

# Vasari on the Jews: Christian Canon, Conversion, and the *Moses* of Michelangelo

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Well may the Hebrews continue to go there, as they do every Sabbath, both men and women, like flocks of starlings, to visit and adore that statue; for they will be adoring a thing not human but divine.—Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori*, 1550<sup>1</sup>

The first edition of *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani* appeared in two volumes in 1550, under the name of the painter Giorgio Vasari as author and Lorenzo Torrentino, the ducal printer of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici of Florence, as publisher.<sup>2</sup> *The Lives* comprises what we now refer to as a theoretical and a historical part.<sup>3</sup> The introductory, theoretical part discusses the three “sister arts” systematically, in three sections. This is followed by a historical part, also in three sections, that recounts the history of art and architecture from the so-called early Oriental high cultures to Vasari's time. *The Lives* opens with the creation of the world and humankind by the *Deus artifex* of the Hebrew Bible and it closes shortly after the description of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. Michelangelo embodies the climax and telos of the first edition of Vasari's *Lives*: in the Life of Michelangelo, the artist is stylized as *artista divino* and überfather of the three sister arts.

The Life of Michelangelo contains a description of crowds of Jews making a regular pilgrimage to the Roman church of S. Pietro in Vincoli to “adore” the artist's sculpture of Moses, the enunciator of the ban on images in the Hebrew Bible (Figs. 1, 2). The veracity of Vasari's report has not been investigated thoroughly. Nor has the role of Jews and Judaism within the architecture of Vasari's *Lives* been explored. Vasari writes that the Roman Jews visited Michelangelo's sculpture “every Sabbath, . . . like flocks of starlings.” In this passage, Michelangelo is presented as challenging the Mosaic aniconism by means of a Christian image. He had made a Christian icon of the iconoclast, thus overcoming and transcending the condemnation of images in the Hebrew Bible. The Roman Jews who (allegedly) adored Michelangelo's *Moses* were also violating the prohibition on beholding and adoring images that Moses, the very subject of this sculpture, had himself enunciated. In writing about the great power of this major work of Christian art, Vasari was alluding to the theme of the conversion of the Jews. He was making a connection to the theological topos of the “eschatological Jew(s),” that is, those Jews who, according to Saint Augustine, would spontaneously convert on Judgment Day.<sup>4</sup>

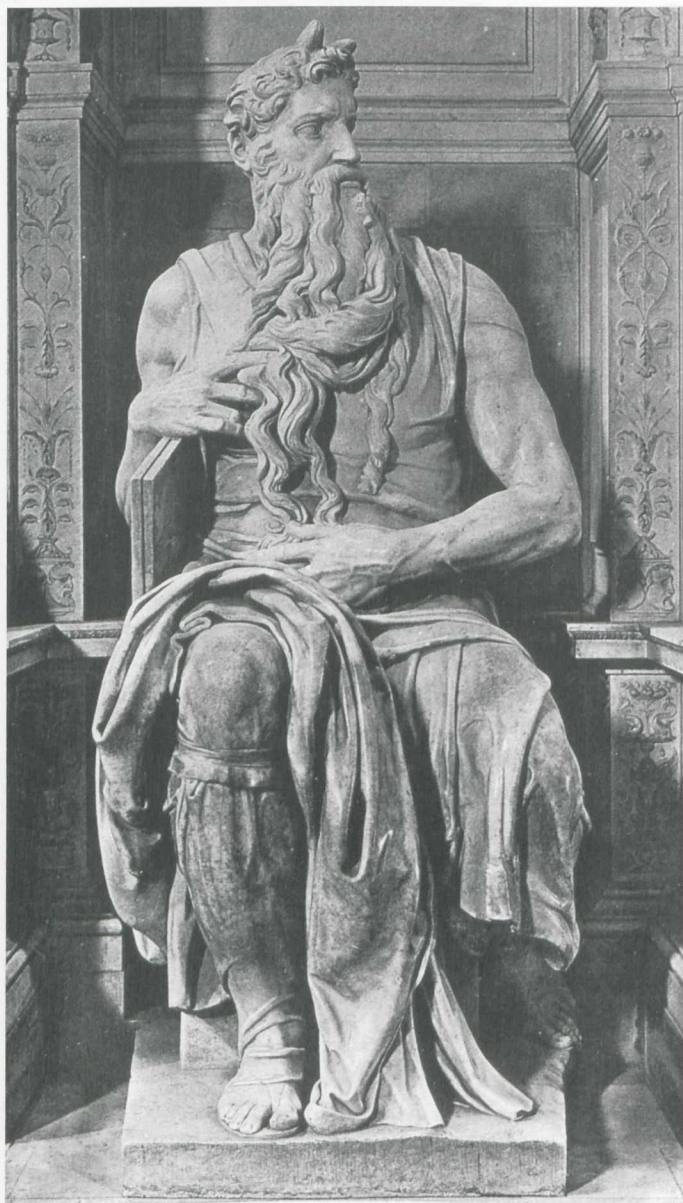
Recent scholarship shows that Vasari was not the sole creator of *The Lives*.<sup>5</sup> (Nevertheless, for the sake of simplicity, I will speak of him as the author of *The Lives* and of Vasari's *Lives*, in the conventional manner.) Pier Francesco Giambullari, humanist and cultural functionary in the service of Cosimo I, was an important co-author of *The Lives*. According to Charles Hope and Thomas Frangenberg, he is the *spiritus*

rector of the structural organization of the history of art since Cimabue, in three epochs, and the main author of the preface to the historical part, the “Proemio delle vite” (T 111–25). The latter contains a short art history from Bezalel to Cimabue. Giambullari claimed to be a connoisseur and scholar of the “sapientissimi Cabalisti” (the wisest Cabbalists),<sup>6</sup> and the “Dottori ebrei” (Jewish scholars).<sup>7</sup> Yet his description of the Tabernacle of Moses, which the Hebrew Bible attributes to Bezalel, the first Jewish artist, has been overlooked by contemporary scholars.<sup>8</sup>

On the one hand, the historiographical concept of Vasari's *Lives* is aligned with the “new” humanist tradition of writing history and its antique pagan models. On the other hand—and so far unremarked—*The Lives* make use of the patristic theology of history and the history of the world from its creation to the Last Judgment in medieval and early modern universal chronicles.<sup>9</sup> In effect, Vasari and his co-authors tell the history of art in the manner of Christian salvation history and as a history of the overcoming of the supposed Jewish aniconism.<sup>10</sup> This overcoming culminates in a Christian image of Moses. Moreover, canonization, conversion, and the cult of art, or *Kunstreligion*, are dovetailed in the later reception of Vasari's interpretation of Michelangelo's *Moses* up to Sigmund Freud.

## The “Biblical” Structure of *The Lives*

*The Lives*'s borrowings from the historiography of antiquity have been thoroughly investigated since the turn of the twentieth century, and pagan models for a biological conception of Vasari's *rinascita* have been pointed out.<sup>11</sup> The ancient patterns of growth, florescence, fading, and new becoming<sup>12</sup> and of the “Ages of Man”<sup>13</sup> underlie his Petrarchan triad<sup>14</sup> of antiquity, Middle Ages, and *rinascita*, or rebirth (T 125 and passim), of the arts since Cimabue. Vasari also relied on the pagan paradigm of “*historia magistra vitae*,” or history as life's teacher (see T 223)<sup>15</sup> adopted by humanism and on representational patterns of antique biography.<sup>16</sup> Less explored, but equally important, are Vasari's recourses to Christian theology and medieval and early modern universal chronicles *ab orbe condito*, that is, telling the history of the world from the Creation. Vasari derives from these sources the eschatological framework of a “grand narrative,”<sup>17</sup> from Adam to Judgment Day. In the case of the Torrentiniana (the first edition of *The Lives*), the “grand récit” extends to the unsurpassed visual example of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*.<sup>18</sup> The historiography of *The Lives* also alludes to the traditional six ages of the world of Christian theology. Notably, the subdivision of art history since Cimabue, and with it, the “progresso della . . . rinascita,” or progress of [art's] second birth (T 125), is divided into three epochs.<sup>19</sup> These offer explicit analogies to the three biblical patristic ages of salvation: *ante legem*—*sub lege*—*sub gratia* (nature, law, grace).<sup>20</sup> Vasari's “grand narra-



1 Michelangelo, *Moses*, tomb of Julius II, marble, height 97¼ in. (247 cm). S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome (artwork in the public domain; photograph ca. 1910, provided by the author)

tive” of the history of art in the “Proemio delle vite,” spanning the Creation of the world to the thirteenth century, is relayed in just fifteen pages (T 111–25). His art history from Cimabue on consists of three series of biographies, or *vite*, each preceded by a synoptic preface, or *proemio*, that take up the majority of the pages of the two-volume Torrentiniana (T 126–991).

*The Lives's* alliance of a systematic theory of art with a history of art from the Creation of the world to the present time is prefigured formally in major universal chronicles, such as the *Liber exceptionum*, formerly attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor, and *Summa* and *Chronicon* of Saint Antoninus of Florence. Universal or world chronicles, an important genre of medieval historiography, continued to be written, published, and read widely in early modern times until the sixteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Accounting records clearly indicate that the Latin version of Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle*

of 1493 received widespread circulation and distribution in Italy.<sup>22</sup> Johannes Carion's *Chronica*, a Protestant textbook on world history, was read in Florence in the 1540s by Giambullari.<sup>23</sup> Carion's *Chronica*, which follows the so-called *Vaticinium Eliae*, or prophecy of Elijah, a Scripture from the Jewish tradition, divides world history into three periods of two thousand years each.<sup>24</sup>

Vasari placed the history of art of his time in a comprehensive frame of salvation history *ab orbe condito*, and he presented it as a teleological process. This structure, based on a traditional theology of history, informed his work; he does not appear to be heavily indebted to the historiography of early humanism founded in Florence by Leonardo Bruni and Coluccio Salutati, nor by the “modern” historiography of his contemporaries, such as Niccolò Machiavelli and Francesco Guiccardini.<sup>25</sup> Machiavelli, Guiccardini, and his mentor, Paolo Giovio, concentrate mainly on the shorter periods of universal history and on the inherent causalities of historical events. They usually do not adhere to a providential pattern of universal history.<sup>26</sup>

Vasari also concentrates his historiography on a limited span, proceeding to his own time. His “progresso della . . . rinascita” (T 125) commences in 1240, the year of Cimabue's birth, and concludes shortly before 1550. And in the presentation of the achievements of his protagonists, he frequently follows a quite secular ethics of industry (*industria*) and labor (*fatica*) found in the records of Tuscan merchants since the High Middle Ages.<sup>27</sup> Taking his historiographical scheme from universal history, however, Vasari refers to Christian historiography as it was established by Eusebius of Caesarea and canonized by Saint Augustine.<sup>28</sup> Divine providence plays an important role in Vasari's *Lives*: this is not only the case in single lives—such as at the beginning of Michelangelo's biography, where his birth is described as an act of God's grace (T 947)—but also in the way the 133 lives are arranged in the first edition,<sup>29</sup> following the model of a providential history of salvation.

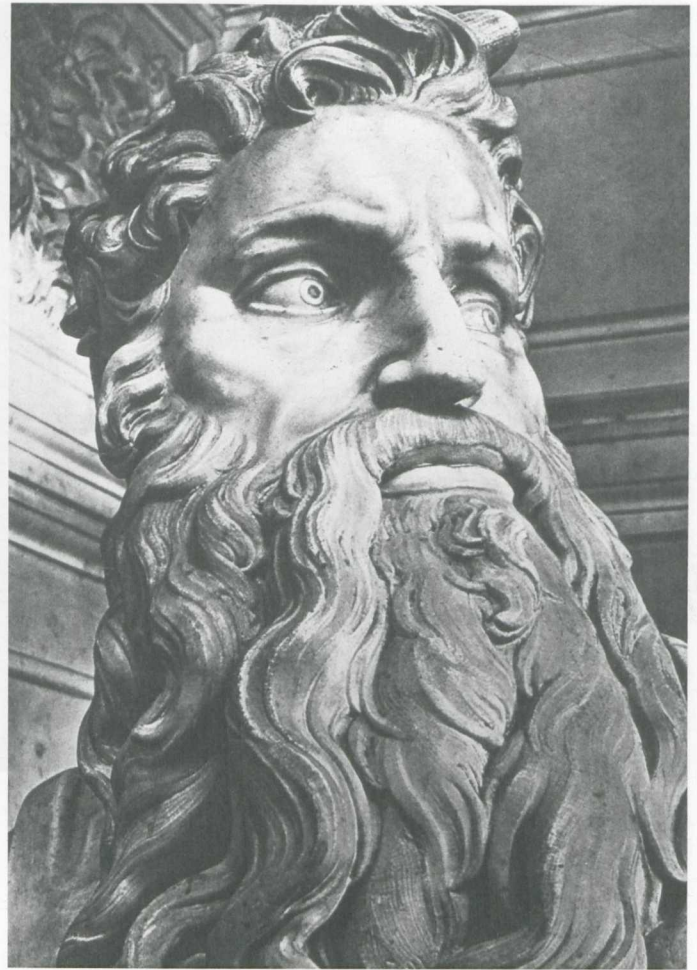
In the early modern age, universal chronicles *ab orbe condito* continued to be the standard working models of historical orientation, especially since they incorporated contents from humanist historiography. However, they integrated these contents into the canonized framework of a history of salvation.<sup>30</sup> In the teleological orientation of their art history (in the prefaces) and in their history of artists (within the three series of biographies), Vasari and his co-authors drew on the structures and topoi of Christian theology of history as these were adapted to universal chronicles. Vasari tells the history of the *rinascita* of the *arti del disegno*—of the visual arts since Cimabue—as one of progression in steps, in which important protagonists refer back to characters in the Bible.<sup>31</sup> The Life of Cimabue alludes to Noah, Giotto's biography to Abraham, Raphael's very explicitly to Jesus Christ, and that of Michelangelo, with its stylization of the artist as überfather of the three sister arts, to the Trinity, and to the “divine Architect of time and of nature” (T 111).<sup>32</sup>

Vasari made use of single biblical motifs, then, as well as the eschatological frame of the biblical “grand narrative” from Genesis to Judgment. *The Lives* employs, accordingly, Christian theology of history's traditional succession of the six ages of the world (divided into the epochs ordered by

Adam—Noah—Abraham—David—prophets from the Babylonian captivity—Jesus) and the three ages of salvation (nature, law, grace).<sup>33</sup> Vasari’s “historical part” starts, as indicated, with the world’s and Adam’s creation (T 111). Following contemporary hypotheses of Noah as progenitor of the Etruscan-Tuscan culture and language and as founder of Florence, Vasari declares Cimabue to be the initiator of the new Tuscan art after the “Flood” of the Middle Ages and its evils (“l’infinito diluvio de’ mali,” T 126).<sup>34</sup> Giotto then appears as progenitor and patriarch of a new school, as a kind of Abraham of a new art, whose pastoral origin refers back to the patriarch’s world of shepherds from the Hebrew Bible (and to the shepherd boys of ancient myth). The “natural art” that Giotto learned “without a teacher” (T 147) assigns him to the epoch of the *lex naturalis*, or natural law. The first part of *The Lives* (T 111–222), covering Cimabue, Giotto, and the trecento, finds its parallel in the biblical epoch *ante legem* (nature). The second part of *The Lives* (T 223–552) corresponds to the biblical epoch *sub lege* (law). The artists of the second epoch of the *rinascita*, namely, “Filippo, Donato, Paulo Uccello e Masaccio” (T 284), set up and canonized the rules of art. Vasari argues that Filippo Brunelleschi reintroduced the classical orders of architecture (T 300), Masaccio founded the “true method” (“vera via,” T 284), and Donatello can be called the “pattern for the others” (T 233).<sup>35</sup> The best masters of the fifteenth century were in excellent command of the laws of the arts—of “rule, order, proportion, draftsmanship, and manner” (T 555)<sup>36</sup>—but they had not yet reached artistic perfection, as they retained “a dry, and crude manner” (T 558). In the third epoch, which is our concern, Leonardo da Vinci established the “third manner” by reaching “a perfected *disegno*, and . . . divine beauty, and gracefulness” (T 558), even an “infinite grace” (T 563).<sup>37</sup> Yet the crowning achievements of the third epoch are laid to the works of the “graziosissimo Raffaello da Urbino” (T 559) and, most of all, of Michelangelo, who held sway in the realm (*principato*) not only of one of the sister arts but also of all three together (T 560). With his “judgment” (T 560) and “grace [*grazia*]” (T 561), the arts reached their “utmost limit and end [*ultimo termine*]” (T 560) and “a completely and truly gracious grace” (T 561).<sup>38</sup>

According to Christian understanding, the Mosaic laws are imperfect compared to the revelations of the New Testament, which will lead to the epoch *sub gratia*. Accordingly, only in Vasari’s third epoch is the mastery of the rules accompanied with the freedom (*licentia*) that enables perfect grace and the exceeding of every measure and prescribed rule (T 556). In the preface to *The Lives*’s third part (T 555–61), the third and last epoch of the *rinascita* is charged with the traditional characteristics of the third epoch of salvation history, the final epoch of grace.

