

The Antiquity and the Renaissance in Heitor Pinto

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Preliminary Note

We refer to the different dialogues of *Imagem da Vida Cristã* by the first printed dates, the abbreviations of titles, number of chapter in Latin, and the original *folium* number, as shown below:

1563

1. *Diálogo da Verdadeira Filosofia* (hereafter DVF) or “Dialogue of the true Philosophy” – Three actors: Humanist, Philosopher, and Hermit/Theologian. On the Mondego river, near Coimbra (1563, DVF, fl. 1-88v).
2. *Diálogo da Religião* (DR) or “Dialogue of religious life” – Two actors: Monk dealing with the business of his Order; Portuguese Gentleman. On the Lombardy road (1563, DR, fl. 89-145).
3. *Diálogo da Justiça* (DJ) or “Dialogue of Justice” – Four actors: Citizen, Jurist, Mathematician and Theologian. At the home of the Theologian (1563, DJ, fl. 146-238).
4. *Diálogo da Tribulação* (DT) or “Dialogue of Tribulation” – Two actors (2): Prisoner and Friend, in jail (1563, DT, fl. 238v-309v).
5. *Diálogo da Vida Solitária* (DVS) or Dialogue of Solitary Life” – Three actors (3): Portuguese Pilgrim, Italian Pilgrim and Flemish Pilgrim. On the Piedmont to Savoy road (1563, DVS, fl. 310-406v).

6. *Diálogo da Lembrança da Morte* (DLM) or “Dialogue of the Memory of Death” – Two actors: Father and Son. On the land through Siena/Florence (1563, DLM, fl. 407-478v).

1572

1. *Diálogo da Tranquilidade da Vida* (DTV) or “Dialogue of the Tranquillity of Life” – Three actors: Portuguese Monk, French Monk and Philosopher. At the abbey of St. Victor in Marseille. With 27 chapters (1572, DTV, I-XXVII, fl. 1-229).
2. *Diálogo da Discreta Ignorância* (DDI) or “Dialogue on Learned ignorance/on scientific ignorance” – Three actors: Portuguese Monk, Lyon Friend and Florence Friend, on the Rhone river, near Lyon. With 10 chapters (1572, DDI, I-X, fl. 229v-282).
3. *Diálogo da Verdadeira Amizade* (DVA) or Dialogue of the True Friendship” – Four actors: Portuguese Theologian, Portuguese Jurist, Castilian Physician and Castilian Merchant, in Toledo at a hostel table. With 23 chapters (1572, DVA, I-XXIII, fl. 282v-418v).
4. *Diálogo das Causas* (DC) or “Dialogue of the Causes” – Five actors: Old Citizen, Canon Scholar, Arts Scholar, Theologian Scholar, Theologian Doctor, at the citizen’s home. Spanish university town, perhaps Salamanca. With 25 chapters (1572, DC, I-XXV, fl. 419-540).
5. *Diálogo dos Verdadeiros e Falsos Bens* (DVFB) or “Dialogue of the True and Untrue Goods” – Two actors: Theologian Doctor and a Noble disciple, at home. With 24 chapters (1572, DVFB, I-XXIV, fl. 540v-652v).

Introduction

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought certain splendour to the Peninsula, overshadowing the rest of the planet. The caravels and the galleons gone out of the ports of Lisbon and Cadis, using astronomical navigation, came up with a representation of the world similar to the one we possess today. At the same time, Portuguese technology participated decisively in innovations concerning not only navigation,

but also food, metallurgy, the manufacture of glass and the production of clothes. After the fourteenth century, men travelled more and more safely. Generally, they lived in better conditions, in their homes or in the convents, in larger spaces, with more lighting, and even with food of better quality. For one hundred years, a great part of the commands of the world will be based on the Iberian Peninsula, particularly on the Portuguese and Castilian Royal Palaces. The peninsular cities will not lose out in comparison to the most prosperous and cultured of the time, particularly to the ones situated in the publishing axle of Venice for Lyon, Paris or Basel, to Anvers, as we will see.

In spite of the successive expulsions of the Jews, of the inquisitorial constraints and of the dogmatic crystallization brought by the council of Trent, the Iberian superiority will be unquestionable even as late as the last quarter of the sixteenth century. A certain demographic vitality and a precocious movement of urbanization contributed to a clear success in retaining exclusive dominion of the seas for more than one century. In general, people, money, books and, hence, knowledge, were circulating more, and the learning of languages was becoming a way to make everyday life easier. The peninsular universities were gaining prestige. Of those, we must make special mention of Salamanca, but Coimbra and Évora should also be referred to.

Pinto lived during the First Modernity, the period when the complete edition of the Greek and Latin classical authors was made, after decades of printing of some titles reproducing the best manuscripts and codices in circulation at that time. First in Italy, particularly in Venice, with Aldo Manutius, and later, in Basel, under the fruitful intelligence and persistent work of Desiderius Erasmus, Herwagen and Froben, and also in Lyon, with Francisco Vatablo, Theobaldus Paganus and Sebastien Gryphius, and in Paris, with Jean Petit, Simon Colinaeum, and others, the books possessed what now seems an unquestionable quality. The classical authors were put at the total disposition of the modern intellectual. Heitor Pinto manifested his own interest in the Classical Antiquity directly and indirectly: directly, because the geographic, historic, philosophical and religious themes that he devel-

oped were totally supported on the authors of that time; indirectly, because he understood that the Christian norms of human conduct were anticipated by the propositions of the great philosophers, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero. The moral norms of human conduct were compiled in *Apothegmata* by Stobaeus, and it can be demonstrated that they were read by Pinto. After that, our monk consulted the synthesis of classical Mythology of Pseudo-Apollodorus, read the translation done by Benedetto Egio of Spoleto or Benedictus Aegius, and so on, as we will see. The easy circulation of information in the time of Heitor Pinto harked back to a similar situation in the Classical Era. Plato and Aristotle would know the Biblical texts before the translation of the Bible from the Hebraic to the Greek (1572, DDI, IX, fl. 275v). However, the atmosphere in which Pinto lived wasn't as favourable to the classical sources as it had been some years before. In order to protect himself from intolerance, he apparently supported his texts more on venerable Bede, Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome and Saint Paul than on the classics. So, we confirm that he accepted the ideas developed by Pico della Mirandola and his nephew Giovanni Francesco Pico, like a true man of the Renaissance.

1. Classical manuals: authorities and sources

Heitor Pinto made one of the first reviews of the ancient libraries known in Portugal, using for this effect the *Etimologiarum: liber sextus* of Saint Isidore and the *Commentariorum urbanorum* of Rafael Volaterrano. Some of the sources he used are now rare, like the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, translated from the Greek to Latin (1571, DVA, XXI, fl. 403v). He classified the books and gave them the highest praise, using a somewhat poetic style:

«Such books are like green and fresh meadows, from where the prudent and naive reader gathers agreeable and odorous flowers, of which he makes, to the imitation of the industrious bee, honeycombs of sweet and tasty honey in the beehive of his soul.

(Such books) are like a few pleasant and delightful loaded orchards of beautiful and healthy fruits for nourishing the spirit.

(Such books) are a few gracious and rich beaches of the Orient, where are created and curdled the precious pearls of the sentences, examples and notices and documents with which the devout soul is adorned» (1572, DDI, IV, fl. 247v-248).

