⁶⁴⁹ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 82. Martin qualifies the preachers' skill in moving the Jews to convert by writing, "God principally working withal in their hartes."

⁶⁵⁰ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 71. He quotes two passages from Job. "They said to God, 'Depart from us; we do not want your knowledge.'" (Job 21.14). Also, "They were rebellious to the light of God, and not wanting to understand his ways, neither did they return through his paths" (Job 24.13).

then states that, “I greatly fear that by not telling you, that it is certainly so.”⁶⁵¹ This is the basis of the mission to the Jews: conversion is only possible when given the true understanding of their scriptures. His appeals are, therefore, important for understanding what Marcellino believed might succeed in turning the Jew to convert.

Throughout the series on Psalm 109, Marcellino appeals to his audience to choose Christianity. The way he presents this choice varies from sermon to sermon. In the beginning of his series, Marcellino employs prayers to express his appeal to the Jews. By Sermon 12, he is directly addressing the Jews asking them to repent and convert. There are three main themes present in the appeals. First, the Jews must accept the proofs Marcellino provides regarding the nature of the Messiah before they can convert. In general, the first two-thirds of the series focus on these proofs. The appeals in this section tend to be more passive, and some sermons do not have a direct appeal. The true interpretation acts as the appeal and exhortation. Second, one of the main motivators Marcellino presents is the comparison with Christians. Conversion offers the Jew the chance to be a part of this group, which God treats differently. Third, there will be a time when salvation is no longer available to the Jews. The threat of damnation motivator is dominant in the last four sermons, in particular. Emily Michelson has described the *Sermoni quindici* as employing the stick rather than the carrot to persuade Jews to convert.⁶⁵² By outlining the appeals and their overarching pattern in the sermons, I would like to complicate this assessment. While the stick is certainly prominent in the *Sermoni quindici*, Marcellino presents both what the Jew avoids upon conversion and what the Jew receives.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid. “Hora se di questo numero siete (il che grandemente temo, per non dirvi che ne sia certo).”

⁶⁵² Emily Michelson, “Evangelista Marcellino,” 195. See also, “Conversionary Preaching and the Jews,” 76.

The first two sermons employ the prayer as the appeal. In the first sermon on saviors and true salvation, uses supplicative language to present his desires for Jewish response to his sermon. This is a strategy he employs throughout the sermon series, marking these moments often by the word “alas” (*deh*). Marcellino uses the supplication from the beginning of his sermon series. “Oh may it please God that you would want to listen to me in such a manner that I am able to say with Isaiah, *Listen to me, take and eat the good, and your soul shall delight in the fatness. Turn your ears to me and listen to me that your soul will live.*”⁶⁵³ With this quotation from the prophet Isaiah, Marcellino provides the first incentive for the Jews; by listening to the words of Marcellino, their souls can delight and live. Within a few lines Marcellino returns to a supplication. “Oh how it would please me to see you participate in the divine mercies, which are grace in the present life and glory in the future that are able to be obtained through Christ alone.”⁶⁵⁴ While he does not dwell on the grace or the glory offered to the Jews upon conversion, Marcellino offers the Jews something better than their current situation with these lines. Marcellino focuses on Christ, the Messiah, as the only way to salvation. He presents the choice for the Jews as either climbing or descending the ladder of Jacob, which is Christ, and he returns to this image in the conclusion of the sermon. Marcellino prays that the Jews would remove their hardness and climb the ladder to heaven.⁶⁵⁵ This prayer presents an appeal to the Jews.

⁶⁵³ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 1. “ò piaccia à Dio, che voi in tal maniera mi vogliate ascoltare che io possa dire con Isaia. Uditemi, prendete & mangiate il bene, & diletterassi nella grassezza l’anima vostra. Volgete à me le vostre orecchie, & uditemi che vivera l’anima vostra.”

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., 2. “ò con quanto mio contento vorrei vedervi parteci di delle diuine misericordie, che sono la gratia della presente vita, & la Gloria della futura, che solo per Christo si deve ottenere.”

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 11. “Come non togliete via una volta la tanta vostra durezza? Toglietela vi prego, e salite per questa scala di Giacob al Cielo, donde infino à hoggidi siete caduti. Salite acciò consideriate la destra di Dio alla quale siede Christo,”

Once Marcellino begins interpreting the psalm for the Jews and proving how their interpretation is either false or supports Christian interpretation, the entirety of the sermon acts as the persuasive element. The direct appeal to convert is not necessary until Marcellino outlines the correct interpretation and beliefs that the Jews must accept regarding the Messiah before conversion. Sermon 2 includes a brief and more passive appeal that invokes a fear of God and censure of Jewish interpretation of scripture. “How do you not fear to be not only liars but wicked and sacrilegious? How do you dare to make God the creature, taking honor from God?”⁶⁵⁶ This sermon is where Marcellino also sets up a comparison between the Jews and the Christians, which will appear as a primary incentive for conversion throughout the series. At the conclusion to the second sermon, Marcellino prays, “May God grant you, dear Jews, that such things may be known to you in the same manner as they are known to us.”⁶⁵⁷ The comparison with Christians is not a new appeal Marcellino devises; he finds this teaching in Paul’s Letter to the Romans. In the eleventh chapter, Paul writes that the salvation of the Gentiles should make the Jews jealous so that they might be saved.⁶⁵⁸ The Christians in the oratory serve as the immediate example to emulate.

Marcellino makes this comparison clearer in Sermon 3 as he discusses the second son of Rachel as a figure of Christ. Rachel, the figure of the Synagogue, dies at the birth of this son, whom she names Benoni, son of pain. Like Rachel, the Synagogue ought to die with the birth of the Messiah, and those who follow the Synagogue are the sons of pain. The father renamed the

⁶⁵⁶ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 23. “come non temete à esser non pure mendaci, ma anco empi & sacrileghi? come ardite di fare la creatura Iddio, togliendo l’honore à Dio?”

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 25. “concedavi Iddio carissimi Hebrei che per tali sieno da voi conosciute per quali da noi conosciute sono.”

⁶⁵⁸ Romans 11.11 and 14. The vulgate uses the word “emulous” in verse 11 and “provoke to emulation” in verse 14.

child, Benjamin, son of the right hand.⁶⁵⁹ This is the name that the child retained. The sons of the right hand are the true Israel; they are those who believe and hope in Christ, and they are the Israel which will be redeemed of all their iniquities as Psalm 130 prophesies.⁶⁶⁰ Marcellino makes a direct appeal to the Jews.

Begin to believe in him, and you will see that soon you will be redeemed. Become Christians, and you will no longer be in the misery and servitude that you are but honored and exalted in the greatness that we are. ... What I give to you, you will desire to have. The one [i.e. the name] that the Synagogue gives to you signals pain and misery, the one that I give to you denotes sublimity and joy.⁶⁶¹

Marcellino presents conversion here as the end of the pain and suffering the Jewish people have suffered since the advent of the Messiah. In Sermon 4, which provides the rabbinic counterpart to Sermon 3, Marcellino's appeal is milder but with the same comparison between Jews and Christians. He tells the Jews that they should believe our priests and not their rabbis who are liars as confirmed by the prophet Jeremiah.⁶⁶²

Beginning in Sermon 5, the rhetoric becomes harsher and more accusatory, and the direct appeals to convert disappear. The theme of contrasting the Jew and the Christian remains as an incentive for conversion, but Marcellino's focus is on presenting the reasons why Christianity possesses the correct interpretation of scripture. He expositis the nature of enemies and how the Jews are the greatest enemies of Christ in Sermons 5 and 6, justifying their punishment in the

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., 27-28.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., 31.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., 31-2. "cominciate à crederli, & vedrete che subito sarete ticomperati. fatevi Christiani, & non sarete più, nella miseria & servitù che siete, ma honorati, & esaltati nelle grandezze che siamo noi. ... ma quello che ti do io, vuò che tu habbia. quello che ti da la Sinagoga accenna dolore & miseria, & quello che ti do io denota sublimità & allegrezza.

⁶⁶² Ibid., 41-2.

present life. In both sermons, Marcellino demonstrates the absurdity of Jewish belief and practice. He chastises the Jews for their continuous disobedience in Sermon 5; they would not observe the law when it was required by God, but now that the requirement is removed, they zealously observe that law, even to the point of death. He cites the prophets Malachi, Amos, and Isaiah to remind Jews that their religious life is odious to God. Furthermore, their ancient ceremonies are from the devil as indicated by a story found in the Talmud.⁶⁶³ He continues this theme in Sermon 6, speaking on the punishment the Jews have already suffered as enemies of Christ. They have been subjugated by every vile nation of the earth. Moreover, the Jews prove themselves enemies of Christ in all their absurd beliefs. God moans like a pigeon, he complains, and he is powerless to help.⁶⁶⁴ By Sermon 7, Marcellino expresses his frustration with enumerating the absurd beliefs. “Indeed, I confess to you that when they filled the pages with those insipidities and nonsense that many of your Rabbis fill them with, according to what has been said several times, that I do not want you to listen to them, and I would be ashamed to cite them.”⁶⁶⁵ Instead, he focuses on demonstrating how the Jews differ so greatly from the Christians. Marcellino presents this comparison in its historical context. Both Jews and Christians were enemies of God.

Because we, both being enemies of God, we through infidelity, you through ingratitude, we both were vanquished by the incarnate word, but with diverse methods. Because we are vanquished with being rendered subject to him, taking him into the midst of us with much honor, out of

⁶⁶³ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 49, 51, 54.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 71. “Vi confesso bene che quando empiessero i fogli di quelle insipidezze, & sciocchezze di che l’empiano molti vostri Rabbini secondo che più volte s’è detto, ch’io non vorrei che voi l’ascoltaste, & io mi vergognerei à citarveli.”

enemies we are made friends. When you are left vanquished in as much you were trampled and subdued, remaining greater enemies than before.⁶⁶⁶

Psalm 109's rod is therefore a shepherd's rod guiding his flock for Christians but a rod of cruelty and fury for the Jew.

While Sermon 8 does not include an appeal, Marcellino's discussion of faith and reason in Sermon 9 is a direct appeal to the Jews. As quoted at the beginning of this section, Marcellino asks the Jews to accept his faith, accept Christ as their master, and to receive baptism. In return, they will gain understanding, they will become fully capable of the mysteries, and they will know God.⁶⁶⁷ This sermon presents conversion as a clear possibility for the Jews from the perspective of his appeal. Sermon 9's appeal parallels Sermon 3's. They both directly address the Jews to believe in Christ and to accept the Christian faith with an incentive of something wholly better: an escape from the misery of their present circumstances and true understanding and knowledge of God. As Marcellino concludes Sermon 9, he offers the understanding of the "faithful" as an added incentive for belief; if you don't understand, then the faithful will. This comment serves two purposes: to state that the veracity of the faith is not dependent upon Jewish conversion, and to highlight that the Jew can be part of that faithful. He concludes Sermon 9 with a prayer. "I pray to this supreme father, this only begotten son, & this Holy proceeding Spirit, that he make you participants in this consolation, whereby, even as you are called children of

⁶⁶⁶ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 81. "percioche essendo ambidue nimici à Dio, noi per l'infedeltà, voi per l'ingratitude, ambidue siamo stati vinti dall'incarnato verbo, ma con diverso modo. poiche noi siamo vinti col renderlisi soggetti tenendolo in mezzo di noi con molto honore, & così di nimici siamo fatti amici, quando voi siete rimasi vinti in quanto che siete stati conculcati & suppeditati, restandoli più che prima nimici."

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., 104-105.

God on behalf of the vestige and of the image, similarly you be on behalf of grace and on behalf of glory.”⁶⁶⁸

The tone of the appeals change beginning in the twelfth sermon as the psalm speaks of punishment and judgment. Marcellino tells the Jews that there is a time when they will no longer be able to repent and be saved. At that time, “although you wish to repent, he will not help you, whereas now repenting, he will be able to greatly help you. Alas, repent, oh wretched ones that you are. Alas, do not wait for the cruelty of the wrath of Christ. Alas, consider with Isaiah chapter nine, that all which you now suffer is nothing but a brief blow.”⁶⁶⁹ This call to repent and convert appears in a similar construction in sermons thirteen and fourteen. These appeals use multiple “alas” phrases to project the urgency of conversion. Continuing with his theme of judgment, Marcellino expounds that the second coming of Christ will complete the destruction of the unbeliever in Sermon 13. He reminds the Jews that they have been spared from total destruction, but a time is coming—*implebit* from the Psalm is in the future sense—when their ruin will be made complete. “Alas do not be thus, oh Jews. Do not wait until the final fury when your repentance will not profit you at all. Alas, know that now is your good time.”⁶⁷⁰ In Sermon 14, Marcellino discusses the obstacle of the suffering Christ, a doctrine he claims is easily understood through the prophets.⁶⁷¹ Salvation through Christ’s death reveals perfect justice and perfect mercy. Marcellino appeals to the Jews to not continue to reject Christ’s demonstration of

⁶⁶⁸ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 107. “Io prego questo supremo padre, questo unigenito figliuolo, & questo Santo procedente Spirito, che di tale consolatione anco voi faccia partecipi, onde si come siete detti figliuoli di Dio, per conto del vestigio, & della immagine, siate similimente per conto della gratia, & per conto della gloria.”

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 143-44.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 153. “Deh non sia così, ò Hebrei, deh non aspettare l’ultimo furore, quando niente vi giouerà il pentirvi deh conoscete hor che siete à tempo il ben vostro.”

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 163.

love through his suffering. “How long will you show the suffering of Christ to be unfruitful since you do not want to participate by wanting to believe? Alas, accept him one time for the true Messiah, and do not look that he is in the despised and vile form which the passion gave him that he had to suffer for our salvation.”⁶⁷²

The final sermon operates on much the same principal. Now is the time for conversion. Marcellino returns to his prayerful supplication structure to summarize the entirety of the psalm and reinforce the idea that Jewish interpretation of scripture is utterly false. The Jew acts contrary to what scripture teaches. In this supplication, he asks a series of questions employing the words of Psalm 109, revolving around the Jew denying the obvious and Christian interpretation of the passage. He concludes this portion asking, “With what audacity is he able to say that you are not the true Messiah since against his wish, he sees you in the guise of Joseph, thus exalted that all the world adores you?”⁶⁷³ For this final appeal to convert, Joseph is the best figure of Christ for Marcellino. Like Christ, he suffered humiliation and betrayal, but God exalted him to a place of honor and allowed him to save Egypt and all the world from famine.⁶⁷⁴ Moreover, Joseph pardoned his brothers.⁶⁷⁵ If Joseph pardoned his ten brothers, Marcellino asks, how much more will the true Joseph pardon the Jews? He uses the example of the ten brothers and turns to his Christian audience again to emphasize the state of the Jews amongst Christians. The ten brothers of Joseph humbled themselves and asked for forgiveness because

⁶⁷² Ibid., 169. “Infino à quanto mostrerete infruttuoso il patir di Christo da che non ne volete partecipare col volerli credere? deh accettatelo una volta per il vero Messia, & non guardate, che sia in quella forma despetta & vile che li da la passione che dovea patire per nostra salute.”

⁶⁷³ Ibid., 176. “con che faccia può dire che tu non sia il vero Messia da che ti vede à guisa di Giuseppe contra sua voglia, così esaltato che tutto il mondo ti adora?”

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., 174-175.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., 177.

they needed bread. The Jews, living amongst Christians are humbled and suffering already but do not ask for the pardon. Marcellino retorts that Christ's pardon is much greater than Joseph's.

However, the time to ask for a pardon is at hand.

So long as the voice of those who preach Christ to you goes around, you are at a time for the benefit of your salvation...if you await the coming of the king, he will break you and make full the ruin...On the contrary, if you convert yourselves to him, not only will he pardon you for the errors committed, in the manner of Joseph, he will make you participants in his kingdom, which Joseph did not do. He desires that those who are humiliated with him will likewise be exalted with him.⁶⁷⁶

In this last sermon, Marcellino emphasizes the importance of preaching, or perhaps more precisely, reading the scripture for conversion. The moment for conversion is when Christ is being preached. The imagery of ears and listening pervades the *Sermoni quindici* from the very first sermon. Marcellino quotes Isaiah 55, praying that the Jews would turn their ears to him and listen, that their soul might live.⁶⁷⁷ As mentioned previously, Marcellino expresses that the Jews will certainly not believe if he does not give them a proper understanding. In Sermon 9, he tells the Jews if they would just listen to the prophets, they would understand the verse.⁶⁷⁸ Here in Sermon 15, he clearly emphasizes the importance of hearing. "And such thing occurred to me to tell you, beloved Jews, of this supreme and glorious Messiah King in the present psalm, to which I say, if you gave attention with your ears, that which you heard will not be able to be anything

⁶⁷⁶ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 178. "infino che la voce di chi vi predica Christo, ò Hebrei va attorno, siete à tempo per conto della vostra salute... ma se aspettate che venga come Re, con la verga del suo furore, così vi romperà... per il contrario se à lui vi convertirete. non solo vi perdonerà il commesso errore, à guisa di Giuseppe, ma vi farà partecipi del suo regno, il che Giuseppe non fece. atteso che vuole che quegli che seco sono humiliati sieno parimente seco esaltati.