The figure of Michelangelo takes up a theme from *The Lives*’s theoretical section, where *disegno* is introduced as father (*padre*) of the three sister arts (T 19). Vasari equates Raphael with Christ and Michelangelo with the Trinity and God the Father. As he puts it, Raphael was born on a Good Friday (T 636) and he died on a Good Friday (T 670), though after a less holy passion (T 670). Michelangelo, though, reached the ultimate stage of the art of all times. He not only depicted the Last Judgment but he also executed a “judg-

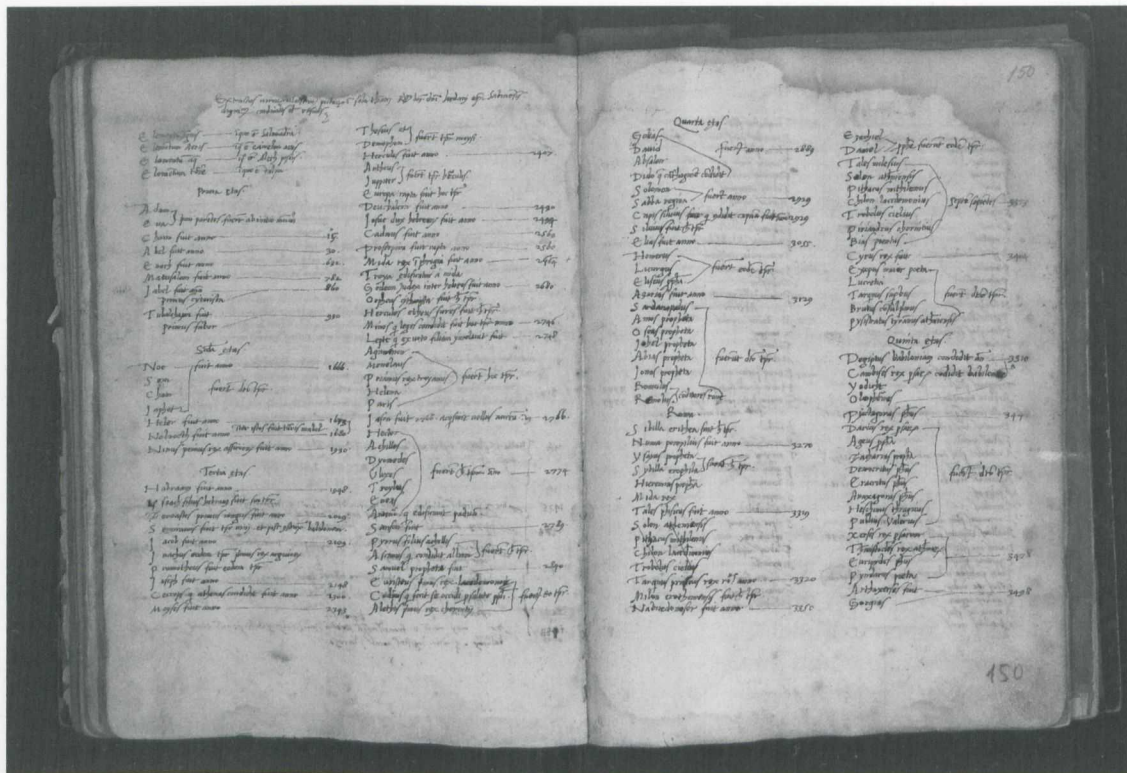


2 Michelangelo, *Moses*, detail showing the head (artwork in the public domain; photograph ca. 1910, provided by the author)

ment” (*Giudizio*, T 982) on all previous art and brought an end to all artistic innovation (T 982–86). In *The Lives*’s second edition, the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno, founded in 1563, is accorded the role of dispensing and administering the unsurpassable means of art brought forth by Raphael and Michelangelo, just as the Church administers the means of salvation.<sup>39</sup>

Chronologically arranged collections of biographies that were more or less ordered by the ascending death dates of their protagonists, were rather rare prior to Vasari.<sup>40</sup> Pertinent collections of lives from antiquity and early humanism, such as the parallel biographies of Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius’s *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, or Vespasiano da Bisticci’s *Vite*, have a different structuring sequence: they follow the order of typology, “school,” and social rank. *De viris illustribus urbis Romae*, an anthology of biographies from late antiquity largely forgotten today, was first published in Rome in 1470. This chronologically arranged compilation of lives was well known in Vasari’s time.<sup>41</sup> Vasari also would have been acquainted with the structuring of a collection of lives according to patterns of salvation history from the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine, one of the most widely read printed books of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.<sup>42</sup>

Vasari had a different model in the arts. The world history



3 Marco Attilio Alessi, *Chronologia universalis*. Biblioteca Città di Arezzo, MS 63, fols. 149v–150r (document in the public domain; photograph provided by the Biblioteca Città di Arezzo)

of Marco Attilio Alessi from Arezzo contains a list of figures in a famous quattrocento fresco cycle from the Roman palace of Cardinal Giordano Orsini that showed *uomini illustri* (illustrious men) in chronological sequence according to the six Augustinian ages of the world.<sup>43</sup> In the headings of the list, Alessi names these six ages, and he assigns to each of them a group of names (Fig. 3). Vasari followed this very principle of a historical progression of biographies, but in three rather than the customary six ages. Here we may note that a “genealogical” succession in *three* rows of historical protagonists was already prefigured in the Gospel of Matthew (1:1–17) and contained in the lists of generations of Joachim of Fiore’s *Liber concordie*.<sup>44</sup> Vasari’s *Lives* not only inherits *single* motifs from the Bible, as Paul Barolsky has shown, but it also carries over the basic historiographical structure of the Bible in toto, and it does so according to the patristic theology of history and to the universal chronicles, the *Legenda aurea*, and the “illustrious men” cycles.

### Vasari on the Jews

The Jews put onstage in *The Lives* come forth as historical agents or as the protagonists of artworks detailed by Vasari. They move partly in a biblical past, they act in Vasari’s historical present, and they allude to an eschatological future. *The Lives*’s narrative of the history of art stems from theological “meta-histories,”<sup>45</sup> and it attributes to the Jews and to Judaism the very role that, *mutatis mutandis*, had been traditionally ascribed by Christian theology of history to the Jews of the Hebrew Bible, to the role of Jewry under Christian control, and to the so-called eschatological Jew. According to traditional Christian salvation history, the covenant with Abraham and especially the Mosaic law were regarded as necessary preconditions for salvation through Christ but also

seen as testimonies of an obsolete old faith—“dialectical” promises to be fulfilled in perfection and to be overcome at the end of time.

For Vasari, Bezazel, the first Jewish artist, stands at the beginning of art history in the same way that Moses stands, in the Hebrew Bible, at the beginning of all written Revelation (T 113). Shortly before Vasari gives the description of Michelangelo’s *Last Judgment*, he writes that the Moses of the Hebrew Bible was completely overcome by the form of his “resurrection” in Michelangelo’s sculpture,<sup>46</sup> which the artist had accomplished in such perfection “that Moses may be called now more than ever the friend of God, seeing that He has deigned to assemble together and prepare his body for the Resurrection before that of any other, by the hands of Michelangelo.”<sup>47</sup> This hyperbolic passage alludes to the bodily resurrection of the dead at Judgment Day.<sup>48</sup>

With the exception of the historical Moses and his collaborator, the artist Bezazel, in Vasari’s narration the Jews of the Hebrew Bible are protagonists of the artworks described rather than participants in the historical process of the development of art. Jews of the New Testament, contemporaries of Jesus, are mentioned repeatedly as figures within the images Vasari mentions. He characterizes them by means of traditional, that is to say, anti-Jewish, Christian stereotypes. In topical expressions he points out their hatred for the Redeemer (T 399, 480), stresses their “rage and anger” (T 399) and their “fury and very terrible revenge” against Jesus Christ (T 266), only to applaud the artist’s outstanding achievement in producing such a striking visualization of all this passionate emotion. The Jews of Vasari’s time are contemporary protagonists of *The Lives*, yet they appear in only two textual passages: as the crowd of Roman Jews who supposedly pilgrimaged every Sabbath to “adore” Michelangelo’s *Moses* (T 961),

and in the guise of the cultivated and generous Jew Dattero from Bologna, the “friend” of Vasari’s promoter, Ottaviano de’ Medici, who is found only in the second edition of *The Lives*, within the biography of Cristofano Gherardi.<sup>49</sup> It should be noted that the second edition of 1568 was printed after the Roman Ghetto was established in 1555 and just shortly before Pius V ordered the expulsion of the Jews from Bologna in 1569.<sup>50</sup> Toward the end of his book, in his hyperbolic praise of Michelangelo’s *Moses*, Vasari invokes the aforementioned topos of the “eschatological Jew(s),” those imaginary Jews of a future end of time who would convert voluntarily<sup>51</sup> at the beginning of Judgment Day, since they would be shown the *spiritual* exegesis of the Mosaic law they had obeyed until then only in the flesh (*carnaliter*).<sup>52</sup>

From those pages on Michelangelo’s *Moses*, close to the end of *The Lives*, we come to the onset of Vasari’s “grand narrative.” At the beginning of the total survey of art history set out in the “Proemio delle vite” (T 111–25), Vasari refers to a double origin of the visual arts: a biblical-theological origin in God’s creation of the world and the first human being as the “first sculpture [*prima Scoltura*]” (T 9, 111), and a historical origin in early Oriental high cultures (T 111–13). Right at the opening of the historical part of *The Lives*, Vasari and his co-authors also tackle head-on the basic theological problem of all Christian art: the Hebrew Bible and the supposed aniconism of Moses (T 113). Vasari, or more likely his co-author Giambullari, the presumed author of this passage,<sup>53</sup> plays off the account in the Book of Exodus in which God himself inspired and filled the sculptor Bezalel with his spirit, “in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge”<sup>54</sup> against the “stern commandment” made by Moses in the Exodus from Egypt “that under the pain of death there should be made to God no image whatsoever” (T 112).<sup>55</sup>

The Book of Exodus and the Books of Chronicles testify that Moses commissioned the Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant and that, with the help of Oholiab, Bezalel built them and created their artistic ornaments, including sculptures of cherubim.<sup>56</sup> In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, these sculptures were generally interpreted as figurative representations.<sup>57</sup> It is stated in Exodus that Bezalel was in his artistic activity “filled . . . with the spirit of God. . . .”<sup>58</sup> Vasari could have been familiar with a great many illustrations of the lost objects mentioned here, for in the popular *Biblia vulgare historiata* of Nicolò Malermi (Malerbi), one finds rich illustrations of Bezalel’s Tabernacle and its ritual objects, including the cherubim of the Ark of the Covenant. Bezalel and Oholiab are depicted in all four early illustrated editions of this Bible,<sup>59</sup> published since 1490.<sup>60</sup> The third illustrated edition of 1493<sup>61</sup> is known to have been used by Michelangelo.<sup>62</sup> In Schedel’s *Chronicle*, woodcuts illustrate both the patristic and the rabbinic reconstructions of Bezalel’s objects. Similar woodcuts had been used before in Anton Koberger’s well-known editions of Nicolaus de Lyra’s *Biblia cum postillis*.<sup>63</sup>

In *The Lives*, the aniconism of Moses effects the renunciation of the idolatry of the Egyptians and of the early Oriental high cultures (T 112). Between idolatry and iconoclasm resides religiously authorized art created by the first artist of the Bible, Bezalel (T 113). For Vasari, Moses’ edict represents religious iconoclasm, the greatest danger to threaten art. Vasari’s grand narrative of art history rests on a twofold

overcoming of aniconism: the initial, groundbreaking overcoming of Moses’ aniconism by Bezalel and, later on, the gradual overcoming of the violent iconoclasm of Early Christianity. In accord with Lorenzo Ghiberti,<sup>64</sup> Vasari explicitly criticizes the latter, calling this rage the main cause—apart from the destruction of the Roman Empire by the barbarians—of the decline and loss of ancient art (T 119).

At the beginning of the historical part of *The Lives*, an antagonism of idolatry versus iconoclasm erupts. The “idolatry” (T 112) of the Israelites is not only punished by Moses with an act of iconoclasm—namely, the destruction of the golden calf—but also with the death of thousands of Israelites (T 113).<sup>65</sup> Immediately thereafter, Bezalel is presented by Vasari as the contemporary, divinely appointed antagonist of Mosaic iconoclasm, as the first exponent of religiously authorized art, and, simultaneously, as the first representative of the *arte del disegno*:

But because *not the making of statues but their adoration was a deadly sin*, we read in Exodus that the *art of design* and of statuary . . . was bestowed by the mouth of God on Bezalel, of the tribe of Judah, and on Oholiab, of the tribe of Dan, who were those that made the two cherubim of gold, the candlesticks, the veil, the borders of the priestly vestments, and so many other beautiful castings for the Tabernacle, *for no other reason than to bring the people to contemplate and to adore them*.<sup>66</sup>

Here *The Lives* presents a subtle, contradictory argument. God had not forbidden the production of images by way of Moses, but only their worship (*adorare*). Whereas just a few lines before, and perfectly in line with Exodus 20:4, Moses forbids not only the “worship [*adorare*]” but also the production of images (T 112), he then prohibits only the adoration of statues. At this point, a decisive reversal occurs in the line of argument: called by God, Bezalel and Oholiab decorated the Tabernacle’s Ark of the Covenant with images of cherubim and other artifacts, and they did so with the aim—here comes the surprising, anti-Mosaic volte-face—that these artifacts should be “contemplated” and even “adored,” that is, worshipped (“non per altro che per indurvi le genti a contemplarle et adorarle”).<sup>67</sup> The verb *adorare* was much in use in contemporary theological debates on images and idols. Before the last session of the Council of Trent in 1563<sup>68</sup> it could denote both legitimate veneration and idolatrous worship.<sup>69</sup>

In spite of Moses’ Second Commandment, his Tabernacle became an important biblical reference for the legitimate right and value of visual art within Judaism and Christianity.<sup>70</sup> The significance of the Tabernacle of Moses was set in the Christian exegetical tradition through its typological interpretation as architectural and artistic anticipation of Christian cosmology and salvation history. Indeed, the early Jewish commentators from antiquity, as well as the Church fathers, avoided an antagonism between Moses, the enunciator of the prohibition of images, and Bezalel, the maker of the first artworks of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>71</sup> Both the classical Jewish and Christian commentaries concentrate on the passage in Exodus 25:8–40, explaining that the “pattern” of the Tabernacle was shown directly to Moses by God, whereas Bezalel (his name literally means “in God’s shadow”) received his direc-

tions for the execution of the artifacts only indirectly, via Moses.<sup>72</sup> In Saint Bede's *De tabernaculo*, the predominant monograph on the Tabernacle in the patristic tradition, Bezalel is not even mentioned by name.<sup>73</sup>

Vasari and his co-authors do not make use of this argument. Instead, *The Lives* takes up an old rabbinic position that brings Bezalel—as a chief witness for the justification of the visual arts—into forceful opposition to Moses.<sup>74</sup> Rather than following the traditional relegation of Bezalel as mere helper and subordinate to Moses, then, Vasari and his co-authors allude to those statements from the Hebrew Bible in which Bezalel is accorded a divine inspiration. In the antique-pagan tradition, the divine inspiration of the seer and the poet is only seldom attributed to visual artists, with the exception of Phidias.<sup>75</sup> Bezalel, however, offers a biblical prototype for the artist inspired and called by God,<sup>76</sup> as well as a potential alternative to the subordinate role of the sculptor within the traditional “system of the arts.”<sup>77</sup>

Before the sixteenth century, an opposition between Moses and Bezalel rarely surfaced in the Christian tradition. In contrast to the dominant patristic exegesis that saw in Moses, instructed by God, the patron and author of the Tabernacle, Bezalel and his divine inspiration became a topic within manuscript illumination.<sup>78</sup> Bezalel is mentioned in the *Libri Carolini* and in the preface to the third book of the *Schedula diversarum artium*,<sup>79</sup> but an antithetical juxtaposition of Moses and Bezalel is not known within the corpus of early modern literature on art other than in *The Lives*.<sup>80</sup> That Bezalel, as founder of a divinely authorized art, was in any case under discussion in the Rome of Vasari's time is indicated by Francisco de Hollanda in his *Diálogos em Roma* (1538). Borrowing in part from the passage quoted above in Exodus, de Hollanda has Michelangelo say:

And in the Old Testament it was the will of God the Father that those who had merely to adorn and paint the ark of the covenant [Bezalel and Oholiab] should not only be great and eminent masters but should be inspired with His grace and wisdom [*sapientia et inteligencia*]; for God said unto Moses that he would fill them with wisdom and understanding of His spirit in order that they might be able to devise and do all that it could devise and do. And if it was the will of God the Father that the ark of His Law should be skilfully adorned and painted, how much more must it be His will that care and judgement should be bestowed on copying His serene countenance and that of His Son our Lord. . . .<sup>81</sup>

From 1545 to 1573, Hollanda produced *De aetatibus mundi imagines*, an illustrated chronicle of the world. On the left of a double-page opening, Moses is depicted receiving the Tablets of the Law, while on the right side Aaron is shown envisioning the Tabernacle. Meanwhile, Moses and Bezalel are juxtaposed in two tondi on both sides of the fold, where they appear in the guise of raging iconoclast and visionary artist (Fig. 4).<sup>82</sup> In the passage of the *Diálogos* cited above, Hollanda claims that Michelangelo compared himself with Bezalel. At the end of Vasari's *Lives*, shortly before the description of the *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel, Michelangelo appears as the new Bezalel. As creator of the master-

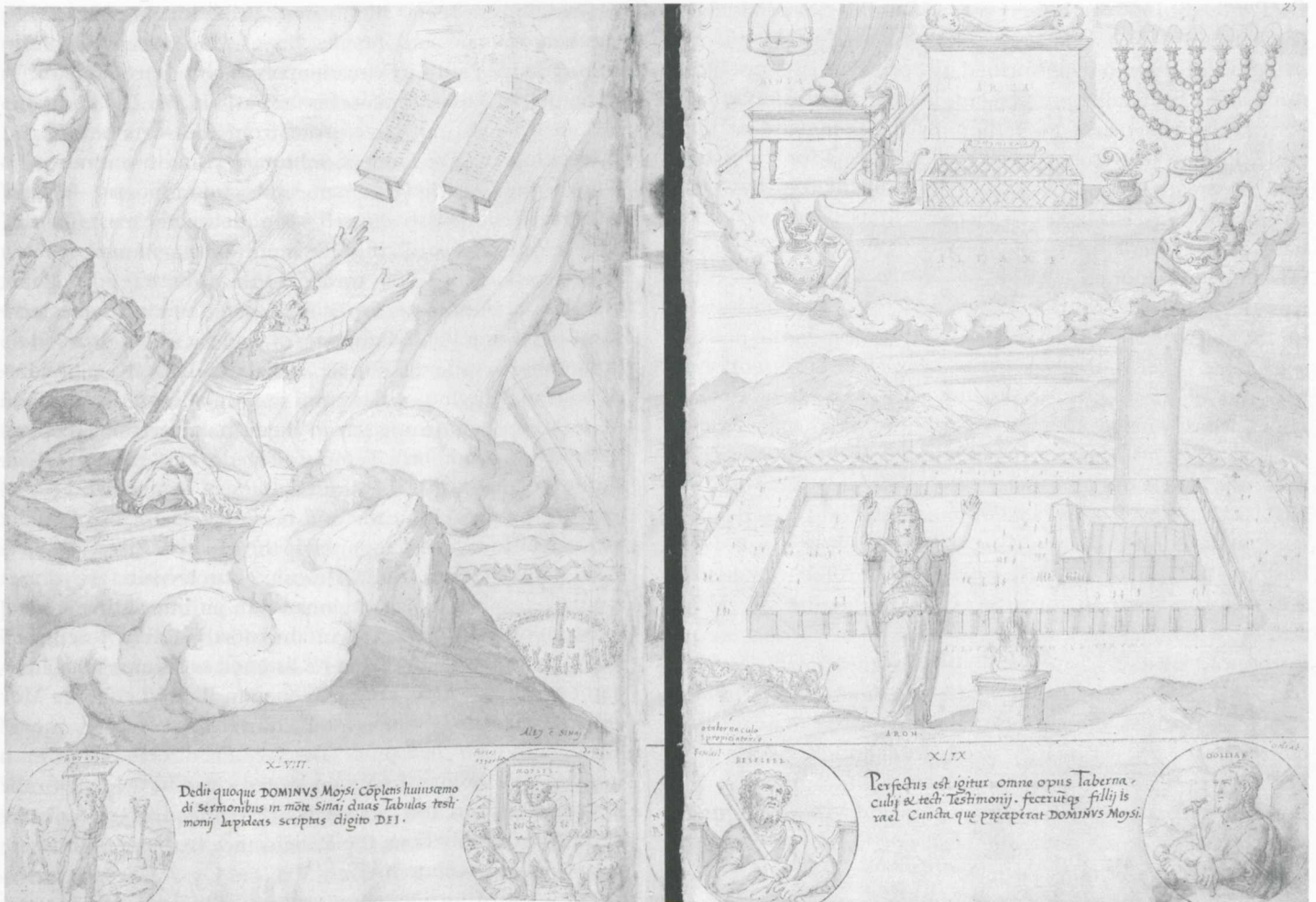
work of Christian sculpture of the Hebraic “iconoclast,” the artist finally prevails over Moses' ban on images. For Vasari, the Roman Jews of Michelangelo's time, men and women alike, surely stood as witnesses to the power of his art.

