

HERETICAL PHYSICIANS IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY: THE FORTUNES OF GIROLAMO MASSARI, GUGLIELMO GRATAROLI, AND TEOFILO PANARELLI

Alessandra CELATI*

Abstract. Renaissance knowledge was not composed of disparate, specialist disciplines. In particular, medicine and religion were strongly interconnected, and in times of intellectual crisis, the turmoil occurring within one field could affect the other. Considering this, it is worth examining the intersection between the scientific and the religious, choosing Italian physicians as the primary characters of study. This paper considers the religious and scientific paths of three sixteenth-century heretical physicians who spent their lives in the Veneto and/or, during their religious exiles, in Basel. Taking into consideration these case-studies, I will discuss the extent to which “outsider” physicians could contribute to the rise of new conceptions of science and religious discourse.

Keywords: Sixteenth-century medicine; Italian physicians; Protestant Reformation; Basel; Republic of Venice

Introduction

One day in May of 1567, a gondola was heading to San Giorgio with five men on board: a physician, a merchant, a patrician, a jurist and a musician. When they arrived at the island, they hid in the shade of a vegetable garden and the physician, named Teofilo Panarelli, read for the others the psalms, explaining and commenting on them. The group gathered again the following day, and then, again, the day after. In one year’s time, all the members were caught by the Inquisition, but only the physician was executed in Rome on February 23, 1572.¹ What had led him to take on the part of the leader of a heretical clique, becoming an *outsider* in a city which grounded its own identity in the worship of S. Mark?² Why did Panarelli live clandestinely, risking his own life, for the sake of reading and discussing religious texts? And to what extent did his medical profession influence his religious choices?

The experience of Teofilo Panarelli as a heretical physician, which I will discuss further in the third section of this paper, was far from exceptional in sixteenth-century Italy. However, the Italian Reformation and the history of medicine in the age of Vesalius, despite having both been extensively researched, have been rarely studied together.³ The specific link between medicine and heresy in sixteenth-century Italy,

* Università di Verona – Dipartimento di Culture e Civiltà, Viale dell'Università, 4, 37129, Verona, Italy. E-mail: alessandra.celati83@gmail.com

although pointed out in some studies⁴ and tackled in a pioneering article⁵ by Richard Palmer in 1993, has only recently started to be examined in its own right.⁶ My work goes precisely in this direction. Moving from the premise that early modern society conceived of intellectual activity as a fluid combination of physical, metaphysical and religious approaches to reality, and given that, during the age of humanism, disciplines of knowledge were deeply interrelated, I aim to reconstruct, from a specific angle, one particular side of this interrelation.

In this article, I adopt a prosopographical method and I present three case-studies, offering an account of the nexus between religious heterodoxy and eclectic intellectual pursuits among a group of doctors who trained in Padua and ended up either in Venice or in the reformed community of Basel. I rely on varied historical sources – such as Inquisition trials, private correspondences, last wills, religious and scientific books. And I combine different approaches and historiographical traditions: the history of the Italian Reformation and the history of humanistic medicine with (in particular in the third case-study) a micro-historical methodology and a historical understanding of networks, whose results are illustrated thanks to digital humanities tools.⁷

The choice of this mixed approach is determined by the complex nature of the Italian reformed movement. Due to the specific political conditions of the Peninsula, the movement struggled to become a mass phenomenon and ultimately failed in its pursuit of popular adoption. Mostly confined to urban and literate social groups (like artisans, professionals, merchants, patricians), and weakened by the repressive action of the Inquisition (especially after that the “intransigent party” took over within the curia, in the late 1540s - early 1550s), the so-called “Italian Reformation” was doomed to failure.⁸ As a result, its supporters could not but embody a dissenting minority of outsiders from the hegemonic Catholic religious community. It hardly took long before these outsiders became losers as the authorities quashed the cause for which they were fighting. However, I think that precisely because of the marginal position they were forced to take, these people strengthened the ties among each other, shaping a web of religious non-conformists who shared ideas, practices, places and books. In particular, some professional categories, like physicians, offer exceptionally meaningful case-studies. As I shall show, the very epistemological, methodological and social characteristics of their job led them to play a starring role in the Italian Protestant movement. Physicians worked at universities, royal courts, in cities, or in small villages. And from these positions, they contributed to the growth of what I call a “network of learned dissent”.⁹ Investigating specific figures within this network allows one to put early modern Italian medicine in context, revealing environments, practices, and patterns of connection that related these humanistic heretical physicians to one another. This in turn helps one to better understand the nature of the link between religious non-conformism and the rise of modern medicine.

The physicians in these case-studies all share Calvinist leanings, which makes them particularly salient since Calvinism was widespread among Italian reformed-minded people, and Geneva attracted many religious exiles from the Peninsula. However, despite sharing the same doctrinal and medical-philosophical backgrounds,

these physicians developed the link between medicine and heresy in unique ways. In the next pages, I shall first examine the case of a medical doctor from Vicenza, Girolamo Massari, who migrated to Switzerland and advocated freedom of thought through a pamphlet written in opposition to the Inquisition. Then, I will focus on Guglielmo Grataroli from Bergamo, who had a passion for alchemy and was a champion of Calvinist theology. And finally, I will focus on the physician based in Venice, Teofilo Panarelli, whose case illustrates an intermingling between cultural research and theological enquiry in an age in which Italy was simultaneously the torch-bearer for medical reform and the homeland of the Catholic Counter-Reformation.

Girolamo Massari: between medicine and theology

It was rather common for clergymen and former clergymen to embrace medicine after they renounced their vows. This was due to the intimate relationship between the body and the soul, and to the medieval conception which had assigned to clergymen the task of healing the sick.¹⁰ This phenomenon went hand in hand with another significant aspect of the relationship between medicine and heresy: the interest in medical, anatomical and alchemical subjects among exponents of the Italian Protestant movement who used to be, or still were, part of the Catholic hierarchy.¹¹ Girolamo Massari, the first case-study in this paper, shifted from the therapeutic to the clerical profession, and then he went back to medicine. The general osmosis between his healing activity and his reflection upon the divine mysteries lasted from the first phase of his intellectual activity to the end of his life.

Massari¹² was born in Arzignano, near Vicenza, between 1480 and 1485. He studied medicine at Padua, like his father Domenico, and between 1508 and 1515 he worked in Arzignano and Brogliano. Sources about the first period of his life are scarce. We know that in 1544 he was an Augustinian canon regular in the San Pietro cloister in Cremona, under the name of Giovanni Antonio from Vicenza. As reformed ideas spread out in the Vicentine area, Massari joined a Calvinist clique whose members, according to Achille Olivieri, used to “read medical texts” along with the Holy Writ.¹³ Under the influence of his Paduan education, he cultivated a rationalistic approach to theology along with his comrades in faith, Antonio Francesco Pigafetta¹⁴ (whose house was the gathering place of the group and who was to graduate in medicine in 1561) and Giulio Martinengo. As a result, Massari left the priesthood in 1550, and by 1551 he moved to Switzerland to practice medicine.¹⁵ As we shall see, during his religious exile he continued taking part in the theological debate.

