

# A Wandering Jew in the Service of Reform: Immanuel Tremellius and International Calvinism by *Kenneth Austin*

## I Introduction

There can be few individuals who more fully exemplify the significance of migration to the Calvinist movement than the renowned Christian Hebraist, Immanuel Tremellius. In the first place, his initial exposure to the Reformed religion was a product of the successful dissemination of Calvinist ideas from Northern Europe into Italy, the country of his birth. Further, and most strikingly, his subsequent conversion to Calvinism obliged him to head into exile and to embark upon a life as a migrant. While he had given up his attachment to Judaism, there still remained echoes of the legendary figure of my title, the wandering Jew: for almost four decades Tremellius was obliged to traverse the continent, holding a series of prestigious posts admittedly, but rarely for longer than a handful of years<sup>1</sup>. Finally, not only was he a migrant himself, but also in his career, as a teacher, author and translator, the traffic in books and ideas remained central for him: in the classroom and through his publications, Tremellius contributed to the circulation of ideas in the sixteenth century, and in so doing played an important role in shaping the emerging Calvinist church.

This article has two principal and parallel aims. In the first place, it will focus on a number of themes which seem particularly pertinent to Tremellius' career as a migrant. At the same time, though, it will seek to use Tremellius as a case-study through which to offer broader comments about Calvinism: while there is no doubting that he was an exceptional figure in various ways, his experiences can help to bring into relief, and perhaps call into question, some of the assumptions which are frequently made about the Calvinist church in this period.

First, it will consider the significance of Tremellius' background as both an Italian and a Jew. His conversion to Protestantism was without doubt the key event of his life: it involved a migration that was both

spiritual (his conversion to Protestantism) and physical (his departure from Italy) in nature. Coming to terms with his background may help us to understand what brought him to that moment, while an appreciation of these factors will also go some way to explaining his experiences thereafter. Secondly, and building on this, this article will examine Tremellius' activities on behalf of his adopted faith. In particular, an appreciation of his roles as a teacher and biblical scholar will draw attention to the attributes he brought to his new life, and thereby help to explain why his contemporaries held him in such high regard. Not only will this help us better to appreciate Tremellius' contribution to the Calvinist church, but it should also encourage us in turn to re-evaluate the priorities of that church. Finally, it will reflect upon the extent to which migration shaped Tremellius' exilic career as a whole. In this respect, it is apparent that while the itinerant lifestyle of a migrant brought its fair share of hardships, it also encouraged him to adopt a somewhat different perspective. By thinking in international terms, in relation to both his personal and professional life, Tremellius was able to find at least a partial solution to the problems caused by migration that he faced.

Before this, however, it is necessary to provide a brief outline of Tremellius' life. He is no longer a figure particularly familiar to scholars of the Reformation, but his life is an interesting story in its own right: even by the standards of the Reformation era, where movement for religious reasons was common, his experiences of migration are remarkable. Perhaps more importantly, this biographical sketch will help better to contextualise the discussion that follows.

Tremellius was born a Jew in Ferrara in Italy, in or around 1510<sup>2</sup>; Ferrara at that time was under the rule of the d'Este dynasty who were, among other things, renowned for their gentle treatment of the large Jewish community in their midst. Unfortunately, though not surprisingly, virtually no evidence survives for the first three decades of his life. It has often been suggested that he spent the 1530s at Padua, attending the University; while that is certainly plausible, it cannot be independently confirmed<sup>3</sup>. The pivotal period of Tremellius' life, revolving around his conversion(s) and flight into exile, occurred at the turn of that decade. Again the evidence lets us down – it is both sketchy and contradictory – but it is at least possible to trace the basic outline. The first episode saw his conversion from Judaism to Catholicism, in the company of Cardinal Reginald Pole (and possibly also Marcantonio Flaminio) around 1540, either in Padua or Viterbo<sup>4</sup>. At some point in 1541, Tremellius headed for Lucca, where he gained his first official post: teaching Hebrew in the Augustinian monastery of San Frediano. The prior of the monastery was Peter Martyr Vermigli, who clearly exercised a considerable influence

over those in his charge<sup>5</sup>. Tremellius was among a sizable group whom he managed to persuade to leave the Catholic church. When the Roman Inquisition was revived in 1542, Tremellius, like Martyr and others, headed across the Alps into exile.