He makes a comparison between these books and others which, he points out, are the ones which are read the most: «The profane books of obscene loves and delights and dishonesties and excitations of sins» (1572, DDI, IV, fl. 248v).

On a first observation, it seems that Pinto has read all classical authors directly. But we must consider that, to further his knowledge, he also made use of handbooks, not only ancient, but the most recent as well. He had at his disposition both the *Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum* of Varro and one of many editions of Lactantius Firmianus' *Opera* or *Diuinarum Institutionum Libri VII*, which he referred to for mentioning Anaxagoras (1572, DTV, XII, fl. 59), for remembering the sentence of Delphos (1572, DTV, XVI, fl. 82 and 1572, DVA, XIII, 352v), for finding the truth (1572, DC, XV, fl. 486) and for symbolizing the viper's bite (1563, DLM, III, fl. 426v). He also referred to the *Corpus Hermeticum* on the translation of Ficino (1572, DVFB, II, fl. 547-547v) for a variety of things. He accessed the *Opera* of Decimus Magnus Ausonius at the library of Diogo de Murça, for referring to some of the seven sages, such as Pitacco (1563, DJ, V, fl. 193v e 1563, VI, fl. 202v), Demetrius of Falera (1563, DVS, IV, fl. 338v e 1572, DDI, IX, fl. 275v), Bias (1572, DVFB, XI, fl. 585) and Cleobulus (1572, DVFB, XIV, fl. 598).

Near the end of the Roman Empire, a collection of extracts was done by Stobaeus under the title *Apophthegmata ex Variis Autoribus* or *Sententiæ ex thesauris Græcorum delectæ, quarum autores circiter ducentos et quinquaginta*. Through it, Pinto refers to Solon

(1572, DC, XVIII, fl. 505), Aristotle (1563, DVS, IX, fl. 382v e 1572, Prologue), Democritus (1572, DTV, VII, fl. 31v; 1571, DVA, XVI, fl. 367v), Aristide (1572, DTV, XXIII, fl. 206v), Diogenes (1572, DVA, XI, fl. 337), Epictetus (1572, DC, X, fl. 466), Alexander (1572, DC, XIX, fl. 506), Herodotus (1572, DVFB, II, fl. 545v), Cleanthes (1572, DVFB, XI, fl. 585v), Euripides (1572, DVFB, XV, fl. 601) and others (1572, DVFB, VII, passim). Nevertheless, the manual to access the ancient authors was the work, in several volumes, of Joannes Annius Viterbensis, or Giovanni Nanni, called *Auctores vetustissimi*, printed in Rome (1498) by Eucharius Silber, in Paris (1512) by Ioanne Paruo and Iodoco Badio, in Anvers (1552) under the long title *Antiquitatum variarum (...) Contentorum in aliis voluminibus Liber primus. Institutionum Anniarum de aequiuocis Liber II... Vertumniana Propertii Liber III... Xenophontis Aequiuoca liber IIII... Fabii Pictoris de aureo saeculo liber V... Myrsili liber VI... Catonis fragmentum Liber VII... Itinerarii Antonini fragmentum Liber VIII... Sempronii de Italia Liber IX... Archilochi de temporibus Liber X... Metasthenis Liber XI... De Hispaniis Liber XII... De Chronographia Etrusca Liber XIII... Philonis Liber XIII... Berosi liber XV... Manethonis Liber XVI... Anniarum XL quaestionum Liber XVII...*, and consulted by Pinto (1563, DVS, IV, fl. 343; 1563, DVS, IX, 400v and 1572, DVFB, VI, fl. 563v).

Some years before the monk of the Order of Saint Jerome visited Rome, there had been printed the *Bibliotheces: sive De Deorum Origine Graece, quam Latine, libri tres* of the Pseudo-Apollodorus, translated by Aegius (1555), and referred to by Pinto (1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 617). Another source used by Pinto, precious to the understanding of the mysteries and the classical myths, was the treatise of the Neoplatonic philosopher Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis Aegyptiorum, Chaldaerum, Assyriorum* (1563, DF, II, fl.18), printed in Venice (1497 and 1516) and in Rome (1556), and which had also been used by Nostradamus. Also known in the sixteenth century as a common manual of mythology was the work of Fabius Planciades Fulgentius,

printed in Milan (1498) under the title *Enarrationes Allegoricae Fabularum*, in Augsburg (1521) as *Mythologiarum*, and in Basel (1535) as *Mitologiarum Libri Tres*. Pinto had accessed this work in the Basel edition (Herwagen 1535), found today in the Biblioteca Nacional of Portugal, but which, as *De Fabulosis Narrationibus Liber I*, of Palaephatus, was then in the library of Diogo de Murça (1572, DTV, XI, fl. 55 e XV, fl. 73v and XXVII, fl. 228; 1572, DC, XI, 465v).

Among the authors of reference for Heitor Pinto we must remember Pero Mexia, whom he knew personally and who practiced also the dialogue genre, and whose *Silva de varia lecion*, printed in Anvers (1555), Pinto refers to, after naming a long list of classical authors (1572, DC, III, fl. 431v).

Nevertheless, Pinto's knowledge is based much more on the Greek and Latin authors than on the manuals about them. The Biblioteca Nacional of Portugal preserves today the best editions of the first half of the sixteenth century, printed in Venice, Paris, Florence, Basel, Lyon, Frankfurt and Leuven. The geographical themes were in fashion at the time of Pinto. He had at his disposition Strabo (1563, DJ, VII, fl. 213v; DT, V, fl. 281; DVS, II, fl. 323; 1572, DTV, XIV, fl. 66v; DTV, XVI, fl. 81v; 1572, DDI, III, fl. 241v; 1572, DVA, X, fl. 328v; 1572, DC, III, fl. 431v), whose *Geographica* or *De situ orbis libri* was printed in Greek as well as in Latin in the principal centers of printing: Basel (1539), Tarvisii (1480) and Venice (1472, 1495, 1510, 1516).

Heitor Pinto had a real passion for History, and there was no historian before him whom he refused to read. The most modern editions of the classics and the most expert commentators arrived at the Monastery of Santa Maria de Belem, in Lisbon. That is to say that he had with him the old Greek Herodotus just as much as the renaissance Italian Valla, or his contemporary Wolfgang Lazius (1572, DC, I, fl. 422v). Pinto refers to the Greek historian in the dialogue of the memory of death (1563, DLM, fl. 413v) and he cites *History*, book II, (1563, DR, fl. 138), book III (1572, DVA, X, 328v), book IV (1572, DVA,

IV, fl. 301v) and book V (1563, DLM, fl. 451; 1572, DC, XVI, fl. 494v). The Cologne (1537) edition of *History* was at Santa Maria de Belém. Pinto compares Herodotus and Plutarch at times (1572, DVA, IV, fl. 301v; 1572, DC, XIII, fl. 478; DVFB, VI, fl. 563v; 1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 617). For him, Xenophon is one of the most considered ancient historians (1563, DVF, I, fl. 8; DJ, V, fl. 193v; DT, V, fl. 278; DLM, VI, fl. 454 and 1572, DTV, XXIII, fl. 206v; 1572, DVA, XIII, fl. 348; 1572, DVFB, XIX, 619v). He could be consulted at the library of Diogo de Murça, were there were two editions, one in Greek and one in Latin, of *Commentariorum Libri Quatuor* (Lovanii, 1529), found today at BNP. But Pinto refers also to *Oeconomicus* and *De Lacedaemoniorum Republica* (1572, DC, XXIII, fl. 529). When he talks about the profound thought and large eloquence of Xenophon, Pinto refers to Raphaele Maffei Volaterrano, whose *Commentariorum Urbanorum (...) libri* he consulted, most certainly in the Paris (1515) edition. Volaterrano included the treatise *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon, which is very important to anthropological (1563, DVS, VI, fl. 354v) and political (1572, DTV, VIII, fl. 35v; 1572, DDI, VI, fl. 261v) questions. In it, the significance of human knowledge is established: the same things are considered wealth or not wealth according to whether a man knows or does not know what use to make of them. He refers also to *Geografia* when he talks about charity (1572, DTV, XVIII, fl. 90v) and later, in 1577, in *Divinum Vatem Nahum Commentarii*, in the dedication to D. Jorge da Silva (Pinto 1579). Socrates' words about wealth, in the first pages, value definitively the intelligence and the will of the man.