In particular, in 1553 he published in Basel his most important work, *Eusebius captivus, sive modus procedendi in curia romana*, a fierce pamphlet against the Roman Inquisition inspired by the thought of Erasmus von Rotterdam, by which Massari aimed to oppose any form of religious intolerance. This work is a precious resource for exploring the perception that an Italian Calvinist physician had of his intellectual and ethical tasks in the mid-1550s.¹⁶

According to Massari, physicians had to deal with the spiritual as much as with the physical *salus* of their patients. Not only were they allowed to take part in the theological debate, they were actually *supposed* to do so. In the last part of the dedication to the Berna rector which opens the pamphlet, Massari explains the

reasons that led him to write a theological work. Considering medicine and religion as two sides of the same coin, he asserts that doctors, while examining the functioning of the body, can also reveal the “celestial medicine for the soul.” Looking for “the truth of things,” they are able to show the way to eternal salvation. This conception is supported by Galen. Since the good physician is also a philosopher, and the purpose of philosophy is to seek the truth, those who are concerned with the health of the body are also able to administer the “divine remedy.”¹⁷ In Massari’s medical metaphor: to restore the Christian truth against the Roman Catholic (“*papistici*”) abuses. He knew that his work would be rejected by his enemies, and he himself would be persecuted because of it. However, he also knew he could rely on the protection of his patrons, and he chose not to give up his intellectual and spiritual duties.¹⁸

Massari took this undertaking literally. When he arrived in Basel in 1551, then one of the liveliest cities in terms of cultural and religious debate, he immediately became involved in the intellectual life of the city.¹⁹ He matriculated at the University and was the guest of Conrad Gesner, who welcomed him in his house and put him in touch with the Padua physicians Gabriele Falloppia and Melchiorre Guilandino. He collaborated with Gesner in the preparation of the *Bibliotheca instituta* and Gesner remained his most important patron for the years to come, during which Massari lived in Berna, Zurich and Strasbourg (where he died in 1564). During his religious exile, Massari remained active in both the medical field and in doctrinal propaganda activity. From Strasbourg he sent to Venice some of the Bibles that had been printed in Geneva or Lyon. While in 1564, he published a commentary to Hippocrates’ treatise *De natura hominis* (which was inserted in the Spanish Index of prohibited books in 1640). He also dealt with two linguistic works, which he never ultimately published: *Hebraeae linguae grammatica, quam tamen non edit in publicum, eiusdem germanicae linguae grammatica luculenta* and *Linguae sanctae grammatica absolutissima, ex praecipuis eiusdem linguae scriptoribus collecta ac in quinque libris pulcherrimo ordine digesta*. These texts show his interest in “the philological history of the languages of the Holy Writ,”²⁰ a passion he shared with such humanists as Lorenzo Valla and Miguel Servet. And it is his reflection upon the thought and biography of Servet that makes Massari’s case particularly significant.²¹

The Spanish physician, anatomist and anti-trinitarian theologian Miguel Servet is well-known for having discovered the “small circulation” of blood.²² He achieved this result while trying to understand how the Holy Spirit was inhaled by man and could vivify man’s body – an excellent illustration of the intermingling between medicine and theology. While Massari was in Basel, he introduced the work of Servet to the community of Italian exiles there. This was a rather close group, radiating from the humanistic circles of the cities and mostly gathered around the printing house of Pietro Perna (by whom Massari had received the book of Servet in the first place). In 1552, the group was joined by Guglielmo Grataroli, a Calvinist physician from Bergamo who had just escaped from religious persecution in Italy. Massari soon gave him *De trinitatis erroribus*, which suggests that the book worked as a uniting force among the Italian members of the Basel network.²³ In the following years this involvement in the distribution of Servet’s books made Massari suspected of being an anti-trinitarian. And it was precisely Grataroli who accused him of being a heretic, a

libertine and a radical.²⁴ Nevertheless, Massari mobilized the protection of his influential patrons, such as Conrad Gesner and Bonifacio Amerbach, and circumvented the allegations of anti-trinitarianism. For the whole of 1552 he continued a scholarly dialogue with Grataroli about the Trinity.

Everything changed after Calvin sentenced Servet to death and execution in 1553, in what was considered the New Jerusalem: Geneva. Massari aligned with the group of Italians in Basel who advocated tolerance and freedom of thought – especially Sebastian Castellio and Celio Secondo Curione –, while Grataroli strongly opposed them.²⁵

It is no coincidence that Massari's most important work, his *Eusebius captivus*, was published precisely in 1553. The book speaks about an imaginary Inquisition trial held against a heretic named Eusebio Uranio. During the three-day trial, Uranio expresses his religious views and stands up against the Inquisition, which, through the intervention of Pope Giulio III himself, eventually sentences him to death. While the main target of *Eusebius captivus* was certainly the Italian *Sant'Uffizio*, we can agree with Micaela Valente when she suggests that, with this publication, Massari wanted to tackle a broader topic: the necessity of rejecting religious intolerance.²⁶ Although the book was conceived and written mainly before the Servet affair, its dedication dates ten days after Servet was burnt at the stake.²⁷ Moreover, Valente's hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the publisher of *Eusebius captivus* was Pietro Perna, an Italian exile whose printing house in Basel was at the core of the network of radical Italians who stood up for religious freedom. A final clue in this direction is the fact that a copy of *Eusebius captivus* was found in the personal library of Matteo Gribaldi Moffa²⁸, one of the most active agents in the circulation of Servet's works.

Massari therefore extended his polemic against the Inquisition to a larger horizon of intolerance that also included Calvinist Geneva. He advocated religious peace, and deliberately disapproved of any form of violence and oppression in the religious sphere. Eusebius claimed that in the Holy Writ one could not find a paragraph supporting the idea that killing the heretics is good and necessary. The real Church had to use no weapon, unless it was the "*spiritualem gladium*." The Church was supposed to "vivify" rather than murder.²⁹

Massari's disagreement with Calvinist intolerance and excessive strictness can also be detected in the way Massari questioned and reinterpreted the doctrine of predestination, which lies at the core of Calvinist theology. Massari's idea of predestination differed from the rigid, and even dreadful, conception which was part of the Genevan orthodoxy.³⁰ While in the first phase of history before the coming of Christ, the severe righteousness of God had prevailed, in the second phase of history, through "God's contact with mankind," divine mercy and clemency finally took over.³¹ Praying for God's benevolence, the believers were freed from the weight of being unaware of their afterlife destiny.³² They were "*electi in Christo*," justified and glorified.³³ The concept of God's unfathomable *pre-scientia*, which implied either salvation or eternal damnation for the believers regardless of their faith and actions, lost its bitterness and sharpness. Predestination became sweet and inclusive. Massari's "*Dius medicus*," was able to "heal the dry and hard hearts of men,"³⁴ provided that men sincerely believed in Jesus Christ's sacrifice.

This work fit very well in the context of the mid-1550s Basel in which Massari was involved. Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* circulated within Conrad Gesner's cultural circles, and it is no coincidence that the whole of *Eusebius captivus* is pervaded by the influence of Erasmus, whose ideal Church was grounded in *patientia* and *tolerantia*. Moreover, Massari released his work a few months before Sebastian Castellio published the most famous sixteenth-century polemic against religious violence: *De haereticis an sint persequendi* (Basel, 1554). Because of Massari's continual combining of Protestant propaganda with pleas for religious peace, *Eusebius captivus* could be considered one of the first texts dealing with the concept of tolerance in the Confessional age.³⁵ The truth that the physician-philosopher had to look for and divulge was also a plea for religious harmony.

The *pius medicus* Guglielmo Grataroli

Let us now move to the case of the medical doctor from Bergamo, Guglielmo Grataroli (1516-1568), whom we already met in the previous sections.³⁶ A staunch Calvinist, described by the Inquisitors as "a plague on the faith wherever he went"³⁷, he studied at Padua and graduated from the College of physicians in Venice in 1539. Soon afterwards, he settled down in Bergamo, where he joined the local College of physicians. In the same period, he began to overtly blame the Roman Church, to deny the real presence of the body of Christ in the Eucharist, and to take advantage of his professional position in order to distribute heretical books in a Catholic nunnery. The Inquisition charged him with heresy in 1544, and he was forced to recant. He was caught again in 1550, but he did not appear at the trial and managed to move to Valtellina. There, along with his colleague and comrade in faith, Cristino dal Botto, he was active in the smuggling of Protestant books into Italy. In the meanwhile, the Inquisition, considering him a *relapso*, ratified a death sentence and even set a bounty against him.³⁸ Grataroli, however, was already safe in Protestant lands.

In 1552 he settled down in Basel, where he lived for the rest of his life and from which he travelled to Savoy, Germany and Burgundy. For his whole life he stayed in contact with Bullinger, Theodore de Beze and even Calvin (who also consulted with Grataroli about personal health issues)³⁹. He never embraced the tolerant approach to religion shared by Italian exiles in Basel. And he harshly attacked those who did not approve of Calvin's condemnation of Servet⁴⁰ or, even worse, who embraced radical doctrines themselves.⁴¹ Because of his aggressive defence of Calvinist positions and his continuous polemic against Sebastian Castellio (the author of *De haereticis an sint persequendi*), in late 1567 the academic senate in Basel discussed the possibility of removing him from his professional role at the University.⁴² However, Grataroli died on April 16, 1568, before any serious measure could be taken against him.

