

From Ferrara to Salonika: Women of the “Nation” in the Sixteenth Century

E. Gutwirth

In the studies of early modern Jewish women, perhaps particularly in studies on their representation in writing or in law, readers tend to notice, occasionally, a tendency to homogeneity and generalizations rather than history. Differences between, say, twelfth- thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, between high medieval and early modern, between languages and cultures, tend to be erased or minimized as if the subject was an homogeneous “Other”¹. Yiddish, Arabic, Spanish, Hebrew are sometimes treated as accidental details, rather than specific cultural traditions. In the nineteenth century, Graetz, around the 1860s and 70s, saw Spanish, for example, as having a timeless, multinational or transnational, moral and emotional message: it attested to love of the motherland² rather than to cultural traditions with their own specificities and history in need of professional research.

I

The texts of Amatus Lusitanus³ could be a welcome corrective to such tendencies. Date and place would be some of the types of variables that could turn his (ostensibly medical) writings into history. Between the 1540s and the 1560s, Amatus Lusitanus wrote about women: Jewish, conversas, Christians in Italy and the Ottoman empire. His precisely dated text could be an alternative to approaches which confuse chronology and chronotope. The first volume of the *Centuriae*, his so-called case studies, is signed Ancona 1/12/1549, "while Charles V was Emperor and the Holy See

¹Mullen, Brian; (1989): 233–252. Quattrone, G. A. (1986).

² On Graetz’ view of Hispano-Jewish history see for example E. Gutwirth, (1994) 103-122. The idea of the links between “loyalties” and vernaculars could be traced back to the middle ages.

³ João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco was born in Castelo Branco in 1511 and is believed to have died in Salonika ca. 1568. He was one of the most famous physicians of his time and was in demand by Pope, Emperor and nobility in Italy and elsewhere. His *Centuriae* contain seven hundred items. See notes infra.

was vacant" but it includes cures of patients from Ragusa⁴. Amatus is nothing if not cosmopolitan: in the book, signed Ancona 1549, he treats a merchant from Salonika, although Salonika is usually thought to be a later phase.⁵ In another case in this volume, he writes about a woman⁶, who lived near Castel Nuovo by the Po, so that he is including Romans as well. This is familiar territory to readers of passages on Jews, Jewesses or conversas in Aretino⁷, Delicado⁸ and their analogues.

His writings do not see all women as equal or as an anti-historical, undifferentiated Other⁹. In part, certainly, this has to do with a vision which takes into consideration inner affect. In a cure¹⁰ of his great work, Amatus Lusitanus refers to a woman patient, Caterina, daughter of the magnificent and noble Joao Gondulano, a patrician of Ragusa. She was, according to Amatus, a most beautiful young woman of 17 years of age, who had lived for many years with the sisters of St Bartholomew, without having the intention of becoming a nun. Her father had left her at the convent hoping for a decent marriage for his daughter. Amatus sees the cause of her illness as related to a bad humor. This bad humor comes from her idleness and sadness because the convent is like a prison. Amatus Lusitanus says that he was especially solicitous because the humor was false.

The case is not in itself unusual. That is to say that it can inform us about Amatus' attitudes and ways of representing women precisely because it is not exceptional. Class, age, religion, spaces, locations are all part of the description and, therefore, identification of the woman. Amatus Lusitanus has been studied for centuries as part of the history of medicine¹¹, for which he is no doubt a treasure trove of information. But as has been argued, he can also be read for the history of his place and period. This would mean that his texts are a source for sixteenth century social history and therefore for the necessary historical context of the lives of conversas and Jewish

⁴For further references on the *Centuriae* and Amatus see for example E.Gutwirth (2004) 216-238. I cite from the first volume.

⁵I,91.

⁶I,32

⁷ [Imperiale, Louis](#) (1997)

⁸ E. Gutwirth, (2004) 71-106

⁹ Halsam, S. A. (1995).. pp. 182–222.