Like Martyr too, he came first to Strasbourg, early in 1543, and immediately found employment at Johann Sturm's Academy. Thereafter he taught Hebrew in a wide range of educational establishments across Europe: these included the University of Cambridge, between 1549 and 1553, where he served as Regius Professor; the Academy of Hornbach, towards the end of the 1550s; the University of Heidelberg, between 1561 and 1577; and the Academy of Sedan in France, from 1577 through to his death in 1580. He was invited by Calvin to join his Academy in Geneva at its founding, but reluctantly had to turn this down because of his prior commitments. On top of this, Tremellius enjoyed further prestigious positions: among other things, he served as rector of both the Academy of Hornbach, and University of Heidelberg, and also held several diplomatic roles.

## 2

### **Tremellius as an Italian Jew**

Because of the very limited evidence for the Italian phase of Tremellius' life, and because his conversion and flight into exile so evidently form the critical turning point in his career, it is easy to overlook that earlier period. However, it is important to come to terms with his background in order to understand his career as a whole. This section, then, will consider what difference it made that Tremellius was a Jew (and later Jewish convert) and an Italian. Further, it will suggest that, as a consequence of these two factors, the very *process* of migration played a significant role in determining his subsequent career.

In his nineteenth-century biography of Tremellius, Wilhelm Becker describes a number of curious pedagogical techniques which he suggests might have been used to help the young boy learn Hebrew: among other things, he suggests that the Hebrew alphabet and short biblical quotations were written in honey on a blackboard, painted on eggshells, and used to decorate cakes<sup>6</sup>. As Ivan Markus has shown, such techniques were actually used by some Jewish communities in this period, though it is impossible to know whether Tremellius actually encountered them<sup>7</sup>. Nonetheless, the underlying point is an important one: one of the principal things which would later distinguish Tremellius from most other Christian Hebraists at the time was that he had learnt Hebrew from early childhood; Christians, by contrast, would generally come to the study of

Hebrew towards the end of their education<sup>8</sup>. As a consequence, Tremellius had a deep and intuitive understanding of the Hebrew language and Judaic culture; one might also imagine that his Jewish heritage in itself gave him an added cachet as a Hebrew scholar amongst his Christian contemporaries. Either way, the success of his career was in large measure a product of his Jewish origins: in this respect, the combined impact of his conversion, and subsequent migration, undoubtedly served to enhance his career prospects<sup>9</sup>.

It is also important, albeit for different reasons, that Tremellius was an Italian. In particular, it is helpful to think of him as a product of Italian evangelism, that religious current, especially prevalent in the peninsula in the 1530s and early 1540s, that was characterised, among other things, by its eclecticism, lack of dogmatism, and biblicism – all features, furthermore, that we can discern in Tremellius' subsequent career<sup>10</sup>. As we have already seen, Tremellius can be closely linked to several of the most prominent figures of Italian evangelism, including Reginald Pole, Marcantonio Flaminio and Peter Martyr Vermigli<sup>11</sup>. Perhaps more importantly, it was in these circles that Tremellius had his most formative religious experiences: his exposure to Christianity, and his conversion to Protestantism<sup>12</sup>.

This would be significant for his religious outlook as a migrant. Most obviously, Tremellius encountered Calvinism in this *milieu* as one of several strands within Christianity, rather than being exposed to a more doctrinally uncompromising version to which he would have been exposed in Northern Europe<sup>13</sup>. While there seem no grounds for doubting his commitment to his adopted faith, nor was he its more ardent advocate. With the exception of his translation of Calvin's catechism, he did not produce any writings which stressed a Calvinist theology. Indeed, in the location where one might most have expected this to appear, his annotations on the Old Testament, he generally avoided contentious religious subjects altogether: he is far more likely to emphasise less controversial themes, such as the centrality of Christ, and the importance of the Trinity<sup>14</sup>. Here it is tempting to conclude that Tremellius' experiences of Italian evangelism, with its readiness to draw on different strands within the Christian faith, inclined him to stress what was common to all, rather than to argue for one interpretation against all others<sup>15</sup>.