In Grataroli's case, this rigid approach to theology goes hand-in-hand with quite an open-minded conception of medicine, as is shown by his *Opuscola* (Basel, 1554), a collection of short "anti-authoritarian"⁴³ medical treatises meant to supply common people with a guide for self-medication. Throughout his *Opuscola*, he took into consideration the most advanced issues within the coeval scientific debate. He dealt with mnemotechnical techniques and referred to Vesalius to locate the position

of memory inside the brain; he debated the benefits of wine for human health; he was one of the first sixteenth-century scientists to be concerned with physiognomy (anticipating the work of Giovan Battista Della Porta); and he worked on an edition of astrological and alchemical texts. He also published a work on the causes and the medical treatment of plague⁴⁴; one describing the therapeutic properties of thermal baths⁴⁵; and one advising travellers how to preserve their health during long journeys.⁴⁶ Grataroli underscored the supreme methodological value of direct observation in the examination of natural phenomena. Referring to Aristotle and Galen, he claimed that it was pointless to overvalue reason to the detriment of the senses, because “experience is our teacher”⁴⁷: an excellent example of a genuine humanistic spirit that drew inspiration from the teachings of classical figures without passively re-producing their knowledge.

Grataroli’s interest in alchemy is particularly relevant to illustrate the scientific attitude of a heretical physician. One of his most important books is precisely *Verae alchimiae artisque metallicae citra aenigmata doctrina certusque modus* (Basel, 1561), a restored collection of several works on alchemy.⁴⁸ Although we have no evidence that Grataroli tied philological work with practical alchemical experimentation, is worth underlining, as Gianna Pomata and Nancy Siraisi put it, that the “tremendous familiarity with ancient texts that were the hallmark of humanist training could be harnessed to the cognitive goals of direct observation so as to complement or even enhance them.”⁴⁹ By publishing accurate editions of the most important alchemical books written since antiquity, Grataroli provided his own *historia* of the most secret knowledge on nature. In so doing, he promoted alchemical research within the learned medical context. I argue that this was perfectly consistent with his “anti-authoritarian” approach to science.

Lynn Thorndike even defined Grataroli’s work as a bridge connecting Medieval alchemy and modern Paracelsianism,⁵⁰ which is striking when considering the reluctant acceptance that Paracelsianism had in Protestant territories, at least in the first phase of its spread.⁵¹ Grataroli actually maintained a refusal of the unclear and “diabolic” style⁵² of Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, known as Paracelsus. Nevertheless, he named “Theophrastus da Hohenheim” the main character of the dialogue that opens his *Verae alchimiae*. Theophrastus had the task of unveiling to his interlocutor, a certain Chrysophilus, his most precious secret: the method of distillation. In Theophrastus-Guglielmo Grataroli words, this was a divine art that enabled men to imitate the gods, by separating, purifying and perfecting matter. Whether Grataroli can strictly be considered a Paracelsian or not, he conceived of the universe as a complex combination of basic elements, which connected to one another through *simpatie*. The good alchemist was the one who was able to uncover and operate on them. Grataroli had a deeply spiritual conception of nature, and this in turn influenced his epistemology and, as we shall see, the way he interpreted his medical profession.

According to Grataroli, creation is pervaded by the holy spirit of God. Nature is a sort of immense outdoor laboratory, and in the study of it man can find traces of the divine, penetrating the mysteries of the universe. It is meaningful that, in the dedications which open his treatise, he directly connects his scientific work with his

religious commitment. According to Grataroli, God has provided men with “pure intellect” so that they can observe and preserve His creation.⁵³ In particular, alchemy is nothing but a zealous inquiry upon the most hidden parts of nature, and Guglielmo Grataroli believes that God, who “does not talk to anybody,”⁵⁴ has precisely chosen *him* to accomplish this challenging task: unveiling God’s presence within the creation and restoring the ancient knowledge about the “secrets of nature.” He then describes his life, telling the reader about all the difficulties he had to endure in order to achieve the standard of his religious and medical vocation. The certainty of being on the right side of God has always supported him.

In Grataroli’s case, medicine and acceptance of the Reformation strengthen one another to a very strong degree. His Calvinist faith and his confidence in being “predestined” (one of the “*Deo amati*”) grounded his medical research and shaped it as something through which he could manifest his love for God and His creation.⁵⁵ At the same time, as he stated in his work about wine⁵⁶, the good physician fulfills a peculiar role in the divine plan: God has given him *scientia* and intelligence so that he can be “secretary and partner” of nature.⁵⁷ Doctors then seem to occupy a peculiar position in society: blessed by God, they act halfway between Creator and creation. Still, medicine is a difficult science to acquire, and only God can guide the good physician’s knowledge and show him how to operate. There are many who consider themselves doctors, without actually being so. The *true* physician, the one devoted to both the secrets of nature and the will of God, is extremely rare, and Grataroli thinks he embodies this vocation.⁵⁸

Following this conception, and sometimes referring to the example of the Apostle/physician Luke the Evangelist⁵⁹ (a reference for many other physicians who had an interest in theology, including Girolamo Massari), Grataroli dispensed theological knowledge, moral judgements, religious opinions and spiritual advice alongside his medical works.⁶⁰ His peculiar self-perception of his professional vocation explains his inclination towards dealing with religion as much as with science, in addition to supporting his particular interest in alchemy, as the special knowledge of the secret part of nature.

“He denied purgatory as a philosopher”: Teofilo Panarelli and his Venetian heretical clique

The case of Teofilo Panarelli⁶¹, the one which I mentioned in the introduction of this paper, deserves to be added to this short list of case-studies. Panarelli was born in the mid-1530s in Monopoli, in southern Italy, and he was the son of a physician who had an interest in the Reformation. In his father’s house, Panarelli received his first heretical education, along with his brother Agostino and his sister Virginia.⁶² Then, in the early 1550s, he had the chance to go deeper into theological questions, namely “in the matter of free will, justification by works and by faith alone,” thanks to the teaching of Bartolomeo Fonzio⁶³, whose lessons Panarelli attended after the family moved to Cittadella, close to Padua.

While his father and Bartolomeo Fonzio had instilled in young Panarelli curiosity, or as he said “doubt,” about theological issues, it was in Padua, whilst at university, that he completed his heretical training. Panarelli’s narration allows one to

apprehend the free-thinking atmosphere in which students were immersed while studying at Padua University. It was there that he came into contact with Protestant books for the first time⁶⁴, and there that his “doubts” turned into conscious Protestant belief. Panarelli testified that he used to exchange prohibited books with his classmates, and he used to attend the lessons of the anti-trinitarian jurist Matteo Gribaldi Mofa. The fact that a medical student would take part in the classes given by a jurist reveals not only the epistemic fluidity of the borders within humanistic disciplines, but also the intellectual curiosity of young Panarelli. Moreover, it contributes in delineating the existence of a network of dissenters that spread across Padua, Venice and Basel. One should not forget that, in a couple of years, Gribaldi would read Massari's *Eusebius captivus*. Networking practices resisted the process of confessionalization and guaranteed a continuity of religious interests across the religious divide.

When in Padua, Panarelli would also explain theological issues to his roommate, an illiterate soldier who shared the same religious opinions. When describing these secret meetings, Panarelli said that the soldier used to simply listen to the “reasoning” the students would put forward, while the scholars would “study” Calvin’s and Luther’s texts.⁶⁵ Apparently, the step from studying medicine and philosophy, questioning medieval interpretations upon the ancient authors, to applying the same method to the examination of theology was a brief one at Padua.