### Roman Jews as Admirers of Michelangelo's Moses: Fact or Fiction?

Vasari's description of Michelangelo's *Moses* brings together several historical threads in which Jews are thematized in *The Lives*. Recall that his hyperbolic praise of Michelangelo's sculpture, replete with theological allusions, occurs in the Life of Michelangelo, the biography that forms the climax of and crowns the panegyrics of art and artists in the *Torren-tiniana*. Vasari's report on Roman Jews admiring the *Moses* is itself tripartite in reference: it alludes to the Jews of the Old Testament at the time of Moses, to the above-mentioned antithetical juxtaposition of Moses and Bezalel, and to an eschatological future.

But does Vasari's report of Roman Jews visiting Michelangelo's *Moses* each Sabbath in crowds “like starlings” have a factual basis? Until now, the veracity of Vasari's account has been taken for granted in the literature on Michelangelo, and it has remained unchallenged in the literature on the Roman Jews of the Renaissance. Yet eighteenth- and nineteenth-century connoisseurs had their doubts about whether Roman Jews had visited the papal tomb and whether they would have been allowed within the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. Giovanni Bottari, the eminent scholar and commentator of the classical, eighteenth-century edition of *The Lives*, took Vasari's “report” to be false, since, he says, Jews could not visit any church without risking severe punishment.<sup>83</sup> In his monograph on Michelangelo's *Moses* from 1823, Francesco Cancellieri even insinuated that Jews were forbidden to enter the churches by force of law.<sup>84</sup> Both assumptions are untrue—at least, before the release of an edict in 1566. In older historiographical literature on the history of the Roman Jews, however, Vasari's statement is taken as historical fact,<sup>85</sup> while more recent monographs on the history of Roman Jews in the Renaissance do not even mention it.<sup>86</sup> With the exception of a short text by Philipp Fehl,<sup>87</sup> contemporary art historical research on Michelangelo's *Moses* does not impugn Vasari's report.<sup>88</sup>

As sources prove beyond a shadow of a doubt, in the 1540s it was not forbidden for Jews to visit Catholic churches, and, apparently, it was also not uncommon. Otherwise it would not have been necessary (as we will see in a moment) to prohibit it explicitly, as happened in May 1566. In all its ferocity of detailed restrictions and commands, not even the infamous papal bull *Cum nimis absurdum* of 1555, according to which Paul IV ordered the establishment of the Roman Ghetto, contains the prohibition to visit churches. The aforementioned anecdote about Cristofano Gherardi, the painter and collaborator of Vasari, the “wealthy Jew” Dattero, and a certain Bolognese *calzaiuolo* (shoemaker and/or hosier), is only to be found in the second edition of the *The Lives* from 1568, where it is predated to 1539. From the appearance of this anecdote it becomes evident that for readers as late as 1568, it was plausible to assume that in the late 1530s the Bolognese people had considered it possible that Jewish artists had frescoed a monastic refectory in the Papal States.<sup>89</sup>



4 Francisco de Hollanda, *De aetatibus mundi imagines*, 1545–73, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, fols. 24r–25v (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Biblioteca Nacional Madrid)

According to Vasari, the Bolognese shoemaker and/or hosier had visited the monastery of S. Michele in Bosco to hand over a present to Gherardi and his fellow painters from the well-meaning Jew. When asked for directions by the *calzaiuolo*, bystanders on the road obviously assumed that Gherardi and his co-workers were Jewish,<sup>90</sup> and no one seemed to have any problem with their presence in a sacred Christian environment.

Regarding church visits by Jews, the pertinent compendium summing up the elaborate regulations of ecclesiastical law on Jewish matters, Marquardus de Susannus's *De Iudaeis* (first published in 1558), takes issue with contemporary proposals to prohibit Jewish visits to churches apart from the ceremony of the Mass. (It defends their habitual right to visit churches by way of reference to the tradition of the Church.<sup>91</sup>) Nonetheless, only a few years later, an explicit prohibition was enacted. In May 1566, Giacomo Savelli, the cardinal vicar for Rome, released an edict (published here for the first time, App. 1) that forbade the Roman Jews to visit churches, chapels, and monasteries in general. At the same time, Savelli's edict forbade Christians to frequent synagogues. The edict allowed church visits by Jews only by way of exception, and with explicit permission in writing.<sup>92</sup>

"Hebraei ne de cetero auderent quovis praetextu. . . ." another edict of Savelli issued on May 20, 1566, is partly

reprinted or summarized in Lucius Ferraris's *Prompta bibliotheca canonica*.<sup>93</sup> Interestingly, it is not identical to Savelli's edict of the same date in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (App. 1). In the edict by Savelli presented in Ferraris's *Prompta bibliotheca*, the Jews are allowed to sell their merchandise to Roman prostitutes and to negotiate with them about money matters, provided the prostitutes' doors are open. If they negotiate with them behind closed doors they are threatened with the prohibition of visiting their own synagogues. The connection forged in the edict between the visiting of prostitutes' apartments and the frequenting of synagogues, on top of the temporal coincidence of the two edicts by Cardinal Savelli, is more than remarkable.

Yet even after these decrees, Jews definitely visited churches.<sup>94</sup> This circumstance is proved by the fact that Giralomo Rusticucci, the cardinal vicar in office from 1588 to 1603, issued an edict forbidding Jewish visits of Roman churches, chapels, and monasteries of nuns. Most likely the edict was issued in 1592–93.<sup>95</sup> Marcello Ferro reports, probably in 1567, that he had previously guided two Jews willing to be converted into a Roman church, to explain to them the basic principles of the Catholic faith and to move them toward conversion.<sup>96</sup> After the second half of the sixteenth century, a considerable number of Roman Jews were forced into churches in order to attend the baptisms of converts.<sup>97</sup>

On Pentecost 1566, in the very year of Savelli's two edicts, five converts were baptized ceremonially in St. Peter's, with a magnificent ceremony performed by Pope Pius IV himself. A number of cardinals were present, among them Alessandro Farnese in the role of godfather. By the command of the pope, Roman Jews were brought to St. Peter's for the occasion. Summarizing the Christian reports of the festivity, Karl Hoffmann remarks that "even the pope himself and all Christians present bent their knee in front of the ceremonious unveiling and adoration of Christ's image known as the 'Veronica.' The ceremony, conducted at last, was obviously meant to leave the deepest religious impression on the Jewish spectators. . . ." <sup>98</sup> Whether Jews had been forced to attend the baptisms of Jewish converts in the 1540s cannot be ascertained from available sources. It is known that in 1561 Savelli obliged male and female inhabitants of the Ghetto to be present at a solemn baptism ceremony. <sup>99</sup> There, again in the basilica of St. Peter's, they had to stand with "eyes closed, and countenance turned to the floor, in the middle of a crowd of curious Christians" and in the presence of fifteen cardinals and one candidate for baptism. <sup>100</sup> On September 1, 1577, and September 1, 1584, compulsory Christian sermons were introduced on every Sabbath for Roman Jews on a regular basis. Previously held on an irregular schedule, these sermons now took place mostly in the oratories (rather than in the churches) of SS. Trinità de' Pellegrini and S. Maria del Pianto, <sup>101</sup> but also, if these oratories were occupied, in S. Lorenzo in Damaso, <sup>102</sup> the titular church of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. <sup>103</sup> In 1583, the basilica of S. Croce in Florence conducted sermons for Jews. <sup>104</sup>

Prior to 1566, then, it was permitted for Roman Jews to visit Michelangelo's *Moses* in S. Pietro in Vincoli. We can assume that several Roman Jews voluntarily entered this and other churches occasionally, otherwise Cardinal Savelli's edicts of 1566 would not have been issued or repeated later (albeit in weaker form) by Cardinal Rusticucci. And yet, there are substantive reasons to doubt Vasari's claim that Jews "adored" the statue of Moses, and especially that they showed up "each Sabbath in crowds." The fact is, any piece of objective evidence from the Jewish and Christian sources for such a collective practice appears to be missing. At this point, several questions arise: Why would such a phenomenon have left no trace at all in documents on conversion during the pontificate of Paul III, which Karl Hoffmann has analyzed in detail, <sup>105</sup> or in any other sources? Why would these visits en masse not have been seized on for Christian conversion propaganda? On the other side of the coin, to follow Bottari, it remains unclear whether regular visits by entire groups of Jews would have been tolerated in practice by the parochial community.

More important still, we cannot assume that Roman Jews wanted to enter the Roman churches in substantial numbers and that they did so on a regular basis. The Jewish sources, as far as these have been published, remain silent on visits of Jews to the tomb of Julius II, to which the statue of Moses belongs, although this pope was seen as a benefactor to them. <sup>106</sup> His tomb could well have been an occasional destination for Jewish church visitors. Against the backdrop of the fact that since the 1560s, Roman Jews were increasingly forced into churches and oratories for baptisms and compul-

sory sermons, it seems highly implausible that a comparable number of male and female Jews would have voluntarily frequented S. Pietro in Vincoli on each and every Sabbath. <sup>107</sup> Nonetheless, Vasari repeats his "report" in the 1568 edition.

Even if we do not have proof from the years before the publication of *The Lives* of voluntary visits to churches by Roman Jews, earlier Roman and contemporary foreign sources about Jewish church visits definitely exist. In the Middle Ages, visits to churches were quite common among Jews, as reports of Jewish travelers show. These reports claim that their attention was explicitly directed toward statues and paintings. From Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who journeyed to Rome shortly after 1159, we also know that Roman Jews visited the church of S. Giovanni in Laterano on the ninth of Av, a fast and mourning day in Judaism, to see the "weeping columns" of Solomon's Temple allegedly kept there. <sup>108</sup> Benjamin of Tudela also mentions statues of Samson and Absalom on the church facade and reinterprets ancient Roman bronzes as Jewish protagonists of the Hebrew Bible. <sup>109</sup>

In early modern times, Jewish church visits are documented in other Italian regions. <sup>110</sup> In an interesting source passed down from Alsace in the north, Rabbi Joseph of Rosheim asserts in 1541 that he listened to sermons in Christian churches. <sup>111</sup> The famous Venetian Rabbi Leone da Modena (1571–1648) frequented churches. <sup>112</sup> Yet it is quite likely, although it cannot be proved directly from our sources, that Roman Jews who visited churches violated rabbinic instructions and rabbinic law. <sup>113</sup> Indeed, no responsum by an Italian rabbi from the Renaissance has been published that touches on church visits. <sup>114</sup>

The idea of an imageless culture of the alleged "artless Jews" <sup>115</sup> does not hold true for Italian-Jewish culture of the Renaissance, <sup>116</sup> yet Jewish religious communities would hardly have accepted a three-dimensional representation of Moses. Two-dimensional representations of Moses had been handed down since the Middle Ages in Jewish illuminated manuscripts, however. <sup>117</sup> A woodcut of the Wise Son from the Mantua Haggadah of 1560, inspired by Michelangelo's fresco of Jeremiah in the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, clearly documents an interest on the part of Italian Jews in Christian representations of protagonists from the Hebrew Bible (Fig. 5). <sup>118</sup> The fact that this woodcut was reused in a later Mantua Haggadah of 1568, and in a Venetian one of 1599, proves an appreciation for the woodcut on the part of its Jewish recipients. <sup>119</sup>

Two-dimensional representations were not uncommon, but a three-dimensional representation of Moses in full figure could scarcely have been countenanced from a Jewish point of view. According to contemporary rabbinic statements, the Jewish community could not have tolerated or cherished a three-dimensional representation of Moses. Even Rabbi Joseph ben Ephraim Caro (1488–1575), famous exponent of a liberal attitude toward images, turned explicitly against three-dimensional representations. <sup>120</sup> In his *Riti ebraici*, Leone da Modena also prohibited three-dimensional images. "But in Italy," he remarked, "there are many who have freed themselves of this restriction [that is, the prohibition of pictures], and have paintings and portraits in their homes, although they avoid sculpture, both in relief and in the round." <sup>121</sup>

Jewish readers, if any, might not have been the only ones



surprised by Vasari's passage in *The Lives*. Christian readers would have received it against the backdrop of numerous reports of the quattro- and cinquecento that defamed Jews as enemies, destroyers, and desecrators of Christian statuary in Italian towns.<sup>122</sup> In light of this context, contemporary readers must have found the described "aesthetic conversion" of Roman Jews through Michelangelo's *Moses* astonishing. Moreover, evidence cannot be furnished for the assumption that the Jews Vasari mentions were catechumens (candidates for baptism) or neophytes (new converts to the religion) to whom the statue of Moses in S. Pietro in Vincoli, itself quite close to the Casa dei Catechumeni, would have been presented for catechetical reasons. The practice of using images for conversion purposes was implemented with the help of a famous icon from St. Peter's in the aforementioned baptismal service of 1566.<sup>123</sup> It also occurred in 1704 with a well-known miraculous painted image in S. Maria della Vittoria and, in the same church, with Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Ecstasy of Saint Theresa*. The case involving the Bernini concerned the successful conversion of Anna Vesino, a fourteen-year-old Jewish girl. According to a contemporary Christian account, it was not parental will but Bernini's sculpture that fired Anna's desire for conversion.<sup>124</sup>

#### Michelangelo's *Moses*, Paul III's Conversion Policies, and the Eschatological Conversion of the Jews

Vasari's hyperbolic description of Michelangelo's *Moses* finds its historical context in the Rome of the mid-1540s. Until then, the statue had remained in the artist's studio. Between spring and October 1544, it was set up at the center of the tomb of Julius II.<sup>125</sup> From 1543 to 1546 Vasari worked mainly in Rome, first and foremost at the court of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, grandson of Pope Paul III. As Vasari recounts in his autobiography, he received the impetus for the conception of *The Lives* at Farnese's court. The topics of conversion and iconoclasm play preeminent roles in the program of Farnese's private chapel in the Cancelleria, the so-called Cappella del Pallio, frescoed between 1548 and 1550.<sup>126</sup> Vasari's report of a flow of Jewish pilgrims to Michelangelo's *Moses* refers to the new conversion policy. Yet his assertion is a fiction, as we have seen. Still, the interest of single Roman Jews for the *Moses* could have served as an empirical basis for the story. To that extent, Vasari's fiction has its setting in everyday life, in the new conversion policies of Paul III. The theological point of reference for Vasari's report is the topos of the eschatological conversion of the Jews at the end of time, prevalent since Saint Augustine's *De civitate dei contra paganos*.<sup>127</sup>

The pontificate of the Farnese Pope Paul III, particularly his efforts to achieve the "voluntary" conversion of the Roman Jews, marks a turning point in the attitude of the Holy See. Whereas the pontificates of Julius II and the Medici popes had witnessed a comparably benevolent "tolerance" toward the Jews, Paul III's "voluntary" conversion policies were carried out by dint of pressure and promise of benefits. Indeed, efforts toward conversion of the Roman Jews were massively increased under his pontificate, especially in 1542 and 1543,<sup>128</sup> shortly before the installation of Michelangelo's *Moses* in S. Pietro in Vincoli. Whereas Cardinal Alessandro Farnese supported these efforts, they were viewed quite critically at the court of Cosimo I.<sup>129</sup> As it happened, Paul III



5 *The Wise Son*, woodcut from the so-called Mantua Haggadah, *Seder Hagadot shel Pesah*, Mantua: Giacomo Rufinelli, 1560, n.p. (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München)

would soon be considered the last relatively tolerant pope of the sixteenth century.<sup>130</sup> After the Talmud was burned in Rome in 1553, Paul IV established the Roman Ghetto in 1555, the year of his inauguration.