⁶⁷⁷ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 1. "Volgete à me le vostre orecchie, & uditemi che vivera l'anima vostra." From Isaiah 55.3.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., 104.

but fruitful.”⁶⁷⁹ Marcellino moves to a discussion of faith, which forms the base of his final appeal to convert. In Marcellino’s text, faith is directly linked to the hearing of the word he had just described as being fruitful. This section on faith is structured around Romans 10, although he does not mention that Paul has provided the overall structure, not simply that the affirmation of faith “is in the heart for justice and in the mouth for confession.”⁶⁸⁰ Marcellino begins with Deuteronomy 30 to emphasize that faith is easy to obtain. It is not far off but near, in the heart and in the mouth.⁶⁸¹ Paul also begins with his paraphrase of the Deuteronomy passage; he provides the Christian reading of this Deuteronomy text in light of his concept of “the righteousness based on faith.”⁶⁸² Marcellino continues by citing “the Apostle” for verse 10. Like Paul, Marcellino argues that the commandment spoken of in Deuteronomy 30 is faith. This means that faith is easy, and therefore, it is easy to convert. “And why not, being written that whosoever will call upon the Lord will be saved?”⁶⁸³ He follows Paul’s structure into this quotation of Joel 2.32.⁶⁸⁴ Marcellino turns to an example from the Hebrew scriptures to demonstrate that God answers the faithful rather than continuing with the Pauline passage.⁶⁸⁵ The

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., 181. “Et tanto m’è occorso dirvi carissimi Hebrei di questo supremo & glorioso Re Messia nel presente salmo, al qual mio dire, se con attentione haverete dato orecchie, non potrà non essere stato fruttuoso quello che havete udito.”

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., 183. “Ella certamente come afferma l’Apostolo è *nel cuore per giustizia, & nella bocca per confessione*” (my emphasis to indicate the portion quoted above). The reference is to Romans 10.10.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid. The passage in Deuteronomy 30.11-14. Deuteronomy is speaking of a commandment, and the author connects turning one’s heart away and not hearing with death in verse 17.

⁶⁸² Romans 10.5-8.

⁶⁸³ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 183-184. “Et così la fede è quel comandamento facile, & così appare che con molta facilità potete à Dio convertirvi. *Et perche nõ essendo scritto, chiunque chiamerà il Signore sarà salvo*” (my emphasis, denoting the portion quoted above).

⁶⁸⁴ C.f. Romans 10.13.

⁶⁸⁵ He refers to the story in 1 Kings 18, where Elijah challenges the prophets of Baal. Whereas, Baal does not answer his priests, God answers his faithful servant. I do not think this example is a coincidence. Paul quotes from 1 Kings 19 at the beginning of Romans 11 as an example for the *reliquiae*. C.f. Romans 11.4-5.

remainder of Romans 10 discusses preaching and specifically that “faith comes from hearing, and hearing through the word of Christ.”⁶⁸⁶ Marcellino surely has this scripture in mind as he links his preaching, and all those preaching Christ, to faith and conversion. As he concludes, Marcellino offers a different appeal, connecting the notions of faith and hearing to the Messiah King found in Psalm 109.

Seek, therefore, oh Jews, to have the faith, and through having it, ruminare in your heart as you heard it. Ruminare, I say, as the animals of the world to the manger of holy scripture, on the mysteries of Christ. Divide with the cloven hoof, the good from the evil, the true exposition from the false. Consider...the present psalm of Christ. He truly is sublime and great above every creature because he sits at the right hand of God. He is the true son of the eternal father...he is the powerful and unmeasurable King...He is the Priest in eternity...And finally,... he is Lord to David and every creature. Whereby with much joy, David sang the present Psalm. And similarly, we, singing the praise, honor, and glory, pray that he make us faithful ones, worthy of his holy grace, and that he grant to you, Jews, the gift of his Holy faith.⁶⁸⁷

This is Evangelista Marcellino’s formula for Jewish conversion, most clearly articulated here in the conclusion. Listening to the sermons is the first step in the process. Hearing the proper exposition of scripture places the possibility of faith near at hand. Marcellino urges the Jews to seek that faith, which ultimately is granted by God. Only then can a Jew accept the proper exposition of scripture, which allows them to understand that Psalm 109 speaks of the Messiah King, who is Jesus. Marcellino’s concept of Jewish conversion in the *Sermoni quindici*

⁶⁸⁶ Romans 10.17.

⁶⁸⁷ *Sermoni quindici*, Sermon 15, 184-5. “Cercate adunque ò Hebrei d’haver la fede, e per haverla ruminare nel cuor vostro quanto havete udito. ruminare dico come animali mondi al presepio della santa scrittura, i misteri di Christo. dividete con l’ugna fessa, il bene dal male, le vere esposizioni dalle false. Considerate...il presente salmo di Christo. Egli veramente è sublime, & grande sopra ogni creatura, poiche siede alla destra di Dio. Egli è vero figliuolo del padre eterno. Egli è Re potente...Egli è Sacerdote in eterno... & finalmente,... è Signore à Daud, & à tutte le creature. Onde con molta letitia gli ha cantato David il presente Salmo. & noi similmente cantandoli laude, honore, & gloria, il preghiamo che ci faccia degni noi fe deli della sua santa gratia, & à voi Hebrei conceda il dono della sua Santa fede.”

is thus based upon the Pauline notion of faith and hearing (*fides ex auditu*) and the maxim *credo ut intelligam* (I believe so that I may understand). Marcellino's task as a preacher to the Jews must continue. For it is only through listening to these sermons and more importantly, hearing them properly that a Jew might seek faith and begin this process.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have highlighted Marcellino's view and use of scripture, his explanation of knowledge and salvation, and his appeals to the Jews to convert to display the language and the means Marcellino employs in the *Sermoni quindici* to persuade the Jews to convert. As the first published example in this genre of sermon literature, the content and language of these sermons deserves to be displayed. Moreover, I chose these topics to explore the rhetoric of conversion in the actual sermons to the Jews. By rhetoric, I do not mean simply the arguments or questions that the preachers addressed. This leads to a comparison with traditional polemical literature and characterizations such as medieval or hermeneutical. These are helpful characterizations to trace developments in Christian thought and necessary information about the text, but they can halt further analysis by signaling that there is nothing "new" to discover. The analysis of the text becomes more about what it is not than what it is. The rhetoric of conversion is what the text reveals about conversion and how it is accomplished. The *Sermoni quindici*, like Gregory Martin's chapter in *Roma Sancta* and Gregory XIII's bulls, depict a concept of conversion that reveals the rationale behind this proselytization strategy and the hopes or expectations associated with the preaching.

First, Jewish conversion is full acceptance of Christian beliefs and theology, most especially that the Messiah has already come in the person of Jesus Christ.⁶⁸⁸ This acceptance is

⁶⁸⁸ C.f. Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 78-79.

built upon the acknowledgment that the Christian understanding of scripture is correct.

Throughout the *Sermoni quindici*, Marcellino outlines the proper way to read scripture and the absurdities which result from the Jewish reading. Teaching the proper reading of scripture is the overarching goal of the sermons, and Marcellino demonstrates its importance by applying the newest translations to his exegesis. He employs his knowledge of scripture to explain the essential doctrines of the Christian faith that the Jew must accept in order to convert: the Trinity, the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the nature of Christ. While Marcellino demonstrates that the techniques for composing arguments to persuade the Jews to convert is not stagnant by utilizing resources created in the sixteenth century, his argument in the *Sermoni quindici* is traditional.

Second, conversion for the Jew can be approached in a similar manner to conversion of the heretic or schismatic. These are three groups who possess the same scriptures but have refused the orthodox faith. Therefore, their conversion is dependent upon a rejection of their wrong belief and an acceptance of the Catholic faith in every aspect. The Catholic Church institutionalizes the same proselytizing tactics for both groups. Gregory XIII writes that his duty is not just to seek “the repentance of the heretics and the schismatics straying from the path of the orthodox faith, but also the conversion and true salvation of those who are passing away wretchedly, walking in the darkness of faithlessness, particularly of the Jews.”⁶⁸⁹ The bull does not mention the missions to the indigenous peoples of the Americas or the missions to Japan and China, all of which fall under the pope’s “apostolic duty” as well. By mentioning the Jews in connection with heretics and schismatics, Gregory XIII places them in the same category of

⁶⁸⁹ *B.R.* 8:188. “ut non modo haeticorum et schismaticorum ab orthodoxae fidei semita aberrantium resipientiam, sed eorum etiam, qui, in infidelitatis tenebris ambulantes, misere pereunt, praesertim iudaeorum, conversionem veramque salute exoptare, ac totis viribus quaerere non cessemus.”

mission.⁶⁹⁰ In Tridentine Rome, preaching and the reading of scripture combatted heretical notions, by presenting orthodox teaching. Likewise, the compulsory conversion sermons combatted unbelief by forcing the Jews to confront their own errors in understanding.

Marcellino's role in the mission to the Jews and the prevention of heresy is the same: preaching.

Fourth, contrary to the idea that sixteenth-century papal policy towards the Jews sought their conversion *en masse*, the rhetoric of conversion in the *Sermoni quindici* is that "some" Jews will convert. Mass conversion of the Jews is tied to eschatological expectations. Based upon Romans 11, the Church believed that the Jews would convert at the end of time.⁶⁹¹ Kenneth Stow identifies belief in the immanent eschaton as a rationale for the marked change in papal policy during the sixteenth century. Pope Paul IV (1555-1559), who inaugurated a new era of papal policy designed to convert the Jews *en masse*, believed his mission to the Jews would succeed because of his eschatological beliefs.⁶⁹² Marcellino's *Sermoni quindici* discuss the day of judgment at the end of days. However, Marcellino never mentions a mass conversion of the Jews. Perhaps the exclusion is strategic; a guaranteed mass conversion at a future date seems to imply that the Jew does not have to make a choice; their conversion will simply occur as stated in the scripture. Nevertheless, Marcellino's sermons, especially his discussion of the remnant, indicate that only "some" Jews will convert. The opportunity for conversion is available while Christ is being preached. This depiction aligns with Gregory Martin's text as well. The remnant is those left to be saved "from time to time, few by few."

⁶⁹⁰ Their conversion will always be suspect given the nature of their unbelief and rejection of Catholic truths.

⁶⁹¹ Romans 11.25-26.

⁶⁹² Kenneth Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593*, 5-13, 225-277.

Finally, the rhetoric of conversion is that preaching to the Jews is right practice. Orthopraxy is directly linked to genuine conversions. Marcellino's statement on orthopraxy is rather more subtle than Gregory Martin or Gregory XIII. It appears in a fleeting comment that criticizes a prior pope's expulsion of the Jews. Gregory XIII's predecessor, Pius V (1566-1572), expelled the Jews of the Papal States, excluding Rome and Ancona, in 1569⁶⁹³ (Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) did the same in 1593).⁶⁹⁴ The Jews of Rome and the prelates present as Marcellino preached in 1582 were surely aware of this event. Marcellino states in Sermon 7, "And let us note as well in this place mentioned by Chrysostom that it does not say, kill your enemies, or trample them, or expel them and the like, but it says to rule in the midst of them through showing the great power of this law."⁶⁹⁵ Although subtle, he simultaneously criticizes Pius V for expelling the Jews and praises Gregory XIII for emulating the role of the Messiah King by ruling in the midst of his enemies. Marcellino inserts this reading of the verse by John Chrysostom (d. 407) to emphasize that expulsion is not the proper method of dealing with the Jews.⁶⁹⁶ Preaching, on the other hand, is the correct method for converting Jews. Preaching presents the truth the Jew must accept to convert even when that truth has been said one

⁶⁹³ Pius V issued *Hebraeorum gens* on February 26, 1569 (*B.R.*, 7:740-42.)

⁶⁹⁴ Clement VIII's *Caeca et obdurata* was issued February 25, 1593 (*B.R.*, 10:22-). Kenneth Stow notes that *Hebraeorum gens* was the model for *Caeca et obdurata* but highlights that Pius V did not allow Jews to then settle in Rome or Ancona, while Clement VIII did for the specific purpose of converting the Jews. See Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593*, 34-37.

⁶⁹⁵ Evangelista Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, Sermon 7, 79. "& notiamo come bene in questo luogo accenna Grisostomo che non dice uccidi i tuoi nimici, ò conculcali, ò discacciali e simili, ma dice domina in mezzo di loro."

⁶⁹⁶ In his discussion of the expulsion orders and their connection to the papal policy, Kenneth Stow specifically mentions a teaching of Chrysostom as a possible source for the rationale to expel the Jews. Chrysostom, along with Joachim of Fiora, believed that Jews would join the Antichrist before converting. See Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593*, 36-37. Marcellino's use of Chrysostom condemning expulsion is rather interesting.

thousand times.⁶⁹⁷ Furthermore, Marcellino expresses the potential that his words have to help the Jew understand. As an aside, he says, “I greatly fear that by not telling you, that it is certain.”⁶⁹⁸ Sermon 15 best presents conversion as dependent upon preaching. The possibility of conversion is linked to the voice preaching Christ.⁶⁹⁹ Marcellino’s conclusion, which articulates *fides ex auditu*, demonstrates that conversion is fundamentally a function of hearing, and therefore, the preacher is God’s instrument of conversion.

Two years after Marcellino began his series on Psalm 109, Gregory XIII promulgated *Sancta mater ecclesia*, which not only ordered the spread of conversion sermons to every city where a Jewish synagogue existed but also imposed guidelines for sermon composition and stricter regulations on the practice of preaching to the Jews in Rome. Under the new guidelines, a sermons series like the *Sermoni quindici* would not have been preached. *Sancta mater ecclesia* instituted the practice of preaching from the Sabbath synagogue readings, and the rotating attendance would make a sermon series rather ineffective. However, the 1584 bull greatly expanded the reach of the sermons to the Jews. Thus, *Sancta mater ecclesia* built upon the notion of conversion with which Evangelista Marcellino commences his *Sermoni quindici sopra Salmo centanove* and then summarizes in his concluding appeal. The Jew must hear for this process of conversion to begin.

⁶⁹⁷ Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, Sermon 14, 158, 168. See also, Sermon 4, (39), 7 (71), and 11 (127) for other examples of Marcellino stating that a teaching has been proven to Jews a thousand times already.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 178. “So long as the voice of those who preach Christ to you goes around, you are at a time for the benefit of your salvation.”

Chapter Four: Faustino Tasso, an Itinerant, Charismatic Preacher

In 1575, the year of Jubilee, Faustino Tasso addressed “some Jews” in the city of Naples with a series of familiar proofs for truth of the advent of the Messiah and the existence of the Holy Trinity. He delivered his twenty orations in what he calls “this doubly holy season of Lent.”⁷⁰⁰ Already preaching continuously from the pulpit due to this high holy season, the friar added these orations to the Jews at the request of the archbishop and the viceroy of Naples.⁷⁰¹ Although Faustino only mentions the titles and not their names, in 1575, Mario Carafa was the archbishop, and Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle held the post of viceroy. Within the next eight years, Faustino delivered his *ragionamenti* a second time in Mantua at the request of the inquisitor, Giulio Doffi (1578-1583).⁷⁰² Faustino implies that his task in Mantua addressed one Jew, a Maestro Grassino, who indeed converted and took the name, Giovanni at baptism.⁷⁰³ In late 1585, Faustino published his *Venti Ragionamenti Familiari sopra la venuta del Messia* and dedicated the volume to the Duke of Mantua, Guglielmo Gonzaga.

The *Venti Ragionamenti* have been mentioned in recent scholarship as an example of printed sermons to the Jews during Gregory XIII’s pontificate, but scholars have not given their full attention to Faustino Tasso’s volume.⁷⁰⁴ Although the last of the three volumes of sermons to the Jews to be printed in this period of institutionalization, Faustino claims the earliest delivery

⁷⁰⁰ Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti Familiari sopra la venuta del Messia*, 1. “questa Quadragesima doppiamente Santa.”

⁷⁰¹ Ibid. “Ho... oltre la continua predication del pergamo.”

⁷⁰² Giulio Doffi (also identified as Dossi) was a Dominican from Florence who held the post of Inquisitor in Mantua from 1578 to 1583. Following his assignment in Mantua, he became the inquisitor in Pavia (1583-1586). See, Luca Sabbagh, *et al.*, *I giudici della fede: l'inquisizione romana e i suoi tribunali in età moderna*, 87, 103.

⁷⁰³ Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti Familiari*, letter of dedication, nn.

⁷⁰⁴ Piet van Boxel, *Jewish Books in Christian Hands*, 22. Van Boxel mistakenly identifies Faustino as a Conventual Franciscan. See also, Emily Michelson, “How to Write a Conversionary Sermon,” 249.

of sermons to the Jews out of the three preachers. In fact, his 1575 *Ragionamenti* predate the official introduction of regular preaching to the Jews in Rome, a system in which Evangelista Marcellino preached to the Jews. Moreover, Faustino is the preacher most disconnected from the Roman practice. Marcellino preached in Rome, and the Florentine, Vitale de' Medici, was baptized in Rome in the presence of Pope Gregory XIII. Medici connects his volume of sermons to the Roman practice by his inclusion of the prayer he made in the presence of the pope at his baptism. Faustino, on the other hand, seems to operate outside of the strictures developing in the practice of preaching to the Jews in Rome. This chapter seeks to thoughtfully place Faustino and his *Venti Ragionamenti* in the sixteenth-century preaching campaign to the Jews based primarily upon the information Faustino reveals in his text. Faustino's *Venti Ragionamenti* represent one form of preaching to the Jews employed in the sixteenth century and demonstrates how proselytization looked outside of Rome and the Papal States during the pontificate of Gregory XIII.

Faustino Tasso (1541-1597)

Faustino Tasso was born in 1541, perhaps to the Venetian branch of the Tasso family.⁷⁰⁵ He is a complicated figure to biographize. Conflicting perceptions of the friar along with relatively few outside sources to confirm his autobiographical statements make producing a narrative difficult. He is described as both a writer of prose and poetry with a vividly displayed talent from an early age⁷⁰⁶ and a “gossipy writer” who “cannot possibly be considered a

⁷⁰⁵ A seventeenth-century biographical entry claims Tasso hailed from Bergamo. See Donato Calvi, *Scena et Letteratura de gli Scrittori Bergamaschi*, (Bergamo: Figliuoli di Marc' Antonio Rossi, 1664), 129. The debate on his birthplace is connected to Tasso's relation to the Tasso family who served the Habsburgs as postmaster generals in Milan, Rome, and other cities throughout Europe. More on the Tasso family will be discussed below.