After university, Doctor Teofilo Panarelli was ready to become a major figure in the Reformation movement. In Venice, where he moved to practice his *ars*, he became the leader of a secret heretical clique, which gathered, among the others, two more physicians: Francesco Pegolotto and Giovanni Gatta.⁶⁶ From reading the minutes of Panarelli’s trial we understand that the group used to read and comment on prohibited books, and that the most “expert” members would also discuss theological doctrines, such as the question of the real presence of Christ’s body in the Eucharist, and would not always be able to find a compromise between the different positions they embraced. Moreover, Panarelli did not spare sarcastic quips at Catholic “superstitions,” taking advantage of his medical role to promote non-conformist religious ideas.⁶⁷

Panarelli’s heretical network in late sixteenth-century Republic of Venice involved colleague physicians, booksellers, patricians, humanists and some women (see figure 1).

The visualisation (in which the nodes represent the people that Panarelli mentioned as accomplices in his Inquisition trial) gives an idea of the complex nature of Panarelli's ties. He was in touch with different people, for different reasons, and often a heretical kind of relationship overlapped with a different kind of tie. A heretical relationship could be strengthened moving from a common humanistic background; from the exchange of books; from familial kinship; from a relationship of patronage with a patrician; from a teaching-learning relationship; or from the practice of medicine. The latter was particularly significant in Panarelli's case, as the high presence of physicians and pharmacists in the network shows. This sort of representation, approximate as it necessarily is, nonetheless has the advantage of highlighting the complexity of what we usually define as *heresy*, and also reveals important details about the nature of the "heretical network" of a physician. Panarelli's religious dissent came as a result of, or at least strongly intermingled with, crucial aspects of his profession: his humanistic background, his professional contacts, his social status, his attitude towards books as a learned physician, and so on.

The visualisation also shows that Panarelli's network was entirely Italian, and it did not gain a European dimension. As I shall show soon, this had consequences for his religious constructs. However, this does not mean that the members of this heretical conventicle did not look at what was happening outside Venice. We have evidence that they paid special attention to the contemporary French political and religious situation, and largely supported the Huguenot cause.⁶⁸ Furthermore, we know that during one meeting the group read a letter written from Switzerland by Francesco Betti (a Roman religious exile), which impelled a discussion on the opportunity to flee.⁶⁹

The picture of the network is also revealing from a social point of view. By noting the professions represented in the network, we see that Panarelli and his comrades in faith covered a middle-upper level of the social ladder (we know that Panarelli owned some properties in Venice, Padua and Monopoli), and this was probably why they were not inclined to migrate for religious reasons. The high presence of Venetian patricians is particularly remarkable, because it shows that a learned physician like Panarelli, who had to deal with all sorts of people in his daily medical activity, was able to develop social bonds with the most powerful and influential figures in Venetian society.⁷⁰ Social strategy may also explain Panarelli's behaviour in 1566, when he was summoned by the Inquisition to bear witness in the trial against Dionora Calia (the housekeeper of Panarelli's brother in law Girolamo Ruscelli, at whose house Panarelli was living back then). During the trial, Panarelli ruthlessly accused her of heresy. He probably did not consider Dionora (who in turn had her own ties with radical heretical physicians and quacks, like Marziale Clemente and Antonino Volpe) a member of his more high-ranking network. He was concerned about preserving himself and his wealthy accomplices from a potential Inquisitorial inquiry, so he covered his beliefs by denouncing a lower class ideological ally.⁷¹

Even if Panarelli had Calvinist leanings, as it emerges from the testimony related to the group's gathering for the celebration of the "Lord's Supper," his Calvinism differed from Grataroli's. Panarelli's religious commitment formed part of

the wider framework of his intellectual commitment. His views were not quite so devoted to Calvin's dogmas as Grataroli's had been. At the very least, they did not constitute the primary ground of Panarelli's faith. Grataroli denounced the Italian exiles who did not agree with the magisterial confession of faith to religious authorities, and being so close to Calvin, he was a strong opponent of nicodemism – Calvin had invented this term in his famous *Excuse à Messieurs les Nicodémistes* (1544) to scornfully address those who lived in Roman Catholic countries and, having embraced the Reformation, did not outright quit attending Catholic rituals.⁷² On the contrary, Panarelli overtly advocated nicodemism.

Not only did Panarelli maintain in front of the Inquisitors that he had defended the legitimacy of nicodemitic practice⁷³, but other witnesses confirmed his adherence to nicodemitic theory. The pharmacist Bernardo Vergolino said that when Panarelli saw he had bought “one of those coins which are minted for Good Friday,” the physician had blamed the pharmacist's superstition, but nonetheless had added that “since you know the truth, it is fine that you take it for devotion.”⁷⁴ This represents an assertion of the irrelevancy of rituals, ceremonies and any exterior manifestations of devotion, which was one of the key points of nicodemism. Since Vergolino “knew the truth,” whether he bought the coin was insignificant. Moreover, Panarelli's testimony reveals that he embodied another of the nicodemites' crucial characteristics: the idea of the necessity to carry out gradual propaganda, modulating it according to the level of religious and intellectual awareness listeners might have developed. So, for instance, while working at pharmacies, he would debate delicate theological matters with his colleague Pegolotto, but he would be cautious in front of pharmacists, confining the arguments they discussed to “safe” ones like the clergy's abuses.

From Panarelli's testimony also emerges the idea that “discussion” and “reasoning” on theological matters were essential features of the physician's religious experience, borne of his university education. Panarelli claimed that the validity of his opinions stemmed from his medical-philosophical education, which allowed him to approach theology rationally, exposing Roman superstitions and, for instance, denying Purgatory as philosophically non-coherent⁷⁵. So, if in Grataroli's case the adherence to the Reformation strengthened his medical commitment, in Panarelli's it was his religious liveliness that was the result of his medical-philosophical education.

Panarelli's independent inquiring into theological matters came to an end when Paolo Moscardo, his comrade in faith, was denounced in 1568. Soon after, Panarelli was denounced as well and was sentenced to death in 1572, as a “repentant relapse.” This meant that the harshness of the capital penalty was somehow “softened” by a less painful execution. Having repented and accepted to confess, Panarelli was hung before being burnt. Considering his nicodemitic attitude, it is likely that his repentance was not sincere, but that it was his very last resource in order to avoid the stake. On the other hand, since Panarelli was not a relapse in a strict sense (we lack any evidence that he recanted in the past), the death sentence seems all too violent, and shows that the Roman Church considered his case particularly dangerous and worthy of exemplary punishment.

Speaking about Panarelli's final days, the last key elements to underline concern his testament.⁷⁶ This is the last will of a desperate man, who had lost all the confidence which, just a couple of months before, had even led him to lampoon the Inquisition's methods when his torture was taking place.⁷⁷ Aware of the dishonour that resulted from religious crime, he tried to preserve his daughters, Marina and Sarra, at least from the shame of being his natural children. He claimed that everybody must consider them legitimate, despite the fact that he had not regularly married their mother, and he lived with Caterina Gurniera as man and wife. This shows that Panarelli's religious deviancy was not exclusively theoretical, but that it also took a behavioural shape.

Moreover, desperately attempting to leave some goods to his soon-to-be orphan daughters, Panarelli quotes in the text two engineering projects he had accomplished. One was a hydraulic system whose aim was to "dig canals," the other was a "*vite perenne*" (cochlea) he had designed, through which it was possible "to operate mills and to lift very heavy weights."⁷⁸ Panarelli had developed the latter with the collaboration of a certain Giovanni Antonio Gello, who was in turn arrested by the Inquisition in Monopoli for "having established an academy" with Panarelli. Although evidence shows that this activity as a hydraulic engineer took place in Monopoli (Panarelli's birthplace in southern Italy, where, apparently, he continued to travel occasionally), it is arguable that these interests and skills were connected to the increasing importance that practical knowledge assumed in Venice (where Panarelli resided), spreading out from the Arsenal and from the artisan shops in the city⁷⁹. In an age in which academic knowledge still despised the methods of manual labour, Panarelli started to be interested in mechanical arts. As Zilsel put it: "On the whole, the rise of the methods of the manual workers to the ranks of academically trained scholars at the end of the sixteenth century is the decisive event in the genesis of science."⁸⁰ If we accept this thesis, the significance of Teofilo Panarelli's contribution to early modern intellectual history is evident.