¹⁰I,92

¹¹Harry Friedenwald, 1944

women which he describes. Amatus introduces into his text, as has been seen, mentions of social status. But he goes beyond the usual, rough and ready classifications. Thus, when dealing with a woman who gave birth to twins in Ancona, he takes care to tell us that she was a noblewoman¹². In another case, he simply tells us that the patient was a Greek woman who lived near the port¹³. A young patient who was brought to him is described as coming from Monte Filatrano, i.e. a smaller place in the Marca d'Ancona. We are told that she is 8 years of age and she is defined as a noble girl¹⁴. Another young woman, 18 years of age, is described as a future nun (possibly of the Ancona nuns at the foot of the cross) i.e. by her future life of religion¹⁵. A woman patient suffering from hair loss is described as an illustrious countess.¹⁶ A patient suffering from syphilis is described as the forty year old wife of a count.¹⁷ Another sixty years old patient is defined as the mother of the illustrious Count Anselm.¹⁸ Another woman is described as a noble lady without title or name¹⁹. Another is the mother of a priest.²⁰

We see, then, that there is a difference between the mother of a count and the wife of a count; between a named or unnamed countess or a generic noblewoman, between children, adults and the aged. The gradations are complex and far more subtle than the social comments in our usual stories of “women’s status”. One patient is defined as the wife of a potmaker or bricklayer.²¹ A number of women are defined by living near water, the sea or the port. A woman who coughed and had fever is defined not by age, name, title or marital status, but by living near the sea port²². In some cases, he goes further, and specifies that a woman lived in an alley near the port.²³ A ten year old girl²⁴ we are told, lives near the fountain of the Carmelites. In another case, a six

¹²I,93

¹³I,87

¹⁴I, 84

¹⁵I,82

¹⁶I, 79

¹⁷I,72

¹⁸I,38

¹⁹I,61

²⁰I,60.

²¹I,53a.

²²I,53

²³I,57

²⁴I,37

year old girl is defined by living near the fountain by the city gate.²⁵ Her illness was related to worms.

The main point is the awareness of variables and their inclusion into the text. This obtains whatever the reason for making mention of such differences. In thinking about Amatus' "reasons" we cannot always rely on the text, because he does not always make explicit his reasons for including or excluding such variables. But we can draw on previous texts and on the cases where he explains why he pays attention to such factors. Again, airs and waters, topographical medicine explain such interests and links between history and medicine but do not exhaust possible readings. Indeed, in a commentary on another cure²⁶, he mentions that, according to Galen,(in the ninth book of the Therapeutics,) there is a difference between rich and poor that has implications for the treatment. Thus, in the case of blood letting or critical days, rich and poor react differently.

In another case,²⁷ a young woman of seventeen is described as being from the country. Amatus Lusitanus tells us about conversations with her and her husband after the consultation. From the conversations, he learnt that she had eaten cucumbers for supper the night before. As Amatus Lusitanus progressed in the conversation, he learnt that a neighbor had also eaten cucumbers and was attacked by illness as well. She further recounted a discussion between the neighbours as to which cucumbers had the evil spirits in them. Amatus Lusitanus ridicules these beliefs. In this case, the cure seems to show Amatus' faith in listening to the woman, to conversations, faith in continuous informal dialogues with women and men, in addition to examinations, and faith in the decorum of relaying women's voices. It is also probable that drawing attention to her country provenance is part of the sardonic and skeptical stance towards "beliefs"; in this case, beliefs about the cucumber's evil spirits. Place is an important variable. In one case, he remembers pregnancies at the age of 55, in Ferrara and even earlier, a pregnancy at the age of sixty in Santarem.²⁸ This last detail is of interest, as it is common to refer to Amatus as having practiced in Portugal,

²⁵I,56.

²⁶I,91

²⁷I,39

²⁸I,47

rather than specifying the localities which, as has been shown, were at times of significance to him.

It seems that the information about these social, topographic, age and other differences between women come from the women patients. In a sense, we might say that Amatus is relaying the voices of the women themselves. The women do not see themselves as always equal and their constructions of social gradations are finely calibrated. But there are cases in which he may not be giving a voice to the women but to himself. The author is also a factor. In addition to social class, to town and country, to addresses within the city, there are other variables. Thus, for example, he mentions beauty: Clara, 35 years of age, had a good aspect but had fever.²⁹ Catherine, from Ragusa, was very beautiful but coughed (*loc cit*). A countess who suffered loss of hair was freed from that ugliness.³⁰ The daughter of Fabri Ferrario³¹ is obese and has a pretty face. She is 11 years old. He also differentiates between women according to marital status.

II

Against this background, which gives us an idea about what constitutes a woman's identity at this time and place, we can approach his representation of a *conversa*³². A whole cure is devoted to the wife of Sebastiao Pinto. The personality is interesting and deserves, therefore, some attention. Like her, Amatus Lusitanus is Portuguese, a *converso*, and his first volume reflects the 1540s. These are the years of the establishment of the Inquisition. The name Pinto is highly resonant in the annals of Sephardi history. Amatus Lusitanus had already mentioned Pinto, earlier, in Antwerp, as someone who had sent him a salve of roses for doña Gracia³³. Methodologically, therefore, the case is interesting, because, to understand it, we need

²⁹ I,89.