Another historian who is important to the humanist author is Polybius, in the translation of *Historiarum Libri Priores Quinque* by Nicolaus Perottus. Heitor Pinto refers to his remembrance of the battle of Cannae (1572, DVFB, XVIII, fl. 612v). However, more than through Polybius, Pinto refers to the Antiquity through Titus Livius (1563, DJ, fl. 164-164v, 1572, DVA, XI, fl. 334v; 1572, DC, I, fl. 422v; 1572, DC, XIII, fls. 474-474v; 1572, DVFB, XVII, fl. 608; 1572, DVFB, XVIII, fl. 612v; 1572, DVFB, XX, fl. 624; 1572, DVFB, XXI, fl. 628v).

He cites the *Decades* of Livius, which he could read as well in Latin as in Castillian or in French, under the short title of *Ab Urbe Condita*, in *In Divinum Vatem Nahum Commentarii* (1577) also in the dedication to D. Jorge da Silva. About the foundation of Rome, he consulted Dionisius of Halicarnassus, *Origine Urbis Romae et Romanarum Rerum Antiquitate, Insignes Historiae, In XI Libros Digestae* (1572, DC, XIII, fl. 474v).

The exemplar character of the historical facts, of the political decisions, and of the life choices of the classical personalities, imposed consideration of the civil war to our monk. He did that in referring to *De Bellis Civilibus* of Apianus Alexandrinus (1572, DC, I, fl. 422). It is possible that he read the edition of Lyon (1551) and not the edition of the fifteenth century. He used the Roman historian Quintus Curtius Rufus's *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni* frequently, with various printings in Spanish, Italian and English (1563, DVS, IX, fl. 382 and 1572, DVA, XIX, fl. 391v; 1572, DC, XXIII, fl. 526v). Pinto had at his disposition at the library of Diogo de Murça the *Bibliothecae historicae* of Diodoro Siculo, and used it extensively (1563, DJ, V, fl. 191 and 1563, DVS, IV, fl. 342v; 1572, DC, III, fl. 431v; 1572, DDI, VIII, fl. 271; 1572, DC, XVIII, fl. 500v; 1572, DVFB, VI, fl. 563v). Another repeatedly used source is Aelius Herodianus, *Historiarum Libri Octo*, of which he refers books five (1572, DVFB, XIV, fl. 598) and six (1572, DTV, XXI, fl. 200).

Heitor Pinto frequently used the work that would be printed as *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, with the biographies of the roman emperors elaborated by Aelius Spartianus (1572, DC, XXIII, fl. 527v), Vulcacius Gallicanus, Aelius Lampridius, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus (1572, DC, XXII, fl. 24; 1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 620v). He accessed also *Vitae XII Caesarum*, which had a lot of printed versions, one of them by Erasmus. Nevertheless, the monk had studied, at Santa Maria de Belem, the roman history elaborated by Publius Cornelius Tacitus, printed at Basel (1533) under the title *Anna-*

lium ab excessu Augusti... siue Historiae Augustae... libri sedecim qui supersunt (1572, DC, III, fl. 431v; 1572, DC, IX, fl. 454v; 1572, DC, XI, fl. 467v; 1572, DC, XX, fl. 515v; 1572, DVFB, XII, fl. 588v; 1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 617; 1572, DVFB, XXIV, fl. 444v). About the facts of the life of Julius Caesar, he invokes Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae romanae duo volumina*, as well as Suetonius Tranquillus (1572, DTV, XIII, fl. 63v, XIX, fl. 97; 1572, DVA, XIX, fl. 392; 1572, DC, I, fl. 421v; 1572, DC, XX, fl. 515v; 1572, DVFB, VI, fl. 563; 1572, DVFB, IX, fl. 577v; 1572, DVFB, XII, fl. 587; 1572, DVFB, XVI, fl. 604; 1572, DVFB, XVIII, fl. 611v) and Aelianus' *De varia historia libri XIII* (1563, DVS, IX fl. 383v; 1572, DTV, XXIII, fl. 207v; 1572, DDI, VI, fl. 261v; 1572, DVA, IV, fl. 301v; 1572, DVA, XI, fl. 337; 1572, DVA, XII, fl. 344v; 1572, DVFB, IV, fl. 555).

Of the Roman historians, he also uses Trebellius Pollio (1563, DVS, V, fl. 345v) and particularly Dio Cassius Cocceianus, about the life of Adrian (1563, DVS, I, fl. 312v; 1572, DC, IX, fl. 455v), the life of Caligula (1572, DVFB, XVI, fl. 604), numismatic (1572, DC, I, fl. 422v; 1572, DC, XI, fl. 467v) and other themes. From Salustius, Pinto refers to *De Bello Jugurthino* (1572, VA, IV, fl. 300v) and *De Bello Catilinario* (1572, DC, XIII, fl. 476v). Obviously, he does not forget *Virgilius cum Commentaries*, printed in Venice (1519) and accessed in the library of Diogo de Murça (1572, DVA, X). With Sextus Aurelius, he confirms Nero's life's facts of incest and matricide (1572, DVFB, XII, fl. 587). From Eutropius, he uses a manual of Roman History, *Breviarium historiae romanae* (1563, DVS, V, fl. 344v; 1572, DC, I, fl. 421v; 1572, DC, XX, fl. 515v; 1572, DVFB, VI, fl. 563; 1572, DVFB, IX, fl. 577v; 1572, DVFB, XII, fl. 589; 1572, DVFB, XVIII, fl. 611v; 1572, DVFB, XXIV, fl. 641v), translated soon to Italian (1544), Spanish (1561) and English (1564). With Procopius (1572, DDI, V, fl. 225), the last great historian of the Antiquity, Heitor Pinto comes near the moderns, Crinito, Volaterrano, Baptista Fulgoso and Ravisio (1572, DVFB, XVI, fl. 604).