⁷⁰⁶ Lucas Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum: quibus accessit syllabus illorum, qui ex eodem ordine pro fide Christi fortiter occubuerunt, priores atramento, posteriores sanguine christianam religionem asserverunt*, (Romae: F.A. Tani, 1650), 108.

historian.”⁷⁰⁷ Faustino is described as having an aptitude for poetry, by which he converted his secular love of poetry into a “metrical pamphlet, filled with all piety.”⁷⁰⁸ On the other hand, his poetry is the source of his identification as a plagiarist.⁷⁰⁹ Likewise, the humility and lack of worth Faustino claims for himself in his *Venti ragionamenti* stands in contrast to a contemporary description of him as a “haughty and presumptuous” friar.⁷¹⁰ The picture that emerges of the friar is not flattering from a historical perspective. Giovanni Agostini, who investigates and identifies Faustino’s plagiarism, questions other aspects of Faustino’s biography as well; he gives the impression that Faustino embellished his accomplishments.⁷¹¹ On the other hand, Faustino had a favorable enough reputation in his own time to warrant requests for his preaching, his writing, and his orations. The publication of his preaching and writings, alone, is significant proof of his popularity and likely, a healthy patronage system to finance his ventures. The common thread in

⁷⁰⁷ Bede Camm, *Lives of the English Martyrs, vol. 1: Martyrs under Henry VIII*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1914), 323-4. Camm is writing in regard to Tasso’s *Historie de’ Successi de’ Nostri Tempi*, a work commissioned by the Duke of Savoy, Emmanuelle Filibert. Cf. Agostini, 519-520.

⁷⁰⁸ Lucas Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, 108.

⁷⁰⁹ Giovanni Agostini, *Notizie Istorico-Critiche Intorno, la Vita, e Opere degli Scrittori Viniziani*, (Venezia: Presso Simone Occhi, 1754), 515-519. “Per confessare la verità gusto poco Faustino della poesia Italiana, poichè va rubando i concetti quà e là dagli Autori più classici, e sopra gli altri spoglia sovente Bernardo Tasso, credendo forse di far meno male, per la parentela che avea seco, oppur anche per la comunione della famiglia. Sé poi la taccia di plagiaro convenga al P. Tasso come Autor delle Rime, ovvero al Campeggio come editore del Canzoniere, ella è quistione non così facile da risolversi; sebbene da alcuni indizi noi sospettiamo, che la colpa, non del tutto leggera, convenga piuttosto alla persona del primo” (p. 516). Agostini’s investigation reveals that Bernardo Tasso was the primary poet Faustino plagiarized. Faustino also had an incident with Torquato Tasso after the friar manipulated a poem Torquato had gifted the friar and published it alongside the *Venti Ragionamenti* rather than a sermon on the nativity of the Lord, to which it was dedicated.

⁷¹⁰ Torquato Tasso, *Le Lettere di Torquato Tasso, disposte per ordine di tempo*, III, (Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1853), no. 660, pp. 60-62.

⁷¹¹ For instance, Faustino claims to have delivered a funeral oration for the Emperor Ferdinand in the city of Prague. While the emperor’s body indeed traveled from Vienna to the city, Agostini is skeptical that a 23-year-old would have been asked to deliver such an important funeral oration. Likewise, he questions the accuracy of another funeral oration Faustino claims he delivered. See, Agostini, *Notizie storico-critiche*, 511. He also calls into question whether Faustino traveled to all the lands he claimed he saw with his own eyes due to his skepticism on the funeral orations in Prague and Navarre (513-14). Agostini gives the impression that Faustino is an embellisher of facts, a self-promoter, and a plagiarist.

the few biographical entries on the friar is his knowledge and focus on eloquence. These form the foundation of the friar's reputation during his life.

A significant portion of Faustino's biography derives from the friar himself. His *Della conversione del peccatore* is the main source for Faustino's early life. For instance, from an early age, Faustino had a strong inclination for poetry and composed a book of love poems. However, recognizing the folly of earthly love as he grew older, Faustino chose to join the Franciscan Order.⁷¹² He divided his studies as a Franciscan between the cities of Pisa and Milan.⁷¹³ His home church was San Francesco della Vigna in Venice. The monastery associated with the church fostered literary societies known as *Accademie*. Faustino's literary society, the Accademia degli Uranici, met in the monastery.⁷¹⁴

Most of his biographers describe him as a Venetian. However, Donato Calvi (1613-1678) claims that Tasso hailed from Bergamo. The inconsistency stems from the fame of his family name. Faustino's direct lineage is unknown, but the Tasso name was well-known in the sixteenth century. The name was ubiquitous with the royal Spanish postal service. Fathers and sons of the Tasso family were continuously appointed by the Habsburg emperors to act as postmaster generals in European cities such as Milan and Rome. It is this branch of the Tasso family to whom Faustino is attached in the earliest biographies of the friar.⁷¹⁵ Calvi highlights Tasso's connection to this famous and influential branch of the family and claims the friar hailed from

⁷¹² Although he dies as a member of the Observant branch of Franciscans, one biographer, Agositini, claims that Faustino initially joined the Conventuals, spending at least nine years in their company. See, Agostini, *Notizie storico-critiche*, 511.

⁷¹³ C.f. Faustino, Tasso, *Della conversione del Peccatore I*, (Venetia: Appresso Domenico, & Gio. Battista Guerra, fratelli, 1578), letter of dedication.

⁷¹⁴ Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols. (Bologna-Trieste: Cappelli, 1926-30), V, 413.

⁷¹⁵ He is connected as a cousin to Ruggero and Antonio.

his own native Bergamo.⁷¹⁶ In the Italian Peninsula, the Tasso name was also famous due to the poets, Bernardo, and his son, Torquato (1544-1595) Tasso. Faustino, in his love of poetry and sonnet writing, emphasized his connection with these two members of the Tasso family.⁷¹⁷ However, the former kinship may have helped earn him a place amongst the courts of northern Italian cities, such as Genoa and Turin, which had strong ties to the Habsburgs.

As with most of his biographical details, the only known account of Faustino's confrontation with the Jews derives from the *Venti Ragionamenti Familiari* volume, itself. This presents some challenges. First, it is difficult to ascertain if this volume represents an actual sermon event. There is at least a two-year gap between its printing and the delivery in Mantua. The dedication to the Duke of Mantua and its naming of both the inquisitor and the convert all serve to authenticate the second delivery. However, there is no outside verification that the printed volume represents an actual sermon event in Naples.⁷¹⁸ There are two events that Faustino mentions that appear to refer to local circumstances. In three different ragionamenti, Faustino mentions a Father Biombino, who the Jews disputed with "yesterday after my reasoning."⁷¹⁹ Tasso indicates that Father Biombino preached at San Lorenzo, likely indicating San Lorenzo in Maggiore, a Franciscan church in the city.⁷²⁰ Faustino also refers to four Jews who converted, presumably a recent event. He exhorts the Jews before him to follow in the

⁷¹⁶ Calvi praises Faustino Tasso in his biographical entry. The only proof he provides for Tasso's origin in Bergamo is the connection to the postmaster general working in nearby Milan.

⁷¹⁷ More will be discussed about Faustino's interactions with Bernardo and Torquato.

⁷¹⁸ As of the writing of this dissertation, I have not been able to identify a source that confirms the delivery of the *Ragionamenti* or Faustino's presence in Naples in 1575. The same is true for Mantua as well. I hope to resolve this through future research.

⁷¹⁹ Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti*, 77, 103, 387-8. Faustino mentions this "dispute" the Jews had with Father Biombino three times, and every time, mentions that the dispute was "yesterday." I have been unable to identify this Father Biombino beyond the information provided by Tasso.

⁷²⁰ Ibid. 387. In this last reference, Biombino is referred to as Piombino.

footsteps of their companions.⁷²¹ These events have also not been externally documented.

Second, no clear history exists for preaching to the Jews in Naples and Mantua to help contextualize Faustino's role in the mission. In general, there is little documented context for the practice of preaching to the Jews outside of Rome, the city with the most cohesive narrative and significant archival materials. For most cities in Italy, our knowledge of preaching to the Jews is rather superficial, limited to simple observations, such as when the practice was either introduced or reinvigorated.⁷²² More extensive archival work is required to situate Faustino in the local mission to the Jews.

Moreover, the unique nature of this volume presents challenges for depicting how the oral version aligns with the printed version. There are two disparate locations and situations to take into account and a ten-year gap between the physical events. The manuscript for the printed version could have been prepared at any time during these ten years.⁷²³ Naples was ruled by the Spanish crown in 1575 and had expelled the Jews in 1541. Despite the lack of a Jewish community, the title page for the volume indicates that these orations were delivered to "some Jews." Who these "Jews" were requires an explanation. Mantua was ruled by the dukes of Gonzaga and was a city which welcomed the Jews displaced by various sixteenth-century

⁷²¹ Ibid., 99, 101.

⁷²² For example, Mantua, was a city that welcomed Jews who had been displaced by the various sixteenth-century expulsions. Shlomo Simonsohn highlights that the Duke of Gonzaga, Vincenzo I, increased the use of sermons to the Jews starting in 1587, but scholarship has not treated the practice of preaching to the Jews in Mantua beyond this observation. Simonsohn also notes that the city had hosted compulsory sermons since the 1540s. *History of the Jews in the Duchy of Mantua*, (Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher Ltd., 1977), 32.

⁷²³ Brian Richardson writes about the process for printing in Venice in his *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 45. Writing on the rules of printing which emerged from the censorship of books, Richardson discusses the approval process. Citing Paul Grendler, another scholar of print culture, Richardson notes that the approval for printing likely took one to 3 months. It was a costly procedure; a clergyman and two laymen were required to read the manuscript and testify that it did not contain errors against religion. These three men were paid for the pages they read.

expulsions.⁷²⁴ Although Mantua was home to a Jewish community in 1585 and more importantly, had an established practice of preaching to the Jews, Faustino seems to have been directed to address a single Jew rather than the entire community.⁷²⁵ While there are some indicators that the text represents its delivery in Naples, including the introductory remarks in the first *ragionamento* that reiterate the fact that the archbishop and viceroy commanded Faustino to deliver his reasonings, it is impossible to know what alterations may have been made over this ten-year span, let alone how the text might differ from either oral delivery.⁷²⁶ The clear fact is that Faustino desired his publication to be directly associated with the event in Naples. Consequently, this chapter will explore the *Venti Ragionamenti* primarily from the perspective of the 1575 orations.

The Printed Volume

Faustino's *Venti Ragionamenti Familiari* were printed in Venice in late 1585, after the death of Pope Gregory XIII. The volume is about twenty-one centimeters tall and roughly the size of standard letter paper folded in half along its length. It was printed in a quarto and is similar in size to Vitale Medici's volume of sermons. In contrast, Evangelista Marcellino's *Sermoni quindici*, is a smaller, hand-held volume, printed in the octavo.⁷²⁷ The *Venti ragionamenti* would have been a more costly book than Marcellino's due to its printing format

⁷²⁴ Shlomo Simonsohn, *History of the Jews in the Duchy of Mantua*, 32.

⁷²⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, 32, ft 116. Simonsohn notes that this fact has been confirmed by tax registers. The community paid a "preachers" tax from at least the 1540s. The Jewish community was forced to pay for the privilege of having Christians preach to them.

⁷²⁶ Unlike Evangelista Marcellino, Faustino does not make a claim that the printed version accurately portrays the oral version.

⁷²⁷ As Emily Michelson notes, the octavo was a popular printing format for devotional works in the sixteenth century. See Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press*, 39.

and length.⁷²⁸ Each *ragionamento* includes a brief summary of the topic of the discourse, and the main text is printed in an italic font with scripture printed in a standard font. All scripture is given in Latin with citations mostly in the margin.

The paratexts for the volume consist of a letter of dedication, addressed to the Duke of Mantua, Guglielmo Gonzaga, a letter to the readers, a table of contents, a table of notable subjects, and two sonnets in honor of Faustino Tasso. The letter of dedication is the source for the succinct facts regarding Faustino's delivery of the *Ragionamenti* in Naples and later, Mantua, comprising a mere six lines on the final page of the six-page dedication.⁷²⁹ The majority of the letter praises Duke Guglielmo and the entire house of Gonzaga, particularly for their support of the Franciscan Order. Faustino displays his learning and love of classical literature in his frequent metaphors with classical figures, including, Themistocles (d. 459 BCE), Scipio Africanus the Younger (d. 129 BCE), Tantalus, Choerilus of Iasus (fl. 4th century BCE), and Lysurgus (fl. 820 BCE). The letter also reveals that Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (1505-1563) served as Faustino's patron.⁷³⁰ Faustino may mention Cardinal Gonzaga as a reminder that the House of Gonzaga has supported him before. This could serve to garner continued patronage in addition to demonstrating the piety of the house of Gonzaga.⁷³¹ As Brian Richardson notes in his

⁷²⁸ Faustino's volume is 416 pages compared to Marcellino's 185. Faustino packs in more words than Marcellino as well, using a smaller font and a larger page. For instance, his first *ragionamento* is almost 5,750 words. In the first half of the *Venti ragionamenti*, this length is the shortest. The length of the *ragionamenti* begin to decrease significantly starting with *ragionamento* 13. Marcellino's sermons range from 1500 to 3000 words by comparison. Cf. Emily Michelson, "Evangelista Marcellino: One Preacher, Two Congregations,"

⁷²⁹ Faustino Tasso, "Al Ser.^{mo} Principe Guglielmo Gonzaga Duca di Mantova e di Monferrato, &c." The pages of the dedication letter are not numbered, saving the first, on which "a 2" appears.

⁷³⁰ The Cardinal had a reputation for patronizing young men, paying for their education.

⁷³¹ Faustino's publications and patronage is another avenue for further research. Although I have not attempted to locate printing contracts, this might yield some helpful information about Faustino's source of funding.

study of Italian printing, there was a clear strategy involved in letters of dedication.⁷³² By dedicating his work to Guglielmo Gonzaga, Faustino's volume would gain greater legitimacy by its association with the prestigious family while the Duke of Gonzaga in return, would earn a reputation as a generous benefactor and perhaps more importantly, a promoter of conversion.⁷³³ Letters of dedication to the nobility also served as a method for authors to implicitly express their humility, which "diminished the risk...of seeming vain or self-important."⁷³⁴ Faustino's inclusion of two sonnets honoring the "gran Tasso" make this expression of humility a necessary component in the volume. The friar can appear as both celebrated and humble.

The two sonnets immediately precede the *ragionamenti*. Both are addressed to Faustino Tasso from their authors. The first is from a Ferrante Manfredi. This poem is linked to the *Venti Ragionamenti* by a brief mention of the Jews.⁷³⁵ The second is from Faustino's distant relative, Torquato Tasso, one of the most famous poets of the late sixteenth-century. Torquato's sonnet is about the coming of the Messiah and the future return of "the high king of glory." He praises Faustino for gathering the "gems" of sacred writing and "scattering them about."⁷³⁶ These sonnets seem a superfluous addition to the volume, but might be included to appeal to members

⁷³² Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, 51-56.

⁷³³ Shlomo Simonsohn highlights that Gregory XIII had sent a special emissary to Mantua in 1576 to ensure that the previous papal pronouncements regarding the Jews (i.e. the bulls of Paul IV and Pius V) were enforced. Simonsohn, *History of the Jews in the Duchy of Mantua*, 26. Although compulsory sermons were already an established practice, a publication highlighting the Duke of Mantua's promotion of preaching to the Jews following *Sancta mater ecclesia* might have been a desirable benefit for the Duke.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁷³⁵ Ferrante Manfredi in Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti Familiari*, nn. "Ecco s'atterra, e si percote, & piange,/Hebrei non già, ma un numero di smalti."

⁷³⁶ Torquato Tasso in Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti Familiari*, nn. "Son gemme i sacri detti, in cui risplende/Quel raggio, e 'n cui lo spirito à noi rimbomba,/Tu gran Tasso l'accogli, e spargi intorno./Qual sia l'altra venuta; el gran ritorno/De l'alto Re di gloria."

of *Accademie* as well as celebrate Faustino's oratorical skills.⁷³⁷ The poem by Torquato, however, is the only aspect of this work with a reference outside of the volume itself.⁷³⁸ In October of 1586, Torquato wrote Faustino to address two problems. The first is Faustino's modification of Torquato's poem, printed in the *Venti Ragionamenti*. He writes, "I had praised you in one of my sonnets; much, in my judgment; but in yours, little. However, not contenting yourself with your name so illustriously celebrated by me, thus willingly, you wanted to place your surname and mine, which was never written by me in that little sonnet; not because I didn't regard you Tasso; but because the verse would have been short without the addition of "grande," which you ought accept rather than usurp."⁷³⁹ In the original sonnet, Torquato had written, "tu, Faustin" as he describes Faustino's skill in utilizing scripture. Faustino substituted "gran Tasso" for "Faustin." Torquato points out that Faustino has altered his sonnet solely to make the familial connection, and thus literary skill, between Faustino and the great Torquato Tasso. In his *La Vita di Torquato Tasso*, Angelo Solerti notes that Torquato made the friar the object of "deserved scorn" when he printed the proper line in his *Delle Rime e Prose* (fifth and sixth parts), published in 1587.⁷⁴⁰ The second problem that Torquato raises with Faustino in the letter

⁷³⁷ These literary societies were an important part of Faustino's social milieu. He mentions preaching in the Accademia in his first ragionamento and addresses the gentleman of the Accademy. See, Faustino, *Venti Ragionamenti Familiari*, 3 and 4. It is possible these are later additions to broaden the appeal of his work. His publications cater to these groups. For instance, he was prompted to publish a collection of poems by Cino Sigibaldi da Pistoia in 1587 by members of the Accademia Uranici. Cf., Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, V, 413.

⁷³⁸ This is due to Torquato's fame. In addition to his poems, all his letters have been published, and he has been studied by numerous scholars. This incident has been documented, including by Giovanni Agostini in his biographical entry for the friar. Cf. Agostini, *Notizie storico-critiche*, 520-522.