³⁰ I, 79.

³¹ I,36

³² I,31

³³ Maximiano Lemos, (1907).

to attend not only to the 700 cures, but also to the earlier *Index Dioscorides*³⁴ and also to the results of more recent archival work and other types of research. In addition, it is useful to search for and bear in mind the identification of the personalities mentioned by Amatus Lusitanus. Amatus, before 1549, tells us that the wife of Sebastiao Pinto was 30 years old when he first treated her, after she gave birth to a girl in Ferrara. Amatus Lusitanus left her and went to Venice to treat don Diego de Mendoza, the ambassador of Emperor Charles V.

When he returned he found a growth in her left breast. He supposed it malignant, but the wife of Pinto preferred to follow the advice of other women she knew, who said it was lumps or left overs of milk. She left the growth untreated for 8 months. She was irritable, bilious and yelled at the female servants. She was argumentative and always indignant. Amatus Lusitanus says that he could not help her with her non physical, spiritual preoccupations. Thinking that Amatus' treatment did not benefit her, she then went to Venice. She refused surgery. Amatus Lusitanus prepared a diet where he gives the equivalents in Spanish or Portuguese vernacular of the fish names to achieve a more rigorous and precise identification.

III

Sebastian Pinto, as we now know thanks to a search in the commercial and other documents found by the followers of Lucien Wolf³⁵ (Di Leoni³⁶ and Maria Teresa Guerini³⁷ amongst others,) is associated with what I would call “a network” of ex-

³⁴ (Antwerp 1536)

³⁵ Lucien Wolf, 191.

³⁶ Aron Di Leone Leoni, (2005) p.57: on 15/x/1538 Sebastian Pinto writes a letter from Antwerp to Duke Ercole II informing him that many Portuguese from Antwerp are willing to go to Ferrara. From August 1539 comes a letter of Ercole II instructing his ambassador in Milan to request the immediate release of Sebastian's brother (ibid, document 10). On 2/April/1541 Diego Mendes writes to the Duke Ercole II and mentions that Pinto, 'mio amico' wishes to move to Ferrara, see ibid, doc.23, p.173. According to Di Leone, in 1539 Pinto sets out for Ferrara and a few months later, his wife and her father and brother joined them, see ib. p. 97. In 1541, he establishes a company in association with the Duke to trade in sugar and western textiles. In 1547 he receives permission to settle in Tuscany from the Medici.

³⁷ In 1547, Samuel Usque, Yoseph Navarro, alias Petro Pignero, Hezra Vezinho alias Francisco Mendes, Sebastian Pinto and David Francho are mentioned in commercial documents. We may interpret this as evidence for the existence of a network of merchants who are part of a circle. See Maria Teresa Guerrini, (2001) pp.83-89, n.15. See also her n.17: “Two years before, i.e. ca. 1546 the same Yoseph Navarro, Ezra Vezinho and Sebastian Pinto, together with other Portuguese merchants, both in their own name and in their capacity as representatives of the Portuguese Nation of Ferrara, had provided a similar guarantee in favour of Enrico and Stefano de Pirris who were debtors to the Ducal

conversos from Portugal. They appear in the same years and same places where Amatus Lusitanus was practicing his profession and writing his descriptions of women. These former conversas and conversos from Portugal included Yoseph Navarro (alias Petro Pignero), Hezra Vezinho (alias Francisco Mendes), David Francho but also Samuel Usque, Brianda and Gracia Mendes, i.e. doña Gracia.

The documents show some of them as merchants dealing in wool and sword blades with sometimes stormy relations amongst themselves, but mostly characterized by a general solidarity. According to Di Leone, in 1541 Bastiao Rodrigues Pinto established a partnership with the Duke of Ferrara for trading in sugar³⁸. Diogo Mendes was a guarantor. The itineraries of these women and men are similar to those of Pinto and Amatus: Portugal, London, Antwerp, Venice, Ferrara, Pesaro and, eventually, the Ottoman Empire. The main dates of their activity are those of the cures in Amatus' volume, I, i.e. the 1540s.