These projects also testify to the eclecticism of his intellectual activity. Defining himself as a philosopher, Panarelli also worked on engineering projects and carried out his medical practice, while his restless and continuing religious research was leading him straight to a death sentence.

Conclusions

Although the medical profession was particularly exposed, and predisposed, to the reception of the Reformation, it would be misleading to consider the link between therapeutic *ars* and religious non-conformism in terms of a cause-effect relationship.⁸¹ Not all of the physicians who worked in Italy in the sixteenth century became religious dissidents. Similarly, it would be a mistake to pigeon-hole all the experiences of medical doctors who abandoned Catholicism under the same category of "heretical physicians" (although I use this expression here as a comfortable synthesis). In sixteenth-century Italy the connections between medicine and the Reformation were complex. Some of these dissenters came to scientific activity because of faith, others the reverse, and all brought about peculiar scientific and religious views. The link between religious non-conformism and humanistic medicine

took on many different forms, depending on the intellectual and theological outlook of physicians intrigued by the competing Christianities of their time.

Massari's Calvinism was nuanced by a strongly anti-dogmatic approach, and his involvement in the distribution of Servet's works suggests that he was even inclined toward religious radicalism. It is likely that Massari's interest in Servet's thought was the result of the fluidity between the medical and the religious, which was typical of both the physicians' intellectual experiences. In the case of Guglielmo Grataroli, the Calvinist faith he embraced in Bergamo at the beginning of the 1540s, as a result of his intellectual liveliness and of the dynamism of Italian religious debate, became stronger and more solid when he came into contact with Calvinist *auctoritas* in Switzerland. On the other hand, Teofilo Panarelli's Calvinism suffered from the progressive closure of Italian religious life.

Indeed, the differences between these Calvinist physicians must be examined in the light of the environment that shaped their experience. The Italian reformed discourse was restricted to a secret circulation. In order to read and discuss Protestant books⁸² and doctrines, Panarelli and his comrades in faith had to hide at the *Fondaco de' Tedeschi*, on small islands like Giudecca or San Giorgio. Or they had to hide in "protected" business places like *spezierie*, barber shops or book-stores (sometimes run by the very members of the network).⁸³ The latter were at the same time the city's hotspots for the diffusion of the most relevant European cultural and political news, and sites of knowledge that fostered the nexus between scientific and religious experimentation. This clandestine dimension implied the absence of any religious guiding reference from beyond the Alps, but at the same time it preserved the ability of developing autonomous theological views. Certainly, this isolation decreased the likelihood that the Italian reformed movement would survive. However, it helped to preserve the movement's original character of free, spontaneous search for personal doctrinal solutions. In this process, physicians played a crucial role: in the case of Panarelli, his rational attitude led him to reject those aspects of Catholicism that he considered superstitious and inessential to salvation, and it led him to make a claim for the intellectual freedom of men of culture.

While the geographical context where these physicians worked definitely had an impact on the development of their thought, one should not overvalue this aspect. Both Massari and Grataroli were living in Basel. However, the first was a Hippocratic humanist who found in the same culture of Valla, Erasmus and Servet the reason to be involved in the theological debate: standing up for religious tolerance; while the second explored new fields of research, and, assured of his predestination, kept his hands on his *chymia* books and his eyes turned towards almighty God.

To conclude, the humanistic study of the classics and the critical-philological approach which were part of medical education, along with the practice of medicine that in itself could lead to the discussion of spiritual matters, provided physicians with a particularly flexible frame of mind. This could develop in singular experiences both while healing the body and the soul. Despite being prosecuted by the Roman Inquisition, non-conformist physicians considered outsiders by their home societies, ended up taking on a special position in the development of sixteenth-century intellectual history.

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References

- ¹ For an account of this episode and of the whole Inquisition trial of Teofilo Panarelli see Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter: ASV), Sant’Uffizio, *Contro Ludovico Abioso e Teofilo Panarelli*, Busta (hereafter: Bu) 32. See also: Palmer, R., “Physicians and the Inquisition in Sixteenth-Century Venice: The Case of Girolamo Donzellini”, in *Medicine and the Reformation*, eds. O. P. Grell, A. Cunningham (London - New York: Routledge, 1993): 121. On Panarelli’s execution see Amabile, *Il Santo Ufficio dell’Inquisizione in Napoli, narrazione con molti documenti inediti* (Città di Castello: S. Lapi tipografo editore, 1892), vol. 1, 315-317.
- ² Cristellon C., Seidel Menchi, S., “Religious Life”, in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. E. Dursteler (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2013): 399.
- ³ It is not possible to provide a complete bibliography on the Italian Reformation here. I will just quote some of the most important studies on the topic: Cantimori, D., *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* (Turin: Einaudi, 2009 new edition, first edition: 1939); Seidel Menchi, S., *Erasmus in Italia, 1520-1580* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1987); Caponetto, S., *La Riforma protestante nell’Italia del Cinquecento* (Turin: Claudiana, 1992); Prospero, A., *L’eresia del Libro Grande. Storia di Giorgio Siculo e della sua setta* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2000), Rotondò, A., *Studi di storia ereticale del Cinquecento* (Florence: Olschki, 2008); Addante, L., *Eretici e libertini nel Cinquecento italiano* (Rome - Bari, Laterza, 2010); Firpo, M., *Juan de Valdès and the Italian Reformation* (London - New York: Routledge, 2015). The history of Italian sixteenth-century medicine has been treated within the wide bibliography about Renaissance medicine. It is not possible to sum up here the extensive debate concerning this phenomenon. Instead, I will just quote some of the more recent and important publications related to the Italian medical context: Findlen, P., *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley – London: University of California Press, 1994), Siraisi, N., *The Clock and the Mirror. Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.); Gentilcore, D., *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press, 1998); Henderson, J., *The Renaissance Hospital: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Clestinec, C., *Theatres of Anatomy: Students, Teachers, and Traditions of Dissections in Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), Conforti, M., Carlino, A., Clericuzio, A., (eds.), *Interpretare e curare. Medicina e salute nel Rinascimento* (Rome: Carocci, 2013); Finucci, V., *The prince’s body: Vincenzo Gonzaga and Renaissance Medicine* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015). Some useful essays on Italian medicine are in: Clericuzio A., Ernst G., (eds.), *Il Rinascimento Italiano e l’Europa, Le scienze*, vol. V, (Treviso: Angelo Colla editore, 2008)
- ⁴ In particular, Aldo Stella’s works have shed light on the possibility of a sort of continuity between medical-philosophical research and religious non-conformism in Padua, focusing on the case of Niccolò Buccella: Stella, A., *Anabattismo e Antitrinitarismo in Italia nel XVI secolo* (Padua: Liviana, 1969); Stella’s hypothesis has been recently enriched by Silvia Ferretto’s work: Ferretto, S., *Maestri per il metodo di trattare le cose: Bassiano Lando, Giovan Battista Da Monte e la scienza medica nel XVI secolo* (Padua: Cleup, 2012); See also: Brooke J., Maclean, I. (eds.), *Heterodoxy in Early Modern Science and Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- ⁵ Palmer, R., (1993).
- ⁶ Celati, A., “Heresy, Medicine and Paracelsianism in Sixteenth-Century Italy: the Case of Girolamo Donzellini (1513 – 1587)”, *Gesnerus* 71/1 (2014): 5-37; Quaranta, A., “Umanesimo medico e culture professionali nell’Europa del Cinquecento: carteggi inediti (1560-1587) di

Girolamo Donzellini, 'Physicus et Philosophus', *Giornale di storia* 15 (2014): 1-34; Kostylo, J., "Pharmacy as a Centre for Protestant Reform in Renaissance Venice", *Renaissance Studies* 30/2 (2016): 236–53. Suitner, R., "Radical Reformation and Medicine in the Late Renaissance. The Case of the University of Padua", *Nuncius* 31 (2016): 11-31; Heinrichs, E. A., *Plague, Print and the Reformation. The German Reform of Healing 1473-1573* (London - New York: Routledge, 2018). My work aims to verify and extend the results of these preliminary studies.