⁷³⁹ Torquato Tasso, *Lettere*, III, no. 660, pp. 60-2. "Però non contentandosi del suo nome così illustremente celebrato da me, e così volentieri, ha voluto porvi il suo cognome e mio, che non fu mai scritto da me in quel sonnetto; non perch' io non lo stimassi Tasso; ma perchè il verso sarebbe stato corto, senza l'aggiunto di "grande," il quale dovevate più tosto accettare che usurpare."

⁷⁴⁰ Angelo Solerti, *La vita di Torquato Tasso*, (Torino: Ermanno Loescher, 1895), vol. 1, pt. 2, 509-10.

is the friar's failure to deliver a letter from Torquato to his sister Cornelia. Torquato advises Faustino that if he corrects these errors, then he will be a true friend, relative, religious man, and preacher.⁷⁴¹

The paratexts reveal that Faustino's marketed readership likely derived from the same literary and courtly circles in which Faustino lived and worked. Certainly, the learned would benefit most from reading the *Venti Ragionamenti* with its classical references and extensive use of Latin. Included in the paratext is a letter to his readers, which helps outline how Faustino envisioned his volume and its use. Like all of the printed versions of the sermons to the Jews, the expected readership is Christian. Faustino is unique, however, in explicitly identifying Christians as the intended audience of the volume. He writes,

Although, courteous Readers, these simple *Ragionamenti* of mine on the coming of the Messiah, already made by mouth to a few Jews, will be communicated to many Christians, and if they were reasoned by the command of others, they will be written by their own will. All this is because as in saying them they were beneficial to a few Jews, who converted; so in printing they may be useful to many Christians to reform themselves.⁷⁴²

Faustino frames this letter to the readers around the contrast between the Jew and the Christian audience and the spoken and the written. These *ragionamenti* were spoken to a few Jews, but the printed discourses are available to many Christians. Likewise, the spoken words benefitted a few Jews who converted. Interestingly, this statement both limits the reach of the *ragionamenti* for the benefit of the Jews, a doctrinally sound statement, but also claims an excellent success rate

⁷⁴¹ Torquato Tasso, *Lettere*, III, no. 660, 62.

⁷⁴² Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti*, "A' Lettori." "Se bene cortesi Lettori questi miei semplici Ragionamenti sopra la venuta del Messia, fatti già a bocca à pochi Hebrei, saranno comunicati à molti Christiani, e se furono ragionari per commandamento altrui, saranno scritti per volontà propria. Tutto ciò sia perche come nel dirli furono giovevoli à pochi Hebrei, quali si convertirono; così nello stamparsi siano utili à molti Christiani per emendarsi."

for the preacher.⁷⁴³ He spoke to a “few” Jews, and a “few” Jews converted. Amongst his peers in publishing his sermons to the Jews, Faustino is the only preacher who claims successful conversions in his volume.⁷⁴⁴ His printed version of the *ragionamenti* will benefit many Christians in contrast to the few Jews he reached in his oral renderings.

Perhaps the most helpful aspect of this letter is Faustino’s articulation of how he expects the Christian to benefit from reading his familiar reasonings. Faustino answers why this genre of sermon would be printed if the primary readership is not the Jewish audience. The first direction he gives is that Christians can reform themselves.⁷⁴⁵ To explain this self-reform, Faustino returns to his contrast between the Jew and the Christian. The Jew must be taught to believe; the Christian on the other hand does not need to be taught to believe but rather taught how to live. In his exact words, the Christian “at least ought to be persuaded to work, conformed to what the Messiah taught.”⁷⁴⁶ Theoretically, the Jew and the Christian receive the same words from the preacher. For the Jew, these words are intended to spur belief. For the Christian, the words are intended to spur action that aligns with that belief. In this brief statement, Faustino articulates the Christian concept of conversion. It is both a single event for the Jew, identified by belief, but also a continuous process for the Christian.⁷⁴⁷

Although Faustino mentions the possibility of Jews reading the *Venti Ragionamenti*, it is not a serious expectation. However, he acknowledges that printing the volume also could

⁷⁴³ As mentioned in previous chapters, the expectation is for few Jews to convert. Conversion is the ultimate miracle deriving from God’s gift of grace.

⁷⁴⁴ Although his sermons are no longer extant, Antonio Possevino claimed successful conversions as well in his papers. We simply cannot cross reference these claims with his sermons.

⁷⁴⁵ Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti*, “A’ Lettori,” b. The Italian is “per emendarsì.”

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid. “Deve almeno esser persuasa ad operare, conforme à quanto ha insegnato il Messia.”

⁷⁴⁷ See Karl Morrison’s *Understanding Conversion*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1992).

produce another benefit should it fall into the hands of the Jews. They would acquire the same opportunity to know the truth and accept it. On the other hand, the Jew might also utilize the volume to contradict the truth of the faith “in their pravity.”⁷⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Faustino knows that Jews are not his readers, but he will pray that God will illuminate them if they do read his volume. Faustino closes his letter with a quick caveat. If the reader finds any errors in the Latin phrases, these can be attributed to the Jewish rabbis. Faustino chose to conform his rendering to that widely used by the rabbis.

Naples in 1575

Like his letter to the reader, Faustino’s title page for the *Ragionamenti* indicates that these orations were delivered to some (*alcuni*) Jews in Naples. The few Jews mentioned in the letter are indicative of a select group and not the Jewish community. This is a distinction that is clear in comparison with Evangelista Marcellino’s and Vitale de Medici’s sermons, which were preached to the Jews (*a gli ebrei/alli ebrei*) of Rome and Florence, respectively. In Rome, preaching to the Jews did not suggest that the entire Jewish community attended the sermon. In fact, based upon Montaigne’s account, Marcellino likely had an audience of sixty Jews in 1582. This would increase following *Sancta mater ecclesia* in 1584. However, those sixty Jews represented the entire Roman Jewish community. Following *Sancta mater ecclesia* with its expanded attendance guidelines, “preaching to the Jews” describes the nature of the audience more accurately. Faustino, however, does not preach to the Jews, meaning a community or representation of that community of Jews, in either Naples or Mantua, as far as is known from his text. In the case of Naples, the audience appears to be learned Jews. Faustino highlights the

⁷⁴⁸ Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti*, “A’ Lettori,” b. “Potrà nascer anco questo bene nello stamparli, che capitando nelle mani de gli Hebrei, ò acquisteranno à loro stessi occasione di conoscer il vero & accettarlo; ò à me materia, se vorranno contradire, con la pravità loro alla nostra fede, fat qualche Apologia contra di loro, in difesa mia.”

knowledge of his auditors by quoting extensively in Latin, so much so that he explicitly addresses his use of Latin. “I speak Latin, oh Jews, because I know you understand me.”⁷⁴⁹ The text also parenthetically addresses part of the audience as “learned rabbis and stubborn Jews.”⁷⁵⁰ More commonly, Faustino states, “oh Jews” as quoted above or even “Jewish brothers.” It is possible that the parenthetical address is a later insertion.

In Mantua, the audience is smaller and more specialized than in Naples. Faustino identifies one Jew, M. Grassino, as the addressee of his second delivery of the orations. The Inquisitor, the Dominican Giulio Doffi, requested that Faustino reason with this single Jew. Perhaps this signals an inquisitorial interest in Maestro Grassino, indicating some suspicious activity. On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence that the Inquisition generally took an interest in preaching to the Jews.⁷⁵¹ Peter Browe cites the Inquisition as the source of the first mandate of obligatory attendance at a sermon for the Jews of Rome.⁷⁵² Arturo Carmignano highlights that the Inquisition attempted to institute compulsory conversion sermons in Padua in 1570, an attempt which the Council of Ten in Venice advised the rectors in Padua to oppose.⁷⁵³ As mentioned in the Introduction, Vitale de’ Medici notes that his own conversion was prompted by the sermons of the Inquisitor in Florence, Dionigi Sanmattei da Costacciaro.⁷⁵⁴ In regard to

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., 64. “Parlo latinamente, o Hebrei, perche sò che mi intendete.” See also page 211. There Faustino says, “I want to report his words precisely as they are in Latin; because I know that here there is no one who does not understand me.”

⁷⁵⁰ For instance, see page 1.

⁷⁵¹ This is one of Marina Caffiero’s points in her article on Dominicans, the preaching, and the Inquisition.

⁷⁵² See Chapter One.

⁷⁵³ Arturo Carmignano, *San Lorenza da Brindisi*, 276. See also, note 23. Carmignano provides the text of the advice given to the rectors of Padua by the Council of Ten.

⁷⁵⁴ Vitale de’ Medici, *Omellie fatte alli Hebrei*

the *Venti Ragionamenti*, the Inquisitor in Mantua makes a request for Faustino to persuade Maestro Grassino to convert.

Despite his silence on the matter, inquisitorial activity is the probable source of Faustino's sermons in Naples as well. When Faustino arrived in the city for Lent in 1575, a Jewish community no longer existed in Naples and had not been present for more than thirty years. The Jews had been expelled from the entire kingdom in 1541 by the Spanish regime. This is the reason Faustino qualifies his Jews as "some" rather than "the Jews." In contrast to Rome and Florence, for example, there was no community of Jews to address. However, Naples had a significant New Christian or convert population, which pre-dated the expulsion.⁷⁵⁵ In 1575, this group of New Christians was not new; they had been Christian for well over thirty-five years and had birthed new generations baptized into the faith. The actual newness of conversion was not an issue. "New" was an identity, which marked converts and their families as different regardless of the date of their conversion. Rather, the sincerity of conversion was the source of increased concern with convert communities in Naples.

In 1569, the Inquisition commenced an intense investigation into accused and suspected crypto-Jews, which lasted until the year 1581.⁷⁵⁶ In their positions as leaders in the city, both the archbishop, Mario Carafa, and the viceroy, Peter Granvelle, were involved in the campaign

⁷⁵⁵ Peter A. Mazur, *The New Christians of Spanish Naples, 1528-1671: A Fragile Elite*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 20-22. While expulsions generally spurred conversions, the expulsion in Naples did not produce mass or even numerous conversions. Pedro de Toledo, the viceroy who carried out the expulsion mandate, informed the emperor Charles V (d.1558), that he knew of no conversions following the expulsion order.

⁷⁵⁶ Peter Mazur, *The New Christians of Spanish Naples*, 60ff. Mazur notes that the campaign against New Christians began in October of 1569. See also, Giorgio Caravale, "'Tacitly denied.' Inquisition, Heresy, and Dissimulation in the Kingdom of Naples," *Roman Inquisition: Centre versus Peripheries*, eds. Christopher Black and Katherine Aron-Beller, (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 234-267. Caravale explains how the administration of the Roman Inquisition developed in Naples during the 1560s.

against the suspected judaizers.⁷⁵⁷ The investigation of accused apostates and their families was conducted by the *vicario generale* of the archiepiscopal court, a position with a high turnover rate.⁷⁵⁸ The initial phase of this investigation dramatically ended in Rome in 1572. In the previous year, the cathedral in Naples hosted two public ceremonies, one on the first and another on the twenty-second of July, for the accused to renounce their apostasy. The most prominent of the accused were brought to the first ceremony. A well-attended event, the city of Naples watched as twelve women recanted and four refused. These four were sent to Rome to meet their fate. Additional ceremonies occurred but were not open to the public. Pius V sentenced five of the judaizers to burning; the last of the unrepentant Neapolitani judaizers was sent to his death at the beginning of the pontificate of Gregory XIII in 1572.⁷⁵⁹

The campaign was not complete in 1572. Although the prominent and first accused crypto-Jews had been thoroughly investigated and tried, a group of suspects remained. Additionally, as Peter Mazur notes, the Inquisition had to address recidivism and the presence of “judaizers” that were not part of the convert community. Mazur emphasizes that in this second

⁷⁵⁷ In his dissertation, Peter Mazur includes accounts of Carafa and Granvelle’s involvement in various aspects of the trials as they attempted to support the Inquisition and also keep peace in the city. Peter Mazur, (2008) “The Roman Inquisition and the Crypto-Jews of Spanish Naples, 1569-1582,” (dissertation, Northwestern University). For instance, the archbishop built prisons to house the accused and hosted the public abjurations in the cathedral. Granvelle attempted to have the trials for the accused moved to Rome since the accusations and the building of prisons had instilled fear in the city’s inhabitants. He believed there was a potential for a revolt (82).

⁷⁵⁸ Peter Mazur, “The Roman Inquisition and the Crypto-Jews of Spanish Naples, 1569-1582.” Paola Tasso, later named bishop of Lanciano, launched the initial investigation, utilizing torture and threats to solicit confessions. He left his post and the investigation unfinished in 1570 (77). Tasso was succeeded by Pietro Dusina, who completed the initial investigation and brought the trials to their conclusion. Although Dusina was far more effective than Tasso, he was forced out of his position in 1573 in a jurisdictional conflict between the archbishop and the viceroy (78-84). Pietro Antonio Vicedomini succeeded Dusina at the end of 1573 and left in the first month of 1575. He was succeeded by Giacomo Zappa. The dates for the latter two vicario generale is from Luigi Amabile, *Il Santo Ufficio della Inquisizione in Napoli*, (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1892), II: 322.

⁷⁵⁹ Peter Mazur, “The Roman Inquisition and the Crypto-Jews of Spanish Naples, 1569-1582,” 80-84.

phase, the targets of the investigations became increasingly more difficult to identify.⁷⁶⁰ In the midst of this second phase, Faustino was ordered by Granvelle and Carafa to preach in the Cathedral in Naples on the truth of Christianity. In the absence of a Jewish community and also any supporting documentation to clarify Faustino's task in Naples, I would like to suggest a plausible scenario for the delivery of the *Venti Ragionamenti* in the Cathedral di Santa Maria Assunta in 1575. The *Venti Ragionamenti* were part of the city's response to the problem of insincere conversions. Faustino's task, therefore, was a pre-emptive measure, hoping to convert insincere converts before they were imprisoned.⁷⁶¹ Faustino indicates that both Jews and Christians were present at these "reasonings." Rather than indicating the identifiable composition of the audience, I wonder if the "some Jews" is presumed more than known. By this I mean that during this campaign against crypto-Jews, there was a constant presumption of a Jewish presence, hidden behind the façade of Christianity. His *ragionamenti* offer the inhabitants of the city the truth so that they might recognize it and truly repent. What better time than Lent to reflect and repent of errors? What better Lent to convert than Lent in the holy year of Jubilee when the Church proclaimed and celebrated forgiveness and remission of sins? Delivered in the very cathedral where the 1571 trials concluded in a public display of repentance or perfidy, the *Venti Ragionamenti* provide a merciful opportunity to make the same choice outside the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. That his audience of Jews is different from Marcellino's is apparent in Faustino's tone and use of scripture, which will be highlighted later.

Are the *Venti Ragionamenti* sermons?

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 86.

⁷⁶¹ The Jesuit Order would assist the Inquisition by conducting a mission in the jails to judaizers. This occurred in Spain and Portugal as well. The Jesuit Antonio Soldevilla ministered to the judaizers in Naples during this campaign. Ibid., 80-81.

The address to “some Jews” in a city where the Jews no longer live is one obvious problem that requires explanation in order to assess the volume. The other is Faustino’s title—*Venti Ragionamenti Familiari sopra la venuta del Messia*. Unlike Evangelista Marcellino and Vitale de’ Medici, Faustino does not identify his volume as sermons or homilies, even though his title page indicates these were orations delivered in the cathedral in Naples. Instead, Faustino names his orations *ragionamenti*, which translates to “reasonings.”⁷⁶² The volume contains twenty, which were delivered daily from the pulpit in the cathedral in Naples during Lent of 1575.⁷⁶³ This identification of the orations as reasonings is significant to the friar. In fact, Faustino explicitly distinguishes his *ragionamenti* from *prediche* (sermons) in the opening remarks of his ninth ragionamento.

I hold this thing most certain (oh, fruitless vine of Israel and you gentlemen who hear me) that foolishness too mad and madness too foolish, would be that of a man, who being able to walk into the light, willingly wants to walk into the darkness, with fear, either of stumbling into some obstacle, or of falling into some hole, with manifest danger for his life; whereby, I, seeing you to be of this sort, who not only walk but run to tumble, with the loss of souls, into the horrendous pit of Hell, I cannot but laugh at your madness; or to put it better, I cannot but cry at your ruin and your eternal damnation. And if I wanted to exaggerate the ugliness of your state and amplify your misery, I would not lack a thousand arguments, but since that is not my intention, *I will leave the exaggeration and the amplification to the sermons, and it will be sufficient for me in these simple reasonings, as you hear, to show you the error, in which you are, and to teach you the true way.*⁷⁶⁴

⁷⁶² “Reasoning” is the primary definition of the Italian “ragionamento,” and as will be demonstrated is Tasso’s use in this work. Ragionamento can also refer to a speech or a discourse.

⁷⁶³ Many of his ragionamenti conclude by telling the auditors to return tomorrow. One exception is in Ragionamento 9, when he tells the Jews to return on Tuesday (see page 217.)

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid., 196-7. “Tengo per cosa certissima (o vigna infruttuosa d’Israelle, & voi Signori che mi sentite) che sciochezza troppo pazza, e pazzia troppo sciocca, sarebbe quella d’ un huomo, il quale potendo camminare alla luce, volesse volontariamente andar nelle tenebre, con timore, ò d’inciampar in qualch’ intoppo, ò di precipitar in qualche buca, con pericolo manifesto della vita; onde vedendo io esser voi di questi tali, che non solo caminano a corona a precipitar, con perdita dell’anime, nella buca horrenda dell’Inferno, non posso non ridermi della vostra pazzia; ò per dir meglio, non posso non lagrimare la vostra ruina, e l’eterno vostro danno; e s’io volessi qui essagerar la bruttezza dello stato vostro, e amplificar la miseria vostra, non mi mancherebbono mille argomenti; ma perche questa non è la

If Faustino does not consider his orations to be sermons, why should we classify them as such? His statement deserves consideration. Faustino is making an important point, but I think we can rightly classify the *Venti Ragionamenti* as sermons to the Jews. The delivery of the *Venti Ragionamenti* mimics the sermons to the Jews in form, content, and purpose. These were orations Faustino delivered in a church to Jews and also Christians.⁷⁶⁵ In terms of content and overall purpose, they resemble Evangelista Marcellino's series on Psalm 109. The *Venti Ragionamenti* present Jewish and Christian interpretations of scripture and explanations of Christian doctrines, such as the trinity, the advent of the Messiah, and the nature of Christ, in order to demonstrate the errors of Jewish interpretation and highlight the truth of Christianity.⁷⁶⁶ As with the sermons to the Jews, the ultimate goal was for the Jew to recognize the truth and convert.