These finds allow us to return to the question which since the mid nineteenth century motivates interest in this group in the first place. Indeed, the many conversos who shared a similar history but received less attention, were not involved in the creation or patronage of enduring and influential literary, historical and cultural productions, i.e., works such as the *Consolação às Tribulações de Israel*³⁹ or the *Biblia de Ferrara*⁴⁰. In other words, while the religious aspects unite all these converso men and women into an apparently homogeneous group, the cultural, intellectual perspective allows for appreciation of differences and distinction.

To understand how Sebastiao Pinto and his wife relate to this cultural milieu, one would have to persist in the identification of the individuals in the cures. Amatus

Chamber for the huge amount of 23.500 golden ducats, owing to their unsuccessful management of a commercial company the main investor of which was the Duke...”

³⁸Aron Di Leone Leoni, (2005) pp.90-91

³⁹*BIBLIA DE FERRARA*., 1553,.

⁴⁰ Samuel Usque, (1977).

Lusitanus tells us that Sebastiao Pinto's wife went on to Venice to be treated by other physicians such as Baptista Montano, who first translated Aetius into Latin; or [Vittorio Trincavelli](#), (or Victor Trincavello, [c. 1496-1568](#)). The question, then, would be what kind of contacts did this converso network have in Italy? Who are these physicians who are known and trusted to the extent of justifying a journey to Venice by Pinto's wife who did not have such faith in Amatus?

IV

One of the individuals whom Pinto's wife went to see in Venice was Johannes Baptista Montanus (b. 1498 in [Verona](#), d. May 6, 1551 in [Padua](#))⁴¹. He may be described as one of the leading [humanist](#) physicians of Italy who promoted the revival of [Greek medical](#) texts and practice, producing revisions of [Galen](#) as well as texts by [Rhazes](#) and [Avicenna](#). Montanus became a professor of practical medicine at [Ferrara](#) and at the [University of Padua](#) in 1539. Amatus silences, or at least does not mention, all these facts, but, rather selects for mention (out of all his works and achievements) his role in translating Aetius into Latin as the most distinctive feature. He is referring to the *Sixteen Books* by Aëtius Amidenus, distinguished physician of [Antioch](#), in 3 Volumes. Indeed, vols. 1 and 3 were translated into Latin by Montanus.⁴² Aetius' work is heavily indebted to [Galen](#) and [Oribasius](#), but it is nevertheless, a valuable survival of antiquity, a compilation from the writings of many authors, many from the [Alexandrian Library](#), whose works have been lost.

Vettore Trincavello is another physician who had contacts with Pinto's wife: he was chosen as a physician and was therefore treating her. He is also a significant personality. Between 1534 and 1537, he issued about eleven Greek texts, nearly all first editions, the most valuable being the works of Stobaeus and Arrian. Stobaeus, the 5th-century author, was the compiler of a valuable series of extracts from Greek authors. Vettore Trincavello's edition of *The Anthology* (books 3 and 4) in 1536, in Venice, is part of a work which contains extracts from hundreds of Greek writers,

⁴¹Paul F. Grendler, (2004), pp. 341–342; Elizabeth Lane Furdell, (2001), pp. 45–46; J. Bylebyl, (2005)

⁴² Basel 1535.

who otherwise might be unknown today; including poets, historians, orators, philosophers and physicians. The third and fourth books ("Florilegium") are devoted to moral, political, and economic subjects and maxims of practical wisdom⁴³.

That is to say that, while the importance of such editions might be common knowledge today, in the Pinto household and in Amatus' writings, we have evidence of some familiarity with and a relatively early recognition of the significance of these humanist projects. So that, unlike today, in the mid sixteenth century, Amatus' and the Pintos' familiarity with the editor of the *Greek Anthology* represents an event: an awareness of, a contact with, recent, "cutting edge" humanist, scholarly, intellectual novelties. Within Iberian Jewish communities which were moving towards the Ottoman Empire, such up to date tastes are worth noting precisely because they do not accord with usual stereotypes. Although nowadays the tendency seems to be to qualify the degree of the quality of Trincavelli's hellenism, Amatus Lusitanus was quite right in his praise and, for us, these contacts throw a somewhat different light on this circle usually seen or described as merchants.