Interestingly, this attitude of moderation also extended to his behaviour towards Jews. In this regard, it is highly probable that the relatively benign attitude of the d'Este dynasty towards Jews also played a part: in Ferrara, Tremellius' experience of Judaeo-Christian relations would have been more positive than most other parts of the continent. Unlike the vast majority of Jewish converts to Christianity, Tremellius did not seek to prove the authenticity of his conversion by immediately attacking his

former brethren. Indeed, perhaps the most instructive piece of evidence as regards his attitude towards the Jews is his translation of Calvin's *Catechism* into Hebrew, which he produced in 1554<sup>16</sup>. In his survey of sixteenth-century Christian-Hebraica, Jerome Friedman has described this *Catechism* as the:

only [...] missionary treatise from the entire sixteenth century [that] was open, friendly and sincere in its desire to convert Jews to Christianity. This same treatise was the only such Christian-authored work absolutely avoiding any and all anti-Semitic denigration<sup>17</sup>.

The particular circumstances of Tremellius' background undoubtedly contributed to his attitudes towards both Jews and other Christian confessions, while it was the very act of migration which brought these to the fore.

At the same time, migration brought Tremellius face to face with prejudice in Northern Europe, on account of these two elements of his background, even as a convert living in exile. Converts from Judaism tended to be viewed with hostility: they were suspected of converting for reasons of personal gain, and it was often imagined that they continued to practise their old religion in private. Meanwhile, Italians did not enjoy the best reputation in Protestant circles. As Mark Taplin has commented, they were viewed as «intellectually restless, quarrelsome, and resistant to discipline»<sup>18</sup>.

The reality of such prejudices can be seen, for instance, in a letter which Pierre Viret wrote in November 1547, explaining that he was finding it difficult to locate a job for Tremellius, either in Berne, or at the University of Lausanne, as Calvin and others had requested. He wrote:

As for Tremellius, I do not really know what I can reply to you. There is no post for him here, and if there were, there are many good and learned men who ought not to be neglected. At the moment, moreover, the Jews and Italians are badly spoken of in Berne<sup>19</sup>.

Perhaps what is most striking here, is that this was someone who would be considered an ally of Tremellius speaking, rather than an enemy: there was simply no way of concealing these unpleasant realities.

There was thus something of a paradox shaping his experience as a migrant. On the one hand, his conversion and the migration which it necessitated, forced him to confront prejudice on account of his background as an Italian Jew, which he might otherwise have avoided; on the other, and in the face of this prejudice, migration opened up for him a highly successful career which would not have been possible had he

remained in Italy. In the following section, we will consider more fully the reasons which lay behind this. Here, it is sufficient to note that in both respects, Tremellius reflects broader, albeit often underplayed, phenomena associated with the Calvinist church: the Italian and Jewish contributions. In both respects, Tremellius highlights the potential for synthesis, and readiness to draw on diverse strands as a feature of the Reformed movement. Both, moreover, were only possible as a result of Tremellius' migration.

## 3

**Tremellius and the Calvinist Church**

The second major theme is Tremellius' contribution to his adopted faith. Here, one can identify two main areas in which Tremellius made an impact on the European Reformation. While most of the regard that has subsequently attached itself to Tremellius' name relates to his editions of the bible, it is important to appreciate that those were produced in the last years of his life; for his contemporaries, Tremellius would have been regarded first and foremost as a teacher of Hebrew: this was his profession for four decades, in Italy, Germany, Switzerland, England and France.

