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## Paulus Scalichius His Thought, Sources, and Fortune\*

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### *Summary*

The essay explores the life, thought and fortune of the controversial philosopher and theologian Paulus Scalichius / Pavao Skalić (1534–1575). In the first part, a short biography is provided, followed by an overview of some of the most significant cultural trends characterizing Europe between the 15th and 16th centuries. Outside of such context, in fact, Scalichius' thought remains difficult to grasp. In the second part, a brief survey of his fortune between the 16th and 18th centuries shows that Scalichius did not play a marginal role in the history of encyclopedism, magic, Christian cabalism, and in the literature dedicated to emblems and symbols.

Next, some of the most relevant aspects of his thought are addressed, focusing on some of the treatises collected in his *Encyclopaediae ... Epistemon* (Basel, 1559), which was republished in Köln in 1571 with a number of significant variations. In the conclusion, it is stressed that it remains difficult to fully understand the evolution of Scalichius' thought, to assess his originality, and to identify his place in the cultural context of his time until a proper examination of his sources and his use of them is carried out. Much work is yet to be done in this direction.

*Keywords:* Paulus Scalichius / Pavao Skalić, life, works, sources, encyclopedism, Lullism, magic, Cabala

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## *I. Introduction*

The name of Paulus Scalichius (1534–1575) – also known as Paulus Skalicich de Lika, Pavao Skalić, Paolo della Scala or Paulus Scaliger – probably sounds unfamiliar to many historians of philosophy outside Croatia. This is hardly surprising, since his major works knew only few editions and were never translated into other languages. Besides, his verbose, convoluted and repetitive writing makes for a difficult reading. Once introduced, the main subject often tends to disappear quickly in a plethora of quotations, esoteric allusions and fluvial digressions, so that the thread is easily lost and the real intentions of the author remain sometimes unclear. It is hard to say whether or not this is the result of deliberate dissimulation in order to camouflage some of his controversial ideas. Be that as it may, his literary style and Latin are a long shot from Pico, Steuco, Reuchlin or Agrippa, for whom he had great admiration. Most of his works have a strong compilatory character, with entire passages often drawn from unacknowledged sources. Some regard his recombination of such sources as an innovative and original contribution, while others object that it is equally legitimate to interpret it as an attempt to disguise patent plagiarism. It is true, however, that there are no detailed or comprehensive studies of his sources and his treatment of them, which makes it difficult to properly assess his originality or lack thereof.

Despite all this, his production and overall project – together with his tumultuous biography and extensive political and intellectual ties – deserve attention. Not only because his ideas enjoyed some fortune across Europe, but also because they are connected to some of the most significant cultural trends typical of the time (Lullism, Christian Cabalism, the occult sciences) and to transformations affecting the ways in which knowledge was conceived, organized and transmitted. In what follows, after an overview of Scalichius' life, works and fortune, I will place some aspects of his thought in the cultural context of his time and give some examples of his use of sources.

## *II. Life*

Paulus Scalichius was born in Zagreb on January 6, 1534.<sup>1</sup> With the financial support of the bishop of Ljubljana, he studied in Vienna from 1547 to

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<sup>1</sup> This is, at least, the date provided by Scalichius himself in his works. In his 1570 edition of the pseudo-Joachimite treatise *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus* (on which see *infra*, note 20) he writes:

“Paulo tertio, qui mortem obiit 1549. sub quo ego Paulus, Michaelis Scaligeri, ex Catharina Sigismundi Francisci, Ducis Beneventi et principis Viroviticae in Croatia filia, nepte Ferdinandi regis Apuliae, filius, anno 1534. in festo trium Regum natus sum” (*Pauli principis de la Scala ...*



1551. Later he moved to Bologna, where he obtained his doctorate in theology in 1552.<sup>2</sup> Before returning to Vienna, where the emperor Ferdinand I would appoint him court chaplain and coadjutor of the Bishop of Ljubljana, he resided at the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome, newly founded by Pope Julius III and directed by the Jesuits. Here, he tried to publicly discuss – inspired by the example of Pico della Mirandola – twelve thousand philosophical theses, but was obstructed by the Jesuits.<sup>3</sup> During a visit to Augsburg, in 1555, he came

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*tomii miscellaneorum de rerum causis et successibus atque secretiori methodo ibidem expressa effigies ac exemplar, nimirum vaticiniorum et imaginum Ioachimi abbatis Florentis Calabriae etc.*, Coloniae: Theodorus Graminaeus, 1570, pp. 136–137).

Scalichius had provided the same date in his *Epitoma de origine Scaligerorum* (Mediolano: s. n., 1568, p. 35), a work that would later be integrated into his *De origine illustrium, Essaeorum ritu, etc.*, which forms book 11 of his *Miscellaneorum tomus secundus, sive Catholici Epistemonis* (Coloniae: Theodorus Graminaeus, 1571), pp. 438–542, here pp. 520–521.