In distinguishing his reasonings from a sermon, Faustino does not cite the location, structure of the event, the basic content, or the purpose, all of which resemble the sermons to the Jews. Faustino's rationale is a methodological distinction. Essentially, he claims that the sermons to the Jews play on the emotions while his reasonings move the intellect. Faustino is clearly playing on the emotions of his reader with this prelude to his ninth reasoning. He paints a vivid picture of how he views his audience of Jews. They willingly choose to run into darkness, a madness that Faustino describes as producing both his laughter and tears. In his construct, a sermon would amplify this wretched state of the Jews. Faustino exaggeratingly claims he could

mia inentione, lasciarò l'essagerationi, e l'amplificationi alle prediche, e mi bastera in questi ragionamenti cosi semplici, come sentite, mostrarvi l'errore, in qual voi sete, e insegnarvi il vero modo" (my emphasis).

⁷⁶⁵ Faustino inserts "learned rabbis and obstinate Jews" parenthetically in his first ragionamento as well as in other places throughout the volume. *Venti ragionamenti*, 1. Due to its nature as a text printed ten years after its initial oral delivery and its two different audiences, I hesitate to strongly connect this address to either Naples or Mantua.

⁷⁶⁶ Cf. Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti*, 3. "I will simply tell you the truth."

make a thousand arguments for their miserable condition, and he cites all the common arguments throughout the volume, such as the destruction of the Temple and the role of the emperors Titus and Vespasian in the dispersion of the Jews. He does not disregard or exclude the common elements of the sermon to the Jews; he merely claims that he does not proliferate or dwell on these points. Rather, Faustino's goal is to demonstrate the errors in belief and teach the Jews the true way.

The distinction he establishes can be mapped onto the distinction between “*movere*” and “*docere*” in rhetoric. The goal of preaching is to enact some change or, in other words, conversion in the audience, whether it be of the heart or the mind. Although he specifically distinguishes his *ragionamenti* from sermons, Faustino simply indicates that these orations are meant to teach, which remains under the rubric of preaching. This intent is confirmed in his letter to the reader. Jews need to be taught to believe while Christians need to be persuaded to work in conformity with that belief. The distinction between the *ragionamenti* and sermons allows Faustino to demonstrate his main point. The choice for the Jew, the judaizer, or the heretic is simple and requires no special techniques beyond the truth. His reasonings clearly state the case for the truth of Christian interpretation of the scripture and thus, the Roman Catholic faith. Anyone who sees the light which Faustino displays through his reasonings and walks into darkness instead is a foolish madman.

This tension between sermons, in other words, eloquence, and his “simple” reasonings is a theme Faustino establishes in his first *ragionamento*.⁷⁶⁷ It constitutes a framework through which Faustino expresses the purpose of his orations. In his first oration, he contrasts his affection for his auditors and eloquence. “Moreover, I say that speaking together with you

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid., 197. This is the clearest term he uses to describe the reasonings in contrast to eloquence.

(although many learned Christians as well and honorable gentlemen listen to me), I will use neither exordiums, nor antidotes, nor preludes; but abounding more with affection than eloquence, I will simply tell you the truth.”⁷⁶⁸ Faustino claims a common motive in the rhetoric on proselytizing Jews; revealing Christian truth and demonstrating Jewish error is an act of Christian charity. Faustino calls his motive affection. More important is his lesson. He goes on to say, “Christian truth does not need art, colors, or ornaments: but to those who declare the Scripture and plant Faith, he does not speak with ornament, but only declares with truth; which...the Apostle Paul taught, saying perhaps to this purpose: *not walking in craftiness, nor adulterating the word of God, but by the manifestation of the truth.*”⁷⁶⁹ Faustino reveals that his concern with eloquence is not entirely an issue for himself as the orator.⁷⁷⁰ The problem is not even eloquence itself but rather eloquence at the expense of the truth. Faustino uses the Apostle Paul to highlight that the Jews have distorted the Christian truth by “adulterating the word of God.” This is a common theme in the sermons to the Jews; Christians begin with a literal interpretation of scripture while the Jews manipulate the words to point away from the truth. Faustino states that he will correct this problem by declaring the truth with greater simplicity.⁷⁷¹ Faustino separates his *ragionmenti* from sermons in order to present the truth without artifice.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., 3. “Dico di più, che parlando con essovoi (se bene anco molti dotti Christiani, e con honorati Signori m' ascoltano) non userò nè essordij, nè antidoti, ne precludij; ma abbondando più d' affetto, che d' eloquenza, vi dirò semplicemente la verità.”

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid., 3-4. “La verità Christiana non ha bisogno d'arte, di colori, ò d' ornamento; ma à chi dichiara la Scrittura, e pianta Fede, se non dice con ornamento, dichì con verità; il che insegnò...Paolo Apostolo dicendo forsi a questo proposito: *non ambulantes in astutia, neque adulterantes verbum Dei, sed in manifestatione veritatis.*” The scripture is found in 2 Corinthians 4.2, although the volume marginally indicates the first letter to the Corinthians.

⁷⁷⁰ He is employing this tension as a humility trope in the first *ragionamento* as well. It is Lent in the year of Jubilee, the high season of preaching, and Faustino contrasts his orations with all that his audience has heard in this very location. Faustino claims that he is fearful and anxious to deliver his orations after such eloquent sermons. He compares his fear to that of Moses who did not want to speak to Pharaoh. See pages, 4-6.

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., 4. “Con quella adunque Maggio semplicità vi dichiarerò con verità.”

Ragionamento Primo

Since by the express commandment of his most Illustrious Monsignor Archbishop, universal Pastor of this entire City, who has that ardent zeal for the salvation of souls that befits a Pastor, *whose sheep are his own* [John 10]; and also to satisfy an immense desire of mine, which I hold for your salvation, being children too, (if not by imitation, at least by creation) of that same God, and the same father, who I also am: (learned Rabbis and stubborn Jews), I have for a few days in this doubly Holy Lenten season, beyond my continuous preaching of the pulpit, to reason so familiarly in this Cathedral on the principals, and most important mysteries, and of the most Holy Trinity, and of the already come Messiah. ...I pray that you will give me a docile soul, yes, that dropping the seeds of these words of mine in the land of your hearts and taking root there, may some precious fruit of conversion be seen at this Holy Easter.”⁷⁷²

The command of the archbishop and the viceroy are the bookends to his introductory remarks in the first ragionamento. They serve to lend Faustino and his *Venti ragionamenti* authority in the city. As far as can be deduced by his writings, Faustino did not have ties to Naples. Most of his preaching occurred in the northern cities of Italy. The 1575 trip south appears to be the only time Faustino was requisitioned for preaching in the city. If this is indeed true, Faustino would need to establish his authority with his auditors. The seven-page introduction allows Faustino to remind his audience of the source of his preaching. The city’s secular and religious rulers have dictated together that proofs for the truth of Christianity be proclaimed from the pulpit by Faustino. His opening remarks also allow the friar to introduce himself. Faustino serves Naples in the role of an itinerant preacher who has no fixed relationship

⁷⁷² Faustino Tasso, *Venti ragionamenti*, Ragionamento Primo, 1-2. “Poiche per comandamento espresso di Monsignor Ilustrissimo Arcivescovo, Pastor universale di tutta questa Città (dotti Rabbini eg ostinati Hebrei) ilquale ha quell ardente zelo della salute dell anime che si conviene ad un Pastore, cuius sunt oves propriae; e anco per sodisfare ad un mio desiderio immenso, ch'io tengo della salute vostra, essendo figliuoli ancor voi, (se non per imitatione, almeno per creatione) di quell'istesso Dio, e medesimo padre, che sono ancor io: ho per alcuni giorni in questa Quadragesima doppiamente Santa, oltre la continua predicatione del pergamo, a ragionarvi cosi familiarmente in questa Catreda sopra i principali, e più importanti misterii, e della Trinità Santissima, e del già venuto Messia. ...lo prego, che à voi doni animo docile sì, che cadendo i semi di queste mie parole, nella terra de'vostri cuori; e pigliando quivi radice, si vegga à questa S. Pasqua...qualche pretioso frutto di conversione.”

with the inhabitants. His teachings about proper belief are limited to these twenty reasonings; his task is to fully present the case for the Roman Catholic faith.

He opens with the archbishop who acts as the good shepherd of the city, seeking their salvation. The use of Jesus' parable of the shepherd and the sheep in the Gospel of John is fitting. Faustino likens the archbishop to Jesus who is not only the only way to salvation but also is gathering his sheep together into one flock.⁷⁷³ The command for Faustino to preach is part of the gathering of the flock. Faustino also emphasizes his own "immense desire" for his auditor's salvation. They are, after all, children of the same God. Throughout his volume, Faustino highlights this kinship; he inserts "fratelli Hebrei"—Jewish brothers—to address the Jews. This sets a different tone for the *ragionamenti*. He makes this clear in his introduction.

You will see that I will not toil with less zeal in these reasonings, nor with less affection will I sweat to plant the Sacrosanct Faith in you Jews, than that which I will do in engrafting devotion in my Christians; nor will you discern less charity in teaching you the true way to believe, than that which I will to Christians in persuading them to work. You will not hear from me, Jewish brothers, injurious or biting words, because (besides that they become shameful to those who say them) I also know that where there are many injuries, little reason has a place.⁷⁷⁴

This statement does not mean that Faustino shies away from speaking what he considers is the truth about Jewish nature. Following this statement, he proceeds to tell the Jews that he will endeavor to make them see their errors and, more poignantly, "touch the dense and dark veil of your obstinacy with your hands." It is a veil that keeps the eyes of their mind closed to "the

⁷⁷³ See John 10.9, 16.

⁷⁷⁴ Faustino Tasso, *Venti ragionamenti*, Ragionamento Primo, 3. "Vedrete voi...che non con manco zelo m' affaticherò in questi ragionamenti, nè con minor affetto sudarò à piantar la Sacrosanta Fede in voi Hebrei, di quello ch' io farò nell inestar divotione ne i miei Christiani; nè scorgerete minor carità nell insegnare à voi il vero modo di creder, di quello che farò à Christiani nel persuaderli ad operare. Non udirete voi fratelli Hebrei da me parole ingiuriose o mordaci, perche (oltre che riescono in vergogna di chi le dice) sò anco, che dove sono molte ingiurie, hanno luogo poche ragioni."

clear Sun of truth, which is Christ.”⁷⁷⁵ He ends this section by quoting John 8. “I am the light of the world, whoever follows me will not walk in darkness.”⁷⁷⁶ The entirety of Faustino’s statement on how he will treat the Jews is clearly paralleled in the opening lines to his ninth discourse quoted above, demonstrating the importance of his point. His intent is not to provoke, as perhaps the sermons do, but rather to give the Jews an opportunity to believe. The way he will do this is simply. His reasonings do not need to be eloquent nor harsh in language and tone. The truth can stand on its own.

He ends his introductory remarks to this first ragionamento with a strange expression of humility. Faustino addresses the Christian auditors here. “Whereby, I am compelled to confess to you that not so soon I ascended into this cathedral...I thought how much I had to say to these Jewish brothers of ours (but therefore in your presence), that I lost heart...and I sought reassure myself and to conceal the fear.”⁷⁷⁷ He admits the fear and asks who would not fear when faced with explaining such lofty matters. The fear is also that he might bore his auditors or not please them after they have listened to such eloquence in this cathedral.⁷⁷⁸ Faustino notes that both Moses and Isaiah feared but humbled themselves to speak as God commanded. If these dear friends of God did so, Faustino must also speak.⁷⁷⁹ He mentions the command of the viceroy as a reason he can lay aside his fear.

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid. “e toccar con mano il velo denso, e oscuro della vostra ostinatione...che non potete veder il chiaro Sole della verità.”

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid. “Ego sum lux mundi, qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenbris.” John 8.12.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., 5. “Là onde sono sforzato à confessarvi, che non così presto salito in questa Catreda,...pensai quanto havevo, à dire à questi nostri fratelli Hebrei (ma pero alla presenza vostra) che mi perdei d'animo,...ch'io cercassi di rinfrancarmi, e dissimular la temenza.”

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., 7.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., 6.

As Faustino moves to the subject of his first ragionamento, he exhorts his auditors to not only be attentive in listening to his words but also ready to observe what they hear.⁷⁸⁰ The first proof he offers for truth of Christianity is that the Jews have been deprived of their greatness, which demonstrates that they have been abandoned by God. He names five notable favors the Jews were granted by God that they lost after Christ came: “the Law, the Language, the Priest, the Temple, and the Country.”⁷⁸¹ He proceeds to prove that each of these has been lost by the Jews. Faustino employs the history of God’s gift of these favors to emphasize how the Jews not only lost the favors but distorted them. For instance, he begins with the Law. God gave the law directly to Moses in two parts: a written and an oral law. Moses passed it to Joshua, Joshua to Finees, Finees to Heli the Priest, and Heli to Samuel the Prophet. He continues the direct communication of the Law until he arrives at Ezra.⁷⁸² Faustino tells the Jews that they only have the dregs of this Law because it was contaminated not long after Moses died. Some of the synagogue declared the Law, and they “filled the sacred Scripture with falsity.” The Jews compounded their error by esteeming these glosses more than the precepts of God.⁷⁸³ This resulted in divisions amongst the Jews, creating the Essenes, the Pharisees, and the Saducees.

Her turns to the various translations of the Bible to conclude his proof that the Jews have lost the Law. The first is the Chaldaic, and Faustino utilizes the same story Marcellino cites about the true version of Jonathan Ben Uzziel’s translation. The translation, produced forty years before the birth of Christ, contained passages which proved the coming of Christ as the Messiah. Faustino accuses the Jews of seeing those glosses and not only commanding the Jews to not read

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., 7. “Però vi prego state attenti ad udir le mie parole, e disponetevi ad osservare quanto udirete.”

⁷⁸¹ Ibid.

⁷⁸² Ibid., 8-9.

⁷⁸³ Ibid., 10.

them but also burn them when found.⁷⁸⁴ He then highlights facts about successive translations in Greek and Latin.⁷⁸⁵ He finally arrives at Origen, who “corrected the Septuagint,” and Jerome whose translation is used by the Church. Faustino inserts the writing of the Talmud here to place its creation in the context of scripture. Just as they did with the Law of Moses, the Jews have contaminated the Talmud. Glossed by many rabbis, Faustino states that it is full of errors and falsehoods that are contrary to both the law of God and the Gospel of Christ.⁷⁸⁶ Through his discussion of loss of the Law and the translations of scripture, Faustino reiterates his point about the simplicity of truth. “Christian truth does not need art, colors, or ornaments.”⁷⁸⁷

The remainder of *Ragionamento Primo* delineates each of the five favors the Jews have lost in the order in which Faustino introduced them. Like with the Law, he provides a history of the Hebrew language and its multiple corruptions as the Israelites traveled through different lands. He concludes with the words of Rabbi Zimbri Sadoch and King David to remind the Jews that this loss occurred in Egypt.⁷⁸⁸ “Here is the loss of your true language; behold, you have nothing of her but scum.”⁷⁸⁹ He says the same of the priesthood, the Temple, and their land. All that is left is scum. Despite his promise not to use biting words, Faustino becomes harsher in his

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁵ These include a translation of Aquila from Hebrew into Greek in the fourth year of Trajan, 104 years after Christ. He also mentions the gloss on the law by Theodocus during the eighth year of the Emperor Commodus, the Greek translation of Symachus, and the discovery of both testaments translated from Greek into Latin in the city of Jericho during the reign of the Emperor Elagabalus.

⁷⁸⁶ Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti*, 12. He cites three different dates for the writing of the Talmud: 314 years after the incarnation, 30 years, and 150 years according to Pico Mirandola. He notes that other dates are claimed as well.

⁷⁸⁷ Op cit., Ibid., 3.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., 12-14. Faustino quotes Psalm 80.6, which testifies that after the Israelites left Egypt they heard a new language. Rabbi Sadoch calls Egypt the burial of the true Hebrew language.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., 14. “Ecco la perdita della vostra vera lingua; ecco, che di lei non havete se non la feccia.”

language through these last three proofs. He accuses their priests of avarice,⁷⁹⁰ and he describes their sin as “malicious infidelity and ingratitude.”⁷⁹¹ Employing the words of David in Psalm 40—*his heart gathered together iniquity to itself*—Faustino states that God has permitted their hearts to be made “a school of errors, a temple of heresies, a house of Baal, a receptacle of all ugliness, [and] a Babylon.”⁷⁹² This is no different from what the prophets called the Jews in scripture: scum, clod, dross, bilge, smoke, fog, and dust.⁷⁹³ “Believe, Jewish brothers, that after you turned your back on God, he completely abandoned you. If he were with you, it is certain that you and your affairs would be in a better state.”⁷⁹⁴

Faustino teaches the traditional message of the Church here. It forms the foundation upon which he builds what he calls the “meat” of his reasonings, which is the coming of the Messiah.⁷⁹⁵ The physical condition of the Jews is the most tangible of his proofs, one that the Jews cannot deny.⁷⁹⁶ By placing this proof first, Faustino demonstrates that the Jews must accept their condition before they can understand the coming of the Messiah. He concludes his first *ragionamento* with the transfer of Jewish status with God to Christians. “Reconcile yourselves,

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., 18. “Ma a voi per il peccato dell'infedeltà malitiosa, e dell'ingratitude.”