⁷ As it has recently been pointed out, a micro-historical approach that "reconstructs the biographies and ideas of individuals who are generally little known or completely unknown" proves fruitful in demonstrating "the peculiar characteristics of physicians in the context of sixteenth-century [...] non-conformism, both from a biographical and theoretical point of view. Suitner, R., (2014): 30. Suitner's article provides an overall description of the connections between sixteenth-century religious radicalism and the study of medicine at the University of Padua, and it opens up new perspectives for further research that I aim to explore in this article. On micro-history as a historiographical approach, good starting points are: Ginzburg, C., Tedeschi J., Tedeschi A., "Microhistory. Two or three things I know about it", *Critical Inquiry* 20/1 (1993): 10-35 and Lanaro, P., *Microstoria. A venticinque anni da L'eredità immateriale* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2011). I borrow the expression "distant reading" from: Moretti, F., *Distant Reading* (London – New York: Verso, 2013). On the potential of the application of digital humanities tools to the analysis of early modern scholarly or Protestant networks see: Edelstein, D., Findlen P., Ceserani, G., Winterer, C., Coleman, N., "Historical Research in a Digital Age: Reflections from the Mapping the Republic of Letters Project", *The American Historical Review* 122/2 (2017): 400–424; Ahnert, R. & Ahnert, S. E., "Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I: A Quantitative Approach", *ELH* 82/1 (2015): 1-33.

⁸ Seidel Menchi, S., "Italy", in *The Reformation in National Context*, ed. R. Scribner, R. Porter, M. Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 181-201; Firpo, M., *La presa di potere dell'Inquisizione romana* (Rome – Bari: Laterza, 2014).

⁹ This expression owes to Siraisi, N. G., *Communities of Learned Experience: Epistolary Medicine in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

¹⁰ Agrimi J., Crisciani, C., "Carità e assistenza nella civiltà cristiana medievale", in *Storia del pensiero medico occidentale*, I, *Antichità e medioevo*, ed. M. Grmek (Rome – Bari: Laterza, 1993), 217-259; Crisciani, C., "Prolungamento della vita: medicina e teologia (secoli XIII e XIV)", in *Médecine et religion: compétitions, collaborations, conflits (XIIe-XXe siècles)*, eds. M. P. Donato, L. Berlivet, S. Cabibo, R. Michetti, M. Nicoud (Rome: École française de Rome, 2013), 87-114.

¹¹ See the case of the Augustinian canon regular and heretic Francesco Scudieri. When his house was searched, the Inquisitors found some books of "medicine and humanities," including the work of Vesalius: see Ferretto, S., "Il 'caso' Pomponio Algieri. Appunti di una ricerca in corso", *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 15/1 (2009): 65-79, in particular, 73. See also, ASV, *Sant'Uffizio, Contro Francesco Scudieri*, Bu. 15, the inventory of the books found in his house. Furthermore, see the case of the Augustinian friar Giulio della Rovere, who developed a passion for medicine when he studied at Padua between 1527 and 1528. This interest probably increased over the course of the years. As the physician Bassiano Lando wrote in his *Iatrologia*, Rovere enjoyed discussing medical matters. Moreover, during the friar's Inquisition trial, the judges reconstructed his relationship with the physician "who used to speak about predestination," Melchiorre de Cirono, and they found proof of the friar's involvement in medicine and alchemy in his private correspondence. Rozzo, U., "Il medico Prospero Calani e le sue amicizie ereticali", *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 148 (1980): 69; Ferretto, S., (2012). ASV, *Sant'Uffizio, Processus magistri Iuli Mediolanensis*, Bu. 1, ff. 38r-39r; in the same Bu., see the file containing the letters of the friar, in particular the first one, dated April 1, 1536.

¹² On Girolamo Massari, see: Olivieri, A., entry “Massari, Girolamo”, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 71 (Rome: Treccani, 2008); Valente, M., *Contro l’Inquisizione, il dibattito europeo, sec. XVI-XVIII* (Turin: Claudiana, 2009), 34-46; Olivieri, A., “L’*Eusebius Captivus* (1553) di Hieronymus Marius (Massari): sul *de tolerantia* e i movimenti calvinisti del Cinquecento”, in *Giovanni Calvino e la Riforma in Italia: Influenze e conflitti*, ed. S. Peyronel Rambaldi (Turin: Claudiana, 2011): 359-383.

¹³ Olivieri, A., (2011): 360.

¹⁴ Celati, A., entry “Pigafetta, Antonio Francesco”, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 83 (Rome: Treccani, 2015) [Online] Available via [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-francesco-pigafetta_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-francesco-pigafetta_(Dizionario-Biografico)/), cited on March 4, 2018.

¹⁵ The circumstances of his escape are described in Massari, G., *Eusebius captivus: sive modus procedendi in curia romana contra Lutheranos, in quo praecipua Christianae religionis capita examinantur: trium dierum actis absolutus* (Basel, 1553), 6.

¹⁶ For a thorough examination of this work, see: Valente, M., (2009); Olivieri, A., (2011).

¹⁷ It is worthwhile to quote the whole piece from which I drew Massari’s conception of the ethical and religious commitments of physicians. «*Quoniam ne corporis quidem humani medicum dedecere arbitror ut agnoscat unamque ostendat, quae vera animorum sit medicina. Medico namque qui et optimum philosophus sit oportet, ut inquit Galenus, philosophiae scopum, qui ipsa est veritas rerum, ac morum probitas pertractare non denegatum est. Neque enim Lucae medicam professionem obscuravit historia sanctissima de gestis Apostolorum scriptio, sed potius illustravit ut qui corporibus medela afferre noverat, idem quoque animis coelestem indicaret. Cum igitur consilio opus meum in lucem emittam, compertum habeo, in illud insurrecturos hostes: illudque ad ignem usque si poterunt persecuturos. Verum nullo concutiar timore, donec Deu optimo tales in causa sua (quales Deus estis vos) patronos habeat, pietate, fide, iustitia, veritate, adde et potentia, illustres ac fortes.*” Massari, G., 7-8. See also Celati, A., “*Contra Medicos. Physicians Facing the Inquisition in sixteenth-century Venice*”, forthcoming in *Medicine and the Inquisition in the Early Modern World*, ed. M. P. Donato, thematic issue of *Early Science and Medicine*, 2018.

¹⁸ Massari, G., (1553), 8.

¹⁹ On the importance of the religious debate in Basel see Guggisberg, H. R., “Tolerance and Intolerance in sixteenth-century Basel”, in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. O. P. Grell, B. Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 145-163; Biagioni M., Felici L., *La riforma radicale nell’Europa del Cinquecento* (Rome - Bari: Laterza, 2012), *passim* and in particular, 90-94.

²⁰ Olivieri, A., (2008).

²¹ The argument I am developing in the next pages relies extensively on Valente M., (2009), and Olivieri, A., (2011).

²² On Servet see at least: Bainton, R., *Hunted Heretic: The Life and Death of Michael Servetus, 1511-1553* (Boston: Beacon press, 1960); Manzoni, C., *Umanesimo ed eresia: Michele Serveto* (Naples: Guida, 1974); Alcalá, A., (ed.), *Miguel Servet, Obras completas*, 6 vols (Saragozza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2003).

²³ See the letter that Grataroli wrote to Ulrich Iselin in 1560, published in: Perini, L., “Note e documenti su Pietro Perna libraio-tipografo a Basilea”, *Nuova rivista storica* 50 (1966): 162.

²⁴ Rotondò, A., “Pietro Perna e la vita culturale e religiosa di Basilea fra il 1570 e il 1580”, in *Studi e ricerche di storia ereticale italiana del Cinquecento*, ed. *Idem* (Turin: Giappichelli, 1974): 284. On Bullinger, Massari, Grataroli and the Servetus *affaire* see Taplin M., *The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church, c. 1540-1620* (Aldershot-Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), in particular on Massari: 103; Church, F. C., *The Italian Reformers 1534-1564* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932).