Nevertheless, Plutarch is surely Pinto's favourite reference when it comes to looking at history as a source of morality. During the fifteenth

century, the Greek historian was translated and had notable influence, namely on political and pedagogical thought. It was during the sixteenth century that Erasmus gave us a better, more complete image of this author, with the explanations and translations of his works to Latin. Plutarch's predilection of Erasmus was continued by Pinto. Erasmus joined Plutarch in Pinto's preferences, in addition to Francesco Petrarca, Cicero, Seneca and Horatius. Pinto frequently refers to the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch, to confirm the sentences of Homer (1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 617v), Socrates (1572, TV, V, fl. 19), Euripides (1563, DVF, II, fl. 18v e DLM, V, fl. 450), Alexander the Great (1563, DVF, III, fl. 30), Cassius (1572, DC, II, 424v) Cato (1563, DVR, II, fl. 98v), Cesar (1563, DJ, fl. 167 and 1572, DTV, XIII, fl. 62), Cipio (1572, DTV, XIII, fl. 60), Demosthenes (1563, DJ, V, fl. 192v; 1572, DC, XXIII, fl. 323), Menander (1563, DVS, II, fl. 319; DLM, V, fl. 450; 1572, DC, XIX, fl. 508), Sila (1563, DVS, III, fl. 323), Solon (1563, DVS, IX, fl. 382), Marcus Antonio (1572, DDI, III, fl. 241v), Brutus (1572, DVA, X, fl. 330v), Ancurus (1572, DVA, XI, fl. 334-334v) Epaminondas and Aristides (1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 616v), Marcus Curcius (1572, DVFB, XX, fl. 623v-624), and Fabricius (1572, DVFB, XXI, fl. 627). He refers to Plutarch's precious works *De liberis educandis* (1563, DVS, VIII, fl. 368v; 1572, DTV, XIII, fl. 60 and 1572, DDI, I, fl. 232v; 1572, DC, XIII, 475v; 1572, DVFB, V, fl. 557); *De Tranquillitate animi* (1563, DT, I, fl. 239 and DVS, IV, fl. 339), which he translates as the *Book of a placid soul* (1572, DTV, V, fl. 19v and 1572, TV, X, fl. 49); The *Apophthegmata* (1572, DTV, V, fl. 21; VIII, fl. 35 and 1572, DDI, I, fl. 232; 1572, DVA, IV, fl. 301; 1572, DVA, XV, fl. 362; 1572, DVFB, VII, fl. 568; 1572, DVFB, X, fl. 578v; 1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 618v-619); *Symposiaca* (1572, DC, XIII, fl. 477); and *Problemata* (1572, DC, XIII, fl. 474v and 476v). This last work gave him the whole argument for the "Dialogue of Causes". He certainly also read, by this sage, historian and philosopher, a *Treatise of Nobility* (1572, DVFB, XV, fl. 601), and, perhaps, *Pro Nobilitate*, the pedagogical text that he had consulted at Lyon.

Besides the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch, Pinto uses *De vita et moribus philosophorum libri X* of Diogenes Laertius, which was printed extraordinarily in late fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth, and seems an authentic philosophical dictionary (1563, DLM, VII, fl. 465v; 1572, DTV, XIII, fl. 60; 1572, DDI, I, fl. 232; 1572, DVA, II, fl. 293v; 1572, DVA, IV, fl. 300; 1572, DVA, X, fl. 331; 1572, DVA, XV, fl. 360; 1572, DC, XIII, fl. 475v; 1572, DC, XIV, fl. 480v; 1572, DC, XVIII, fl. 501v; 1572, DC, XX, fl. 512; 1572, DC, XXII, fl. 525; 1572, DVFB, VII, fl. 568; 1572, DVFB, XIII, fl. 594v; 1572, DVFB, XIV, fl. 596; 1572, DVFB, XVIII, fl. 612). Pinto accessed this work in the library of Diogo de Murça to complete biographical information and to confirm his philosophical assertions.

From the Antiquity to the Renaissance, the biographical genre was never out of fashion, associated to the proverbial type, which came in conclusion to add sense to the facts. With *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, of Valerius Maximus, Pinto confirms the sentences and the histories of life (1563, DT, V, fl. 281; DVS, IV, fl. 339v; DLM, V, fl. 451; 1572, DTV, V, fl. 19v; XXI, fl. 109; XXIII, fl. 206v; 1572, DVA, IX, 323v; 1572, DVA, X, fl. 328v; 1572, DVA, XIX, fl. 393; 1572, DC, XVI, fl. 494v; 1572, DC, XXIII, fl. 528; 1572, DVFB, XVIII, fl. 614v; 1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 616v and 1572, DVFB, XXV, fl. 646).

With the grammarian Aulus Gellius, Heitor Pinto introduces in Portuguese culture the subject of the meetings of scholars, as Rodrigues Lobo will do later. Our friar frequently takes up the maxims of *Noctes Atticae* or *Noctium Atticarum* (1563, DVF, I, fl. 5; DJ, V, fl. 191v; DT, V, fl. 274; DLM, VII, fl. 465v; 1572, TV, X, fl. 46v; 1572, DVA, II, fl. 293v; 1572, DVA, XII, fl. 342; 1572, DVA, XIX, fl. 392; 1572, DC, VII, fl. 448v; 1572, DC, XIII, fl. 474; 1572, DC, XV, fl. 485; 1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 618; 1572, DVFB, XXI, fl. 627) and, by him, he detaches the works of other authors as *Symposiakon Problematon* of Plutarch, that we present above (1572, DC, XXII, fl. 522).

Cicero completes the roll of Pinto's preferences. Pinto admired him not only because of his eloquence, but also «as the best Latin philosopher of his time» (1563, DVS, I, fl. 315v and II, fl. 324). By him, he uses *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* (1572, DTV, VII, fl. 31; 1572, DDI, VIII, fl. 271); *De Officiis* (1572, DDI, I, fl. 232; 1572, DVFB, X, fl. 585v; 1572, DVA, II, fl. 293v; 1572, DVA, X, fl. 328v; 1572, DC, XIII, fl. 476v; 1572, DVFB, XXI, fl. 627), *De Legibus* (1572, DVA, II, fl. 293v), *De Amicitia* (1572, DVA, XIII, fl. 293v, XIII, fl. 348), *Tusculanae Disputationes* (1563, DLM, V, fl. 450, 451v; 1572, DVFB, XVIII, fl. 614v), *Paradoxa* (1572, TV, XIII, fl. 60), *De Oratore* (1563, DJ, IV, fl. 176v; 1572, DVA, XV, fl. 365v) *Orationum volumen* (1572, DVFB, XIV, fl. 598v). Pinto refers also to *Epistolae ad Atticum* (1572, DC, XVI, gl. 493v) and accessed *Pro A. Licinio Archia poeta oratio* (1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 617v.) In order to prove that virtue is more important than the glory of the nation, Pinto refers to *De Senectute* (1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 618). The treatise *De Officiis* continued to provide a true educational program.

To Heitor Pinto, Seneca is, like Plutarch and Cicero, a paradigm of explanation of ideas, especially about ethical and anthropological matters: to be born, to live and die well. The Portuguese Monk refers to the works of Seneca, which he had read at the library of Diogo de Murça, certainly in the edition printed at Basel (1536/1537), and found today at the BNP. He mentions *De Vita Beata* and the *De Tranquillitate vitae libri duo*, printed in Lyon (1543), but it is possible that he had read the Spanish translation under the title of *Dela Vida Bienaventurada* printed with other works in Anvers (1551) (1563, DVS, II, fl. 322 e 325). Pinto refers also to the epistles of Seneca, particularly to the one that describes how to die well (1563, DLM, I, fl. 413) and another one directed to Lucilius and printed in Rome and Paris (1475) (1563, DVF, fl. 19; 1572, DC, XIII; 1572, DC, XXIII; 1572, DVFB, X, fl. 578; and XXI, fl. 627). There was also a manifest disposition to use *Proverbia* (1572, DVA, XIII, fl. 347v), translated in Spanish and printed in Seville (1528 and 1535) and in Anvers (1552), and *De Clementia*, by the same author, which Calvin had commented.