A reversal in the Vatican's policies toward the Roman Jews can be traced back to the years 1542 and 1543. Paul III issued a bull on March 21, 1542, in which he conferred considerable privileges on the neophytes.<sup>131</sup> One year prior to the installation of *Moses* in S. Pietro in Vincoli, in a papal bull from February 19, 1543, he approved the establishment of the Casa dei Catechumeni, to be run by the Jesuits. He provided financial support for the institution and placed it under the highest protection.<sup>132</sup> As the godfather of converts, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was deeply involved in this endeavor,<sup>133</sup> which achieved only modest success: in Easter of 1543 a "great many" (in reality, five) catechumens received baptism in the presence of several cardinals and under the nosy eyes of a vast Roman crowd.<sup>134</sup> In early 1545, shortly after Michel-

angelo's *Moses* was set up, ten catechumens received baptism at the same time, in the presence of eight cardinals.<sup>135</sup> Between 1542 and 1563, a parish of about three to four thousand Roman Jews saw approximately ten to fifteen baptisms of Jewish converts each year.<sup>136</sup>

The change in climate after the establishment of the Ghetto in 1555 is shown by the unpublished eulogy under the title "De Laudibus Michaelangeli Bonarroti Pictoris, Sculptoris atque Architectoris nobilissimi Oratio" (App. 2). This encomium of Michelangelo, "most famous Painter, Sculptor and Architect," by the youthful intellectual Francesco Bocchi,<sup>137</sup> was probably conceived in 1564, shortly after Michelangelo's death.<sup>138</sup> Bocchi takes up Vasari's report, with its implicit proselytism, but he makes no reference to eschatological hopes of imminent conversion. Instead, he emphasizes the failure and renunciation of conversion. A free translation of the crucial passage in Bocchi reads:

For that reason I have to wonder each and every time about the exceeding perversity and obduracy of the Jews who see almost the very Moses that should have led them into the promised land—I am wondering, as I say, why they can in no way try to soften the hardness of their hearts and shed all their perfidy. . . . they should convert their spirit toward the true and highest God, Jesus Christ, and pin all their hopes on him.

Exasperation over Jews' unwillingness to undergo conversion had led to the establishment of the Roman Ghetto nine years before.<sup>139</sup> The discourse around conversion exacerbated after 1555. The deepening of the anti-Jewish tone from Vasari to Bocchi proves this. But the description of Michelangelo's *Moses* in *The Lives* is already anti-Jewish in its reference to a widespread anti-Jewish stereotype presuming that the Jews had developed only a literal, "fleshy" understanding of religious truths rather than a spiritual sense of them. In making this claim, Vasari's depiction of Roman Jews flocking like starlings every Sabbath to worship Michelangelo's "divine work" incorporates an intertextual reference to Dante, in particular his phrase "*a schiera . . . come gli storni*," which can be translated literally as "in crowds, like flocks of starlings." Vasari alludes to a passage from the fifth canto of Dante's *Inferno*, lines 38–39, which concerns "The carnal malefactors" who "were condemned,/Who reason subjugate to appetite".<sup>140</sup>

And as the wings of starlings bear them on  
In the cold season in large band and full,  
So doth that blast the spirits maledict. . . .<sup>141</sup>

By intertextual and literal reference to Dante's infernal circle of the voluptuaries and to Dante's words "come gli storni" and "*a schiera*," Vasari alludes to that sinful pleasure of the eye ("*voluptas oculorum*") criticized since the time of the Early Christian authors in regard to the statues of naked pagan gods.<sup>142</sup> According to Jan Assmann, with the eyeing of the idols, the "connection of aniconism with ethics" and of "idolatry with lawlessness, fornication, and violence, is inscribed into the core of Biblical tradition."<sup>143</sup> Vasari turns the Hebrew Bible's verdict against idolatry against the Jews of his time, even though they "adore" a major work of Christian art.

The very moment of the Jews' "aesthetic conversion" through Michelangelo's artwork carries with it the offense of the *voluptas oculorum*, which, from a Christian (and Vasari's) point of view, signals their transgression. At the same time, Vasari varies the topos of the Christian tradition according to which the Jews, against their intentions and without their knowledge, bear testimony to the truth of Christian faith.<sup>144</sup> Yet the Jews would not recognize the spiritual sense and meaning of their own Scriptures in any case, for, as it is claimed here, they supposedly interpret the religious truths only in a literal and "fleshy" manner. For Bocchi, moreover, the Jews are petrified in the "obduracy" of their minds and the "hardness" (*durities*) of their hearts, whereas the Christian sculpture of *Moses* appears to be alive and vivid.

### Canon, Moses' Tabernacle, and *The Lives's* Tripartite Structure

"Each canon sets in with a dividing line":<sup>145</sup> canonization, codification, and confessionalization are closely intertwined in European culture from 1542. Compendia, catalogs, and corpora, indicating a desire for completeness and a pretension of totality, exclude the "Other" and all that does not comply with the norm of the canon. From the early 1540s, a boom in the canon-forming compendia was in progress in the Catholic world. The year 1542 marks not only the reversal of papal policies against the Roman Jews but also a decisive hardening of Catholic confessionalization. In 1542 Paul III elected to hold the Council of Trent,<sup>146</sup> and with his bull *Licet ab initio* of July 4, he established the Roman Inquisition in the form of a permanent commission of cardinals, who met regularly.<sup>147</sup> Also in 1542 Paul III released the papal bull *Cupientes judaeos* to facilitate the conversion of Jews. From 1541 through 1543, the establishment of a house of catechumens in Rome was in process.<sup>148</sup> Also in the 1540s, the first indexes of banned books were in preparation.<sup>149</sup> All of this occurred around the time that Michelangelo's *Moses* was installed and *The Lives* was being composed.

In 1543 Vasari entered, as mentioned, Alessandro Farnese's employ. In 1544 the *Moses* was installed. In 1547 a first version of *The Lives*, the so-called Riminese manuscript, was finished.<sup>150</sup> On the other side, the Protestants had been busy since the 1530s developing a canonical view of history. Worthy of note in this regard are the *Chronica Carionis* (first edition 1532, by Carion and Philipp Melanchthon; second revised version by Melanchthon; third version by Caspar Peucer)<sup>151</sup> that Giambullari also used.<sup>152</sup> The *Magdeburg Centuries* should also be mentioned.<sup>153</sup> During this time, Reformation and Counter-Reformation were both laboring to complete their own biblical canon. In 1545 the final version of Martin Luther's translation of the Bible came out.<sup>154</sup> In a decree of August 4, 1546, the widespread version of the Vulgate, the *Editio vetus et vulgata*, was declared authentic by the Council of Trent. Simultaneously, it was decided to produce a revised edition of this text, which finally appeared under Pope Sixtus V (the *Editio Sestina*).<sup>155</sup> Meanwhile, the Catholic relation to the Jews was codified for the first time. Marquardus de Süssannis's first collection of canonical and church-imposed regulations concerning Jews was published in 1558, after extensive preparations. In 1560, the *Shulhan Arukh* of Rabbi Joseph ben Ephraim Caro came out, a compilation of Jewish law

considered canonical to this day.<sup>156</sup> From the middle of the sixteenth century, corpora, catalogs, and compendia that aimed for canonic status, for instance, the *Index librorum prohibitorum* of 1559, the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the *Magdeburg Centuries*, were compiled by collective authors. Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, a "description of the whole world with all that is contained in it," published in 1550, was the shared endeavor of more than 120 contributors.<sup>157</sup>

Vasari's *Lives*, the first compendium of the visual arts to sum up the theory of the three sister arts and their history, had the assistance of learned functionaries of the Accademia Fiorentina. In the year of its publication, a few members of the Accademia Fiorentina, including Giambullari, were called on to participate in a newly founded commission (by an initiative of Cosimo I) aiming to formulate and canonize the rules of the Florentine and Tuscan language.<sup>158</sup> The fruit of these endeavors was the *Difesa della lingua fiorentina*, published in 1556 under Carlo Lenzone's name. Markings in the dedication to Cosimo I and in the text clearly indicate this to be the collaborative work of Giambullari, Cosimo Bartoli, Giovan Battista Gelli, and Lenzone.<sup>159</sup> The earlier collaboration of Paolo Giovio and Annibale Caro, humanists from the Roman circle around Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, in the first edition of *The Lives* was verified by way of Vasari's *Carteggio*. The collaboration of Bartoli, Vincenzo Borghini, and Giambullari during the time the book went to press in Florence, from 1548 to 1550, is also broadly documented in Vasari's correspondence.<sup>160</sup>

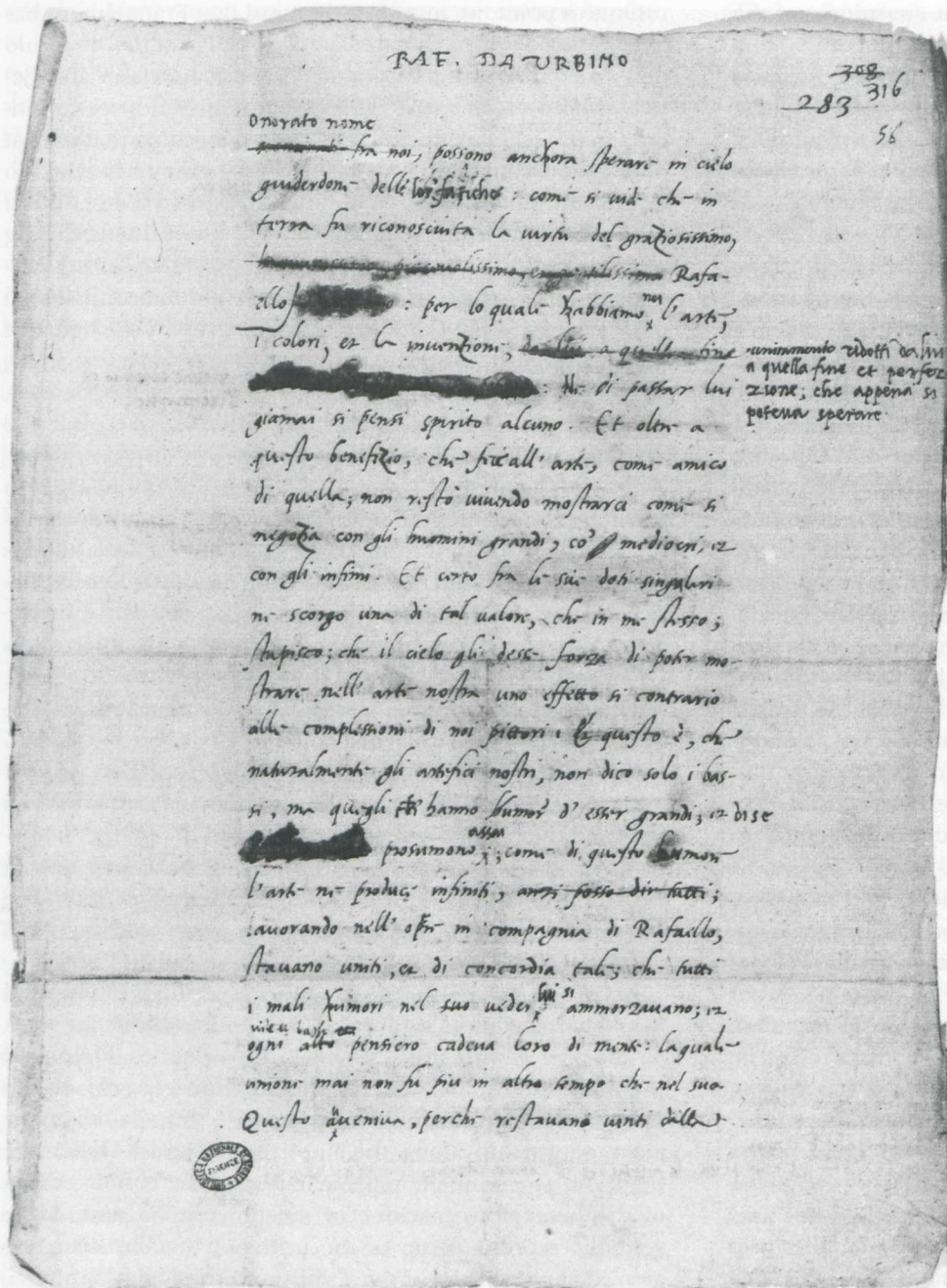
Hope and Frangenberg have named Pier Francesco Giambullari, in the Medici cultural circle, as the formative co-author of *The Lives*. A single preserved sheet of the Torrentiniana's Riminese manuscript published by Piero Scapecchi contains far-reaching additions and corrections in Giambullari's own hand (Fig. 6). Indeed, Giambullari turns out to be the reviser of this manuscript.<sup>161</sup> He was a supporter of Cosimo I, a founding member of the Accademia Fiorentina, and, with Gelli and Guillaume Postel, a chief agent of the so-called Aramei, whose far-fetched speculations about the Near Eastern, Noachian origins of Tuscan culture and language went out of fashion in the 1550s.<sup>162</sup> Giambullari was also an expert on Dante. First librarian of the Biblioteca Laurenziana, he had been working since the 1540s at his *History of Europe* from the time of the Carolingians to Otto I,<sup>163</sup> for which he relied heavily on the universal chronicles.<sup>164</sup> Giambullari's *History of Europe* was published posthumously in 1566. Hope has named him the author of those passages in the prefaces ("Proemi") and in the sections of several lives that express the three-step progressive motion of the rebirth of the arts.<sup>165</sup> Through comparison with his authenticated writings, Frangenberg has attributed to Giambullari important parts of the "Proemio delle vite," or preface to the historical part that contains the short art history from Adam to Cimabue (T 111–25).<sup>166</sup> Accordingly, it seems that Giambullari fitted the abundance of biographies presented by Vasari into a biblical framework from Adam to the Apocalypse and into a succession of three epochs in the traditional Christian scheme of *ante legem—sub lege—sub gratia*. Giambullari's involvement in preparing *The Lives* for the press and his presence in Torrentino's print shop are well documented in letters.<sup>167</sup>

On this point, we must bear in mind that Frangenberg has already attributed to Giambullari the passage of the "Proemio delle vite" that covers Moses' supposed iconoclasm and Bezalel, who overcame it.<sup>168</sup> Two circumstances not yet considered in the scholarship go far toward establishing that it must have been Giambullari who inserted the figure of Bezalel. To begin with, the canon of S. Lorenzo composed a description of the Tabernacle fabricated by Bezalel. In the 1540s, during preliminary studies for his *History of Europe*, Giambullari concerned himself with Carolingian history and the court school of Charlemagne. In Carolingian historiography, the figure of the first biblical artist, Bezalel, rarely leaves Moses' shadow, yet his name is frequently used as a pseudonym for Einhard, Charlemagne's biographer, among others.<sup>169</sup> Second, the account of Michelangelo's *Moses* in *The Lives* displays similarities with Giambullari's statements in the *Difesa della lingua fiorentina* concerning the same statue. With the metaphor of the "starlings" quoted from Dante (T 961), *The Lives* alludes as well to the instinctual behavior of the birds deceived—recall Pliny the Elder—by the grapes of Zeuxis.<sup>170</sup> In the *Difesa*, Giambullari discusses the "efficiency and obviousness [*efficacia & evidenza*]"<sup>171</sup> of Dante's poetry and, implicitly, Michelangelo's sculpting, by way of an allusion to the same anecdote about the ancient painters Zeuxis and Parrhasius. Giambullari mentions not Zeuxis's birds but the painted curtain of Parrhasius. According to Pliny, Parrhasius had deceived the painter Zeuxis and surpassed the perfect mimesis of his grapes, which had deluded only birds and not an experienced painter. In the *Difesa*, Giambullari mentions the "velo di Parrasio"<sup>172</sup> that (again, according to Pliny) had deceived Zeuxis.

In his *Lezioni*, published in 1547, Giambullari interpreted the "tabernaculo del signore" named in Exodus as the work of the first Jewish artist, Bezalel. He refers to Philo and Josephus, to Paul,<sup>173</sup> and to the patristic exegesis of the Tabernacle.<sup>174</sup> Giambullari explained this paradigmatic place of worship along the lines of the Jewish-Hellenistic tradition: as a symbolic representation of the cosmic edifice of the "marvelous machine of the universe"<sup>175</sup> and as the symbolic representation of the truths of the Christian religion, that is, as *figura* of the Trinity and typological annunciation of redemptive events revealed, later, in the New Testament. Giambullari's reconstruction of the Tabernacle unites typological and cosmological aspects, and, thus, Christian theology and salvation history. His reconstructed Tabernacle is composed of three parts ("tre parti"),<sup>176</sup> in compliance with the Neoplatonic doctrine of the three worlds and Trinitarian theology.<sup>177</sup> As Giambullari wrote:

This structure of the three worlds, brought together and enclosed in a single body, fits together so harmoniously that nothing occurs in one of the three worlds [by which is meant one of the three floors of the Tabernacle's architectonic structure] that would not find itself again in another of the three [in one of the other floors]—though in different degrees of perfection.<sup>178</sup>

The analogy with the tripartite structure of *The Lives* and their progress to perfection is obvious. This statement on the Tabernacle of Moses shows, too, that Giambullari stood in



6 Giorgio Vasari, "Vita di Raffaello," only surviving sheet of the Riminese manuscript of *The Lives* with corrections by Pier Francesco Giambullari, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Florence, Nuove Accessioni, 1396 (document in the public domain; photograph reproduced by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali della Repubblica Italiana/Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze)

the tradition of a typological Scriptural exegesis—a tradition that Vasari also knew well.<sup>179</sup> Giambullari may have employed several typological references to the Bible in *The Lives*.<sup>180</sup> The case for this is made all the more likely by the fact that these references and parallels are found especially in those passages in *The Lives* in which Giambullari was involved, as Hope and Frangenberg suggest—namely, in the "Proems" and at the beginning and ending of several single biographies.