In this regard, it is important to consider what role his activities as a teacher filled. In the first place, we need to consider *why* Christians involved themselves in the study of Hebrew and Hebraic literature in this period. Speaking a little simplistically, we can divide these into two main categories. The first set relate to Judaeo-Christian relations. Christian polemicists appreciated that an understanding of Hebrew materials would allow them to argue more effectively against Jewish interpretations, and thus to perform more effectively in disputations. Similarly, it was realised that a solid knowledge of Hebrew would allow Christians to accommodate their arguments to a Jewish audience, thereby increasing the chances of bringing about conversions. The second set of reasons relate to the Christian study of the bible. This impetus led certain scholars, such as Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Johann Reuchlin, to investigate the Cabbalah. More commonly, scholars who wished to study the foundations of Christian literature, namely the Hebrew Scriptures, and their influence on the Gospels, realised that they needed to know Hebrew. This, of course, was the most important factor in Reformation circles.

But acquiring Hebrew knowledge was far from easy especially in the first half of the sixteenth century. Hebrew had not been part of the medieval curriculum, and Hebrew textbooks or grammars only came to be produced during the sixteenth century. To learn Hebrew, one needed to turn to Jews, or Jewish converts. But given the expulsions of

Jews from most parts of Europe over the preceding centuries, there were few people in western Europe with the requisite knowledge. Perhaps of equal importance, there was a certain stigma attached to the Christian study of Hebrew: undue interest in, or defence of, the practice could lead to charges of Judaization, as the famous case of Johannes Reuchlin exemplifies<sup>20</sup>. Nonetheless, a small but elite group of scholars helped to lay the foundations of Hebrew scholarship, during the course of the sixteenth century<sup>21</sup>.

This, then, was the context in which we need to understand Tremellius' career. Hebrew was emerging as a discipline, under the twin impacts of the Renaissance and the Reformation, but there were still relatively few suitably qualified teachers. As someone who had come from a Jewish background, Tremellius was considered to be better than most; perhaps almost as importantly, as a convert to Calvinism, and one who enjoyed the support and approval of the Calvinist elite, Tremellius may have been able to reduce some of the concerns about the possibility of his reconversion.

While his teaching was his principal role during his life, Tremellius was also a scholar, and it is on this that his subsequent legacy rests. Here, we are particularly concerned with his biblical editions. Two complementary works need to be discussed.

The first of these was his Latin translation of the New Testament, made from Syriac, which appeared in 1569<sup>22</sup>. Previous editions of the New Testament, of course, had been made from the Greek, but the publication of a Syriac New Testament in Vienna in 1555 opened up a new avenue in biblical scholarship<sup>23</sup>. With this, Tremellius collated a manuscript which he found in the Elector Palatine's library. The 1569 edition was a polyglot, containing four versions of the text: from left to right, these were the Greek text, the Latin Vulgate, the Syriac Peshitta, and finally Tremellius' own Latin translation of the Syriac. Each of these is accompanied by a set of marginal notes. This edition was published in conjunction with a Syriac grammar.

The second work was an edition of the Old Testament, produced in conjunction with a colleague at Heidelberg, Franciscus Junius<sup>24</sup>. The work appeared in five folio volumes, printed between 1575 and 1579. The Apocrypha, which constitutes the fifth volume, is identified as the work solely of Junius; otherwise there is no indication of how they divided their labours. Unlike the New Testament edition, this work was not a polyglot volume: it was simply the Latin translation of the Hebrew. But it was still more heavily annotated than his earlier work had been; the annotations focus on expositions of its literary qualities, and explanations of issues of cultural, geographical and historical issues<sup>25</sup>.



Tremellius' bible was something of a publishing phenomenon: it went through more than 30 editions, between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries. In most instances, these were complete bibles. Until the mid-seventeenth century, the New Testament portion consisted of Tremellius' translation from the Syriac in parallel with Beza's translation from the Greek; after that, it was Beza's translation alone which provided the final component.

In evaluating the significance of Tremellius' biblical scholarship, one might reasonably ask why Tremellius produced these volumes, and what role they fulfilled. As regards his edition of the New Testament, this is quite straightforward to explain. The Syriac *editio princeps* had only been published in 1555. Whereas it might be assumed that the majority of biblical scholars could read Greek, the same could not be said of Syriac. Tremellius was thus helping to make this text accessible to a far wider readership. The inclusion of a Syriac grammar, and the fact that annotations focussed largely on textual and linguistic issues would have aided such an undertaking, and therefore support this contention.