²⁵ On mid-sixteenth-century Basel and the free-thinking environment that many Italian heretics decided to join there, see: Biagioni M., Felici L., *La Riforma radicale nell’Europa del Cinquecento*

(Rome – Bari: Laterza, 2012), *passim*, and in particular: 90-94; Guggisberg, H., R., *Sebastien Castellio: Humanist and Defender of Religious Toleration in a Confessional Age*, ed. and trans. by B. Gordon (London - New York: Routledge, 2017). On Curione see. Biasiori, L., *L'eresia di un umanista. Celio Secondo Curione nell'Europa del Cinquecento*, (Rome: Carocci, 2015).

²⁶ Valente, M., (2009): 44.

²⁷ Valente, M., (2009): 44.

²⁸ Perini, L., (1966): 167. On Matteo Gribaldi see: Quaglioni, D., entry: *Gribaldi Moffa, Matteo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Treccani, 2002), 59.

²⁹ Valente, M., (2009): 42.

³⁰ Olivieri, A., (2011): 368-375.

³¹ Ivi, 369.

³² Ivi, 371.

³³ Ivi, 286.

³⁴ Ivi, 370.

³⁵ Valente, M., (2009): 45.

³⁶ On Grataroli see Perini, L., “La 'Bibliotheca venalis' di Guglielmo Grataroli”, *Rinascimento* 7 (1967): 293-308; Pastore, A., entry “Grataroli, Guglielmo”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 2002; Maclean I., “Heterodoxy in Natural Philosophy and Medicine: Pietro Pomponazzi, Guglielmo Gratarolo, Girolamo Cardano”, in Brooke, J., Maclean, I., (2005): 1-29. Expanding Maclean's insights, in this paper I will deal in particular with Grataroli's interest in alchemical knowledge in its possible connection to Calvinism.

³⁷ Palmer, R., (1993), 118.

³⁸ ASV, *Sant'Uffizio, Contro Guglielmo Grataroli*, Bu. 10, see the letter sent from the Inquisitor in Bergamo to the apostolic nuncio in Venice, dated January 27, 1551.

³⁹ See for instance Grataroli's letter to Calvin dated April, 22, 1559, in which he advises some remedies for the Reformer's hemorrhoids; and also see Calvin's reply (without a date), in Baum, W., Cunitz, E., Reuss, E., (eds.), *Joannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia* (Brunsvigae: Schwetschke: 1863-1900), vol. 17, letters n. 3044, 3051.

⁴⁰ See for instance the letter Grataroli wrote to Heinrich Bullinger on October 28, 1553, the day after Servet was executed; or what he asserted, even more directly, in the letter he sent to Bullinger on November 16, 1553, related to the same issue: “Pertinacissimum illud Satanae instrumentum duas, nedum unam mortem meruisse credo, hocque exemplo ac terrori erit iis qui secus emendari vix possunt aut coereri.” In *Calvini Opera*, letters n. 1840, 1850.

⁴¹ Manuela Doni, dealing with Grataroli's edition of *De incantationibus* by Pomponazzi, put forward the fascinating hypothesis that the physician was so strict about Calvinist orthodoxy because he actually needed to conceal his own leanings towards radicalism. This could also be suggested by the statements Grataroli gave in his *confessio fidei* in 1550, when he appeared to despise any form of religious intolerance; in addition, the Inquisitors defined him as an “anabaptist.” However, this hypothesis seems to be contradicted by Grataroli's behaviour and correspondence. If he ever was open to radical ideas, he abandoned them when he got to become a member of the institutional Calvinist church. Doni, M., “Il «De incantationibus» di Pietro Pomponazzi e l'edizione di Guglielmo Gratarolo”, *Rinascimento* 15 (1975): 183-230.

⁴² Pastore, A., (2002).

⁴³ Maclean, I., (2005): 27.

⁴⁴ Grataroli, G., *Pestis descriptio, causae, signa omnigena et praeservatio* (Basel: Ludovicus Lucius, 1554).

⁴⁵ Grataroli, G., *De balneis* (Venice: Giunta, 1553).

⁴⁶ Grataroli, G., *De regimine iter agentium vel equitum vel peditum vel navi vel curru seu rheda* (Basel: 1561).

⁴⁷ “Vanum, inquit Aristoteles, est omittere sensum propter rationes, cum experientia, teste Galeno, rerum sit magistra,” Grataroli G., *De verae alchimiae, artisque metallica, citra aenigmata doctrina* (Basel: Heinrich Petri and Pietro Perna, 1561), 4. The maxim, which probably was coined in medicine or law and was not authentically Aristotelian, was quite widespread among mid-sixteenth-century humanists: Braider, C., *The Matter of Mind. Reason and Experience in the Age of Descartes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 22.

⁴⁸ On this work see: Pereira, M., (ed.), *Alchimia. I testi della tradizione occidentale* (Milan: Mondadori, 2006), 1024-1032.

⁴⁹ Pomata, G., Siraisi, N. G (eds.), *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2005), 17.

⁵⁰ Thorndike L., *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. IV (New York: Columbia University Press, New York, 1934), 600-616.

⁵¹ For instance, in the bitter polemic against Paracelsus fostered by figures like Conrad Gesner or Thomas Erastus. For a comparison between Gesner's and Erastus' anti-Paracelsianism see Gantenbein U. L., “Converging Magical Legends: Faustus, Paracelsus and Trithemius”, in *The Faustian Century. German Literature and Culture in the Age of Luther and Faustus*, eds. J.M. Van der Laan, A. Weeks (Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), 93-125 (in particular, 105-113). Gesner did not utterly reject alchemical remedies and he mainly disliked Paracelsus' “methodological and theological tenets,” in contrast to Erastus who “wanted to destroy him [Paracelsus] by any means.” On Thomas Erastus, see Gunnoe C., *Thomas Erastus and the Palatinate. A Renaissance Physician in the Second Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2011) – for Erastus' rejection of Paracelsianism see in particular chapter 8, “Antiparacelsica,” 263-338.

⁵² Kahn, D., *Alchimie et Paracelsisme en France à la fin de la Renaissance (1567-1625)* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2007), 142.

⁵³ “Sed provida Natura, vel ipsius potius naturae author providentissimus Deus, qui non cessat a rerum ab sua omnipotentia bonitate creaturarum conservatione, diversis aetatibus, cum videt opus esse, producit purum aliquem intellectum, a quo bonarum scientiarum preciosi thesauri, temporum invidia, vel superiorum causarum ira fere amissi restaurentur, ac in lucem prodeant” Grataroli, G., (1561), p. 1 of the dedication to Ludwig von Habsburg.

⁵⁴ “At vero, qui scire nequeunt, aut nolunt, nescinat: cui Deus favere vult, faveat.” Grataroli 1561, p. 1 of the dedication to the scholars of the most secret parts of physics.

⁵⁵ “Ita sit, ut soli docte philoponi e Deo amati fructum immensum hinc capiant & proferant.” Ivi, 2.

⁵⁶ Grataroli, G., *De vini natura, artificio et usu deque omni re potabili* (Strasbourg: Rihelius, 1565).

⁵⁷ “Felix igitur ille medicus, cui dat Deus scientiam & intelligentiam, quia sit naturae socius & secretarius.” Grataroli, G., (1565), 284.

⁵⁸ “Sed heu multi sunt vocati Medici, nomine et fama, ut inquit Hippocrates, re autem, & tuto opera valde pauci. Nam medicina scientia est, quae non ita facile acquiritur, imo maiori ex parte ignoratur, Deus autem in secula benedictus, nos scire & intellegere faciat, & secundum suum beneplacitum operari.” Grataroli, G., (1565), 284.

⁵⁹ “Sed ne quis parum Christianum obijciat me agere hic theologum (quasi hoc dedecet Christianum Medicum exemplo Lucae, ac aliorum aliquot) ad promissa reliqua Vini iuvamenta pergo.” Ivi, 10.