Giambullari, the presumed architect of *The Lives*'s master structure, did not simply resort to pagan-antique patterns for the organization of the vast amount of biographical material. He also, and more importantly, reverted to an eschatological framework and to the periodization schemes handed down in the Christian theology of history.<sup>181</sup> Giambullari's description of the Tabernacle, published in 1547 but composed before his editorial involvement with *The Lives*, leads back once

again to the beginning of the historical part of *The Lives*, to the point of departure for a religiously authorized art (T 113). It leads to Moses and the first artist, Bezalel, and to their Tabernacle and its triadic structure. In its secularized rhetoric of a tripartite salvation history of art to be fulfilled by Michelangelo in the guise of the new Bezalel and über Moses, Vasari's *Lives* reveals affinities with Giambullari's description of the Tabernacle. Indeed, Giambullari probably introduced to *The Lives* this particular form of a secularized rhetoric of salvation history.<sup>182</sup>

#### Michelangelo as Moses

As early as about 1600, Federico Zuccaro's posthumous representations of Michelangelo lent the artist the features of his own sculpture of the lawgiver and leader Moses (Fig. 7).<sup>183</sup> In so doing, they suggest a parallel between the artist and the

lawgiver and leader. Ascanio Condivi, Michelangelo's biographer, formulated the same parallel when he characterized Michelangelo as "prince of the art of *disegno* [*Principe . . . de l'arte del disegno*]," equal to the pope as "prince of Christendom [*Principe de la Cristianità*]."184 These approximations of artist and leader find their concrete setting in everyday life, in the exceptional power and authority granted Michelangelo at the papal court.185

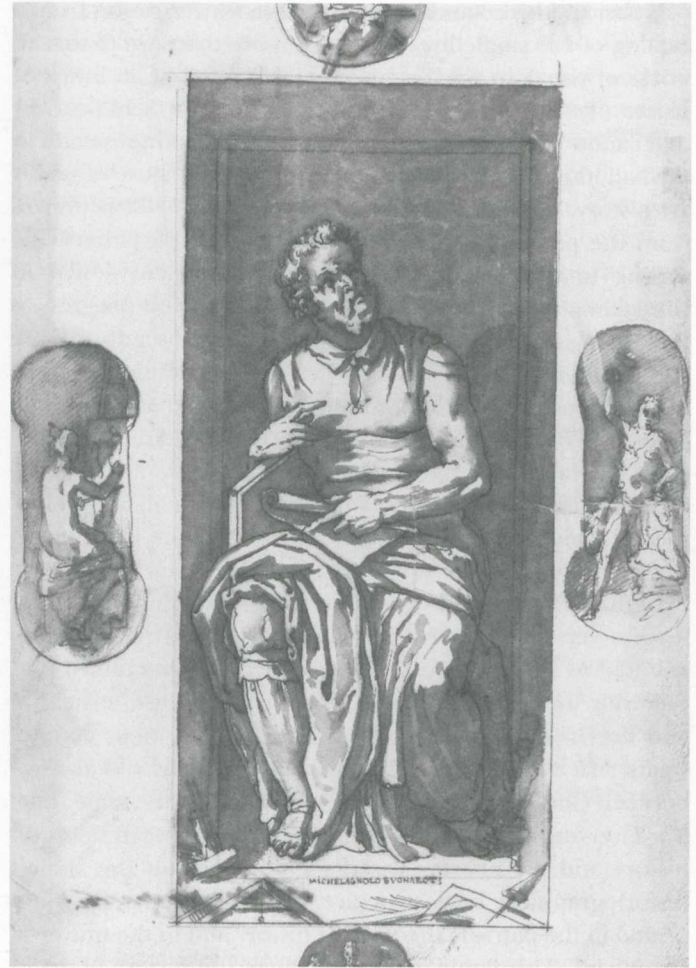
In the Sistine Chapel frescoes, the commissioning patron Pope Sixtus IV is likened to Moses. In the tomb of his nephew Pope Julius II, the militant religious leader who restored the Papal States is compared with the same religious leader, liberator, and lawgiver. Zuccaro's representations of "Michelangelo as Moses" established a new tradition equating Moses the lawgiver with Michelangelo, who, according to Vasari, laid down the rules of a new art. This parallel can be linked to an ancient tradition. In the brief history of art in the twelfth book of his *Rhetoric*, Quintilian reports that Parrhasius was to be called the "legum lator" of painting, since latter-born artists would be forced to mimic the unsurpassable perfection of his imagery.186

Vasari's justification for the unsurpassed rank of Michelangelo is itself ambiguous. Michelangelo is praised in the typical formula as a master of the imitation of nature. Through new inventions, however, he is said to *outdo* and *surpass* both nature and the ancient world. For Vasari, Michelangelo marks a turning point in art history, since, by way of *new* rules and *new* inventions, he brings art and architecture to new, unsurpassable perfection.187 In his New Sacristy and Laurentian Library in Florence, Vasari writes,

he departed not a little from the work regulated by measure, order, and rule, which other men did according to a common use and after Vitruvius and the antiquities, to which he would not conform. . . . Wherefore the craftsmen owe him an infinite and everlasting obligation, he having broken the bonds and chains by reason of which they had always followed a beaten path in the execution of their works.188

For Vasari, Michelangelo is that artist of the *maniera moderna* who breaks the rules of the classical orders and takes liberties, thereby setting new rules of architecture. As he put it, Michelangelo "never consented to be bound by any law, whether ancient or modern, in matters of architecture, as one who had a brain always able to discover things new and well-varied. . . ."189

Vasari and his contemporaries could only grasp the equation of artist and lawgiver, artist and leader, in its first inklings. In modernity, these parallels would become a topos with far-reaching consequences, as Friedrich Nietzsche, Sigmund Freud, and Thomas Mann took up and carried forward the intertwining of Michelangelo and Moses.190 Freud picked up a crucial sentence in Vasari's description that by anticipating the future resurrection of the historical Moses in the flesh at the end of time, Michelangelo had created a *better* Moses (T 961). For Freud, the statue of Moses is the embodiment of the "superego." Whereas the Moses of the Hebrew Bible broke the Tablets of the Law in wrath, destroyed the golden calf, and killed large numbers of people worshipping



7 (Copy after ?) Federico Zuccaro, *Michelangelo as Moses*, ink on paper, 16½ × 9½ in. (41 × 24.5 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, inv. no. 11023 (artwork in the public domain; photograph reproduced by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali)

the idol, in the eyes of Freud the *Moses* of Michelangelo is "something new and more than human [*übermenschlich*]," for he exemplifies the "highest mental achievement that is possible in a man, that of struggling successfully against an inward passion for the sake of a cause to which he has devoted himself."191 Freud puts a new slant on Vasari's hyperbole. According to Vasari, in Michelangelo's hands Moses was resurrected in a better, more Christian form. Freud elevates Michelangelo into the creator of a new, more civilized Moses, who masters his affect and marshals it in the service of cultured behavior and postreligious civilization.192 Freud's account conforms to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's earlier characterization of Michelangelo as "over-" or "suprahuman" (*übermenschlich*). Goethe knew Vasari's description of the *Moses*, as evidenced by a letter of 1812 to Johann Heinrich Meyer about his acquisition of a small bronze replica of Michelangelo's statue.193 In keeping with Vasari's portrayal of Michelangelo as suprahuman, Goethe refers to his *Moses* as "overly strong [*überkräftig*]."194 Following Vasari's *Life of Michelangelo* closely, Thomas Mann describes the historical Moses using motifs that he found in Vasari's biography of the artist Michelangelo quite explicitly.195

Vasari and his co-authors managed to form a canon from a catalog of 133 single lives and from more than two thousand works of visual art and architecture, all listed in an index of places (T \*1003–31). According to Julius von Schlosser, by that canon Vasari became “all in all, in the good sense and in the bad, the true church father and founding figure of newer art history.”<sup>196</sup> Indeed, the organization of *The Lives* derives from the patterns of the Bible and the church fathers. Resorting to them, Vasari and his co-authors envisioned in Christian concepts a synthesis of Providence and progress as the driving forces of a history of the “arti del disegno” (T 112 and elsewhere). At the same time, *The Lives* defines the “arti del disegno” as an autonomous field of human *technē*.<sup>197</sup> The sister arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture are conceived in a modern understanding, for they are autonomous—they follow specific rules and a particular developmental logic laid out in condensed form for the first time in the theoretical and historical parts of *The Lives*.

In that sense, *The Lives* is modern.<sup>198</sup> By attributing to “art” its own version of a developmental logic, Vasari’s *Lives* contributed to the differentiation of early modern culture into relatively autonomous realms, each with its own structural and developmental logic.<sup>199</sup> In *The Lives*, the new, autonomous “arti del disegno” are described using the old analogy between God and artist, world and artwork. At the same time, *The Lives* forms a *new* analogy, namely, that between salvation history and art history. Vasari’s *Lives* relies on the Bible’s historiographical base structure, as it was generally interpreted in the patristic theology of history and in the universal chronicles. This familiar schema allows the history of art in toto to appear as the reflection and analogy of salvation history. Michelangelo, the culminating eschatological figure of Vasari’s “progresso della rinascita” (T 125), achieves at last the conversion of sculpted stone into the transfigured life and flesh of a transfigured body (T 961) and the “conversion” of the Jews to Christian art.

This theological schema provided a clear, structural principle for the organization and arrangement of the vast amount of material collected by Vasari himself. *The Lives*, published under Vasari’s name, and especially the Life of Michelangelo, would be apprehended in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the founding text of *Kunstreligion*, the near-cultic worship of art that took hold in the German-speaking lands.<sup>200</sup> This art religion “converted” Jews and Christians alike, and it placed the “divino artista” and “genius” in the very position of the *Deus artifex* of traditional theology. *Kunstreligion* arguably lay outside of Vasari’s and Giambullari’s horizon.<sup>201</sup> Nevertheless, for the modern promotion of “art history” and the secularized redemption through art, Vasari’s invention and presentation of art history after the model of Christian salvation history provided the best preconditions. In the sixteenth century, when the historiography of universal history differentiated itself as “political,” “salvation,” “literary,” and “art” history, this occurred partly in a break with the old Christian universal history and partly as a metamorphosis of theological narratives.<sup>202</sup> As a component of this history, Vasari’s *Lives* is an expression and an agent of a “secularization of the world” that “became increasingly worldly by the very fact that eschato-

logical thinking about last things was introduced into penultimate matters.”<sup>203</sup>

## Appendix 1

### A Decree by Cardinal Vicar (for the Diocese of Rome) Giacomo Savelli from May 20, 1566 (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Misc. Arm. II, 78, fols. 87v–88r)

Jacobus mis[eratio]ne divina tituli S. Mariae in Cosmedin S[anctae] R[omanae] E[cclesiae] p[re]s[er]b[ite]r[is] cardinalis Sabellus S[anctissimi] D[omi]ni N[ostri] Papae vicarius generalis

Preceptum contra hebreos ne aggrediantur ecclesias.

Universis et singulis utriusque sexus hebreis tenore p[re]a[er]n[tium] precipimus et mandamus sub privatione ab eorum sinagog[a] et ducentorum ducatorum auri aliisque arbitrio n[ost]ro reservatis penis mandamus ne decetero a die datae p[re]a[er]n[tium] audeant sive presumant aut aliquis eorum seu earum aliqua presumat accedere ingredi et introire aliquas ecclesias monasteria et capellas huius alme urbis quovis pretextu et quesito colore [!] absque n[ost]ra licentia in scriptis parique modo et sub eisdem penis eisdem hebreis praecipimus et mandamus ne permittant aliquos cristiano[s] tam mares quam feminas in eorum sedi[bus] sinagogis et templis ingredi absque n[ost]ra licentia et cu[m] ad ipsas scholas sinogoga[s] et templa aliquem ex xri [= Christi] fidelem accedere contingerit illi omnino ingressu[m] et accessum ad easdem scholas sinogogas et templa omnino prohibeant quod si secus factum fuerit ad praefat[as] et alias arbitrio n[ost]ro reservatas penas irremissibiliter procedamus et procedere curabimus volumus autem quod p[re]a[er]n[tibus] in sinagogis eorundem hebreorum lectis quoscunque eorundem arctet et executio perinde acs[i] persona[li]t[er] unicuique intimate fuisent. In quorum fidem Datum Rome die xx maij 1566 A[lphonus] b[inarinu]s viceg[er]ens<sup>204</sup> triphon victorellius<sup>205</sup> locus + sigilli

Jakobus Sabellus, by divine mercy of the Holy Roman Church cardinal priest with the title S. Maria in Cosmedin, general vicar to the Pope of our Holiest Lord, Order against the Jews, that they must not enter the churches.

To all and to every Jew of both sexes we order and herewith command under [penalty of] deprivation of their synagogue, and of two hundred golden ducats, and under other penalties reserved to our verdict that from the day of this [decree onward] neither a man nor a woman dares or demands to go to any churches, monasteries, or chapels of this town without our written permission, and dares not to enter into them, under whatever pretext, or for whatever fabricated reason[.] In the same manner we order and command under the same penalties that they [the Jews] not allow any Christians, as well as wet nurses, as well as [other] women, to enter into their seats [=places of worship], synagogues, and temples without our permission[;] and if it so happens, that any Christian believer goes to these very [Jewish] schools, synagogues, and temples, they are obliged to forbid them entrance and access to these very schools, synagogues, and temples by all means[.] If this should happen nevertheless, we will proceed irrevocably to the mentioned penalties, and to other penalties reserved to our verdict, and we will have them carried out[.] By reading out these penalties in the synagogues of the Jews, we want everyone to be bound, and that therefore the execution [of the penalties is carried out], as if

they had been read personally to everyone[.] Given in Rome in the Palace of our usual residence this 20th day of May 1566[.] Alfonso Binarini [vicegerent of the Vicarius] Trifonius Vetruellus [notary] place + of the seal

## Appendix 2

**Francisci Bocchii, “De Laudibus Michaelangeli Bonarroti Pictoris, Sculptoris atque Architectoris nobilissimi Oratio” (excerpt) (British Library, London, MS Egerton 1978, fols. 1–25, at fols. 19–19v [pp. 33–34])<sup>206</sup>**

De Mose verò, quam Romae fecit è marmore, neque multa sanè, neque pauca se esse dicturum confidat quisquam, quin multò minora futura sint, quàm quae cuius artificio, dignitati, coelestiq~ pulchritudini debentur. Atque optimo quidem iure, ut res ipsa sese ita habeat, est consentaneum. Etenim ut antiquissimus ille Moses omni rerum praestantia à Deo refertus est, ita hunc ipsum nostri temporis summa huius artis perfectione videmus exornatum: et quemadmodum verissimum est illum, propterea quia Deo charissimus fuit, ceteris hominibus praestitisse, ita etiam luce clarius est, hunc ipsum, cùm à maximis, nobilissimisq~ ingeniis fuerit laudatus, et probatus, cuncta ceterorum artificum opera superare. Hic, inquam, non solum huius artis studiosos modum, rationemq~ ipsius docuit, sed verum, pi-umq~, iter quoq~, quod nos ad coelum fert, continenter demonstrat: cùm venerationem illam, vultusq~ sanctitatem suspicitis, qui quidem verissimè spirans tantum coelestis maiestatis ostendit, ut ab omnibus huius vitae illecebris animù [animum] vestrum abducatur. Itaque fieri non potest, quin ego saepenumero vehementer miror tantam esse in Judeis obstinati animi perversitatem, ut cùm Romae eundem paenè Mosen videant, cuius auspiciis ad eas terras, quas Deus pollicitus fuerat, pervenire deberent, miror, inquam, quamobrem cordis duritiem mollire, pravitateq~ omnem à se ipsis nullo modo studeant reiicere. Nam cùm ipsorum optatis nullo umquam tempore respondisse, eis autem omnibus, qui Christi pietatem sequuntur, propitium semper fuisse cognoscant, damnata vita, repudiatis mòribus ad verum, maximumq~ Deum Jesum Christum animum suum convertere, omnemq~ in eo spem rerum suarum collocare deberent.

Francesco Bocchi, “Speech in Praise of Michaelangelo Bonarroti, Most Noble Painter, Sculptor and Architect” (excerpt)

About the *Moses* that he [Michelangelo] made of marble in Rome, one will arrive at the firm belief neither to be able to say much nor to say little in order that the words not turn out inferior by far than what is owed to them by his artwork, to its incomparable dignity and celestial beauty. In fact, it has to be approved, and rightly so, that this [that it is better to say nothing] is true. As the [historical] Moses from ancient time had been granted by God with all the advantages, we see the Moses of our time [that is, the statue by Michelangelo] adorned with the utmost perfection of his [Michelangelo’s] art. And how it is absolutely true that [the historical] Moses, because he was the dearest to God, had commanded all the other people, so it is clearer than even the light of day that this Moses here, as he receives praise and is lauded by the most gifted and noble persons, surpasses all the works by all the other artists.

This [statue of Moses by Michelangelo], as I say, not only teaches its *modus* [manner and measure] and its *ratio* [prin-

ciples and proportions] to the specialists of this art, but it also consistently demonstrates the true and the pious way that carries us to heaven: if you ever behold the reverence and the sanctity of the face, which, truly breathing, reveals so much of celestial dignity, it would distract your senses from all the allurements of this life. For that reason I have to wonder each and every time about the exceeding perversity and obduracy of the Jews who see almost the very Moses that should have led them into the promised land—I am wondering, as I say, why they can in no way try to soften the hardness of their hearts and shed all their perfidy.

For since they see that God did not comply with their desires at any time, but was gracious to all those who followed the adoration of Christ, they should, after discarding their life [so far] and their [former] customs, convert their spirit toward the true and highest God, Jesus Christ, and pin all their hopes on him.