The Ferrara household of Sebastian and his wife was the place of poetic recitals. These activities give us a clue to the history of taste in the "Nation" of Ferrara. They predate the "Berlin salons" (Varnhagen, Hertz, etc.) and even the Northern European (Amsterdam, Livorno) "Academies". From our perspective, if we attend to the evidence, we can have an idea of the type of cultural orientation prevalent in the household run by Sebastian's wife (with the help of her documented servants). The recitals were not devoted to "romances" and "coplas"; the poetry was Neo-Latin. The subject was epic: the *Jornada de Argel*. The poet was Diogo Pires⁴⁴. That is to say, that the audience could identify on a number of levels. The poet was a relative and, like them, Iberian, Portuguese, (from Evora). He was more or less of their generation and age. Like them, he was interested in recent events. Like others in the circle he had been educated at Salamanca and shared an itinerary including London and Antwerp. Like others, he considered women (e.g. wives) decorous subjects for writing. Like them, he considered the theme of exile as worthy of profound,

⁴³ See for example, F. Edward Cranz, (1958), pp. 510-546. James Bruce Ross, (1976), pp. 521-566.

⁴⁴ G. H. Tucker, (1998), pp. 83-113. António Manuel Lopes Andrade, (2005). According to Andrade, Amatus was the first cousin of Didacus.

demanding artistic, literary recreations. He identified with Odysseus⁴⁵. This could lead to a simple equation of days and works; life and art. But poet and audience alike were not simply reflecting “experience”. The usual differentiations between on the one hand, audiences (such as, say, the members of the Pleiade) which respond to a textual, literary tradition and on the other hand, audiences which have “experience” and orality does not work. They were literate. Their ancestors’ concern, interest, writing and their literary, homiletical and poetical elaborations on the theme of exile (Abraham’s; the desert wanderings and others) have been found, evidenced and documented⁴⁶. Like other members of this network, they seem to have had certain standards of literary / cultural criticism, or evaluation. The esthetic seems to have privileged melancholy and tragedy as appropriate for elevated and nobler discourse. The expedition of the Habsburg Emperor, Charles V, against Barbarroja in Argel (or, rather, Cabo Cajina) around October-November 1541 ended in catastrophic defeat. The adverse weather conditions played a part. Hundred and fifty ships are said to have been sunk. The surviving tripulation had their throats cut by the Algerians. This is the subject of the recital at the Pinto’s household: the poem *Caroli V Imperatoris ex Algeria urbe reditus*. It would appear in print in 1545 in Didacus Phyrus’ book: *Didaci Pyrrhi Lusitani Carminum liber unus*. Ferrariae, apud Franciscum Rubrium, 1545. In January 1542, Didacus would already mention the recital at the Pintos’ household, in his epistle to Sebastian Pinto, so that there is no doubt that Sebastian’s wife was still alive at the time.

V

The patient’s husband, Sebastian Pinto who is documented in London, in Antwerp and in various Italian cities in the decade of the writing of Amatus first volume i.e. around the 1540s, may be enlightening as to the character of this “network”. He brought over his wife in 1539. He was the brother in law (i.e. related by a woman) of

⁴⁵ G. H. Tucker, (2003) idem, , 1990; idem, “ (1992), pp. 175-98 ; idem ‘ (1993), pp. 83-103 ;id, (1997), pp. 33-49.

⁴⁶ E.Gutwirth, 1998) 293-308

Antonio de la Ronha of London and Antwerp, an individual described in a document as a tall Jew with one eye, a master of Hebrew theology⁴⁷. Our acquaintance with this London community has been enlarged by specific studies, for example, those concerning musicians at court. Prior, Holman and others have identified members of the string consort at the royal court of Henry VIII in the early 1540s, near the time when Sebastian Pinto was there, as Jews, probably Spanish and Portuguese exiles from Italy, bearing names such as Elmaleh and Lopez⁴⁸. They have been seen as innovative elements in that period's culture. How far these new data concerning the exiles on their way to the Ottoman Empire and their contacts and networks have changed our image of Ottoman Jewish society and culture is far from clear.

VI

The circle of the patient's husband, Sebastiao Rodrigues Pinto, can now be reconstructed further. Thus, recently, thanks to Pierre Petitmengin and James P. Carley⁴⁹, a number of sixteenth century letters have come to light in the [Humanist Library](#) of Sélestat in Alsace, one of the oldest and most coherent collections of medieval manuscripts and Renaissance books in Europe. Its core is the library of Beatus Rhenanus (22 August 1485 – 20 July 1547), an Alsatian [humanist](#), religious reformer, and [classical scholar](#). In 1511, Rhenanus moved to [Basel](#), where he came into contact with [Desiderius Erasmus](#) and was involved in the publishing enterprises of [Johann Froben](#). This Froben is the publisher/printer of Munster's *Arukh* in 1523 and his family would later become famous for the publication of the Basel Talmud 1578-1581. Rhenanus returned to Schlettstadt in 1526, to devote himself to a life of learning. He continued a correspondence with many contemporary scholars, including Erasmus, and supervised the printing of many of Erasmus's most important works. A recent article based on research at this library, although unconcerned with subjects treated here may, nevertheless, be of relevance as it unearthed a letter concerning a Tertulian MS. It is dated the 1st June 1539:

⁴⁷ Cecil Roth, (1948) p.30, asserts that he was a kinsman of Doña Gracia.