We can say that, for Heitor Pinto, Philosophy is a profession. Obviously he collected all available information in various authors about Thales of Miletus, Socrates, Plato, Laertius, Valerius Maximus and particularly he read Xenophon of whom he cites *Apologia* in place that confirms the innocence of Socrates (1572, DTV, XXIII, fl. 206v and 1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 619v) and still *Symposium*, where he refers to the case of Antisthenes who left the mastery of rhetoric to devote to Moral Philosophy (1572, DDI, III, fl. 250). He refers to the dialogues of the *Republica* frequently (1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 619v). He accessed Plato's and Aristotle's texts from the cardinal Bessarion (1572, DC, XX, fl. 509v), whom he quotes: *Quae hoc in volumine tractantur Bessarionis Cardinalis Niceni, & Patriarchae Constantinopolitani in calumniatore Platonis libri quatuor... Eiusdem correctio librorum Platonis de legibus Georgio Trapezuntio interprete... Eiusdem de natura & arte aduersus eundem Trapezuntiu tractatus ad modum... Eiusdem Metaphysicorum Aristotelis xiii librorum tralatio. Theophrasti Metaphysicorum lib. i... Index eorum omnium...* Pinto refers to *Corpus Aristotelicum* frequently: to *Liber Ethicorum* (1572, DVFB, II, fl. 548; III, fl. 551v; IV, fl. 554; XII, fl. 588), to *Physicorum... Seu De Naturali auscultatione, libri octo*, which he had at his disposition in the library of the monastery of Santa Maria de Belem (1572, DC, III, fl. 433v), namely *De Caelo* and *De Mundo* (1572, DC, XX, fl. 511); to some books of the *Organon* as *Analytica Posteriora* (1572, DC, XXII, fl. 525); to the *Ars Rhetorica* (1572, DC, XIX, fl. 508). In the library of the Monastery of Santa Maria de Belém in Lisbon, Pinto had at his disposition almost all the works of Aristotle in the edition of Theobaldus Paganus, printed in Lyon (1554), but he accessed also other editions, like that of Jean Petit, printed in Paris (1510), at the library of Diogo de Murça.

The historic authorities that Pinto used to confirm his assertions form a never-ending list. Curiously, he supports the Antiquity referring first to Flavius Josephus as one of his favourite authors and only to Eusebius and others after (1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 617). The work of

the Jewish historian, *De Antiquitatibus*, that he refers to (1572, DDI, III, fl. 243v; 1572, DVFB, XVI, fl. 604), was translated in Spanish soon at Seville and in Italian. Nevertheless, Flavius Josephus is important to Pinto because of his apologetic work *Contra Apionem libri II* (1572, DDI, IX, fl. 274v; 1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 617).

Another long and positive perspective of the world was coming to a larger public in an Italian translation of Caius Julius Solinus, *Delle Cose Marauigliose del Mondo*, printed in Venice (1557). Pinto read it in Latin (1563, DLM, V, fl. 450v), in the monastery of Santa Maria de Belém, under the long title *Rerum Toto Orbe Memorabilium Thesaurus Locupletissimus. Huic ob Argumenti Similitudinem Pomponii Melae de Situ Orbis Libros Tres, Fide Diligentiaque summa recognitos, adiunximus. Acesserunt his praeter noua scholia, quae loca autoris utriusque obscuriora copiose passim illustrant, etiam tabulae geographicae*, printed in Basel (1538) and found today in the Biblioteca Nacional of Portugal.

However, Pinto had known the *Description of the World* of Pomponius Mela, and the *Commentariorum urbanorum* of Raphaele Maffei Volaterrano, another encyclopaedic source he refers to in matters of anthropology (1563, DVS, VI, fl. 354v), though it also contains matters of geography, astronomy, mathematics and natural philosophy.

From a religious perspective, there is no doubt that Pinto had the Bible always upon his work table, as well as a group of works by intellectual Portuguese figures. Pinto was the contemporary of many Antiquity scholars, unparalleled in Portugal: Álvaro Gomes, António de Gouveia, Jerónimo Cardoso, Pedro Nunes and others. He accessed the manuscripts of the authors of his time, such as Álvaro Gomes, professor of the universities of Paris, Coimbra and Salamanca, author of *De Conjugio Regis Angliae* and *Tratado da Perfeição da Alma*. The later had a great influence on *Imagem da Vida Cristã*, as demonstrated by Artur Moreira de Sá (Gomes 1550: XXXV-XXXVI). From Jerónimo Cardoso, he read *Libellus, De terra motu, De vario amore*

aegloga, De disciplinarum omnium laudibus Oratio (Coimbra, 1550); *Elegiarum liber II* (Lisboa, 1563), and the posthumous edition of *Dictionarium latinolusitanicum et vice-versa lusitanico latinum cum adagiorum feré omnium iuxta seriem alphabeticam perutili expositione, ecclesiasticorum etiam vocabulorum interpretatione* (Coimbra, 1570).

For scholarly themes, rhetoric in particular, Pinto uses the manual, common since the first century of the Christian Era, that was done by Quintilian: *Institutionum oratoriarum libri duodecim: summa cum diligentia tum iudicio ad castigatissima quae[ue] exemplaria recogniti. Eiusdem Declamationum liber* (1563, DLM, V, fl. 451 and 1572, DVA, IV, fl. 300v).

Even in support of the moral questions, Pinto's references are from Natural History: Oppianus and Plinius appear in the first folia of *Imagem da Vida Cristã*. Pinto read the poem *De Piscibus*, translated from the Greek, in the library of Diogo de Murça, as well as the *Historia Naturalis* of Plinius the Elder. The work of Oppianus deserved the interest of the French humanist Jean Bodin and of the Castilian Luis de Leon. It appeared in Greek in the library of the University of Salamanca, in the form of a fourteenth or fifteenth century's manuscript. One of the most referenced of Roman authors is Plinius the Elder. Pinto cites the second book (1572, DVFB, IV, fl. 554), the seventh (1563, DVS, IV, fl. 340; DLM, VI, 451v; 1572, DDI, III, fl. 241v; 1572, DVA, XIX, fl. 391v; 1572, DVFB, I, fl. 542v), the eighth (1572, DVA, XII, fl. 344), the ninth (1563, DVF, I, fl. 4v), the tenth (1563, DT, IV, fl. 270v and 1572, DVA, XII, fl. 345), the sixteenth (1563, DT, IV, fl. 270v), the twenty-third (1572, DC, XXII, fl. 524v), the thirty-third (1572, DC, VI, fl. 443v), and the thirty-fifth (1572, DDI, III, fl. 241v; 1572, DVFB, I, fl. 543) of the *Historiae mundi libri XXXVII, denuo ad vetustos codices collati, et plurimis locis emendati, ut patet ex adiunctis iterum que auctis Sigismundi Gelenij Annotationibus. In calce operis copiosus Index est additus*, which he read in the Monastery of Santa Maria de Belém in Lisbon or in the Monastery

of Pena in Sintra, on the edition of Basel (1549). From that work, he got to know Anaxarco (1563, DVF, V, fl. 47v-48). Another important source and model of work is *Saturnalia* of Macrobius (1563, DVF, I fl. 5; 1572, DC, VI, fl. 443v; VII, fl. 449; and XIX, fl. 505v).