*Gerd Blum has published a biography of Giorgio Vasari and a monograph on the painter Hans von Marées. In 2011, Blum received the prize of the Aby-Warburg-Stiftung, Hamburg. A book on architecturally framed views, “fenestras prospectivae,” and concepts of ideal topography from Alberti to Agucchi is forthcoming [Kunstakademie Münster, Leonardo-Campus 2, 48149 Münster, Ger., blum@kunstakademie-muenster.de].*

## Notes

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1. Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere, ed. Philip Jacks (New York: Modern Library, 2006), 358. Vasari, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. Paola Barocchi and Rossana Bettarini, 6 vols. (Florence: Sansoni Edizioni/S.P.E.S., 1966–88), vol. 6 (Testo), 29: “E séguitino gli Ebrei di andare, come fanno ogni sabato, a schiera, e maschì e femmine, come gli storni a visitarlo et adorarlo, ché non cosa umana ma divina adoreranno.” Vasari, *The Lives*, is an abridged edition of Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters Sculptors & Architects*, trans. de Vere, 10 vols. (London: MacMillan, 1912–14). For its very useful introductions and commentaries, see also the German translation of the 1568 edition (the so-called Giuntina, published by Giunti), scheduled to appear in 45 volumes by 2014, Alessandro Nova et al., eds., *Edition Giorgio Vasari* (Berlin: Klaus Wagenbach, 2004–).
2. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimbuè a’ tempi nostri: Descritte in lingua Toscana. . . . Con una sua utile & necessaria introduzione a le arti loro* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550). This is the first edition, the so-called Torrentiniana (here-

- after T, followed by the page number; an asterisk\* refers to pages without pagination).
- In the Giuntina, Vasari repeatedly speaks of the three parts of the "introduzione" as "Teoriche." See Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. Barocchi and Bettarini, vol. 4 (Testo), 521 and passim.
  - The Jeremy Cohen, "Synagoga conversa: Honorius Augustodunensis, the Song of Songs, and Christianity's 'Eschatological Jew,'" *Speculum* 79, no. 2 (April 2004): 309–40, esp. 326. See also n. 51 below.
  - On the multiple authorship of *The Lives*, see Robert Williams, "Vincenzo Borghini and Vasari's 'Lives'" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1988); Charles Hope, "Can You Trust Vasari?" *New York Review of Books* 42 (1995): 10–13; Thomas Frangenberg, "Bartoli, Giambullari and the Preface to Vasari's Lives," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002): 244–58; Hope, "Le 'Vite' vasariane: Un esempio di autore multiplo," in *L'autore multiplo*, ed. Anna Santoni (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2005), 59–74; Silvia Ginzburg, "Filologia e storia dell'arte: Il ruolo di Vincenzo Borghini nella genesi della Torrentiniana," in *Testi, immagini e filologia nel XVI secolo*, ed. Ginzburg and Eliana Carrara (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007), 147–203, esp. 177–203; Matteo Burioni, *Die Renaissance der Architekten: Profession und Souveränität des Baukünstlers in Giorgio Vasaris Viten* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 2008), 35–40; and Hope, "The Lives of the Trecento Artists in Vasari's First Edition," in *Die Vite Vasaris: Genesis, Topoi, Rezeption/Le Vite del Vasari: Genesi, topoi, ricezione*, ed. Katja Burzer et al. (Venice: Marsilio Editore, 2010), 33–39.
  - Pierfrancesco Giambullari, "Lettione prima di M. Pierfrancesco Giambullari," in *Lettiioni d'academici fiorentini sopra Dante: Libro primo* [no more than one was published], ed. N. N. [Anton Francesco Doni] (Florence: Anton Francesco Doni, 1547), 60; and idem, *Lezioni di M. Pierfrancesco Giambullari, lette nella Accademia fiorentina* (Florence: Torrentino, 1551), 118.
  - Carlo Lenzoni, *In difesa della lingua fiorentina et di Dante: Con le regole da far bella et numerosa la prosa* (Florence: Torrentino, 1556), 76 (marked as contribution by Giambullari). Giambullari also wrote the dedication to Michelangelo in this book (5).
  - Giambullari's description was initially published in 1547 and again in 1551. "Lettione prima di M. Pierfrancesco Giambullari," 62, esp. 63; and his *Lezioni lette nella Accademia fiorentina*, 67–69, esp. 69.
  - Anna-Dorothea von den Brincken, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising* (Düsseldorf: Tritsch, 1957), esp. 38. See also Karl Heinrich Krüger, *Die Universalchroniken* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976); Adalbert Klempt, *Die Säkularisierung der universalhistorischen Auffassung* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1960); Verena Gebhard, *Die "Nuova Cronica" des Giovanni Villani* (PhD diss., University of Munich, 2007), 17–22; and Sharon Dale and Alison Williams Lewin et al., eds., *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).
  - On the historiographical structure of *The Lives*, see Gerd Blum, with ample bibliography: "Providenza e progresso: La teologia della storia nelle 'Vite' vasariane," in Burzer et al., *Die Vite Vasaris/Le Vite del Vasari*, 131–52; "Zur Geschichtstheologie von Vasaris 'Vite' (1550)," in *Das Bild im Plural*, ed. David Ganz and Felix Thürlemann (Berlin: Reimer, 2010), 271–88; and *Giorgio Vasari: Der Erfinder der Renaissance; Eine Biographie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2011), 144–65.
  - Ugo Scoti-Bertinelli, *Giorgio Vasari scrittore* (Pisa: Tipografia Successori Fratelli Nistri, 1905); and Wolfgang Kallab, *Vasaristudien*, ed. Julius von Schlosser (Vienna: W. Grasser; Leipzig: Teubner, 1908). Ernst H. Gombrich finds in Cicero's *Brutus* an antique source for *The Lives*'s three-part structure and their pattern of progress. See Gombrich, "Vasari's 'Lives' and Cicero's 'Brutus,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23 (1960): 309–11. Important for the historiographical context of *The Lives* is Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), esp. 400–405.
  - Gerhart Burian Ladner, "Vegetation Symbolism and the Concept of Renaissance," in *De artibus opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss, 2 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 1961), vol. 1, 303–22. On the Greek historian Polybius's concept of the cycle of constitutions, see Herfried Münkler, *Machiavelli: Die Begründung des politischen Denkens der Neuzeit aus der Krise der Republik Florenz* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1982), 106–27, esp. 121–27. An Italian edition of Polybius's *Histories* was translated by Lodovico Domenichi, who also worked for Torrentino (see n. 26 below): *Polibio historico greco tradotto per m. Lodouico Domenichi*. . . (Venice: G. Giolito de Ferrari, 1545; 2nd ed., 1546).
  - See Erwin Panofsky, "The First Page of Giorgio Vasari's 'Libro': A Study on the Gothic Style in the Judgement of the Italian Renaissance" (1930), in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 169–235.
  - See Francesco Petrarca, *Epistolae metricae* 3.33, in *Rime, trionfi e poesie latine*, ed. Ferdinando Neri et al. (Milan: Ricciardi, 1951), 802; Theodore E. Mommsen, "Petrarch's Conception of the 'Dark Ages,'" *Speculum* 17, no. 2 (1942): 226–42, esp. 240ff.; and Karlheinz Stierle, *La vita e i tempi di Petrarca* (Venice: Marsilio, 2007), 13. On the prehistory of the "Middle Ages" according to, among others, Leonardo Bruni, the humanist scholar and Vasari's compatriot, see Nicolai Rubinstein, "Il Medio Evo nella storiografia Italiana del Rinascimento," *Lettere Italiane* 24, no. 1 (1972): 431–47.
  - Cicero, *De oratore* 2.36. See T 125; and Rüdiger Landfester, *Historia magistra vitae: Untersuchungen zur humanistischen Geschichtstheorie des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Geneva: Droz, 1972); and Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 26–42.
  - On those patterns, see Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979); and Frederick Henry Liers, "The *Vite* of Michelangelo as Epideictic Narratives" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2004). Liers describes patterns of progress in ancient writings about the history of art (76–85).
  - The concept of "grands récits" goes back to Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).
  - On the role of the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno in the Giuntina, see Marco Ruffini, *Art without an Author: Vasari's Lives and Michelangelo's Death* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), with bibliography.
  - On the traditional division of epochs in Christian salvation history, see Roderich Schmidt, "Aetates mundi: Die Weltalter als Gliederungsprinzip der Geschichte," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 4th ser., 67, nos. 1–2 (1955–56): 288–317; and Christoph Bellot, *Zu Theorie und Tradition der Allegorese im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of Cologne, 1996), vol. 2, 555–63. On the history of tripartite historiographical schemes, see Johan Hendrik Jacob van der Pot, *De Periodisering der Geschiedenis: Een Overzicht der Theorieën* (The Hague: H. V. van Stockum, 1951).
  - This was mentioned by Julius von Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur: Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1924), 282. After von Schlosser, only Wolfgang Brassat, *Das Historienbild im Zeitalter der Eloquenz* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003), 101, mentions the theology of the three ages as a paradigm for Vasari.
  - See Blum, "Providenza e progresso"; and idem, "Gesamtgeschichtliches Erzählen am Beginn der Frühen Neuzeit: Michelangelo und Vasari," in *Pendant Plus: Praktiken der Bildkombinatorik*, ed. Blum et al. (Berlin: Reimer, 2012), 131–54.
  - For the sales figures in Italy of Hartmann Schedel's *Liber cronicarum*, see Peter Zahn, "Die Endabrechnung über den Druck der Schedel'schen Weltchronik vom 22. Juni 1509," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 66 (1991): 177–213, esp. 197, 206.
  - On Giambullari's use of the *Chronica Carionis*, see Francesco Vitali, "Pier Francesco Giambullari e la prima storia d'Europa dell'età moderna" (PhD diss., Università "La Sapienza," Rome, 2005), 126, 199. On Carion's Florentine reception, see Massimo Firpo, *Gli affreschi di Pontormo a San Lorenzo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997), 202, 256.
  - See *Babylonian Talmud, Avodah Zarah* 9a. Since the time of Joachim of Fiore and Rupert of Deutz, the triad of *natura—lex—gratia* was set in relation not only to salvation but also to world history. See Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History: The Theological Implications of the Philosophy of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949). On the many Latin and Italian editions of the *Chronica Carionis*, see Emil Clemens Scherer, *Geschichte und Kirchengeschichte an den deutschen Universitäten* (1927; Hildesheim: Olms, 1975), 470–72.
  - See Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*; and Ulrich Muhlack, "Die humanistische Historiographie: Umfang, Bedeutung, Probleme," in *Staatensystem und Geschichtsschreibung* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2006), 124–41, esp. 128. On Machiavelli's "radical rejection of a *providentia dei* operative within history," see Münkler, *Machiavelli*, 51.
  - Paolo Giovio, *Historiarum sui temporis*, 2 vols. (Florence: Torrentino, 1550–52); trans. Lodovico Domenichi into Italian as *La prima [e seconda] parte dell'istorie del suo tempo*. . . , 2 vols. (Florence: Torrentino, 1551–53). Like Vasari's *Vite*, Giovio's book is dedicated to Cosimo I. It considers the replacement of the republican form of government in Florence by the principality of Cosimo I to be a purposeful teleological progression. Giovio attributed to this process a historical necessity (see Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 373). Here one finds striking structural similarities to Vasari's praise of Michelangelo.
  - See Blum, *Giorgio Vasari: Der Erfinder der Renaissance*, 23–32, 84; and Robert Black, "Écritures et mémoire familiale—école et société à Flo-



- rence aux X<sup>IV</sup>e et X<sup>V</sup>e siècles: Le témoignage des ricordanze," *Annales: Histoire Sciences Sociales* 59 (2004): 827–46.
28. Anthony Grafton and Megan Hale Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006); and Löwith, *Meaning in History*.
  29. This number was arrived at by counting the single lives, each marked by a heading as such. However, the Torrentiniana's "Tavola delle Vite degli artefici" (T \*996–\*98) lists 141 artists.
  30. See Paul Grendler, "Francesco Sansovino and Italian Popular History," *Studies in the Renaissance* 16 (1969): 139–80; Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 377–82; and Caroline Lucy Whitaker, "The Florentine Picture Chronicle—a Reappraisal" (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, 1986), 90–96.
  31. Paul Barolsky has provided important evidence for theological subtexts in *The Lives*. I am especially indebted to his *Michelangelo's Nose—a Myth and Its Maker* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 41–54; and idem, "The Theology of Vasari," *Source* 19, no. 3 (2000): 1–6, at 5. However, Barolsky does not work out the overall structure of Vasari's historiography as a salvation history.
  32. Also Raphael's figure of Christ in his *Transfiguration* "appears to reveal the Divine essence and nature of all the Three Persons [*pare che mostri la essenza della Deità di tutte le tre persone*. . .]" (T 669) Vasari, *The Lives*, trans. de Vere, 291. See Barolsky, "The Theology of Vasari," 4; and Brassat, *Das Historienbild im Zeitalter der Eloquenz*, 121.
  33. For the conception of the three ages of salvation in Vasari's time, see the three-step theology of history set out by Pope Paul III's librarian, Agostino Steuco, in 1540, *De perenni philosophia libri X* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1972). Cosimo Bartoli, a most likely co-author of *The Lives*, refers to him repeatedly. See Judith Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503–1573): The Career of a Florentine Polymath* (Geneva: Droz, 1983), 260, index. On Bartoli's contribution, see Hope, "Le 'Vite' vasariane"; and Frangenberg, "Bartoli, Giambullari and the Preface to Vasari's Lives."
  34. On the theses of Giambullari's circle concerning the Noachian origin of Tuscany, see Caroline Susan Hillard, "An Alternate Antiquity: The Etruscans in Renaissance Florence and Rome" (PhD diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 2009), esp. 121–93.
  35. T 233: "regola de gli altri."
  36. Vasari, *The Lives*, trans. de Vere, 221; T 555: "Regola, Ordine, Misura, Disegno et Maniera."
  37. Here, Vasari uses "maniera moderna" in the narrow sense, as the art of the third epoch of the *rinascita* (T 558). In other passages, the art of all three of its epochs is referred to as "moderna" (see T 139, 151).
  38. Vasari, *The Lives*, trans. de Vere, 226.
  39. Ruffini, *Vasari's Lives and Michelangelo's Death*.
  40. Ian Verstegen, "Death Dates, Birth Dates and the Beginnings of Modern Art History," *Storiografia* 14 (2006): 1–19.
  41. Joachim Fugmann, *Königszeit und Frühe Republik in der Schrift "De viris illustribus urbis Romae"*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990), vol. 1, 11–39.
  42. See Blum, "Gesamtgeschichtliches Erzählen," 134–36.
  43. Marco Attilio Alessi, *Chronologia universalis*. . . , after 1505, Biblioteca Città di Arezzo, MS 63, fols. 149v–152r. Concerning the list, see W. A. Simpson, "Cardinal Giordano Orsini († 1438) as a Prince of the Church and a Patron of the Arts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1966): 135–59; and Blum, *Giorgio Vasari: Der Erfinder der Renaissance*, 52–54.
  44. See especially Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Laurent., pluteo 8.10, fols. 16r–v, 21v, 22r; and Alexander Patschovsky, ed., *Die Bildwelt der Diagramme Joachims von Fiore* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), figs. 3, 4, 11, 12.
  45. See Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).
  46. See Gerd Blum, "Michelangelo als neuer Mose: Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Michelangelos Moses; Vasari, Nietzsche, Freud, Thomas Mann," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 53, no. 1 (2008): 73–106.
  47. Vasari, *The Lives*, 358. (T 961), Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. Barocchi and Bettarini, vol. 6, 29: "che Moisé può più oggi che mai chiamarsi amico di Dio, poi che tanto inanzi agli altri ha voluto mettere insieme e preparargli il corpo per la sua resurrezione per le mani di Michelagnolo."
  48. See Blum, "Michelangelo als neuer Mose."
  49. Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. Barocchi and Bettarini, vol. 5, 288.
  50. Peter Olexák, *L'Inquisizione romana e gli ebrei nell'età del grande disciplinamento (1542–1648)* (Assisi: Porziuncola, 2007), 71–94.
  51. See Paul's Epistle to the Romans 11:25–31; and Saint Augustine, *De civitate dei* 20.29, 30. On the traditional topos of the conversion of the Jews at the end of time, see n. 4 above; Marquardus de Susannis, *Tractatus de Iudaeis et aliis infidelibus*. . . (Venice: Cominus de Tridino Montisferrati, 1558), 130–34; and Kenneth Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555–1593* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1977), 242–72. Compare, too, Anna Morisi Guerra, "La conversione degli ebrei nel profetismo del primo Cinquecento," in *Il profetismo gioachimita tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, ed. Gian Luca Poletà (Genoa: Marietti, 1991), 117–28.
  52. Saint Augustine, *De civitate dei* 18.45, 20.29. See also Hugh of Saint Victor, *De sacramentis christianae fidei* 2.17.6.
  53. Frangenberg, "Bartoli, Giambullari and the Preface to Vasari's Lives," 248.
  54. The Holy Bible . . . : Authorized King James Version (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). See Exodus 31:3: "Et implevi eum spiritu Dei sapientia et intelligentia et scientia in omni opere," and 35:31: "Implevitque eum spiritu Dei sapientiae et intelligentiae et scientiae omni doctrina." *Biblia sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. Robert Weber et al., rev. ed., 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975), vol. 1, 121, 127.
  55. Vasari, *The Lives*, 4. See Exodus 20:4–5; and Deuteronomy 4:15–19.
  56. See Exodus 31:1–6, 35:30–35; 1 Chronicles 2:20, 2 Chronicles 1:5; Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, "The Priestly Account of Building the Tabernacle," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, no. 5 (1985): 21–30; Steven Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Toward a New Jewish Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 82–123, esp. 99–102; and Vivian B. Mann, ed., *Jewish Texts on the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 5, 76–78.
  57. See Eva Frojmovic, "Messianic Politics in Re-Christianized Spain: Images of the Sanctuary in Hebrew Bible Manuscripts," in *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 91–128.
  58. Exodus 31:3–4 (King James).
  59. See Edoardo Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento*, 2 vols. (Milan: Editrice Bibliografica, 1992), vol. 2, figs. B 44, C 45.
  60. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, ed. Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (hereafter GW), 11 vols. to date (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1925–), vol. 4, nos. 4317–20; and Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, vol. 1, 37–70, 219–39.
  61. GW, vol. 4, no. 4319. See Johannes Wieninger, *Die Illustrationen der Malermi-Bibeln von 1490 und 1492* (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1980).
  62. Edgar Wind, "Maccabean Histories in the Sistine Ceiling: A Note on Michelangelo's Use of the Malermi Bible" (1960), in *The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo: The Sistine Ceiling*, by Wind, ed. Elizabeth Sears (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 113–23.
  63. See Nicolaus de Lyra, *Biblia cum postillis*, 4 vols. (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1485); GW, vol. 4, no. 4288, vol. 1, leaves O x verso–P v recto. See also GW, vol. 4, nos. 4289, 4293–94, 4291.
  64. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *I Commentarii*, ed. Julius von Schlosser, 2 vols. (Berlin: Bard, 1912), vol. 1, 63. Bartoli had Ghiberti's autograph in his possession. See Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 36, 55, 135. On iconoclasm in Vasari's *Lives*, see Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Afterlives of the Saints: Hagiography, Typology, and Renaissance Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 143–74.
  65. See Exodus 32:25–28.
  66. Vasari, *The Lives*, 4, emphasis mine. T 113: "Ma perché, non il lavorare le statue, ma lo adorarle era peccato sceleratissimo si legge nello Esodo che l'arte del disegno e delle statue . . . fu donata per bocca di Dio a Beseleel, della tribù di Iuda ed ad Oliab della tribù di Dan, che furono que' che fecero i due cherubini d'oro ed il candelliere e'l velo, e le fimbrie delle veste sacerdotali; e tante altre bellissime cose di getto nel Tabernacolo; non per altro che per indurvi le genti a contemplarle ed adorarle."
  67. Regarding the "apparent contradiction" between Exodus 20:4 and 25:18, see Kalman Bland, *The Artless Jew: Medieval and Modern Affirmations and Denials of the Visual* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 62.
  68. On *adoratio* versus *veneratio* in theological debates over the status of the image in the context of the Council of Trent, see Hubert Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung," *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift* 116 (1935): 143–88,