⁷⁹² Ibid., 21. “Che Davide fu sforzato a dire: *Cor eius congregavit iniquitatem sibi*. Per gli enormi vostri peccati permesse Iddio, che dove i vostri prima fondatori della casa d'Israele havevano il cuore volto a Dio, il vostro fosse fatto una scola d'errori, un tempio d'heresie, una casa di Baallo, un ricettacolo di tutte le brutture, [e] una Babilonia.”

⁷⁹³ Ibid., 21.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid., 22. “Credete fratelli Hebrei, che dopo che voi volgesti le spalle a Dio, egli del tutto abbandono voi, che s'egli fosse con voi, certa cosa è, che voi, e le cose vostre sarebbono in migliore stato.”

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid. “Perche havendo tocco solamente ne i brocolieri fin hora, passerò poi alla carne per l'auvenire.”

⁷⁹⁶ The Church continues to offer the physical, social, and political status as well as the destruction of scriptural religious observance as proof to the Jew that God has abandoned them. However, this proof does not take into account an alternative reading of scripture, which demonstrates that God continually rescued them. In the anonymous letter to Andrea de Monte, which reveals the extent of the Jews' hatred of the convert, the author outlines this Jewish belief. Cf. BAV, *Urb. Lat.* 6792.

that you were the children of God, and we the dogs;...but the page is turned, and you are made the dogs, which always bark at God; and we are the children.”⁷⁹⁷ This transfer leaves the Jew not only stripped of the favors and the status, but stripped of salvation. He offers an analogy that accentuates how completely the Jew has been abandoned by God. “And you know that those who made Noah’s Ark were the first to remain submerged there.”⁷⁹⁸ Although the Jew has made salvation possible for Gentiles, the Jew will still suffer eternal damnation without belief in Christ. He expresses this same point later in a subsequent ragionamento.

As soon as you departed from Christ, driving him away from you, all good things departed from you, and you remained blind in darkness, sick without a doctor, wandering without a guide, widows without a husband,...orphans without a father...I see you are troubled Christians, but I too am troubled, nor can I do less: because (to tell the truth) the first foundations of the Church were Jews; indeed that first foundation, of which St. Paul said: *Another foundation no man can [lay], but that which was laid, [which] was Christ.* And he was born of a Jewish woman, of Jewish stock, was a Jew; therefore, I cannot help mourning the misery and the miserable unhappiness of the Jews. Believe that when you fell, Jews, we Christians were raised; because the ruin of your Synagogue was the salvation of our Church.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹⁷ *Venti Ragionamenti*, 22. “Raccordatevi, che voi fosti i figliuoli di Dio, e noi i cani;...ma s’è volto carta, voi sete fatti i cani, che sempre latrate contro di Dio; e noi i figliuoli.”

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.* “E sappiate, che quelli, che fecero l’Arca di Noe, furono i primi, che vi rimanessero sommersi.” The ark of Noah is a traditional metaphor for the Church. Augustine utilized the metaphor to discuss the salvation and the universal church. Noah’s ark was a key metaphor in early articulations of the Catholic doctrine, outside the Church, there is no salvation. Prior to this analogy, Faustino quotes Isaiah 49.6, which states that the Jews will be a light for the Gentiles and spread salvation.

⁷⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 99-100. “Non così tosto vi partisti da Christo, scacciandolo da voi, che da voi si parti ogni bene, e ciechi sete rimasti nelle tenebre, infermi senza medico, erranti senza guida, vedove senza sposo, ...orfani, senza padre...Vi veggo à commover, Christiani, ma mi commovo anch’ io, nè posso far di meno: perche (à dirne il vero) i primi fondamenti della Chiesa, sono stati Giudei; anzi quel primo fondamento, del quale diceva San Paolo: *Aliud fundamentum nemo posuit, præter id, quod positum est, fu Christo;* & egli nacque di Donna Hebraea, di ceppo Hebreo, fu Hebreo; quindi non posso non pianger la misera, e miserabile infelicità de gli Hebrei. Credete, che quando cadesti voi Hebre, si levammo noi Christiani; perche la ruina della Sinagoga vostra è stata la salute nostra Chiesa.” I filled some words for the Pauline passage in the English that represent the Latin Vulgate rather than the version Faustino quotes.

The Proofs in the Ragonamenti

Each ragonamento builds upon the previous. Yet, Faustino acknowledges that the topic of his second ragonamento—the Holy Trinity—is a huge leap for the Jew. He calls it “the knot, which for you seems impossible to loosen.”⁸⁰⁰ The Trinity is “a firm basis, and a solid foundation for all my other reasonings.”⁸⁰¹ Faustino likens his teaching on the Trinity to an edifice he is building to frame his teaching on the Messiah. It cannot be rushed, and it is both reasonable and necessary since Faustino needs to discourage their minds from the thoughts in which they are encumbered.⁸⁰² Indeed, the friar does not rush his explanations. Ragonamenti two through six all discuss the Trinity. These are some of the longest, individual reasonings in the volume. Faustino also works with some of the most complicated materials, specifically Kabbalah.⁸⁰³ He displays his skill in Hebrew in this section, particularly in his discussion of the Tetragrammaton. Most of his Hebrew is printed in Hebrew characters rather than simply transliterated.

Faustino turns to discuss the Messiah in Ragonamento Seven. His initial four discourses on the Messiah explore his nature. In the seventh, Faustino establishes that the Messiah is both divine and human. Furthermore, God had to send the Messiah to heal the infirmity of sin.⁸⁰⁴

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., 24. “Il quale forsi, e senza forsi, è quel nodo, che à voi par impossibile di sciorre.”

⁸⁰¹ Ibid., 23. “Se gli è vero come è vero, come è verissimo, (dotti Rabbini & ostinati Hebrei) che un gran passo di gigante, anzi un gran salto di cervo, anzi un gran volo d'aquila convengo far io oggi, poggiando sù verso i campi celesti, e tenendo camino tutta diverso da quello d'hieri, per l'altezza, anzi sublimita della materia importantissima, ch'io m'apparecchio a discorrer, come ferma base, e sodo fondamento di tutti gli altri miei Ragonamenti, sopra il quale ho a edificar la fabrica della venuta del Messia.”

⁸⁰² Ibid. “Senza a temer ò del precipitio nell'ereggerla; o della ruina, eretta ch'ella si sia: istimo cosa non solo ragio nevole, ma necessaria, che discocutate l'intelletto vostro da ogni altro pensiero, dove fosse ingombrato.”

⁸⁰³ He explicitly mentions Kabbalah and the Zohar, the key text.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid., 150. Faustino uses an analogy with medicine and the good and perfect doctor. Spiritual medicine has two parts. It is not only discipline and cognition but has external aspects, which are the Sacraments.

Faustino returns to the Tetragrammaton in his eighth reasoning to demonstrate that this name of God only befits the Messiah King. While these first two discourses on the Messiah focus on the divine nature of the Messiah, the next two turn to the human. In Ragionamento Nine, Faustino demonstrates that Jesus is the only human who could be this Messiah. As noted above, there is a distinct parallel between Ragionamento Nine and Ragionamento One. It is apparent in more than the tension between simple reasonings and superfluous words. While Faustino highlights the wretched and miserable states of the Jewish people in the first ragionamento, he emphasizes the Jews' wretched state as simply humans. They have been "banished from Heaven,...deprived of grace, stripped of glory, naked of all good,...despised by the Angels, rejected by God, and buried alive the devil, who rules you in hell."⁸⁰⁵ He continues in bafflement that the Jews do not understand Christian terms like guilt and punishment. Faustino declares that he will teach them so that ignorance cannot be their excuse.⁸⁰⁶ This is the framework in which Faustino makes his argument that Jesus came to save all who believe. On the other hand, for those who do not believe, they will be judged by the very Messiah they deny.⁸⁰⁷

Ragionamento Ten focuses on the Messiah's dual nature as God and man. Faustino includes a section in which he addresses various components of Jesus' life that illuminate this dual nature. "If the Messiah was not God, who did Gabriel call God when he greeted the Virgin? And if not man, what did the Virgin have in her womb?...If he is not God, why did the Angels in the desert serve him, and if he is not a man, why is he hungry after fasting? If he is not God, how

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid., 197. "siate banditi dal Cielo, ...privi della gratia, spogliati della gloria, ignudi d' ogni bene, ...spregiati da gli Angeli, rifiutati da Dio, e sepolti vivi dal diavolo, che vi regge nell' inferno."

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid., 197. "E perche forsi non intendete questi nostri termini: Colpa, e Pena; ve la dichiarerò in modo, che l'ignoranza non sarà causa d'excusatione."

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid., 198.

does bread multiply, and if he is not a man, how does he get tired?⁸⁰⁸ Faustino continues this line of reasoning and reiterates that all these signs were seen by the Jews, and they chose not to believe them.⁸⁰⁹ This sequence is to demonstrate that this Messiah was particularly able to save humanity. In the conclusion to his ragionamento, Faustino states, “In sum, I say that Christ was given this name of Jesus because he was truly the author of salvation. Only this most sublime name (I am speaking as to the nature of its signification) is incommunicable to pure creatures.”⁸¹⁰ Lest the Jews believe that God was unable to save the world by any other means, Faustino states that the Son’s death on the cross was the most suitable way to recreate humanity.⁸¹¹

Faustino returns to the salvation of the world through Jesus and the excellence of the name of Jesus at the beginning of his eleventh ragionamento, noting that he did not have sufficient time the previous day to say all that he intended.⁸¹² Faustino is particularly interested in highlighting the miracles Jesus committed, some through merely his voice, such as raising Lazarus from the dead (John 21), calming the sea (Matthew 8), and taking away sin (Mark 2).⁸¹³ Ragionamento Twelve is somewhat of an anomaly, which Faustino claims is addressed to his Christian listeners. In it, Faustino outlines the doctrine of the Church with the Messiah King at its head.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid., 234. “Se il Messia non era Dio, chi chiamò Dio Gabriello quando salutò la Vergine? e se non huomo, che cosa haveva la Vergine nel ventre?...Se non è Dio, perche lo servono gli Angeli nel deserto; e se non è huomo, perche dopò il digiuno ha fame? Se non è Dio, come moltiplica il pane; e se non è huomo, come si stanca?”

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid., 235.

⁸¹⁰ Ibid., 241. “In somma dico che à Christo fu dato questo nome di Giesù inquanto egli era vero e vero autor di salute. Solo questo nome sublimissimo (parlo quanto alla natura della sua significatione) è incommunicabile alle pure creature.”

⁸¹¹ Ibid. Faustino notes that he follows Bonaventure in this explanation for the death of Christ.

⁸¹² Ibid., 243.

⁸¹³ Ibid., 250

The final ragionamenti, thirteen through twenty, deal specifically with the coming of the Messiah. They offer precise proofs that the Messiah has already come and also refute the common arguments Jews make to deny that the Messiah has come. Ragionamento Thirteen explains that there are two comings of the Messiah; one has passed already, and one is to come. The next four ragionamenti each cover one messianic prophecy from scripture. Faustino looks at Genesis 49, Haggai 2, and Daniel 9, which warrants two ragionamenti.⁸¹⁴ He follows these more exegetical discourses with an examination of the advent of the Messiah in history. Faustino demonstrates that the Talmudists' predictions about the coming Messiah align with the historical time of the life of Jesus.

In his final two ragionamenti, Faustino responds to additional arguments Jews make to deny that the Messiah has already come and in the person of Jesus. Faustino frames this last discussion around a confrontation between the Jews and a Father Piombino. The friar has already referred to Father Piombino and his confrontation with the Jews earlier in the volume with the same description to this encounter. It happened "yesterday after my reasoning."⁸¹⁵ However, Faustino speaks a little more about the episode. "Your arguments were many and confused because you wanted one another to dispute with that R.P. Piombino (as you were all intent on his confusion) who eloquently and wisely replied...I come today in this reasoning of mine to tell you not what the Father did not know, but what he could not say and that I will believe that I cannot say in only this reasoning: but where I will fail today I will make up for it tomorrow."⁸¹⁶

⁸¹⁴ The summary for the Ragionamento Seventeen states that the prophecy given to Daniel by the angel Gabriel will be explained in minute detail. This is the second of the discourses devoted to Daniel's prophecy.

⁸¹⁵ *Venti Ragionamenti*, 387.

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 388. "I vostri argomenti furono molti e confusi per voler voi l' un' à gara dell' altro disputar con quel RP Piombino (come fosti tutti intenti nella confusione di lui) che si eloquentemente e dottamente vi rispose che fosti sforzati à lasciar le parole e dopo l' ingiurie ci havete sempre in bocca darvi in preda alla marauiglia. Ora perche à tanti argomenti mancò il tempo acciò non e credesti che coltempo mancassela ragione, veng oggi in questo mia

In the nineteenth *ragionamento*, Faustino describes and answers five of these arguments, which derive from an interpretation of five phrases in Isaiah 2. 2-4. He picks up with argument six at the beginning of *Ragionamento Twenty*. He starts again in Isaiah 2.4 but moves to different passages in the subsequent three arguments.

Characteristics of the *Venti ragionamenti*

While the task for the preacher and the scope of the volumes are very different, a comparison between the *Venti ragionamenti* and the *Sermoni quindici* can help highlight some of the unique features of Faustino's volume. Perhaps the most obvious distinction between the two is the use of scripture. Faustino regularly quotes from the New Testament. He offers Christian and Hebrew scriptures as equivalent proof in his reasonings. Marcellino, on the other hand, minimizes his use of the New Testament, choosing to employ the scriptures Jews and Christians hold in common instead. Additionally, Faustino does not cite multiple translations of scripture, which forms a key component of many of Marcellino's sermons. There is a similar methodological difference between the two sets of sermons. Faustino utilizes markedly less church authorities than Marcellino. His reasonings do not focus on the interpretations of the church fathers. He applies their interpretations of doctrine where helpful but does not mount a specific argument based upon their writings. However, Faustino cites figures beyond the range of patristic literature, unlike Marcellino who quotes from a small selection of authorities that do not date beyond the fifth century.⁸¹⁷ One reason for these differences in methodology is the framework Faustino establishes in the first *ragionamento* and reiterates in the ninth. These are

ragionamento à dirvi non quello che non sapeva il Padre, ma ciò ch' egli non potè dire e che crederò non poter dir io in questo solo ragionamento: ma dove mancarò hoggi supplirò dimani.”

⁸¹⁷ For instance, Faustino cites the Franciscan, Bonaventure. Marcellino does not quote doctrinal authorities beyond the fifth century.

simple reasonings to present the truth. They require no “exaggeration and amplification” of arguments.⁸¹⁸ His reasonings can stand on their own and perform the same good.⁸¹⁹ While his distinction between sermons and his *ragionamenti* is a rhetorical strategy designed to emphasize both the friar’s kinder treatment of the Jews and this ideal that truth is sufficient, Faustino is also aware that his reasonings do not mimic a traditional approach to the Jews in these key aspects.

Marcellino admonishes his Jews to start with the literal interpretation of scripture; Faustino exhorts them to find the true sense of scripture. “Behold, Jews, it is important to understand the scripture, and to not stand, as you do, on the surface; but to penetrate inside, up to the marrow, where the true senses of the Scriptures are found.”⁸²⁰ However, as both preachers note, this understanding must be opened to the Jew by God. Marcellino cites belief while Faustino points to the Messiah who, according to Luke 24, “opened our understanding that we might understand the scriptures.”⁸²¹ Faustino utilizes other converts here as the example to follow. Upon becoming Christian, their minds were opened, their intellects enlightened, and they were taught so that they could understand the senses of sacred scripture.⁸²²

Another important feature of these *Venti ragionamenti* is the overall eloquence of the orations. Despite Faustino’s seeming rejection of eloquence, Faustino weaves a beautiful narrative through his *ragionamenti*. He presents analogies, often at the beginning of a

⁸¹⁸ Op cit.

⁸¹⁹ Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti*, 151. In his seventh *ragionamento*, he describes how his reasonings work in medicinal terms. “I want to come to the iron, and with that to penetrate to the bone, to see if I can heal this putrid wound of your infidelity; and cutting off what is rotten, apply such medicine that you can heal yourself. I see you being led to such, oh Jews.”

⁸²⁰ Ibid., 173.

⁸²¹ Ibid. He quotes from Luke 24.25.

⁸²² Ibid. “Perche cosi à voi, come a molti altri Hebrei fatti Christiani, sarà aperta la mente, illuminato l' intelletto, & ammaestra la volontà di modo, che intenderete i sensi delle sacre carte.”

ragionamento, to establish a guiding picture for the discourse. For instance, in his first reasoning on the Messiah, which explains his nature as both divine and human, Faustino focuses on “spiritual medicine” to articulate the Messiah’s task in the world: to heal the infirmity of sin. He begins Ragionamento Seven with an analogy between himself and medical doctors.

Since the learned, and perfect Doctor, must have in himself those two parts of the medicine...that always helps the other, which are Physic and Surgery; hence already in his early days, whoever was a Physic, was also a Surgeon; and whoever was not a Surgeon, was not a Physic, it is quite right, that by acting as a Doctor, towards you who are unfortunately too infirm, oh derelict Jews, not only try to have these two parts in me (since these two parts must have the Spiritual Physician) but also try to put them into action.⁸²³

Faustino employs this medical analogy to describe his task but also ultimately, the task of the Messiah as well. As noted above, Faustino also uses analogies to describe the state of the Jews who willingly walk into darkness rather than into the light. Throughout the volume, Faustino paints these pictures with his words. He also adds classical references to his reasonings, where he can. Faustino mentions both Hippocrates and Ascepus in the medical analogy.⁸²⁴ He refers to Virgil,⁸²⁵ the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*,⁸²⁶ and the river Styx.⁸²⁷ These classical references in the volume are not clunky like they appear in his letter of dedication. They make sense

⁸²³ Ibid., 150-151. “Poiche il dotto, e perfetto Medico, deve haver in se, quelle due parti della medicina...che sempre l'una aiuta l' altra, che sono la Fisica, e la Chirugia; onde...chi era Fisico, era Cirugico; e non era Cirugico, chi non era Fisico, è ben ragione, che facendo io ufficio di Medico, verso voi pur troppo infermi, o derelitti Hebrei, non solo cerchi d'haver in me queste due parti (poiche queste due parti deve have il Medico spirituale) ma cerchi anco di metterli in opera.”