With the Old Testament, there is not the same justification of novelty: Latin editions were already numerous, and more common in Protestant circles by this point was the provision of vernacular translations. Of course, Tremellius may have seen the production of this work as a fitting culmination to a career devoted to the study and interpretation of that Old Testament. But beyond this, there are grounds for suggesting that Tremellius conceived of his bible as a Calvinist alternative to the Vulgate. Of course, the Vulgate was part of a shared Christian inheritance, but while humanists and reformers alike had underlined the flaws in Jerome's text, it continued to hold a central role within Catholicism, a position that was further endorsed by the Council of Trent. The bible was central to the Reformed movement – for instance in the provision of vernacular translations, and their use for doctrinal, pastoral and polemical purposes – but this process was undermined by reliance on the Vulgate. Not only were Protestant scholars coming to regard it as an increasingly flawed text, but its continuing use also implied an indebtedness to the confession from which they were striving to separate themselves<sup>26</sup>. It was against this background that Tremellius produced his translation of the bible, and in so doing offered a way to resolve both issues: it could serve as a viable alternative to the Vulgate, both in its own right as a Latin bible, and as a tool towards the various other enterprises associated with Reformed Protestantism.

Considerations of this sort would seem central to understanding Tremellius' career more generally. He received a series of prestigious academic appointments because of what he represented: through both his teaching and his writings, he could provide the learning (linguistic



and cultural) which was necessary to liberate the Calvinist church from its dependence on Catholicism, through a return to the Hebrew of the Old Testament. That Tremellius was one of the very few people who could do this surely goes a long way to explaining both his professional success, and his ability to counter the prejudices which we have already discussed. This further illustrates quite how highly his skills were valued.

## 4

**Tremellius and Migration**

The final section of this article will consider some of the ways in which migration shaped Tremellius' exilic career as a whole. Perhaps the most obvious of these relates to Tremellius' itinerancy. As we have already seen, over the course of his long career Tremellius moved around a great deal. After thirty years in Italy, he spent four decades in Northern Europe, spending time in Germany, Switzerland, England and France. With the exception of Ferrara, at the outset of his career, and Heidelberg, very much towards the end of it, he was never in the same place for long.

It should also be noted that the decision to move was rarely Tremellius' own. His departure from Italy was prompted by the revival of the Roman Inquisition, just after he had adopted a Protestant outlook, and his departure from Strasbourg by the successes of Charles v in the Schmalkaldic War. He left England when the death of Edward vi was followed by the accession of the Catholic Mary; his departure from the employ of the Duke of Zweibrücken was prompted by the latter's conversion to Lutheranism; and he left Heidelberg when the Reformed Elector Frederick was succeeded by his Lutheran son, Ludwig. In other words, Tremellius was a reluctant migrant: not only had he been forced to depart from his homeland, but having committed himself to Calvinism, he was repeatedly the victim of its fluctuating fortunes in sixteenth-century Europe.

A significant element of Tremellius' response to this set of circumstances was to adopt what might best be thought of as an international outlook. This was apparent, in the first place, in the associations which Tremellius formed in exile. It is possible to place him within a network of friends and patrons which stretched across the continent. Indeed, Tremellius established relationships with a range of very high profile individuals: these included three archbishops of Canterbury (Thomas Cranmer, Reginald Pole and Matthew Parker), many of the elite figures of the Reformed movement (including Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Theodore Beza and John Calvin), and numerous fellow academics.

Of course, the importance of personal relationships as a motor of early modern society has long been appreciated<sup>27</sup>, but for Tremellius, the

need was perhaps more acute than the norm. After all, from the 1540s, he was a man living in a foreign country, and one for whom, following his conversion, communication with family and friends in Ferrara was all but impossible. Indeed, when Tremellius arrived in Northern Europe in 1543, the only people he knew were those others, like Peter Martyr, who shared his experience of exile<sup>28</sup>.

Friendship brought with it many benefits: perhaps most notably, it was largely on account of recommendations from these figures that Tremellius was able to obtain many of his teaching posts. Given his origins as a Jew and an Italian, we can only assume that having these high-placed supporters was all the more important: they had to vouch for his orthodoxy as well as his ability. But it is clear that these friends and supporters fulfilled a far wider range of roles, including providing him with hospitality, defending his name, collaborating with him, and doing various favours. In sum, it is evident that these relationships brought practical, intellectual and emotional benefits.