Literary figures like Euripides, who deserved the translation to Latin by Erasmus, were well known in Portugal and by Pinto in the sixteenth century (1572, DC, XXIII, fl. 526v). Our author refers to *Orestes* and *Andromaca* (1572, DVA, II, fl. 526v), *Hecuba* and *Heraclide* (1572, DVFB, XV, fl. 601). He read this in the Aldine edition of 1503 that Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos had given to the Convent of Cartuxa de Evora and reposes today in the BNP, joining seventeen tragedies: *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Supplices*, *Iphigenia i Aulide*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Rhesus*, *Troades*, *Bacchae*, *Cyclops*, *Heraclidae*, *Helena*, *Ion*. Pinto remembers also the *Odes* (1572, DVA, XIV, fl. 358v; 1572, DC, XIX, fl. 508) and *Epistles* (1572, VA, XIX, fl. 392) of Horace (65-8 BC). The mythical narratives were very well know by Heitor Pinto who, for example, regarding the viola of Amphion invokes, besides Apollonius of Rhodes, Antimenes and Pherecydes (1572, DC, II, fl. 425).

He read almost everything that he could have access to in his time, including some authors who are lesser known today, such as Albius Tibullus, by whom he remembers *Elegies* (1563, DVS, IV, fl. 339v), perhaps those issued in Lyon (1559). Pinto remembers also Nigidius Figulus (1572, DC, XVIII, fl. 500v) and Cassius Maximus Tyrius, eclectic thinker and pioneer of the Neoplatonists. He refers to his *Sermones* (1572, DC, XI, fl. 466; 1572, DVFB, VIII, fl. 571; 1572, DVFB, XIV, fl. 596) whose printing had a remarkable success in 1557, in various editorial centers. From the Stoic Phornutus Lucius Annaeus, he remembers *Natura Deorum* (1572, DC, XXIII, fl. 526). Pinto knows also Vitruvius (1563, DJ, II, fl. 162 and 1572, DVFB, XI, fl. 585v) and Galenus (1572, DVA, XIX, fl. 389v).

Heitor Pinto's qualification of sources/figures

Sources/Figure	Qualification	Location
Anaxagoras	«Excellent Philosopher»	1563, DVF, I, fl. 8
Apelles	«Prince of painters»	1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 617v
Aristides	«Sage»	1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 619
Aristotle	«The most eminent of the pagan philosophers»	1572, DDI, V, fl. 254v
Cicero	«Peak of the Latin eloquence and the best of the Latin «philosophers of his time»	1563, DVS, I, fl. 315v e II, fl. 324
Demosthenes	«The eloquent»	1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 619
Phidias	«The prince of the sculptors»	1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 617v
Epaminondas	«The prince of the philosophers»	1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 616v
Epictetus	«Excellent stoic»	1572, DVA, XXI, fl.403v
Flavius Josephus	«Grave writer»	1572, DDI, IX, fl. 274v
Hermolaus Barbarus	«Erudite and discreet»	1572, DC, XV, fl. 487
Hippocrates	«The prince of the Medics»	1572, DVFB, XIX, fl.617v
Homer	«The prince of the Greek poets»	1572, DVFB, XIX, fl.617
Vatican Library	«Treasure of antic preciousness»	1572, DVA, XIX, fl.391
Pindar	«Excellent style»	1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 616
Plato	«High»	1572, DDI, VIII, fl. 171
Pomponius	«Notable legal adviser»	1572, DC, XV, fl. 487
St. Hieronymus	«Breast and receptacle of wisdom»	1563, DVF, II, fl. 20v
St. Thomas of Aquino	«Prince of the scholastic doctors»	1563, DVS, IX, fl. 396
Socrates	«Excellent»	1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 619
Themistocles	«Greek light»	1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 619
Titus Livius	«The best of the historians»	1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 618
Ulpianus	«Notable legal adviser»	1572, DC, XV, fl. 487
Virgilius	«The best poet»	1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 618

2. Classical forms, genres and themes: the obsession with the true and good conduct

It would seem that being a sage was the condition for someone to become part of one of Pinto's dialogues. He said that «a learned man who talks is a sweet music to the spirit» (1563, DVR, I, fl.317). The use of the dialogue form for the exposition of ideas suggests a parallel with

Plato, Cicero, Macrobius and others, up to Fenelon, a great preacher who also favoured the dialogue and lived two hundred years after Pinto. The Portuguese classics of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries are also good examples: Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, Francisco Manuel de Melo and Teodoro de Almeida. In *Phaedrus*, Plato gives ascendancy to oral speech because of its adequateness for reflection, as opposed to passivity or simple reproduction. The roman world followed the founder of the Athens Academy, using the dialogue form even in the poetry genre. The Philosopher justified choosing that style because it was the best way to show what happens in the souls of the speakers, to defend their own perspectives or to attain knowledge.

The most important authors of the Western Culture have used that same device in texts that have been, at times, dramatized or illustrated (Brantley 2007). We can suppose that one of the figures represents the author, and its commentaries have a particular authority. The reinstatement, in Renaissance, of the ancient Greek genres, brought with it a plurality of literary expressions, sometimes in a single author, never seen before. Pinto refers to all poets. The heroic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer, and the roman epic, Virgil's *Aeneid*, were multiplied in numbers that were never imagined. Naturally, Pinto refers to Homer as «The Prince of Greek poesy» (1572, DVFB, XIX, fl. 617).

From Antiquity until the Early Renaissance, the sages tried to demonstrate the way of the true and good life: Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca and so on. However, Pinto presents a paradigm of a philosopher who is at the same time a pilgrim, a prophet and a saint, the savant who not only wants to share his knowledge of what is true but also live a life that is the realization of that. One of the best examples was the one written by the sophist Flavius Philostratus and printed in Florence (1549) with the title *De Vita Apollonii Tyanei, Scriptor Luculentus a Philippo Beroaldo Castigatus* (1563, DVS, IX, fl. 400v-401; 1572, DTV, XXVII, fl. 227). And this is what happened in the sixteenth century with the monk Heitor Pinto. The pilgrimage is itself a classical theme, as we can see in *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, which Pinto would have read at D. Teotónio de Bragança's library, in the edition of Venice (1521), and which he refers to when he

puts love in the beginning of the world (1572, DVA, XXIII, fl. 413) and symbolizes the harmony of the republic in the sounds of a guitar (1572, DC, II, 425). Love and harmony, justice and peace, are not only classical themes, they are also recommendations to his contemporaries.

The understanding of the Christian God by the classic philosophers, received, before the developments of the medieval and scholastic theology and the apologetic genre, in the translation of Lactantius Firmianus by Ficino, had formed also the thought of Pinto. The monk of Saint Jerome developed an assumed theosophy through the Hermit figure in the first of his dialogues, integrating the Greek philosophical anthropology with the Christian Soteriology, concluding that man partakes of the divine nature. Despite the static perspective of Saint Thomas on human nature, with a body and a soul, that Pinto did not want to confront, it seems to us that there was the influence of Neoplatonism. By the hand of Ficino, our author comes to the interpretation of God that was made by Hermes Trimegistos (1572, DTV, XVI, fl. 79v; 1572, DVA, XXII, fl. 411; 1572, DVFB, II, fl. 547). In Heitor Pinto, all things have an inherent symbolism, and many sources are able to help him on various fields of knowledge: mythology, numerology, Bible, art, even geography, and so on. Pinto is a zealous Christian, able to learn not only the classical myths and to accept their figurative sense, but to learn also the Christian legends and histories, and even to explain their morality or theology. He is able to make the highest theology from the symbolism of a simple straight or circular line, and he comes close to Plato and Aristotle, as others will, until Derrida. The human soul shall complete the circle to return to the perfection of the contemplation of God, from where it has gone out. The vision of God resolves all the interrogations of life, and through the circular line man returns to Him. Pinto uses the allegoric sense, on the learning the Holy Bible, but he applies the same method to others texts and anticipates Roland Barthes on the perception of the symbolism of the Myths as significant speeches. So he multiplies the examples and the interpretations of different authors about any theme.