⁴⁸ Roger Prior, (1983) 253-65. Idem, (1990), 137–52. Peter Holman (1982-83) 39-59 Cecil Roth *History of the Jews in England* chapter six.

⁴⁹Pierre Petitmengin (2003) pp. 63-74

John Leland, Antiquary, to Beatus Rhenanus, greetings.

You asked a certain Damian de Góis, a Spaniard, to negotiate with me on your behalf, or rather on behalf of the literate public, concerning the dispatch of a manuscript of Tertullian much more complete than the one recently printed by Froben. He did not contact me at all; nevertheless he wrote, with the greatest care, a letter to Richard Morison, a man remarkable for his genius, his culture and the favour of our prince. The latter easily obtained what he asked of me in your name, and promptly arranged for the manuscript to be sent to Pinto, a Portuguese merchant active in Flanders. Pinto has faithfully filled his mission, and gave the manuscript to Damiao. In fact I have seen with my own eyes a letter from Damiao, where he affirms that he has received the codex and that he will soon send it to you. If you have already received it, all is well; otherwise, take care in every possible way that the world is not deprived of a so great and so rare a treasure.

Pinto's connection to Damião de Góis in 1539, as well as his connection with English humanists such as Morison is clearly attested in this new letter. Richard Morison, (1513-1556) was well known as a humanist who had studied Greek in Italy, as an ambassador to the Emperor and as a protégé of Thomas Cromwell⁵⁰. An assiduous reader of Machiavelli, he is sometimes termed the father of English comedy. He seems to be well acquainted with Pinto; he trusts him and is well aware of his movements. This, in turn, may be related to yet another recent find.

As will be recalled, a translation commentary on Ecclesiastes of 1538 by Pinto's acquaintance or friend, i.e. Damião de Góis has recently been found by Earle⁵¹ in the All Souls library. As Earle remarks:

⁵⁰ Tracey A. Sowerby. (2010)

⁵¹ T.F. Earle, (2001), pp. 42-63.

Góis's translation is an indication that the religious tradition of Portugal is not as orthodox as is sometimes supposed, but the disappearance of his book for more than four centuries and a half shows how small an impact he was able to make on the thinking of his countrymen...

The remaining problem seems to be: how did Damião de Góis obtain access to the medieval Hebrew commentary of Ibn Ezra on Ecclesiastes long before its translation into Spanish. Earle maintains that

He certainly seems to have thought that the [rabbinic](#) commentators on Ecclesiastes knew more about it than their Christian counterparts, for he cites them far more often.

From our perspective, the evidence is not isolated. We may say that Damião de Góis had connections with Crypto-Jewish Portuguese leaders of the "nation" and not only with Diego Mendez. What is now clear is that without taking such links into account, we cannot explain the one, otherwise unexpected, intellectual or scholarly feature of his work: contact with Hebrew learning. In addition, this contact between Pinto and Tertullian could be an added piece of evidence for the dossier on Iberian Jewish "senequism"⁵² in the transition from the medieval to the modern periods. The contacts between the English courtier involved in questions of "new learning" and "old learning", Edward Lee, and the Iberian author educated as a Jew before his conversion, Alfonso de Zamora may, therefore, not be a mere anecdote⁵³. These contacts become more significant now that we begin to understand the role of such converso families in networks which include a number of activities, even transmission and dissemination of texts and ideas. Indeed the Alfonso de Zamora- Edward Lee relationship becomes almost emblematic of relations between English relatively advanced learning and Iberian Jewish/converso culture. John Dee's particular interest in the aljamiado MS now at the Bodleian would be an additional piece of evidence for and part of this trend. This allows us to offer a more comprehensible perspective on the milieu of Pinto's wife. It is within such a specific context that Amatus' careful

⁵² We need simply recall Tertullian's 'saepe noster'

⁵³ E. Gutwirth, (1988/9) 29-59

descriptions of affect and inner feelings of women – e.g. Pinto's wife's irritability, yelling, spiritual preoccupations- become more comprehensible.