- 404–29, esp. 423; and Giuseppe Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992), 64–70.
69. John of Damascus, *Theologia Damasceni, quatuor libris explicata*. . . (Paris: Henricus Stephanus, 1512), fols. 170r–172r; and Agostino Steuco, *Pro religione christiana adversus Luteranos*. . . : *De cultu Dei per imagines* (Bologna: Ioannes Baptista Phaellus, 1530), fols. 76r–77v, mention Jews of Moses' time "adoring" the Tabernacle. See also "adoramento," "adorare," "adoratore," in *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venice: Giovanni Alberti, 1612), 22.
70. Beda Venerabilis, *De tabernaculo*, ed. Lincoln Hurst (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969). On medieval interpretations of the Tabernacle, see Christel Meier-Staubach, "Monastisches Gesellschaftsmodell und Zahl im Hochmittelalter: Adams von Dryburgh Stiftshüttenvertrag," in *Was zählt: Ordnungsangebote, Gebrauchsformen und Erfahrungsmodalitäten des "numerus" im Mittelalter*, ed. Moritz Wedell (Cologne: Böhlau, 2012), 387–418.
71. See Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 3.6.1, 3.8.4; and Philo of Alexandria, *Legum allegoriae* 3.102; idem, *De plantatione* 26–27; and idem, *De somniis* 1.206.
72. See also Numbers 8:4. On "Moses the Craftsman" versus "Bezalel the Craftsman" in early rabbinic thought, see Bland, *The Artless Jew*, 63, 171 n. 20; and Fine, *Art and Judaism*, 100–101.
73. Nor does Bezalel's name appear in the extensive index of the *Opera Bedae Venerabilis presbyteri*, 8 vols. (Basel: Ioannes Hervagius, 1563).
74. On the construction of an antagonism between Moses and Bezalel in medieval and early modern Jewish texts, see Bland, *The Artless Jew*, 63, 171 n. 20. In the Talmud, burned in Rome in 1553, Bezalel is praised as an artist and a skillful craftsman (see *The Babylonian Talmud: Berakhot* 55a). According to a Midrash in *Numbers Rabbah* (Num. Rab. 15:10), Moses found the making of the candelabrum very difficult; it was only with Bezalel's help that it could be brought to completion. Therefore, the name Bezalel means "in the shadow of God." Fine, *Art and Judaism*, 99–102, traces how Moses, the patron of the Tabernacle, was increasingly seen in the Byzantine epoch to be its *author*, whereas Bezalel, who slid more and more into Moses' shadow, came to be viewed as his *assistant*. See also Frojmovic, "Messianic Politics in Re-Christianized Spain," 99.
75. See Ulrich Pfisterer, "Phidias und Polyklet von Dante bis Vasari," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 26 (1999): 61–97.
76. A study on Bezalel in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is lacking. I am currently at work on this.
77. Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts," pts. 1, 2, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12, no. 4 (October 1951): 496–527, 13, no. 1 (January 1952): 17–46.
78. The Tabernacle, its production, and its authors are represented in the well-known *Bibles moralisées* in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, from ca. 1215, and of the Toledo Cathedral. See *Bible moralisée: Codex Vindobonensis 2554*. . . , ed. Hans-Walter Stork (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1999), fols. 24r–v; *Biblia de San Luis*, ed. Ramón González Ruiz et al., 5 vols. (Barcelona: Molesiro, 2000–2004), vol. 1, fols. 46v, 47r. Bezalel also figures prominently in an illuminated Italian Bible from Padua. See Gianfranco Folea and Gian Lorenzo Mellini, eds., *Bibbia istoriata padovana della fine del trecento* (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1962), tables 106–7.
79. See the "Praefatio" to the third book of Theophilus Presbyter, *Schedula diversarum artium*, ed. Albert Ilg (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1874), vol. 1, 148.
80. Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte de la pittura* (1584; Hildesheim: Olms, 1968), 684; and Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea della architettura universale* (Venice: Expensis Avctoris, 1615), pt. 1, bk. 1, chaps. 4, 13, mention Bezalel, but not as an antagonist to Moses.
81. Francisco de Hollanda, *Diálogos em Roma (1538): Conversations on Art with Michelangelo Buonarroti*, ed. Grazia Dolores Folliero-Metz (Heidelberg: Winter, 1989), 111.
82. Francisco de Hollanda, *De aetatibus mundi imagines*, 1545–73, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, B Artes 14–16, fols. 24v, 25r. See idem, *De aetatibus mundi imagines*. . . *Edição fac-similada com estudo de Jorge Segurado* (Lisbon: Academia de Belas-Artes, 1983), 320–23; and Reynaldo Dos Santos, "Un exemplaire de Vasari annoté par Francisco de Olanda," in *Atti del Convegno internazionale per il IV centenario . . . delle "Vite" del Vasari* (Florence: Sansoni, 1952), 91–92.
83. See Giorgio Vasari, *La vita di Michelangelo nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. Paola Barocchi, 5 vols. (Milan: Ricciardi, 1962), vol. 2, 369.
84. Francesco Cancellieri, *Lettera . . . sopra la statua di Mosè del Buonarroti*. . . (Florence: Magheri, 1823), 12: "non essendo loro permesso l'ingresso nelle Chiese."
85. This is the case with Abraham Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 vols. (1893; Hildesheim: Olms Verlag, 1987), vol. 2, 103; Paul Rieger and Hermann Vogelstein, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1895–96), vol. 2, 122; Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946), 195; and Attilio Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma* (1964; reprint, Rome: Carucci, 1988), 57. Followers of this tradition are Rachel Wischnitzer, "Passover Art and the Italian Renaissance," *Reconstructionist*, April 4, 1958, 7–12; and Malka Rosenthal, *Essays on Jewish Aesthetics, Jewish Art, and More* (Jerusalem: Academon, 2000), 17–42.
86. As far as I can tell, this passage is not mentioned in important recent works on the Roman Jews, such as Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*; Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, 8 vols. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1988–91); Robert Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Kenneth Stow, *The Jews in Rome*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1995–97), vol. 1, 1536–1551, vol. 2, 1551–1556; Corrado Vivanti, ed., *Gli ebrei in Italia*, 2 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1996–97); Stow, *Theater of Acculturation: The Roman Ghetto in the Sixteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); Barbara Wisch, "Vested Interest—Redressing Jews in Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling," *Artibus et Historiae* 24 (2004): 143–72; Stow, *Jewish Life in Early Modern Rome* (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2007); Dana E. Katz, *The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); and Marina Caffiero, *Forced Baptisms: Histories of Jews, Christians, and Converts in Papal Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).
87. Philipp P. Fehl, preface to *Roma: Una storia d'amore; Introduzione al Mosè*, by Noemi Vogelmann Goldfeld (Florence: Giuntina, 1997), 5–12, esp. 6–9, 12.
88. See, for example, Anthony Hughes, *Michelangelo* (London: Phaidon, 1997), 268; Barolsky, *Michelangelo's Nose*, 43; Claudia Echinger-Maurach, *Michelangelos Grabmahl für Papst Julius II* (Munich: Hirmer, 2009), 105; and *Vita di Michelangelo*, ed. Barocchi, vol. 2, 369.
89. According to Franz Landsberger, "Jewish Artists before the Period of Emancipation," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 16 (1941): 343, a bull of Benedict XIII, 1415, forbade the making of crucifixes by Jewish sculptors, while about the year 1400, Jewish artists painted altarpieces in Spain. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, "three Jews from Perugia enrolled in the painter's guild" in their city (Ariel Toaff, *Love, Work and Death: Jewish Life in Medieval Umbria* [London: Litman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1996], 206). In Venice, the Jewish artist Moise di Castellazzo and his children produced a "picture-Pentateuch" with 211 woodcuts. See *Bilder-Pentateuch von Moses dal Castellazzo, Venedig 1521*, ed. Karl Schubert and Ursula Schubert, 2 vols. (Vienna: Bernthaler und Windischgrätz, 1983–86), vol. 2, 7–42, esp. 12, 17.
90. Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. Barocchi and Bettarini, vol. 5, 288.
91. Against *Decretum Gratiani*, D. 21, c. 1. See de Susannis, *Tractatus de Iudaicis*, 147–48; Peter Browe, *Die Judenmission im Mittelalter* (Rome: Herder, 1942), 131–34; and Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 179 n. 45.
92. A transcription of this decree is preserved in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (see App. 1), another in the Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma.
93. This edict has not yet been published in its authentic form. It is translated here after the account of Lucius Ferraris, *Prompta bibliotheca canonica*. . . , 8 vols. (The Hague: van Duren, 1781–84), vol. 3 (1782), 563, no. 11: "The Jews should not otherwise dare to enter the houses of prostitutes under any pretext and prearranged occasion, including the buying and selling of goods, and, if they should demand something from them, [try] to get some [money]. And [if the Jews] therefore want to address these [the prostitutes], they should do so with open doors and entrances of the houses of the very same women. . . but they could only talk with them, and negotiate with open doors and entrances and with [folded-down window] shutters, and this in fact under penalty of synagogue deprivation [that is, a ban on visiting their synagogues] and heavy fines."
94. On church visits by Italian Jews in the Renaissance, see Moses Avigdor Shulvass, *The Jews in the World of the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 207. See also David Salgarolo, "The Figure of the Jew in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Narrative" (PhD diss., Brown University, 1989), esp. 112, 133–35; and Karino Feliciano Attar, "Dangerous Liaisons: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Italian Renaissance Novella" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2005).
95. In Lucius Ferraris, *Prompta bibliotheca canonica* (Venice: Gaspare Storti, 1782), vol. 4 (mistakenly labeled "Tomus tertius"), 111, no. 195, an edict of general vicar Girolamo Rusticucci, released about 1592–93, is reprinted that forbids the Jews entrance into the parlors, chapels, and churches of nuns ("Parlatorj, oratorj, e Chiese di Monache"), but explicitly allows entrance into churches and other sacred spaces. In a later edition of the *prompta bibliotheca*, which appeared in 1787, the

- same edict is reprinted—with the insertion of a new comma, so that the entrance to the “Parlatorj, oratorj, e chiese, [sic] di Monache” is forbidden to the Jews. Ferraris, *Prompta bibliotheca canonica*, 8 vols. (Rome: Michelangelo Barbiellini, 1787), vol. 4, 67, no. 203. The newly inserted comma in front of “di Monache” may have obscured the gender reference to all mentioned sacral buildings, especially those for women. From this, Rieger and Vogelstein, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, vol. 2, 165, and later scholars may have concluded that, since Rusticucci’s edict, any and every entry into churches was forbidden the Jews. On the contrary, Rusticucci’s edict speaks for such visits, even after the Savelli edict of 1566.
96. Marcello Ferro’s statement, stemming from the canonization process of Saint Philip Neri, can be found in Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta and Nello Vian, eds., *Il primo processo per San Filippo Neri*, 4 vols. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1957–63), vol. 1, 88, with a proposal for the date of the church visit. See Karl Hoffmann, *Ursprung und Anfangstätigkeit des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1923), 76.
  97. Hoffmann, *Ursprung des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts*, 93–96.
  98. *Ibid.*, 94. The idea that Jews can be motivated to conversion by Christian images has a long tradition: “On November 9, 1304, Giordano [da Pisa or da Rivolta, a mendicant preacher] recounts a series of ‘exempla,’ involving Jews. ‘Il crocifisso de Nicodemo’ tells how forty thousand Jews converted after blood spurted from a painted image of Christ.” Salgarolo, “The Figure of the Jew,” 37 n. 29; and Carlo Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l’antica predicazione volgare* (Florence: Olschki, 1975), 272. See also n. 124 below.
  99. Hoffmann, *Ursprung des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts*, 96.
  100. *Ibid.*
  101. Attilio Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma*, 269–82, esp. 275; Renata Martano, “La missione inutile: La predicazione obbligatoria agli ebrei di Roma,” in *Itinerari ebraico-cristiani: Società, cultura, mito*, ed. Marina Caffiero et al. (Fasano: Schena, 1987), 93–110; and Caffiero, *Legami pericolosi: Ebrei e cristiani tra eresia, libri proibiti e stregoneria* (Turin: Einaudi, 2012), 269–95, esp. 271, with bibliography.
  102. Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma*, 275; and Caffiero, *Legami pericolosi*, 271.
  103. Clare Robertson, *“Il Gran Cardinale”: Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 162–65.
  104. On Rabbi Jehiel (Yehiel) da Pesaro, who might have been moved in 1583 to conversion by means of such Florentine sermons and who, after his baptism by Pope Gregory XIII in Rome on April 14, 1583, bore the Christian name Vitale Medici, see Herman H. Schwedt, “Gli inquisitori generali di Siena 1560–1782,” in *Le lettere della Congregazione del Sant’Ufficio all’inquisitore di Siena*, ed. Oscar Di Simplicio (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2009 [2012]), ix–lxxvi, at xxxviii–xl. See Evangelista Marcellino, *Sermoni quindici: Sopra il salmo centonoue; Fatti a gli Ebrei di Roma* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1583); and Vitale Medici, *Omellie fatte alli Ebrei di Firenze nella chiesa di Santa Croce*. . . (Florence: Giunti, 1585). On the latter, see Shulamit Furstenberg Levi, “The Boundaries between ‘Jewish’ and ‘Catholic’ Space in Counter-Reformation Florence as Seen by the Convert Vitale Medici,” *Italia: Studi e Ricerche sulla Storia, la Cultura e la Letteratura degli Ebrei d’Italia* 18 (2008): 65–90.
  105. Hoffmann, *Ursprung des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts*, 1–55.
  106. See, for instance, Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma*, 56.
  107. Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. Barocchi and Bettarini, vol. 6, 29. According to the 1526–27 census, before the Sack of Rome, 1,772 Jewish men and women lived in the city. See Domenico Gnoli, “Descrictio urbis, o censimento della popolazione di Roma avanti il Sacco Borbonico,” *Archivio della R. Società romana di Storia Patria* 17 (1894): 375–520. According to Daniela di Castro, *Arte ebraica a Roma e nel Lazio* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1994), 11, at the end of the century, about 3,500 Jews lived there.
  108. *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela* (1840–41), trans. and ed. Adolf [Abraham] Asher, 2 vols. (New York: Hakesheth, n.d. [1925]), vol. 1, 40.
  109. *Ibid.*, 41. See Paul Borchardt, “The Sculpture in Front of the Lateran as Described by Benjamin of Tudela and Magister Gregorius,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 26 (1936): 68–70; and Ingo Herklotz, “Der Campus Lateranensis im Mittelalter,” *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 22 (1985): 33.
  110. See Shulvass, *The Jews in the World of the Renaissance*, 207.
  111. See Joseph (Josel) of Rosheim, “Trostschrift ahn seine Brüder wider Bucer Buchlin,” in *The Historical Writings of Joseph of Rosheim: Leader of Jewry in Early Modern Germany*, ed. Chava Fraenkel-Goldschmidt (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 359.
  112. See Alexander Marx, “Glimpses of the Life of an Italian Rabbi of the First Half of the Sixteenth Century (David ibn Yahya),” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 1 (1924): 617. Leone da Modena listened to sermons in Venetian churches, as he reports in his autobiography. See *The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi: Leon Modena’s “Life of Judah,”* trans. and ed. Mark R. Cohen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 109.
  113. This view is held by the former director of the Archivio di Stato di Roma, Daniela Grana, as she kindly informed me in a letter of September 12, 2008.
  114. Daniela di Castro and Silvia Haia Antonucci (Museo Ebraico and Archivio Storico della Comunità Ebraica di Roma) informed me by letter that such rabbinic responsa from Rome were not known to them.
  115. Bland, *The Artless Jew*.
  116. Thérèse Metzger and Mendel Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages: Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, 1992); and Evelyn Cohen, “Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts from Italy,” in *Gardens and Ghettos: The Art of Jewish Life in Italy*, ed. Vivian B. Mann (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 93–110.
  117. See, for instance, an illustration with Moses (whose face was subsequently erased) and Pharaoh by the Roman scriptorium of the Anaw, ca. 1275–1300, in Rashi, *Commenti biblici*, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Pluteo 3.8, fol. 45r; and Castro, *Arte ebraica a Roma e nel Lazio*, 54, ill. 40. See also *Moses Receiving the Law in Abraham Judah ben Yehiel of Camerino, the Rothschild Siddur*, Florence, 1492, the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, MS 8892, fol. 139r; and Bezalel Narziss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1969), 144, pl. 52.
  118. *Seder Hagadot shel Pesah* (Mantua: Giacomo Rufinelli, 1560), n.p. See Mann, *Gardens and Ghettos*, 244.
  119. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2005), pls. 31, 36, and the commentary to pls. 31 (n.p.) and 36 (n.p.).
  120. See Kalman Bland, “Defending, Enjoying, and Regulating the Visual,” in *Judaism in Practice: From the Middle Ages through the Early Modern Period*, ed. Lawrence Fine (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 285; and Joseph Caro, *Shulhan ‘Arukh*, secs. 139, 141. On the earlier rejection of three-dimensional representations in *The Babylonian Talmud* and in the rabbinic tradition, see Mann, *Jewish Texts on the Visual Arts*, esp. 23 (on Moses Maimonides), and 111 (on Meir of Rothenburg), who translates and comments on the first part of Caro’s section 141, 29–30.
  121. Leone da Modena, *Riti ebraici*, pt. 1, chap. 2, sec. 3, trans. Landsberger, “Jewish Artists before the Period of Emancipation,” 366.
  122. Katz, *The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance*, 41, 99–118; and Louis Alexander Waldman, “A Late Work by Andrea della Robbia Rediscovered: The Jews’ Tabernacle at Empoli,” *Apollo* 150 (1999): 13–20.
  123. See Hoffmann, *Ursprung des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts*, 94. As for the climate of inquisition in Rome in 1566, see the brilliant case study by Herman H. Schwedt, “Konsultor und Gefangener der römischen Inquisition: Bischof Jacobus Noguera († 1566),” in *Kirchengeschichte: Alte und neue Wege*, ed. Gisela Fleckenstein et al. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008), 181–214.
  124. Francesco Posterla, *Istorico Ragguaglio della solenne Funzione fatta nel darsi il Battesimo dalla Santità del Nostro Signore Papa Clemente XI a tre persone convertite*. . . (Rome: Francesco Buagni, 1704), 3, cited in Caffiero, *Forced Baptisms*, 216.
  125. See Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. Barocchi and Bettarini, vol. 6, 389–90; and David Cast, *The Delight of Art: Giorgio Vasari and the Traditions of Humanist Discourse* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 35–40, 43–52. Regarding the date of the installation of Michelangelo’s *Moses*, see recently Echinger-Maurach, *Michelangelos Grabmahl für Papst Julius II*, 100.
  126. Patricia Rubin, “The Private Chapel of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the Cancellaria, Rome,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987): 82–112.
  127. See n. 51 above and the bull of Paul IV titled *Cum nimis absurdum*, trans. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 291–98, esp. 291–92, 295.
  128. See Hoffmann, *Ursprung des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts*, 1–33; Olexák, *L’Inquisizione romana*; and the references in nn. 85, 86.
  129. According to Hoffmann, *Ursprung des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts*, 10, 23, 94, 117, index. On Cosimo I, see Stefanie B. Siegmund, *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence: The Construction of an Early Modern Jewish Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), esp. 51–58. In a letter of November 29, 1557, to Cosimo’s secretary, Bartolomeo Concini, the duke’s prime auditor, Lelio Torelli, ridiculed the demand from the Roman Church that the Jews should wear yellow hats. On this question, see *ibid.*, 55, 431 n. 5; and Firpo, *Gli affreschi di*