Pinto knows that the same referent in a different context can change its original signification until it is made to mean its complete

opposite: the fruitful and protective tree can signify Christ, the good judge, and the simple man, but the unfruitful tree signifies the bad man, and will be cut and end up on the fire (1572, DC, XVII, fl. 497). The ring can signify subjection or liberty and faith, fidelity, loyalty (1572, DC, VI, fl. 446v). In addition, he says that «the eagle, because she is a bird of prey and contemns with other birds, signifies the superb tyrant, but when she flies high and has her eyes to the sun, she signifies the just, the contemplative, the humble, who uses knowledge to understand God» (1572, DC, VI, fl. 446).

With all the limitations of his time, he asks himself about the miraculous and fabulous dimensions imposed by the tradition of the Septuagint translation to Greek of the Hebrew Bible in Alexandria (1572, DDI, III, fl. 244).

However, he does not do the same regarding the miraculous Christian information. Certainly, in the sixteenth century, it was accepted that a man of culture or a theologian developed any theme with the use of the mythological apparatus, and at same time of the biblical example. On the introduction to the friendship theme, in the same page, he shows us Hercules and Hydra, Jonah, David and Goliath, Antaeus, Theseus and the Minotaur, Perseus, Andromeda and Medusa. But, throughout the *Imagem da Vida Cristã*, there is information about myths and their significance: Ajax (1572, DVFB, XII, fl. 588v; 1572, DVA, XXI, fl. 404v), Achilles (1572, DVA, XXI, fl. 404v; 1572, DVFB, XII, fl. 588v; 1572, DTV, VII, fl. 32v), Angerona (1572, DC, XIX, fl. 505v), Atlas (1563, DF, II, fl. 17), the Centaurs (1572, DC, XI, fl. 464), Daphne (1572, DVA, XXI, fl. 404-40v), Diana (1572, DTV, II, fl. 7v) Dido (1572, DTV, VII, fl. 33) the buckler of Pallas (1572, TV, V), the Fenix (1563, DLM, fl. 430v), (1563, DVS, fl. 341-342); Hercules (1563, DVS, fl. 342v; (1572, TV, VII); (1572, TV, XIX), the Hydra (1572, TV, XII), Icarous (1572, TV, II), Jano (1572, DC, XVIII) Jason and Medea (1572, TV, VII, fl. 33); 1572, DVFB, VI) Jove (1572, DI, IX), The labyrinth and the Minotaur (1572, VA, XVIII), Midas (1572, TV, XI) Minerva (1572, DTV, VXI, 1572, DDI, V; 1572 DVA, XX), Nereus (1572, DVFB, VII, 568v), Orpheus (1572, VA, XXIII), Paris and Helen (1572, DVFB, VI, fl. 562v), the Pegasus (1563, DT, fl. 276 and

1572, DI, VII), the apple of gold (1572, TV, XVI e XVII), Prometheus (1563, DJ, fl. 213v-215), Proteus (1563, DVS, fl. 385), Saturn (1572, DC, XV, fl. 484v), Sisamnes (1572, DC, XVI, fl. 494), Tersytes (1572, DVFB, VII, fl. 568v), Ulysses (1572, DVFB, XII, fl. 588v) Volupia (1572, DC, XIX, fl. 505v) and so on.

Also regarding symbolism, Pinto comments any biblical number, sometimes with a colloquial common parlance anticipating José Saramago: «what I want to know in this moment is why were they three, the Magi. All right, they would have been two, or four, and many more, but being three, and no more and no less, it seems that that can not be without any mystery» (1572, DC, XXI, fl. 517). He sustains all the information about the most accepted personalities of philosophy. He develops the legend of the suicide of Aristotle, because he does not understand the tide movement of the Euripo, referring to Saint Justin, Procopius, Saint Gregory Nazianzeno and Valla, one of his best sources (1572, DDI, V, fl. 255).

Pinto uses his classical knowledge to describe the city of Rome, which he visited. Respecting the sources, he doesn't want to frame the question of whether the fountain of Saint Maria Church in Trastevere gushed olive oil during the day of the birth of Jesus, or of whether the vision of Mary and Child by the emperor Octavianus took place at the site of the Franciscan convent of Ara Coeli, or even of whether the stories about the fall of the Temple of Peace, and the darkness over all the world when Jesus Christ died, were true (1572, DVFB, XXIV, fl. 641v-643).

Pinto is a conscientious Christian and a great Portuguese. He uses the Odyssey of Homer to stimulate patriotic love, after the reference to Covilhã, the place where he was born, as can be confirmed by the words of a disciple:

«I listened to you say that, when travelling in different lands, you missed Portugal much. Sometimes, I listened to you particularly to admire your own land where you were born, over a high and free place, with singular eyesight between two cool and perennial

rivers, with a unending multitude of cool and excellent fountains and surrounded by delightful and fruitful trees, named in the antique times Conca Julia and now Covilhã» (1572, DVFB, XVIII, fl. 613-613v).

Someone who had wanted to show classical knowledge about any theme of everyday life would have used the list of authorities in Stobaeus' *Apophthegmata* as resource. For example, Pinto refers to this author when it is necessary to appeal to the moderate drinking of wine. It must be considered that he dedicates two chapters in the Dialogue of Causes to the question of drinking wine (1572, DC, XXII, and XXIII): excessive wine disturbs decision making, drowns the reason, eliminates prudence and increases sensuality and incontinence. Pinto admits that someone can drink a glass but no more, as Anacharsis said, and he also admits, in agreement with Plato, that princes, judges and governors shouldn't drink (1572, DC, XXII, fl. 523v). The monk of Saint Jerome makes a short history of the wine. All began with Noah. In the first centuries of Rome, water was more precious than wine. It was prohibited particularly to the women. The antique form of drinking wine with moderation by the roman people continued in modern times, and is commented on, in the dialogue, by Doctor (1572, DC, XXIII, fl. 527v). The insistence on the classical symbols, but more on the sentences against the great figures, kings and emperors who had committed mistakes and crimes as consequence of wine drinking, is meaningful: Tiberius and Alexander the Great were examples of bad wine drinking (1572, DC, XXIII, fl. 530). Such insistence is due to his observation of excesses, particularly concerning drinking, in all social levels:

«Excessive drink is the cause of all faults, origin of crimes and vices, perturbation of the head and destruction of good sense, storm of language, torment of body, failure of chastity, loss of time, voluntary insanity, shameful disease, dishonest costumes, dishonour of life, infamy of honesty, and corruption of conscience» (1572, DC, XXIII, fl. 530v).

The reprise of the first chapter of Stobaeus is obvious, but there is also use of the second chapter, wanting to chide flattery. He may have had for a target the sphere of King Sebastian's advisers (1572, DVA, VI). Nevertheless, a complex table of antithetical concepts in *Imagem da Vida Cristã* can be elaborated, supported also with authorities that were cited by Stobaeus.