Sebastian Pinto's wife is described in Amatus' cure by aspects which are not restricted to the physical symptoms, and it differs, as has been seen, from some of the other descriptions of women, although it has a context in Amatus' attention to women's idleness/boredom; sadness; beliefs and fears. Not all women of her time were in contact with culturally advanced humanist physicians, with a network including some of the prominent figures of the period's culture, with what we now may describe as the latest ideas and leading intellectual trends.

To summarize: the wife of Pinto belonged to a group where wives had their own “groups”. Amongst others, they were instrumental in cementing the relations within the larger group. She had a circle of women friends, in the 1540s, in Italy, in whom she confided her intimate ills and whom she trusted, perhaps more than Amatus. She also had contacts in Ferrara, Venice (and possibly elsewhere through her husband) with some of the most eminent humanists of the age. Rather than continuing to see them, as did the Inquisition or the courts, purely as merchants or as Jews or *judaizantes* (although they obviously were all that) one may, after reading Amatus' calibrated descriptions, identifying his allusions and reconstructing a context, see them as cosmopolitan, polyglot circles with humanist interests and links to the world of book publishing; a circle with the kind of interests and discernment that led to identifying, learning about and understanding some of the more advanced creativity and scholarship of their time. This included literature, perhaps courtly music, but also Christian Hebraism, medicine, hellenism and other fields. This primary source offers a view of the “Nación” which is not similar to, but, rather contrasts with, the conventional view and its remedial, pedagogic and *reeducción* hypotheses. Pinto's wife died in Italy, but others in her circle, in many cases, would continue their itineraries to enrich the Jewish communities of the Ottoman Empire. They are a part of that area's history. They predate, sometimes by decades, the much better known and repeatedly recorded Jewish contacts with such specific advanced cultural trends.

They were part of traditionalist families in which their immediate peninsular ancestors, grandparents or great grandparents, had shown similar interests. It suffices to

remember Abravanel's citations of Seneca, his efforts to create in the emerging modern languages, Portuguese in his case, his option for the Greco-Roman genre of *consolatio*⁵⁴; Profayt el Nasi's composition in Castilian where we find the praise of chivalry and where rhetoric and economics are intertwined; Zacut's rhetorical compositions in the genre of the panegyric in Castilian and the Lisbon Leon Hebreo's efforts and success in his book *Dialogues of Love*⁵⁵ in the genre cultivated by Ficino and others. At such levels of creativity, the romantic formulations of the nineteenth century fade into the background. Less general and homogenizing aspects can now be treated by historians, thanks, in part, to a rereading of the new data which is being found, but also by reformulating our questions about women and their representation in XVIth century texts.

⁵⁴ E. Gutwirth, (2000) 79-98

⁵⁵ See, recently, Marta del Pozo (2012) pp.1-10

Bibliography

BIBLIA DE FERRARA. Edición y prólogo de Moshe Lazar. (Primera Biblia en ladino, 1553, redactada en caracteres latinos, traducida del hebreo por los sefarditas Yom Tob Atías y Abraham Usque). Madrid Biblioteca Castro, 2004,. 2ªed

Bylebyl, J. 'The manifest and the hidden in the Renaissance clinic', in W. F. Bynum and R. Porter (eds), *Medicine and the Five Senses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Cranz, F. Edward "The Prefaces to the Greek Editions and Latin Translations of Alexander of Aphrodisias, 1450 to 1575" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 102, No. 5 (Oct. 20, 1958), pp. 510-546.

Earle, T.F. "Ecclesiastes de Salamam: An Unknown Biblical Translation by Damião de Góis", *Portuguese Studies* 17 (2001), pp. 42-63.

Friedenwald, Harry *The Jews and Medicine*, Baltimore, 1944

Furdell, Elizabeth Lane *The Royal Doctors, 1485–1714: Medical Personnel at the Tudor and Stuart Courts* (Boydell & Brewer, 2001), pp. 45–46;

Grendler, Paul F. *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 341–342;

Guerrini, Maria Teresa "New documents on Samuel Usque the author of the Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel" *Sefarad 61:1* (2001) pp.83-89

Gutwirth, E. 'Sephardi Aristocrats or Rococo Hebraists: On the Social Historiography of Hispanic Jewry' (ed. A.Doron) *The Heritage of the Jews of Spain* (Tel Aviv 1994) 103-122

Gutwirth, E. "Amatus Lusitanus and the Locations of Sixteenth Century Cultures" in (ed. D.Ruderman et al) *Cultural Intermediaries* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) 216-238