The fact that Tremellius had such a successful career raises a further important issue. Though it was varied, and consisted of many different jobs, it is evident that Tremellius had a long and full career of almost continuous employment. Of course, as Hebrew emerged as a discipline worthy of study, the posts suitable for someone with his range of skills was gradually expanding, but they were still relatively rare. But a critical point is that it was not just Tremellius who benefited from this informal system of patronage and personal recommendation: these various posts benefited from having someone of his skills holding them. While this was clearly an international arrangement, it remained one that was remarkably personal. And perhaps more importantly, it was one that, at least in Tremellius' case, was effective.

This international perspective was also apparent in his published writings, particularly his editions of the Old and New Testaments. These were evidently conceived as international texts from the outset. First, and most obviously, the fact that they were in Latin meant that they were accessible to scholars across the continent. Second, the various dedications of the different parts of the Old Testament, and the New Testament – to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, Duke Casimir, William of Orange and Queen Elizabeth of England – consciously placed it in an international context. Third, as was suggested above, there are grounds for regarding it as a Calvinist alternative to the Vulgate: it could be used by Protestant scholars throughout Europe as their source for vernacular translations, sermons, polemical works and so on, without requiring recourse to what was increasingly coming to be regarded as a Catholic text. This positioning was subsequently reinforced by its publication

history. The first edition was published in Frankfurt, but thereafter, it went through a significant number of reprintings in locations throughout Europe, including Frankfurt, London, Geneva, Hanau and Amsterdam. It is perhaps fitting that his principal work should be as well travelled as was Tremellius himself.

## 5 Conclusion

Tremellius is now a relatively little-known figure, but his contribution to the Reformation, through his teaching, and especially through his biblical editions, was significant. Migration framed his career, as we have seen: almost his entire working life was spent on the move. But as I have tried to suggest, migration was more than simply a hardship which had to be endured. It played several determining roles in his career. The very act of migration allowed him to act as a conduit through which both Jewish and Italian strands could be fed into the Calvinist world of Northern Europe. Moreover, as an exile, negotiating the choppy confessional waters of Reformation Europe, he came to depend on his friends, thereby strengthening the role of the personal in shaping the migrant experience. His integration into an international community of scholars and reformers, many of whom themselves had some experience of migration, would have contributed to his sense of identity, and encouraged him to think in international terms; his bible was arguably the strongest evidence of this. In so doing, Tremellius found at least a partial response to the difficulties raised by his being a migrant.

## Notes

1. On this theme, see G. K. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew*, Brown University Press, Providence (RI) 1965, and S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. II, Columbia University Press, New York and London 1967<sup>2</sup>, pp. 177-82.

2. For a fuller account of his life, see K. Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510-1580)*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2007.

3. As a Jew, Tremellius would not normally have been entitled to enrol formally at a university, so we would not expect him to appear in matriculation records even if he had attended.

4. According to [Matthew Parker?], *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae & Privilegiis Ecclesiae Cantuariensis, cum Archiepiscopis eiusdem* 70, London 1572, p. 410, Flaminio was present, but he only joined Pole in October 1541, once the latter had moved to Viterbo; but this must have been around the point at which Tremellius headed to Lucca. Cfr. Marcantonio Flaminio to Antonio Pavaranzo, 28 November 1545, in Marcantonio Flaminio, *Lettere*, ed. Alessandro Pastore, Edizione dell'Ateneo e Bizzarri, Roma 1978, Letter 51, pp. 151-2, in which Flaminio refers to Tremellius as «our very dear friend»; it is most probable that the pair encountered each other in Pole's company. On Pole, see T. F. Mayer, *Reginald Pole. Prince and Prophet*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000.