⁶⁰ See for instance the piece where Grataroli speaks about Melancholia as an illness of the soul due to “naturae in Adamo depravatae,” suggesting that the only way to fight it is “per fidem in Christum Iesum et per cognitione potentiae ac bonitatis Dei patris nostri optimi in Christo filio suo eterno ac per cognitione assidua nostrae fragilitatis et miseriae.” Ivi, 319.

⁶¹ Palmer, R., (1993): 121; Martin, J., *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 159-160, 180-182; Firpo, M., *Artisti, gioiellieri,*

eretici. *Il mondo di Lorenzo Lotto tra Riforma e Controriforma* (Rome – Bari: Laterza, 2001), 233-235; ASV, Sant'Uffizio, *Contro Ludovico Abioso e Teofilo Panarelli*, Bu. 32; Ivi, *Contro Paolo Moscardo*, Bu. 23, *passim*.

⁶² ASV, Sant'Uffizio, *Contro Teofilo Panarelli e Ludovico Abioso*, Bu. 32. October 12, 1571, see the letter Teofilo wrote to his sister Virginia.

⁶³ ASV, Sant'Uffizio, *Contro Teofilo Panarelli e Ludovico Abioso*, Bu. 32, November, 16, 1571. For an introduction to Bartolomeo Fonzo see Fragnito G., entry “Fonzo, Bartolomeo”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1997.

⁶⁴ In particular, he quotes a “Bibbia di Alemagna,” and the “Istituzione di Calvino,” ASV, Sant'Uffizio, *Contro Teofilo Panarelli e Ludovico Abioso*, Bu. 32, November, 19, 1571.

⁶⁵ ASV, Sant'Uffizio, *Contro Teofilo Panarelli e Ludovico Abioso*, Bu. 32, December 6, 1571.

⁶⁶ Palmer, R., (1993): 121, quotes Giovanni Gatta, Francesco Pegolotto and Ludovico Abioso as medical members of Panarelli's conventicle. However, despite being the son and the brother of physicians, Abioso was a merchant.

⁶⁷ For instance, he would lampoon the prayer to images, or the practice of resorting to priests when illness was so serious that people could not but hope for a miracle, ASV, Sant'Uffizio, *Contro Teofilo Panarelli e Ludovico Abioso*, Bu. 32, June 18, 1568.

⁶⁸ Ivi, May 24, 1568.

⁶⁹ Ivi, July 6, 1568.

⁷⁰ On the diffusion of heresy among Venetian patricians, see: Ambrosini, F., *Storie di patrizi e di eresia nella Venezia del '500* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1999).

⁷¹ ASV, Sant'Uffizio, *Contro Dionora Calia*, Bu. 21.

⁷² Calvin publicly scorned “libertines” (1544-1545) and “nicodemites” (1544): in his opinion, the two categories could easily overlap. On this topic see Addante, L., “Parlare liberamente: i libertini del Cinquecento fra tradizioni storiografiche e prospettive di ricerca”, *Rivista storica italiana*, 123, 2011: 132. Historiography has extensively examined the concept of nicodemism: see *inter alia* Ginzburg, C., *Il nicodemismo, simulazione e dissimulazione nell'Europa del '500* (Turin: Einaudi, 1970); Simoncelli, P., *Evangelismo italiano del '500: questione religiosa e nicodemismo politico* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano, 1979); On the use of this concept in the Italian religious debate see: Zuliani, F., *The Other Nicodemus: Nicodemus in Italian Religious Writings Previous and Contemporary to Calvin's Excuse à Messieurs les Nicodémites (1544)*, in *Discovering the Riches of the Word. Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. S. Corbellini, M. Hoogvliet, B. Ramakers (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015).

⁷³ “L'opinione mia ereticale che io tenevo allora: che bisognava andare alla messa e confessarsi per simulazione,” ASV, Sant'Uffizio, *Contro Teofilo Panarelli e Ludovico Abioso*, Bu. 32, December, 6, 1571.

⁷⁴ “Voi che conoscete la verità potete prenderlo anche per devotione,” ASV, Sant'Uffizio, *Contro Teofilo Panarelli e Ludovico Abioso*, deposition Bernarndo Vergolino, June 12, 1567.

⁷⁵ “Disputando con un Giacomo Pratellio, utrum daretur medium in natura nec ne (...) havendo ridotto io disputazione a termine che non poteva rispondere, me rispose facendomi questa instantia: dunque non ci saria purgatorio? Al ch'io replicai e dissi: come filosofo non ci è purgatorio” Ivi, November 16, 1571. Moreover, see Virginia Panarelli's, Teofilo's sister, deposition: “Ha negato il Purgatorio come filosofo,” January 24, 1572, also quoted in Grendler, P., *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002), 293-294.

⁷⁶ This is published in Orano D., *Liberi pensatori bruciati in Roma dal XVI al XVIII secolo* (Rome: Tipografia dell'unione cooperativa editrice, 1904), 45 – 49.

⁷⁷ Soon after being released from the “corda” he said to the Inquisitors: “Io sono stato turco. Volete che io dichi quello ch'io non ho fatto. Notate che se io dirò cosa alcuna ch'io dirò per

dolor della corda”. He was making fun of the Inquisitors’ methods and of their “obsession” for making the prisoners confess their religious crimes. Far from considering himself a heretic, he thought his ideas were not criminal at all, as they were true, evangelical, genuinely Christian. ASV, *Sant’Uffizio*, Bu. 32, Teofilo Panarelli e Ludovico Abioso, November 16, 1571. See *infra*.

⁷⁸ “Nel Almanach mio, che è rimasto appresso al Santissimo Officio, ci è descritto un modo per via d’una vite perpetua, la quale è uno istrumento che serve a molte operazione et particolarmente da me applicato a far girare quattro mulini con un cavallo et a tirar gravissimi pesi sopra fabbriche, come ne feci veder l’esperientia in Lecci.” Orano D., (1904), 48.

⁷⁹ Valleriani, M., *Galileo Engineer* (Berlin: Springer, 2010); Long, P. O., *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences, 1400-1600* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2011). I will verify this hypothesis by conducting additional research in the Venetian and possibly in the Monopoli archives.

⁸⁰ Zilsel, E., “The Sociological Roots of Science”, *Social Studies of Science* 30/6 (2000): 935-949.

⁸¹ Similar conclusions have been for the first time suggested in Celati, A., (2014) and confirmed in Suitner R., (2016). This paper reinforces and deepens those preliminary insights.

⁸² Among these books, Italian original reformed works were highly represented; Panarelli’s group used to read: Benedetto Fontanini’s from Mantua (and Marcantonio Flaminio’s) *Trattato Utilissimo del Beneficio di Christo*, Bernardino Ochino’s *Prediche*, Francesco Betti’s *Lettera di Francesco Betti romano, all’illustriss. et eccellentiss. S. Marchese di Pescara suo padrone*, Celio Secondo Curione’s *Pasquino in Estasi*, Marcantonio Flaminio’s *Paraphrasis in duo et triginta psalmos, a Testamento Novo*, and a *Scrittura sopra il Vangelo di Giovanni*. ASV, *Sant’Uffizio, Contro Teofilo Panarelli e Ludovico Abioso*, Bu. 32; Contro Paolo Moscardo, Bu. 23.

⁸³ Palmer, R., (1993): 21. In Panarelli’s trial, are mentioned the following spezierie: dello Speron, della Gatta, della Borsa, dell’Aureola, dell’Elmo, delle Due Colombine, di Castello. ASV, *Sant’Uffizio, Contro Teofilo Panarelli e Ludovico Abioso*, Bu. 32; Contro Paolo Moscardo, Bu. 23.

⁸⁴ Grendler, P. F., *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); De Vivo, F., *Information and Communication in Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); De Vivo, F., , “Pharmacies as Centres of Communication in Early Modern Venice”, in *Spaces, Objects and Identities in Early Modern Italian Medicine*, eds. S. Cavallo, D. Gentilcore (Hoboken: Blackwell Publishing, 2007): 505-521; Barbierato, F., *The Inquisitor in the Hat Shop: Inquisition, Forbidden Books and Unbelief in Early Modern Venice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).