Heitor Pinto's Dialectic in *Imagem da Vida Cristã*

Positive Polarity	Place	Negative Polarity
Country	1563, DVS, VI, fl. 350v	City
Day	1572, DVFB, XXV, fl. 650	Night
Dedication	1572, DTV, XVII, fl. 83	Ambition
Healthy	1572, DVFB, XXV, fl. 645v	Diseased
Equitable	1572, DTV, XXIII	Vicious
Eternal goods	1572, DVA, I, fl. 284	Temporal goods
Fortress	1572, DTV, XVII, fl. 82v	Rashness
Free and exempt	1563, DT, V, fl. 278v	Captives and slaves
Friendship	1572, DTV, XVII, fl. 83	Interest
God	1572, DDI, II 235	World
Heaven	1572, DDI, II, fl. 235	Land
Home of God	1563, DVS, VI, fl. 352v	Home of sinners
Honour	1572, DTV, XIII, fl. 60	Money
Honour	1572, DTV, XXIII, fl 208v	Shame
Humility and virtue	1572, DTV, XIX, fl. 96	Pride and ambition
Joy	1572, DVFB, XXV, fl. 650	Pain
Justice	1572, DTV, XVII, fl. 83	Vengeance
Liberality	1563, DJ, VII, fl. 205v-206	Greed
Life	1572, DTV, XXIII, fl. 207	Death
Love	1572, DVFB, XXV, fl. 650	Fear
Peace	1572, DVFB, XXV, fl. 650	Dissension
Prudence	1572, DTV, XVII, fl. 82v	Maliciousness
Quietness	1572, DVFB, XXV, fl. 650	Perturbation
Sage, just and constant	1563, DT, V, fl. 277	Ignorant, vicious and unstable
Sages	1572, DTV, XXIV, fl. 210v	Ignorant
Silence	1563, DVS, VI, fl. 358v	Noise
Solitary life	1563, DVS, VIII, fl. 378v	Tumultuous life
Soul	1572, DTV, XXIII, fl. 208v	Body
Tempered and just	1572, DTV, XXIV, fl. 210v	Distempered and vicious
Wealth	1572, DVFB, XXV, fl. 645	Poverty

On a dialectic form like that, life and death are always side by side. A simple moment divides one from the other. Pinto refers Varro, *est homo bulla* (1563, DVF, II fl. 18v); Pindar: «the human life is like a shadow» (1563, DVF, II, fl. 19); Demetrius: «life is a simple point» (1563, DVF, II fl. 18v) or, as Seneca said, it «isn't more than a moment» (1563, DVF, II, fl. 19); Homer: «life is like a leaf falling in Autumn» (1563, DVF, fl. 18v); Saint James: *enim est vita vestra vapor est* (*Latin Vulgate Bible*, epistle of Saint James, chapter 4, 14), (1563, DVF, II, fl. 21); and Saint Jerome: «every day, we die, every day, we change, and going to the death, we think that we are immortals». The theory of a good death in the Medieval Age and in the Early Modernity could also be formed on the basis of Plutarch's text about Calicratidas (1572, DTV, XXIII, fl. 207v).

Pinto believed in the immortality of the soul as a received truth of the Greeks in Christianity. It is proven that he has read *Tratado da Perfeiçã da Alma*, by Álvaro Gomes. Pinto made many assertions about the soul, referring to Aristotle's *Etica*: «the moral virtue is a habit of the soul» (1563, DJ, I, fl. 153v); to Saint Gregory: «to obey is the fundamental virtue» (1563, DR, III, fl. 135); and to Saint Bernard: «the vanity with clothing is the ugly face of the soul and the sign of bad habits» (1563, DT, VII, fl.300v). Nevertheless, the question of the immortality of the soul is essential to understand Pinto's anthropology, and it is possible that it came from Plato (1563, DLM, VI, fl. 456), Cicero (1563, DLM, VI, fl. 456), Saint Augustine (1572, DVFB, I, fl. 544) and Álvaro Gomes. Pinto could access, on the library of Santa Maria de Belém, Lactantius Firmianus' *Opera* (Veneza, 1521), which Gomes refers to in the beginning of his treatise. It was used by Pinto for his last two dialogues under the titles of causes (DC) and true and untrue goods (DVFB).

To access the truth, our author confronted specialists from various areas of the Humanities, Philosophy, Mathematic, Medicine, Law and Theology. As an historian, he tried to exhaust information from all the authors who had written about a particular theme, as, for example, the

foundation of Rome. The ethical issue can be glimpsed in all the texts of Heitor Pinto. Even from the observation of humanity and nature he extracts moral assertions. His point of depart is that not everything is what it seems. In his first dialogue, there is a Philosopher who is not as philosophic as he wants to be, and there is a humanist more human than erudite. If there is a positive and a negative polarity, the Theologian confirms also the need for a middle ground for a normal life: we should not live as fast as the dolphin and not as still as the anchor (1563, DVF, I, fl.4v).

As a true humanist, our author writes with profundity about any subject, such as, for example, the agricultural economy. About it, he knows Cato well, and he has read *De Re Rustica* (1572, DC, XIII, fl. 474; 1572, DVFB, VI, fl. 563; 157, DVFB, XX, fl. 624), which reminds him of the agricultural potential of Covilhã, the place of his birth: *optimum agrum esse, qui sub radice montis situs sit, et spectet ad medianam coeli partem* (Catonis 1537: 86). The political question is assumed in the paradigm of Marcus Porcius Cato, and such an option will have a following in Portugal even in the nineteenth century (Pereira 2002: 157-159):

«The Great Cato Censorinus, so celebrated by the antique authors, who had his life as a living image of seriousness and virtue and his heart as a source of prudence and moderation and his soul as a mirror of fortitude and constancy, who, as Plinius said, was a perfect captain, a complete preacher and the best senator, after being questor, and pretor and censor and consul and having the greatest dignities of Rome both in peace and in war, left the city and went to live in his farm near Piceno, named Marca de Ancona, although some say that he was in Campania near Puçol. Nevertheless we will say that he went to his farm, and there he dedicated his life to reading, writing, meditating, and cultivating the land which returns with great interest what is invested in it» (1563, DVS, VII, fl. 335-335v).

A recurrent theme in *Imagem da Vida Cristã* is the opposition wealth/poverty, developed particularly in the dialogue of the true and untrue goods, supported with the Holy Bible, but also with the classics, like Lucian of Samosata (1572, DVFB, XI, fl. 585). Heitor Pinto also dedicated a comprehensive dialogue to the theme of Justice, with four actors, a Citizen, a Jurist, a Mathematician and a Theologian (1563, DJ, fl. 146-238), but that same theme was tackled elsewhere to, using that author to confirm the need of the Judge's exemption (1572, DC, XVI, fl. 493v).

As we have said, the program of studies in Pinto's days began with the learning of Latin, particularly of Cicero, the summit of eloquence (1563, DVF, III, fl. 30), albeit with corporal punishment and long study at night (1563, DR, II, fl. 104). Pinto's *De Officiis* could be used for the learning of Latin with the advantage of simultaneously offering a summary on the figures of Greek and Latin Thought. We must confirm that he was a true humanist and conclude, with more precision, that he was, regarding his profession, a true Christian humanist.

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