5. On Martyr, see P. McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy: An Anatomy of Apostasy*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1967.
6. W. Becker, *Immanuel Tremellius. Ein Proselyntenleben im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Leipzig 1890, pp. 2-3.
7. I. G. Markus, *Rituals of Childhood. Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe*, Yale University Press, New Haven (CT) and London 1996.
8. On this issue, see G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1983.
9. This is not, however, to suggest that his conversion was motivated by careerist concerns: the move into exile brought with it considerable hardships, and there was of course no guarantee that he would be successful in finding any employment in Northern Europe.
10. See for instance E.-M. Jung, *On the Nature of Italian Evangelism in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, in "Journal of the History of Ideas", 14 (1953), pp. 511-27, and E. G. Gleason, *On the Nature of Sixteenth-Century Italian Evangelism: Scholarship, 1953-1978*, in "The Sixteenth Century Journal", 9, 3 (1978), pp. 3-25. More generally on the Italian Reformation, see S. Caponetto, *The Protestant Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, translation by A. C. Tedeschi and J. Tedeschi, Thomas Jefferson University Press, Kirksville (MO) 1999.
11. On Flaminio, see A. Pastore, *Marcantonio Flaminio. Fortune e sfortune di un chierico nell'Italia del Cinquecento*, FrancoAngeli, Milano 1981.
12. Indeed, given the fluidity of Italian evangelism, I would argue that it makes sense to think of his two conversions as part of one longer religious experience, rather than as two separate events.
13. For an illuminating discussion of the ways in which northern religious ideas were combined with indigenous currents, see M. Firpo, *The Italian Reformation and Juan de Valdés*, in "The Sixteenth Century Journal", 27, 2 (1996), pp. 353-64.
14. Similarly, while his edition of the New Testament was condemned by the compilers of the Antwerp Index of Forbidden Books of 1571, it was noted that the work would be useful once the preface had been eliminated, and only about 130 annotations had been corrected.
15. On this theme, see also K. Austin, *Immanuel Tremellius and the Avoidance of Controversy*, in L. Racaut, A. Ryrle (eds.), *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2005, pp. 70-89.
16. Immanuel Tremellius, *Sefer Hinukh beherei Yab*, [Paris] 1554.
17. J. Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia*, Ohio University Press, Athens (OH) 1983, p. 250.
18. M. Taplin, *The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church, c. 1540-1620*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2003, p. 5.
19. Pierre Viret to Guillaume Farel, 24 November 1547, *Ioannis Calvinii opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. by G. W. Baum et al., in *Corpus Reformatorum*, C. A. Schwetschke and Son, 1863-1900, letter 969.
20. E. Rummel, *The Case Against Johann Reuchlin: Religion and Social Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo and London 2002; more generally, see H. A. Oberman, *Discovery of Hebrew and Discrimination Against the Jews: the "Veritas Hebraica" as Double-Edged Sword in Renaissance and Reformation*, in A. C. Fix, S. Karant-Nunn (eds.), *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss*, Kirksville (MO) 1992, pp. 19-34.
21. Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony*, cit.; L. I. Newman, *Jewish Influences on Christian Reform Movements*, Columbia University Press, New York 1925.
22. Immanuel Tremellius, *Testamentum Novum. Est autem interpretatio syriaca novi Testamenti, Hebraeis Typis Descripta*, Henri Estienne, [Geneva] 1569.
23. R. J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament*, Brill, Leiden 2007.
24. Immanuel Tremellius, *Bibliorum Pars Prima, id est, Quinque Libri Moschis Latini*

*recens ex Hebraeo facti*, Andreas Wechel, Frankfurt am Main 1575-79.

25. Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism*, cit., pp. 156-67.

26. See K. Austin, *Immanuel Tremellius' Latin Bible (1575-79) as a Pillar of the Calvinist Faith*, in D. Adams, A. Armstrong (eds.), *Print and Power in France and England, 1500-1800*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2006, pp. 27-38.

27. See, for example, G. Fitch Lytle, *Friendship and Patronage in Renaissance Europe*, in F. W. Kent, P. Simons (eds.), *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1987, pp. 47-62.

28. Cfr. H. A. Oberman, "*Europa afflicta*": *The Reformation of the Refugees*, in "Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte", 83 (1992), pp. 43-64.