⁸²⁴ Op cit.

⁸²⁵ Ibid., 17.

⁸²⁶ Ibid., 6.

⁸²⁷ Ibid., 197.

contextually, but they are superfluous additions. They demonstrate Faustino's knowledge and place him and his volume in a literary milieu.

The friar's knowledge is also exhibited through his use of Hebrew. He mostly employs Hebrew in his ragionamenti on the Trinity as stated above. Faustino's use of Hebrew is as "simple" as employing the name of Adam, made up of the Hebrew "aleph, debar, mem," as reflective of the Trinity.⁸²⁸ Notice that Faustino substitutes the Hebrew word "debar" meaning "word" for the Hebrew letter "dalet." That is to emphasize the relationship between the second letter of Adam and Son in the Trinity. By Ragionamento Six, Faustino is explaining how the names of God in Hebrew literature also reflect the Trinity. He moves beyond the Tetragrammaton to work with other four-letter names for God, such as Adonai, but also to more elaborate twelve-letter and forty-two letter names.⁸²⁹ Unless his auditors are familiar with Kabbalah and these names, following Faustino's discussion would be incredibly difficult. Although his training in Hebrew and Hebrew literature is not known, Faustino mentions Pietro Galatino (d. 1540), who is the sixteenth-century purveyor of the content of Raymond Martin's *Pugio fidei* in his *De Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis*.⁸³⁰ These texts were a source of both rabbinic literature and Christian counterarguments but also Christian interpretations of that literature. Faustino also relays that he has been shown texts by a convert in Rome. He identifies the convert as Asuero, who took the Christian name Girolamo.⁸³¹

In line with his stated goal of telling the Jews the truth without exaggeration or eloquence, Faustino does not make elaborate appeals to his auditors. Often, he simply exhorts the

⁸²⁸ Ibid., 25.

⁸²⁹ Ibid., 129 ff.

⁸³⁰ Ibid., 295.

⁸³¹ Ibid., 38.

Jews to believe. This exhortation typically occurs as Faustino is explaining a particular point, rather than at the end of the reasoning.⁸³² His conclusions do not typically speak of belief. At the conclusion of his first *ragionamento*, he tells the Jews to reconcile themselves to the proof he has just expounded. In his fourth, Faustino tells the Jews that if they will let his words “penetrate well inside” hearts, he has no doubt that they will be converted, just as their companions have done.⁸³³ Faustino presents converts as examples to follow. Overall, Faustino keeps his conclusions and his appeals very simple and temperate. They commonly end with Faustino promising to pray for the Jews or directing the Christians to do so as well. “And you Christians, as you favor me in listening to me, so favor these Jews in praying for them, that God takes off their veil and makes them see how thick the darkness is, where they lie.”⁸³⁴ In these promises of prayer, Faustino demonstrates why there is little point in the exaggerations and the amplifications of sermons to the Jews. God must illuminate the Jew and open their eyes to see their error and the truth. Faustino can only serve him in these attempts to convert them.⁸³⁵ In this way, the friar’s self-comparison with Moses in his introduction to the *ragionamenti* is fitting. Moses served God, speaking to Pharaoh the words God gave him, but ultimately, Moses’ words could not move Pharaoh without God.

Heresy

⁸³² Marcellino employed his conclusion more regularly to make these appeals.

⁸³³ Ibid., 101. “Pigliate queste mie parole, uscite dalla bocca mia, più piene d’ affetto, che vestite d’ arti; e sò di certo, che Dio vi rocca il cuore, e se le lascierete penetrar ben à dentro, non dubito, che non vi convertiate, come vedete haver fatto questi vostri compagni.”

⁸³⁴ Ibid. “Et voi Christiani, come favorite me nell’ ascoltarmi, così favorite questi Hebrei nel pregar per loro, che Dio li leva il velo, e li faccia vedere quanto dense sono le tenebre, dove giacciono.”

⁸³⁵ Ibid., 242 (this page is mismarked as 184 in the printing). Faustino emphasizes that God gives grace to serve him in this capacity.

Earlier in this chapter, I suggested that the Jews to whom Faustino preaches are presumed Jews. They are those “Jews” in Naples hiding behind their Christian identity, but in fact, have held onto their Jewish beliefs and practices. These would be the only Jews in Naples in 1575, and thus, they would also be considered heretics. Perhaps the approach to a Jewish heretic rather than a lifelong Jew would warrant different considerations. The New Testament becomes an acceptable source for proving the faith, for instance. Additional archival research will hopefully corroborate Faustino’s delivery of these *ragionamenti* and might provide details to delineate his task and, as a result, better read this text. Without a full understanding of the context, readers of the *Venti ragionamenti* will still find strong allusions to Roman Catholic teaching in response to heresy. They are present from the first *ragionamento*, in the image from the Gospel of John of the shepherd and his sheep and in the allusion to Noah’s ark. Faustino and his learned auditors would certainly envision the doctrine, outside the church, there is no salvation, in these references.

Faustino interrupts his address to the Jews in *Ragionamento Twelve* to make the connection of his address to heresy clear. Although a logical part of his teaching on the Messiah, this *ragionamento* focuses on Christ as the head of the church. Faustino explicitly directs this reasoning to Christians, or at least, he seemingly addresses the Christians. It concerns the dignity of the Church, and is therefore, not “necessary food for your so impure stomach.”⁸³⁶ However, there are many Christians that he has noticed listening intently to his sermons, to whom he directs his reasonings. He clearly continues to address Jews. The first topic he addresses is a comparison of the spiritual Church to the physical Temple.⁸³⁷ However, this *ragionamento*

⁸³⁶ Ibid., 266. “Pertinenti alla dignità della Chiesa; che certo, non sarà cibo necessario allo vostro stomaco così impuro.”

⁸³⁷ Ibid.

directly deals with heresy even as Faustino exhorts the Jews to believe.⁸³⁸ Faustino emphasizes the longevity of Catholic belief rooted in a common faith passed down from the Messiah, himself, in contrast to the heretics who devise new expressions of the Church. “Those then are of the true Church of Christ, who united to him, not with the bond of justice as the Anabaptists wanted, not with that of election as Calvin dreamed, but with that of the holy faith as the Catholics have always held and keep.”⁸³⁹

Faustino’s conclusion in this ragionamento dealing with salvation only through the Roman Catholic Church contains his most direct and emotional appeal to the Jews. He tells them they have two infirmities: guilt and punishment. This is not a new theme he introduces here. Faustino utilizes the same framework in Ragionamento Nine to discuss the Final Judgment. “For guilt you are deprived of ever seeing the face of God, and for the punishment you are condemned to eternal supplication, but you have recourse to the doctor who with a rebirth, you will purge yourself effectively of the one and the other evil that if you died, you would immediately go to Heaven.”⁸⁴⁰ Referring to the passage in the Gospel of John where Jesus tells Nicodemus, he must be reborn, Faustino clarifies this rebirth. It is not a returning to the mother’s womb but to the womb of the Holy Church. This Church is where you receive holy grace and may thus, enter heaven.

I will never cease while I am in Naples, even after Easter, to persuade you to do so, both to obey the most illustrious Viceroy & Archbishop and by reason of the zeal I have for your salvation. Go home all of you Christians,

⁸³⁸ Ibid., 268. For instance, he refers to the Council of Trent.

⁸³⁹ Ibid. “Quelli poi sono della vera Chiesa di Christo i quali uniti à lui non col uincolo della giustitia come volevano gli Anabattisti non con quello della elettione come Sognava Calvino ma con quello della santa fede come hanno tenuto sempre e tengono i Catolici.”

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., 285. “Onde per la colpa siate privi di veder mai la faccia di Dio e per la pena siate condannati ad eterno supplicio però ricorrete al medico che con un rinascimento vi purgarete si fattamente dell uno e dell altro male che se moristi, andaresti subito al Paradiso.”

pray warmly for the purchase of these souls, and you, Jews, do not resist the Holy Spirit who touches your heart, on the contrary, hearing him knock as he does now with these words of mine open the door of your heart to him, give your ears to what he tells you, and try to execute what he commands you.⁸⁴¹

In the *ragionamenti*, this passage is the closest the Jews are to conversion. Faustino claims the Holy Spirit is touching their hearts through his words. This stands in contrast to his typical prayer that God will illuminate their hearts and minds.

Conclusion

And this is the Holy Church, built with the most precious of her dear and beloved faithful, much more precious than joys and gems the whole East has ever had, and all those who received the Messiah true word of God, accepting the Gospel, come to build this glorious temple in heaven in which you too can enter and be co-habitors if you wish, as for so many reasons you ought to believe.⁸⁴²

Faustino's conclusion to the *Venti ragionamenti familiari* is brief. He does not close his time with the Jews by composing a special conclusion and exhortation. He simply offers the Jews the vision of heaven as a motivation in addition to the many reasons the Jews ought to believe. This is a somewhat abrupt end for the loquacious friar, although not completely outside his normal pattern of closing a *ragionamento*. However, these final words reiterate the purpose of the volume and the orations; the *Venti ragionamenti* are the reasons the Jews should believe.

⁸⁴¹ Ibid. "à me non cessarò mai mentre starò in Napoli, anco dopo Pasqua di persuadervi à farlo si per ubbidire all' Illustrissimo Vicere & Arcivescovo si per il zelo che io tengo della vostra salute. Andate à casa tutti voi Christiani pregate caldamente per l' acquisto di queste anime e voi Hebrei non fate resistenza allo Spirito Santo che vi tocca il cuore, anzi sentendolo à bussare come fa hora con queste mie parole apritegli l' uscio del cuore, date d' orecchio à quanto vi dice e espedite di metter in essecutione quanto vi comanda."

⁸⁴² Ibid., 415. "E questo è la Chiesa Santa, edificata di preciosissime de i suoi cari e dilette fedeli, molto piu preciosi di gioie e gemme hebbe mai tutto l' Oriente, e tutti quelli, che ricevertero il Messia vero verbo di Dio, accettando l' Evangelo, vengono à fabricar in cielo questo glorio Tempio nel quale potrete entrar ancor voi e farvi cohabitatori se vorrete come à tante ragioni doveresti credere."

Faustino and his volume present one method of preaching to the Jews during the sixteenth century. In Rome, there is the sense of a more stable position as a preacher to the Jews. While we know of turnover in the early years from Gregory Martin, the preachers he names are based in the city of Rome. They are not called to the city for the purpose of preaching to the Jews. Faustino demonstrates that cities might hire outside preachers specifically to preach to the Jews. In particular, the two iterations of the *Venti ragionamenti*, reveal that the practice of preaching to the Jews did not always follow the structure of the Roman practice. Based upon the information Faustino provides, the *Venti ragionamenti* seem to represent special circumstances and are not part of a mission to the Jews. Rather, they deal with Jewish problems. In that sense, they resemble the earliest accounts of preaching to the Jews in the Middle Ages. As Peter Browe reveals in his catalog of compulsory conversion sermons, missions did not exist before the thirteenth century. However, there are accounts of these sermons, particularly in the sixth century that demonstrate that preaching to the Jews presented cities with a Christian method to deal with the problem of a growing Jewish community. Often the choice for the Jews at the end of the sermon was convert or leave the city. While Faustino is not called into a situation of conversion or expulsion, his *ragionamenti* are the answer to a problem for the city of Naples. How does a city address heresy, particularly Jewish heresy, in a Christian manner?

Chapter Five: The Rhetoric of Conversion, Synthesis and Conclusions

The rhetoric of Jewish conversion during the pontificate of Gregory XIII is composed of three main parts. The first is the mindset, the second is the task, and the third is the expected outcome. This rhetoric has a clear articulation for both the preacher's role and the Jews' role. Faustino Tasso's *Venti Ragionamenti Familiari* and Evangelista Marcellino's *Sermoni quindici* display this understanding of conversion in its three parts. Likewise, the papal bulls and Gregory Martin's account of the preaching include these elements.

The mindset for the preacher is perseverance. Conversion of the Jews is not easy and is often fruitless. Faustino Tasso explicitly expresses this mindset to his audience of "some Jews." Over halfway through his twenty reasonings, Faustino vows that, "I will never cease while I am in Naples, even after Easter, to persuade you to do so...by reason of the zeal I have for your salvation."⁸⁴³ Evangelista Marcellino expresses a similar sentiment, albeit to his Christian congregation. Expositing a passage in the book of Daniel, Marcellino speaks of his perseverance as he highlights the incorrect interpretation of the passage by the Jews. "The stubborn Jews against whom I have had a war for eight continuous years and always will, are not ashamed to interpret this place against our glorious and blessed Savior, and Redeemer, Christ Jesus."⁸⁴⁴ Six years prior to this comment, Marcellino expressed the perseverance required in this way. "I do not lose hope, if indeed, after so much preaching to the Jews, still they are seen to become hard.

⁸⁴³ Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti familiari*, 285. "À me non cessarò mai mentre starò in Napoli, anco dopo Pasqua di persuadervi à farlo...per il zelo che io tengo della vostra salute."

⁸⁴⁴ Evangelista Marcellino, *Lettoni sopra Daniele profeta del r.p.f. Vangelista Marcellino de Min. osservanti*. (Venetia: appresso i Giunti, 1588), 225. "Gli ostinati Giudei contro i quali otto anni continui ho havuto Guerra et l'haverò sempre; non si vergognano d'interpretar questo luogo contra il nostro glorioso e benedetto Salvatore, e Redentore Christo Giesù."

Let us note that it says *commoremur*, as if to say, let us persevere.”⁸⁴⁵ Marcellino’s statement reflects the words of Pope Gregory I (590-604) in his *Moralia in Iob*. “Surely to preach to hard hearts without fruit and undertake the toil of revealing the truth without deriving fruit from the toil in the conversion of the hearers is a matter of grief? But, on the other hand, the progress which the hearers make later is a great comfort for preachers.”⁸⁴⁶ The expectation for the preacher is continual effort. This perseverance is part of the persona of a preacher to the Jews, the reason why it is often articulated in sermons or literature for Christians. It offers a rationale for persistent proselytization in the face of few conversions. Success is not the appropriate measure for evaluating this task.

Faustino’s acknowledgement of the necessity of perseverance derives from his reasonings to the Jews. Marcellino does as well, but his expression is different from how he speaks of perseverance to Christians. In his opening lines to the *Sermoni quindici*, Marcellino employs the words of Jeremiah to emphasize the expected action for a preacher who medicated but did not heal his congregation. “*We have medicated Babylon (i.e. the Synagogue) and she is not healed. Let us leave her.* And so as you have seen, taking myself from you for many days, I have kept silent. But today, returning to you, as you see, I break the silence and speak to you.” These statements to the Jews serve to emphasize the importance of the task for the preacher. It is an expression of concern for the salvation of the Jew in the midst of otherwise, constant articulations of the inferiority and misery of the Jews. These expressions of concern for their

⁸⁴⁵ Evangelista Marcellino, *Lezioni sopra la Cantica*, 341. “Io non perdo la speranza, se bene doppo tante prediche fatte a gli Ebrei, anco si veggano star duri. Notiamo che dice *commoremur*, come a dire perseveriamo.”

⁸⁴⁶ Gregory I, *Moralia in Iob*, in *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (CCSL), Vol. 143 B., 35.14.27. “Annon grauis maeror est duris cordibus infructuose praedicare, laborem in ostendenda ueritate sumere, sed nullum de conuersione audientium fructum laboris inuenire? At contra autem, magna praedicatorum consolation est subsequens prouectus auditorium.”

salvation, which notably appear more explicitly and more frequently in Faustino than Marcellino, bring a sense of Christian charity to the lecture.

The main requirement for the Jew is to listen and be silent. In the rhetoric of the preacher, this is demonstrated by scriptural mandate mainly. Marcellino quotes from Ezekiel 2. “If perhaps they would hear and keep quiet. Therefore, to listen to the divine word make us quiet, not following evil.”⁸⁴⁷ Marcellino offers the Jews an instruction from St. James that scripture ought to be received in meekness. The friar, therefore, chose not to speak some words so that the Jews would listen peacefully, the spirit needed to persuade them to the truth.⁸⁴⁸ Marcellino emphasizes the importance of listening in his opening sermon using the words of Isaiah. “Listen to me, take and eat the good... Turn your ears and listen to me that your soul might live.”⁸⁴⁹ He makes a prayerful plea a few lines later. “Oh that you would wish to listen to me, that I might persuade you of this, that is, to receive Christ.”⁸⁵⁰ Faustino is less concerned with articulating the mindset required of the Jew. His expectations are mostly implied. His audience is expected to listen to his reasonings. He will not use harsh words that Jews are accustomed to nor will he say any more than is necessary to present the truth.⁸⁵¹ When he does formulate the expectations for his

⁸⁴⁷ Evangelista Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 181. “Essendo scritto in Ezechiele Capitolo secondo. *Si forte audiant & quiescant*. Adunque l’ascoltare il verbo divino ci fa quiescere, non seguitando il male.”

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁸⁴⁹ Isaiah 55.2-3. Quoted in Evangelista Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 1.

⁸⁵⁰ Evangelista Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 2. “Ò se voleste così ascoltarmi che io questo vi potessi persuadere, cio è il ricever Christo.”