--, 'Inquisition, Theology and the Lozana Andaluza' (S. Wendehorst ed.) *The Roman Inquisition, the Index and the Jews. Contexts, Sources and Perspectives* (Leiden - Boston 2004) 71-106

--, 'Edward Lee and Alfonso de Zamora' *MEAH* 37/8 (1988/9) 295-9

--, "Consolatio: Don Isaac Abravanel and the Classical Tradition" *Medievalia et Humanistica* NS 27 (2000) 79-98

Halsam, S. A.; Oakes, P. J.; Turner, J. C.; McGarty, C. (1995). "Social identity, self-categorization and the perceived homogeneity of ingroups and outgroups: the interaction between social motivation and cognition". In Sorrentino, R. M.; Higgins, E. T.. *Handbook of Motivation and Cognition*. 3. New York: Guilford. pp. 182–222.

Holman, Peter 'The English Royal Violin Consort in the Sixteenth Century' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* CIX (1982-83) 39-59

Imperiale, Louis; Bubovna, Tatiana, *La Roma clandestina de Francisco Delicado y Pietro Aretino* (New York, NY; Peter Lang; 1997)

Lemos, Maximiano – *Amato Lusitano : a sua vida e a sua obra*. (Porto, Eduardo Tavares Martins, 1907).

Leone Leoni, Aron Di, *The Hebrew Portuguese Nations In Antwerp And London At The Time Of Charles V* (New York 2005)

Lopes Andrade, António Manuel "O Cato Minor de Diogo Pires e a poesia didáctica do século XVI," Tese de Doutoramento, Universidade de Aveiro, 2005.

Lusitanus Amatus, *Curationum medicinalium centuria...* Paris: Sébastien Nivelles, 1554

Mullen, Brian; Hu, Li-Tze "Perceptions of Ingroup and Outgroup Variability: A Meta-Analytic Integration". *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 10 (3) (1989): 233–252.

Petitmengin Pierre --- Carley, James P. "Malmesbury-Sélestat-Malines: The tribulations of a manuscript of Tertullian in the middle of the 16th century." *Annuaire des amis de la bibliothèque humaniste de Selestat* (2003) pp. 63-74

Pozo, Marta del "La traducción de Los Diálogos de Amor de León Hebreo: Notas para el entendimiento humano del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega" *Entrehojas: Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* Volume 2, Issue 1 (2012) pp.1-10

Prior, Roger 'Jewish Musicians at the Tudor Court' *The Musical Quarterly* LXIX (1983) 253-65.

--, "A second Jewish community in Tudor London" *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 31 (1990), 137–52.

Quattrone, G. A. "On the perception of a group's variability" in Worchel, S.; Austin, W. G.. *Psychology of intergroup relations* (2nd ed.). Chicago: Nelson-Hall(1986).

Ross, James Bruce "Venetian Schools and Teachers Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century: A Survey and a Study of Giovanni Battista Egnazio" *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Winter, 1976), pp. 521-566

Roth, Cecil *The House of Nasi: Dona Gracia* (Philadelphia 1948)

--- *History of the Jews in England* (Oxford, 1941)

Tucker, G. H. 'To Louvain and Antwerp, and Beyond: the contrasting itineraries of Diogo Pires (Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus, 1517-99) and João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco (Amatus Lusitanus, 1511-68)', in *Medievalia Lovaniensia Series I / Studia XXVI* (1998), pp. 83-113

-----, *Homo Viator: Itineraries of Exile, Displacement and Writing in Renaissance Europe*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 376 (Geneva: Droz, 2003)

-----, *The Poet's Odyssey: Joachim Du Bellay and the Antiquitez de Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990);

-----, "Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus (1517-99), Poet of Exile", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* XLI (1992), pp. 175-98 ;

-----'Exile Exiled: Petrus Alcyonius (1487-1527?) in a Travelling-chest', *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies* 2 (1993), pp. 83-103 ;

-----, 'Voix d'exil, voies divergentes chez deux marranes portugais, Diogo Pires (1517-99) et João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco (1511-68)', in *Homo Viator : Le Voyage de la vie (XVe-XVIe siècles)*, ed. F. Lestringant and S. Moussa, *Revue des Sciences Humaines* 245 (janvier-mars 1997), pp. 33-49.

Usque, Samuel *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel (Consolaçam às Tribulações de Israel)*, translated from the Portuguese Cohen, Martin A. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1977) [1st ed. 1965].

Wolf, Lucien 'Jews in Elizabethan England' *Transactions JHSE* XI (1926) 1-91.