- Pontormo a San Lorenzo*, 383. Cosimo later adopted an oppressive stance toward the Jews, leading to the surprising erection of the Florentine ghetto in 1571.
130. Paul III's tolerance became the target of Counter-Reformation critique. See Jacob Sadolet's statement saying that Paul III had "armed" the Jews with honors and privileges; N. N., "Notiz: Inquisitionsverfahren gegen die Juden in Bologna im Jahre 1568," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 20 (1871): 378.
131. Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma*, 283.
132. *Ibid.*, 283; and Hoffmann, *Ursprung des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts*, 1–52, esp. 12–21, index.
133. Hoffmann, *Ursprung des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts*, 10, 23, 94.
134. *Ibid.*, 24.
135. *Ibid.*, 25.
136. According to Hoffmann (*ibid.*, 25–28, 30), approximately forty catechumens were baptized in 1544, among them foreign Jews and Muslims. Martano, "La missione inutile," 98, shows that the number of converted Roman Jews was much lower. See also Kenneth Stow, "The Church and the Jews: St Paul to Pius IX," in *Popes, Church, and Jews in the Middle Ages* (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2007), 1–70, 49.
137. British Library, London, MS Egerton 1978, fols. 19–19v.
138. I thank Robert Williams for this reference. On Bocchi's "Oratio," see Williams, *Art, Theory, and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Italy: From Techne to Metatechne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 189–91. On its author, see Gerald Schröder, "Der kluge Blick": *Studie zu den kunst-theoretischen Reflexionen Francesco Boccis* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2003).
139. See Kenneth Stow, "Church, Conversion, and Tradition," chap. 5 in *idem*, *Jewish Life in Early Modern Rome*, 25–34, esp. 30.
140. See Lupton, *Afterlives of the Saints*, 157. Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1867), vol. 1, 28.
141. Dante, *Inferno*, canto 5, lines 40–42: "E come li stornei ne portan l'ali / nel freddo tempo, a schiera larga e piena. . . ." *Dantis Alagherii Comedia*, ed. Federico Sanguineti (Florence: Editore del Galluzzo, 2001), 28, my emphasis, trans. Longfellow, *The Divine Comedy*, vol. 1, 28.
142. Lorenzo Ghiberti reported in his *Commentarii*, vol. 1, 63, that in Siena, after 1348, an ancient statue, probably a Venus, was destroyed as a pagan idol.
143. Jan Assmann, *Thomas Mann und Ägypten: Mythos und Monotheismus in den Josephsromanen* (Munich: Beck, 2006), 194.
144. Saint Augustine, *De civitate dei* 18.46.
145. Aleida Assmann and Jan Assmann, eds., *Kanon und Zensur* (Munich: Fink, 1987), 11, trans. Christian Katti.
146. Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1949–75), vol. 1, 356–92, esp. 363–65. Regarding the failure of the Colloquium of Regensburg to restore the unity of the Church in 1541, see 309–11.
147. Andrea Del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia: Dal XII al XXI secolo* (Milan: Mondadori, 2006), 291–93. See also Agostino Borromeo, "Congregazione del Sant'Ufficio," in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, ed. Adriano Prosperi, Vincenzo Lavenia, and John Tedeschi, 4 vols. (Pisa: Scuola Normale di Pisa, 2010), vol. 1, 389–91.
148. See Hoffmann, *Ursprung des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts*; and Olexák, *L'Inquisizione romana e gli ebrei*, whose presentation starts with the year 1542.
149. The first printed and published indexes of banned books were under preparation in the 1540s. They began to appear in Paris in 1544, in Venice in 1549, and in Rome from 1559. See Vittorio Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice: La censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2006).
150. Blum, *Giorgio Vasari: Der Erfinder der Renaissance*, 117–43.
151. See n. 24 above.
152. See n. 23 above.
153. The first edition was titled *Ecclesiastica historia. . .*, ed. Matthias Flacius Illyricus et al. (Basel: Oporinus/Brylingerus, 1559–74). See Arno Mentzel-Reutens, ed., *Catalogus und Centurien: Interdisziplinäre Studien zu Matthias Flacius und den Magdeburger Centurien* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).
154. Martin Luther, *Biblia das ist die gantze Heilige Schrift Deudsch*, 2 vols. (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1545).
155. Laura Light, "Versions et révisions du texte biblique," in *Le Moyen-Âge et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 55–93.
156. See "Joseph Ben Ephraim Caro," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Fred Skolnik and Michael Berenbaum, 22 vols. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), vol. 4, 488–91; and n. 120 above.
157. Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia: Beschreibung aller Lender. . .* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1544), "Proemio," n.p. Münster's books were used extensively by Giambullari. Vitali, *Pier Francesco Giambullari*, 32–62, 82–98.
158. Michel Plaisance, "L'Académie Florentine de 1541 à 1583," in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David Chambers and François Quiviger (London: Warburg Institute, 1995), 129. See also Henk Th. van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici and His Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 27–28.
159. See n. 7 above.
160. These passages are compiled and commented on by Carlo Maria Simonetti, *La vita delle "Vite" vasariane: Profilo storico di due edizioni* (Florence: Olschki, 2005), 51–89. See also Ginzburg, "Filologia e storia dell'arte."
161. Frangenberg, "Bartoli, Giambullari and the Preface to Vasari's Lives"; Hope, "Le 'Vite' vasariane"; and Piero Scapecchi, "Una carta dell'esemplare riminese delle 'Vite' del Vasari," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 42 (1998): 101–14.
162. See n. 34 above.
163. Compare the editor's introduction by Guido Marangoni to Giambullari, *Storia d'Europa* (Milan: Francesco Vallardi, 1910), v–lvii, esp. xxvii, xxxiii.
164. *Ibid.*, xxxv–lvii.
165. Hope, "Le 'Vite' vasariane."
166. Frangenberg, "Bartoli, Giambullari and the Preface to Vasari's Lives."
167. Simonetti, *La vita delle "Vite" vasariane*, 51–89. Giambullari's letters to Vasari from January 7, 1550, and March 1, 1550, should be especially pointed out. See *ibid.*, 71, 76; and Karl Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris*, 2 vols. (Munich: Georg Müller, 1923–41), vol. 1 (1923), 247, 267, letters nos. 122, 128.
168. Frangenberg, "Bartoli, Giambullari and the Preface to Vasari's Lives," 248.
169. Einhardus, Charlemagne's biographer and art officer, used the pseudonym Bezalel at the imperial court. Bezalel is also discussed within the image theology of the *Libri Carolini*, bk. 1, chaps. 16, 29; *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* [Libri Carolini], ed. Ann Freeman (Hannover: Hahn, 1998), 175–81. See Alain Dierkens, "Ad instar illius quod Besel-eel miro composuit studio: Éginhard et les idéaux artistiques de la 'Renaissance carolingienne,'" in *L'autorité du passé dans les sociétés médiévales*, ed. Jean-Marie Sansterre (Brussels: École Française de Rome, 2004), 339–68. One manuscript of the *Libri Carolini*, printed in 1548 and set on the Index in 1559, was cataloged at the Vatican in 1518. James Payton, "Calvin and the 'Libri Carolini,'" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, no. 2 (1997): 470. The above-mentioned Agostino Steuco wrote in 1530 about the "veneratio" of images at the time of Charlemagne (*Pro religione christiana adversus Luteranos*, fol. 75v) and had quoted from the *Libri Carolini*. Steuco, *Contra Laurentium Vallam: De falsa Donatione Constantini libri duo* (Lyons: Sebastianus Gryphus, 1547), 111ff., 116.
170. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 35.65. On the allusion in Vasari's description of Michelangelo's *Moses* to the birds of Zeuxis (T 962), see Lupton, *Afterlives of the Saints*, 167; and Fehl, preface to *Roma: Una storia d'amore*, 6.
171. Lenzoni, *In difesa della lingua fiorentina*, 47–48. Giambullari compares Michelangelo here with Dante and mentions Michelangelo's *Moses*, at 48 (marked as a contribution by Giambullari). See n. 7 above.
172. Lenzoni, *In difesa della lingua fiorentina*, 48.
173. See Philo, *Vita Mosis* 2.135; Josephus, *Antiquitates* 3.123; and Hebrews 8:1–5.
174. See n. 70 above.
175. Giambullari, *Lezioni lette nella Accademia fiorentina*, 67: "stupenda macchina del universo."
176. *Ibid.* For possible rabbinic patterns, see Bland, *The Artless Jew*, 84–86.
177. *Ibid.*: "intellettuale/angelico—celeste—sublunare. . ." See also Marsilio Ficino, *In convivium Platonis de amore commentarium*, in *idem*, *Opera*, 2 vols. (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1576), vol. 2, 1320–63, at 1321–22.
178. Giambullari, *Lezioni lette nella Accademia fiorentina*, 69: "Questa macchina de'tre Mondi in un' sol' corpo serrata e chiusa, corrisponde se bene insieme; che niente apparisce nel uno de'tre, che non si trovi negli altri ancora, ma con diversa perfezione."
179. See the remarks published under the name of Vasari but penned mainly by Vincenzo Borghini: Giorgio Vasari, *Descrizione dell'apparato fatto nel Tempio di S. Giovanni di Fiorenza. . .* (Florence: Giunti, 1568),

- ed. Charles Davis (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek, 2008). On Vasari's typological fresco cycles, see Blum, *Giorgio Vasari: Der Erfinder der Renaissance*, 103, 195, 200–208; and Alexander Linke, *Typologie in der Frühen Neuzeit: Genese und Semantik heilsgeschichtlicher Bildprogramme* (Berlin: Reimer, forthcoming).
180. On analogies between the “grand narratives” of *The Lives* and the biblical narrative in the Sistine Chapel, see Blum, “Gesamtgeschichtliches Erzählen.”
  181. Giambullari is also the most likely instigator of the pagination pattern of the *Torrentiniana*. On periodization and pagination in this edition, see Blum, “Providenza e progresso”; and idem, “Zur Geschichtstheologie von Vasaris ‘Vite.’”
  182. This is shown by his handwritten corrections to a manuscript sheet of the Life of Raphael. In their hyperbolic and eschatological tone, these exceed Vasari's rather sober statements. See Scapecchi, “Una carta dell'esemplare riminese delle ‘Vite’ del Vasari”; and Fig. 6 above.
  183. Musée du Louvre, Paris, DAG, inv. no. 4588; and Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, GDS, inv. no. 11023 (copy after Federico Zuccaro?). On these drawings and their dates, see Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari*, 2 vols. (Milan: Jandi Sapi Editori, 1999), vol. 2, 225.
  184. Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti* (1553), ed. Giovanni Nencioni (Florence: S.P.E.S., 1998), 3.
  185. Horst Bredekamp, “Antipoden der Souveränität—Künstler und Herrscher,” in *Vom Künstlerstaat*, ed. Ulrich Raulff (Munich: Hanser, 2006), 31–40; and Martin Warnke, *Könige als Künstler*, ed. Gerda Henkel Foundation (Münster: Rhema, 2006), 45–75.
  186. Quintilian, *Rhetoric* 12.10.1–9.
  187. Blum, “Michelangelo als neuer Mose”; Andreas Prater, *Michelangelos Medici-Kapelle: “Ordine composto” als Gestaltungsprinzip von Architektur und Ornament* (Waldsassen: Stifland Verlag, 1979); and Stefan Krieg, “Das Architekturdetail bei Michelangelo—Studien zu seiner Entwicklung bis 1534,” *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 33 (1999–2000): 101–258.
  188. Vasari, *The Lives*, 376. Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. Barocchi and Bettarini, vol. 6 (text), 54: “fece assai diverso da quello che di misura, ordine e regola facevano gli uomini secondo il comune uso e secondo Vitruvio e le antichità, per non volere a quello agiugnere. . . . onde gli artefici gli hanno infinito e perpetuo obbligo, avendo egli rotti i lacci e le catene delle cose che per via d'una strada comune eglino di continuo operavano.”
  189. Vasari, *The Lives*, 403. See Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. Barocchi and Bettarini, vol. 6 (text), 86.
  190. See Blum, “Michelangelo als neuer Mose.”
  191. “But Michelangelo has placed a different Moses on the tomb of the Pope, one superior to the historical or traditional Moses.” Sigmund Freud, “The Moses of Michelangelo,” in *Complete Works*, ed. James Strachey, vol. 13 (London: Hogarth Press, 1958), 233.
  192. According to Mary Bergstein, *Mirrors of Memory: Freud, Photography, and the History of Art* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2010), Freud read Vasari's biography of Michelangelo “for the first time in the late 1890s” (53), and he “underlined the reference to Vasari's Jewish anecdote in his personal guidebook to Rome” (55).
  193. Helmut Prang, *Goethe und die Kunst der italienischen Renaissance* (Berlin: Ebering, 1938), 248–51, at 249.
  194. In 1830, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe wrote about the “overly powerful [überkräftige] statue” of Michelangelo's *Moses*. Goethe, “Christus nebst zwölf alt- und neutestamentlichen Figuren, den Bildhauern vorgeschlagen,” in *Goethes Werke*, ed. Sophie von Sachsen (Weimar: Böhlau, 1900), vol. 49, 89–98, at 91.
  195. On this and Nietzsche's description of Michelangelo as lawgiver (“Gesetzgeber von neuen Werthen”), see Blum, “Michelangelo als neuer Mose,” 103–6. On the reception history of Vasari's description, see recently Asher Biemann, *Dreaming of Michelangelo: Jewish Variations on a Modern Theme* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).
  196. Von Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur: Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte*, 293.
  197. See Williams, *Art, Theory, and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Italy*.
  198. Compare Jürgen Habermas, “Modernity: An Unfinished Project,” in *Habermas and the Unfinished Project of Modernity*, ed. Maurizio Passerin d'Entrèves and Seyla Benhabib (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997), 38–58.
  199. See Blum, *Giorgio Vasari: Erfinder der Renaissance*, 250–64.
  200. Catherine M. Soussloff, *The Absolute Artist: The Historiography of a Concept* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Blum, “Michelangelo als neuer Mose”; and Cordula Grewe, “Portrait of the Artist as an Arabesque: Romantic Form and Social Practice in Wilhelm von Schadow's *The Modern Vasari*,” *Intellectual History Review* 17, no. 2 (2007): 99–134.
  201. See, however, Stephen J. Campbell, “Fare Una Cosa Morta Parer Viva—Michelangelo, Rosso, and the (Un)Divinity of Art,” *Art Bulletin* 84 (2002): 596–620.
  202. See Blum, *Giorgio Vasari: Erfinder der Renaissance*, 250–64, with bibliography.
  203. Löwith, *Meaning in History*, 158.
  204. Alfonso Binarini was representative, or governor (*vicegerente*), of Cardinal Vicar Savelli. See Niccolò Del Re, *Il vicegerente del vicariato di Roma* (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani Editore, 1976), 43.
  205. On the notary Trifonius Vetrurellus (Trifone Vetrurelli or Viturelli), see Romina De Vizio, *Repertorio dei notari romani dal 1348 al 1927 dall'Elenco di Achille François* (Rome: Fondazione Marco Besso, 2011), 106.
  206. See n. 138 above. The abbreviation q~ stands for “que.” On conversion in Michelangelo's Cappella Paolina, see Alessandro Nova, “Hat Michelangelo ein Altarbild für die Cappella Paolina geplant?” in *Michelangelo als Zeichner*, ed. Claudia Echinger-Maurach et al. (Münster: Rhema, 2013), 365–92.