⁸⁵¹ Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti familiari*, 3, 99.

audience, he pairs hearing with an action. “I pray you be attentive to my words and ready to observe what you will hear.”⁸⁵²

The second aspect of the rhetoric is the task. Faustino presents the task most clearly and concisely. “I will simply tell you the truth.”⁸⁵³ Moreover, “In proving to you what I will say, I will use the authorities of your own Rabbis; of those I say, to whom you lend all faith, to whom you willingly give all belief; those whom you believe are the soul of your doctrines, and the light of your Synagogue.”⁸⁵⁴ The task is apparent in the structure of these sermons and reasonings. The purpose of the sermons is to present Christian interpretations of scripture and utilize rabbinic interpretations to demonstrate Christian truth. In essence, it is a one-sided battle of the faiths. Jews are not allowed to counter argue during the sermon. The task for the Jew, on the other hand, is to listen to these truths and accept them. The first fact the Jew must accept is their desolation or miserable state. Both Marcellino and Faustino begin with this proof. As Kenneth Stow argues, the Ghetto in Rome was established for the express purpose of creating a physical experience for the Jews through which they would recognize that they are now the servant while the Christians have been made free through Christ Jesus.⁸⁵⁵ Their desolation most aptly portrays the fulfillment of scriptures and the triumph of Christianity from the perspective of the Catholic Church.

⁸⁵² Ibid., 7. “Però vi prego state attenti ad udir le mie parole, e disponétevi ad osservare quanto udirete.” See also page 46 for a similar formula in the conclusion of Ragionamento Two. “Vi prego dunque, dopo che con tanta pazienza m'ascoltate, che mettiate anco ad effetto, quanto udite.”

⁸⁵³ Ibid., 3. “Vi dirò semplicemente la verità.”

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid., 4. “Nel provarvi quanto ch' io dirò, mi serviro delle autorità de vostri istessi Rabbini; di quelli dico, a quali prestate ogni fede, a quali date volentieri ogni credenza; quelli, che credete e anima delle vostre dottrine, e lume della vostra Sinagoga.”

⁸⁵⁵ See Kenneth Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 6-7. See especially note 13 on Paul IV's use of Galatians 4.24-25 in *Cum nimis absurdum*.

Finally, the rhetoric of conversion is the expected outcome, which is based upon two notions. Jewish conversion is only for a few, and it is ultimately, only possible through God bestowing his grace upon the Jew. Gregory Martin states that they are saved “from time to time by few and few.”⁸⁵⁶ In his discussion of the *remnant* of Israel, Marcellino clearly states, “it is possible that some of you will be saved.”⁸⁵⁷ Faustino’s letter to his readers also emphasizes the “few” who heard and the “few” who converted.⁸⁵⁸ He also describes that his expectation is for “some fruit” from his sermons. Comparing himself to a farmer, he states,

This is certain, that those poor farmers, who now with the harrow, and then with the ploughshare, have in the worst season of the year, led a very hard life, in *intolerable labors*, when at the time of harvest they see their seeds *render mediocre sprouts*, forget about past pains, keeping themselves satisfied with the interest, they give thanks...In this way it will help me, who after these labors of mine, and of persuading and teaching in Pulpit, or in the Cathedral; in the Church, or in the Academy, I will see the seeds of my words, bring back some fruit.⁸⁵⁹

More than simply producing “some fruit,” Faustino compares the yield to the “mediocre sprouts” that a farmer gets after “intolerable labors.” Still, the farmer gives thanks.

The reason for this low yield lies with God. Gregory Martin praises the zeal and compassion of the preachers who move and persuade souls, but he qualifies their work. He writes that “God principally working withal in their hartes” is how this movement and persuasion occurs.⁸⁶⁰ Faustino reiterates this point often, especially in his concluding remarks for this

⁸⁵⁶ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 75.

⁸⁵⁷ Evangelista Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 153. “possibile è che alcuni di voi si conuertino.”

⁸⁵⁸ Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti familiari*, “À Lettori.”

⁸⁵⁹ Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti familiari*, 2-3. “Quest è certo, che quei poveri agricoltori, i quali hor con l'aratro, et hor col vomere, hanno nella più mala stagione dell'anno, menato durissima vita, entro à *fatiche intollerabili*, quando al tempo della raccolta veggono i semi loro, *render anco mediocre messe*, scordati de' passati dolori, tenendosi sodisfatti ad usura, ne rendono quelle gratie” (emphasis, mine).

⁸⁶⁰ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 82.

Ragionamenti. He tells the Christians to pray for the Jews that “God takes off their veil and makes them see how thick the darkness is, where they lie.”⁸⁶¹ In another *ragionamento*, he sends the Jews out saying, “I will pray to Jesus in a while, that as: *He is the light of the world*; so he enlighten your darkened heart; and enlightened, make yourselves good Christians: may God give you grace.”⁸⁶² He prays that God will warm their frozen hearts with the fire of his Holy Spirit at another time.⁸⁶³ Faustino might give the Jew the option to become a disciple of the Master, as he does before asking that God warm their hearts, but he is always clear that the ability to see or understand is given by God. He warns the Jews, “Do not resist the Holy Spirit who touches your hearts.”⁸⁶⁴

In contrast to Gregory Martin and Faustino Tasso, Marcellino does not indicate that God is ultimately the one who grants the grace for salvation. The decision is entirely in the hands of the Jew. As he emphasizes in his fifteenth sermon, God has placed salvation near at hand. The Jew must seek to have faith.⁸⁶⁵ He quotes from Joel 2.32 that states, “Whosoever calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved.”⁸⁶⁶ This is a deliberate omission based upon his audience. Unlike Martin, who is writing for loyal English Catholics, and Tasso, who is addressing crypto-Jews, Marcellino is addressing the Jews. In terms of persuading Jews to accept Christian interpretation of scripture, the choice must be left in their hearts and mouths. For the preacher,

⁸⁶¹ Faustino Tasso, *Venti Ragionamenti familiari*, 101. “Et voi Christiani, . . . questi Hebrei nel pregar per loro, che Dio li leva il velo, e li faccia vedere quanto dense sono le tenebre, dove giacciono.”

⁸⁶² Ibid, 217. “Che fra tanto pregherò Giesu, che come: *Est lux mundi*; così illumini il vostro ottenebrato cuore; e illuminati, vi facciate buoni Christiani: che Dio vene dia la gratio.”

⁸⁶³ Ibid., 173. “Che Dio col fuoco dello Spirito santo scaldi questo voftr' agghiacciato cuore.”

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid., 285. “Non fate resistenza allo Spirito Santo che vi tocca il cuore.”

⁸⁶⁵ Evangelista Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici*, 183.

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid., 184.

the understanding of divine grace's role in conversion lessens his burden and allows him to persevere as Jews continue to resist. For the Jew, they must make a choice, and their basic lack of understanding might interpret God's role as an excuse not to seek faith.

This rhetoric of conversion is not new in the sixteenth century. It is most clearly articulated by Pope Gregory I in a letter he wrote in June of 591 to the bishops of Arles and Marseilles. After hearing complaints from Jewish merchants of forced baptisms in Gaul, the pope wrote to give advice on the "how the souls of the erring ought to be saved."

Therefore, let your Fraternity call people of this sort [i.e. the Jews] to God with *frequent preaching*, so that they desire to change their old way of life more due to the sweetness of their teacher. For thus, what we intended is correctly accomplished, and the soul of the convert does not return to its former vomit. So, *sermons* should be directed at them, to burn away the thorns of error in them, and *by preaching, illuminate* what is dark within them, so that your Fraternity may be rewarded for its frequent admonition and may lead as many of them as are accepted by God to the rebirth of new life.⁸⁶⁷

The letter is most often cited in scholarship for its condemnation of forced baptism. However, the remainder of the letter, quoted above, clearly expresses the correct practice for proselytizing the Jews. Gregory advises frequent preaching. This preaching can destroy their errors and also illuminate their darkness so that they *desire* to change. Conversion based upon preaching is genuine and works in concert with God's acceptance to the rebirth of new life. In other words, conversion only occurs if God has accepted the Jew to new life. The other key teaching is that correct practice and not number of converts determines the reward for the preacher. Gregory specifically connects the reward to the "frequent admonition," not to the conversions or, as he

⁸⁶⁷ Gregory the Great, Book 1, Epistle 45 (CCSL, vol. 140, 59), my emphasis. "Fraternitas ergo uestra huiusmodi homines frequenti praedicatione prouocet, quatenus mutare ueterem magis uitam de doctoris suauitate desiderent. Sic enim et intentio nostra recte perficitur et conuersi animus ad priorem denuo uomitum non mutatur. Adhibendus ergo illis est sermo, qui et errorum in ipsis spinas urere debeat et praedicando quod in his tenebrascit illuminet, ut pro his admonitione frequenti mercedem fraternitas uestra capiat et eorum quantos Deus donauerit ad regenerationem nouae uitae perducatur."

calls it, the leading to a new life.⁸⁶⁸ This letter demonstrates that the only concern of the preacher should be his role in the mission: frequent preaching done with the appropriate demeanor. The appropriate demeanor is the “sweetness” or “pleasantness” or “charm” associate with the word “suavitate.”⁸⁶⁹ Gregory redefines success as “correct accomplishment.”

The rhetoric of conversion in the sermons to the Jews during the pontificate of Gregory XIII reflects this Gregorian teaching on conversion. Conversion requires perseverance from the preacher in frequent preaching and the demonstration of the truth so that their errors are burned away. Ultimately, however, conversion is a cooperation between God and the Jew. There is not a formula that guarantees the success of the preaching. However, the rhetoric of conversion is the formula that articulates orthopraxis. Despite preachers knowing the limits of their role in this process, orthopraxy is in constant tension with tangible success in the number of conversions. For instance, the House of Catechumens begins to kidnap Jews until they convert. Perhaps the reiteration of this rhetoric of conversion in the sermons occurs precisely to remind the preacher of their role.

The great paradox of this notion of orthopraxy in the establishment and institutionalization of the preaching to the Jews is the element of compulsion. Force should be opposed by orthopraxy, and yet, force was the method available and chosen by the Church to accomplish the mission.⁸⁷⁰ Gregory Martin highlights the element of compulsion as a seemingly

⁸⁶⁸ Gregory the Great was highly skeptical of Jewish conversion. He doubts that conversions are genuine. However, the children of converts will be genuine Christians, making the mission successful.

⁸⁶⁹ Faustino Tasso calls this “affection.” Cf. *Venti Ragionamenti*, 3. He also uses “zeal” and “charity” to describe how he will speak to the Jews.

⁸⁷⁰ While the theology of compulsion is outside the scope of this dissertation, I want to acknowledge here that compulsion does require explanation for the Church. Peter Browe includes discussions of force in *Die Judenmission* (especially 231-251). Browe separates the use of force into direct and indirect. He is addressing mostly conversions, not forced sermons. It provides the same theological quandary for the Church. If force is involved in any way, how can the Church decipher genuine or insincere conversions?

praiseworthy feature. The sermons are offered at a time when the Jews are unable to provide a legitimate excuse not to attend, and the Jews are forced to assemble under pain of penalty.⁸⁷¹ Compulsion in this sense is acceptable. Jewish attendance at the sermons is for their own good and is morally justifiable.⁸⁷²

Conclusion

To complete their bondage, they are compelled at certain seasons to be present at sermons preacher for their conversion, —nay, to feign a conversion, that some of the laws of the infallible church may be implemented...the most painful and humbling of all the trials of the Jews is, as I have said, their compulsory attendance at a church to hear sermons preached for their conversion. We went to the Ghetto to be present on one of these occasions, in the church of St. Angelo, in Pescheria. Scarcely had we entered, however, when an official informed us that if we were Christians we could not remain in the church: “We are Hebrews, and no stranger can be among us.” Their pride could not tolerate the presence of a spectator of their bondage.

—June 1836, *The Thistle*⁸⁷³

During its almost two hundred seventy-five-year tenure as an institution of the Catholic Church, the *predica coattiva* captured the attention of travelers to Rome. Present for perhaps its most pivotal years, 1576-1578, the English priest Gregory Martin praised the preaching to the Jews as the practice in Rome that most delighted him and displayed Christian charity so well.⁸⁷⁴ Likewise, the most prominent preacher and the face of the practice, Andrea de Monte, caught the attention of Michel de Montaigne in 1581. The convert’s skill and knowledge impressed Montaigne, earning him an excerpt of in Montaigne’s travel journal.⁸⁷⁵ Catholic literature in the

⁸⁷¹ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 77.

⁸⁷² Peter Browe, *Die Judenmission*, 238.

⁸⁷³ “The Jews in Rome,” *The Thistle; or Anglo-Caledonian journal*, vol. 1, issue 6, (June 1836): 214-216.

⁸⁷⁴ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 77.

⁸⁷⁵ Montaigne, *La Voyage*.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continued to extol the good work of the Catholic Church in seeking the conversion of the Jewish people.⁸⁷⁶ In the nineteenth century, travelers to Rome, notably non-Catholics, were captivated again by the practice and drawn to observe and write about the compulsory conversion sermons, and they found little to praise.⁸⁷⁷ At best, the absurdity of the situation is described as “very amusing.”⁸⁷⁸ In more critical terms, the practice is identified as a “burden” and a “vulgar persecution.”⁸⁷⁹ The writer for *The Thistle*, remarks that the practice is the most humiliating aspect of the Church’s bondage of the Jews in the Ghetto. He writes, “At every turning one sees the folly of that caricature of Christianity, the religion of the pope.”⁸⁸⁰

The nineteenth-century critiques produce some of the more paradigmatic representations of the *predica coattiva*. For instance, a common image employed in histories to represent the sermons to the Jews is *Die Judenpredigt in Rom*.⁸⁸¹ The watercolor by Hieronymous Hess (1799-

⁸⁷⁶ Cf. Franzini, Bovio, Piazza

⁸⁷⁷ This does not imply that criticism did not exist from the sixteenth century through the eighteenth. In 1579, the Englishman, Anthony Munday, visited Rome and later wrote an account of his “espionage expedition.” Munday infiltrated the Roman College and exposed his experiences there as well as writing an account of life in Catholic Rome. His *The English Romayne Lyfe* was published in 1582 and again in 1590. It includes a brief mention of the sermons. Munday focuses more on the sham of conversion and the pope’s exploitation of the convert’s wealth. Anthony Munday, *The English Romayne Lyfe* (1582), Imprinted in London by John Charlewood, 32-33. Like Montaigne, Munday only mentions the “Rabbi” who preaches to the Jews.

⁸⁷⁸ Hyman Hurwitz, *Hebrew Tales*, a review, *The Quarterly Review*, xxxv (Jan., 1827), 92. Quoted in Joseph Phelan, “A Source for Robert Browning’s ‘Holy-Cross Day,’” *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 65, Issue 3, (September 2018): 382-386, at 383.

⁸⁷⁹ George Stillman Hillard, *Six Months in Italy* 2 vols., (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1853), II, 51. Joseph Phelan is my source for Hillard as well.

⁸⁸⁰ “The Jews in Rome,” *The Thistle*, 215.

⁸⁸¹ The watercolor, produced in 1823, was held by the Kunstmuseum in Basel, Switzerland in the nineteenth century. Konstantin Guise made a lithograph of the painting sometime before 1850. The lithograph bears the title, *Die Bekehrung der Juden in Rom*. The Jewish Historical Society of America owns one of the lithographs produced by Guise. Hareteveld Rare Books, Ltd. of Fribourg produced a catalog in 2009, which discusses the painting and lithograph. < https://ilab.org/assets/catalogues/catalogs_files_7_harteveld_cat217.pdf >

1850) who lived in Italy from 1819 to 1823, satirizes the sermon event. The painting captures Jewish resistance to listening to the sermon—turning away from the preacher, talking amongst themselves, sleeping, and plugging their ears—as well as the Christian forms of force. A uniformed guard is present; a cleric sits at a table to record attendance while another clergyman points out audience members not in compliance with their duty to listen; a friar is about to hit the sleeping Jew; and two other friars accost the man plugging his ears.⁸⁸² These are the aspects of the sermons which scholars utilize in their descriptions of the practice.

The *predica coattiva* has produced intense responses in its observers and chroniclers. This naturally leads to its evaluation as successful or a failure, as oppressive or pious, and as intended to convert Jews or to boost Catholic faith. This dissertation has focused on the compulsory conversion sermons from the perspective of the Church, which promulgated the preaching to the Jews as a pious and apostolic act. Utilizing the sermons themselves and the propagandizing literature and official decrees, I have focused on the rhetoric of conversion as the message articulated about Jewish conversion. In contrast to rhetoric as arguments and proofs, I asked, what do the sermons say about what Roman Catholics believed about Jewish conversion? How did Catholics approach proselytization as a result? Asking about the success of the campaign based upon proofs or the strategy seems to ask a question that inevitably leads to a conclusion that the sermons did not intend to convert the Jews. Ultimately, whether a preacher in the sixteenth century believed the Jews could convert, or whether he knew a friendship with a Jew might better spur a conversion than the sermons, is superfluous. The practice of preaching to

⁸⁸² For a more recent depiction of the sermons from the same period of the *Risorgimento*, see Luigi Magni's 1969 film, *Nell'anno del Signore*. Magni includes a scene from a sermon and has his Jewish character, a woman by the name of Giuditta, disrupt the sermon and yell at the preacher. As the preacher expounds that it was the will of God that Jesus suffer and die, she questions why the Church persecutes the Jews when they should rather respect them. The Jews did good; they did the will of God, a controversial statement even in 1969. I am thankful to Dr. Dario Brancato, the 2014-15 Francesco De Dombrowski Fellow at Harvard's Villa I Tatti, who brought this film to my attention in our discussions of my research.

the Jews is fundamentally based on the aim of orthopraxy. Gregory XIII chose the *predica coattiva* as the strategy of his conversion campaign so that Jewish conversions might be correctly accomplished.

Bibliography

The majority of the sources listed below are cited in this dissertation. However, there are a few which appear here but not in the footnotes above. I include these additional sources that were crucial to my readings of the sixteenth-century sermons and will be valuable to subsequent researchers.

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