These passages are rarely mentioned by scholars and often misquoted. Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski (*Pavao Skalić*, Zagreb: Dionička tiskara, 1875, pp. 4–5) and, more recently, Krešimir Čvrljak (*Filozofija u enciklopedizmu Pavla Skalića*, Skradin: Ogranak Matice hrvatske Skradin, 2004, pp. 31–32) do not seem to be aware of them. Gerta Krabbel (*Paul Skalich. Ein Lebensbild aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, Münster: Borgmeyer, 1915, pp. 3–4) provides the same date of birth (January 6, 1534) but without quoting these texts. François Secret (“La tradition du ‘De omni scibili’ à la Renaissance: l’œuvre de Paul Scaliger,” *Convivium* 4, 1955, pp. 492–497, here p. 497, note 3) quotes Schalichius’ autobiographical lines from his 1570 edition of the pseudo-Joachimite treatise but provides the wrong reference; the correct reference to this text, instead, is given by Alojz Jembrih, “Pavao Skalić i njegov studij na Bečkome sveučilištu,” *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 37 (2011), pp. 95–132, here p. 99.

On Scalichius’ life see also: Johann Georg Schelhorn, “De vita et scriptis Pauli Scalichii commentatio,” in *Bibliotheca historico-philologico-theologica* VII (Bremae: Typis Hermanni Braueri, 1724), pp. 1027–1051 (who erroneously proposes 1531 as Scalichius’ date of birth); *Acta Borussica Ecclesiastica* (Königsberg & Leipzig: Christoph Gottfried Eckhart, 1730), 3. Stück, pp. 305–354, 820–880; Alexius Horányi, *Memoria Hungarorum et provincialium scriptis editis notorum: Pars III* (Posonii: Impensis Antonii Loewii, 1777), pp. 214–218; Theodor Elze, “Paul Skalich,” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1892), vol. 34, pp. 443–444; Alojz Jembrih, “Tragom Pavla Skalića,” *Gordogan* 29–30 (1990), pp. 25–87.

<sup>2</sup> There is evidence that Scalichius was registered as a student at the Collegio Ungaro–Illirico in Bologna, which was founded around 1550; see Damir Barbarić, “Il Collegio Ungaro–Illirico di Bologna nella storia culturale della Croazia,” in *Annali del Collegio Ungaro–Illirico di Bologna 1553–1764*, ed. by Maria Luisa Accorsi and Gian Paolo Brizzi (Bologna: Clueb, 1988), pp. xxv–xli, here p. xxviii.

As for a confirmation of his obtainment of the title of doctor in theology, Predrag Belić (*Katoličko jedinstvo Južnih Slavena i Družba Isusova. Prvo doba: 1546–1597*, Zagreb: s. n., 1996, p. 43) tells us that in 1973, on his request, Albino Babolin had found evidence of his graduation in 1552 in the archive of Bologna’s Faculty of Theology (Cod. B, p. 65, n. 647); unfortunately, however, I did not have the opportunity to verify this information.

<sup>3</sup> See Scalichius’ letter to the Jesuit Juan de Polanco, Ignatius of Loyola’s secretary, in Paulus Scalichius de Lika, *Encyclopaediae, seu orbis disciplinarum, tam sacrarum quam prophanarum, Epistemon* (Basileae: Ioannes Oporinus, 1559), p. 646; the letter is transcribed and discussed



into contact for the first time with reformed circles and ideas. Upon his return to Vienna, he began lecturing at the Faculty of Theology, but in 1557 he had to quit teaching and was expelled from the city over suspicion of defending Protestant doctrines. He then travelled to Stuttgart, Heidelberg, and Tübingen, where he established ties with Protestant reformers (such as Primus Truber and Pietro Paolo Vergerio)<sup>4</sup> and with the Habsburg nobleman Hans Ungnad von

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by François Secret, “Les Jésuites et le kabbalisme chrétien a la Renaissance,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 20 (1958), pp. 542–555, here p. 544.

Cf. also Paulus Scalichius, *Genealogia seu de antiquissima Scalichiorum... principum origine... Sermo* (Argentorati: Christianus Mylius, 1561), f. 26r. See also Schelhorn, “De vita et scriptis Pauli Scalichii commentatio” (1724), p. 1032; Krabbel, *Paul Skalich* (1915), pp. 11–18; Belić, *Katoličko jedinstvo Južnih Slavena i Družba Isusova. Prvo doba: 1546–1597* (1996), pp. 41–54.

For Polanco’s take on the affair see his letter to the Jesuit Peter Canisius (who at the time was in Vienna), which he wrote *ex commissione* for Ignatius of Loyola (Rome, February 27, 1554), in *Monumenta Ignatiana* (Matriti: Gabriel López del Horno, 1907), vol. 6, letter n. 4207, pp. 379–383; cf. also Polanco, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* (Matriti: Augustinus Avrial, 1896), vol. 4, pp. 256–257. Along with two other students, Scalichius had been recommended to Ignatius of Loyola by the Bishop of Ljubljana in a letter dated November 6, 1553, and appears to have presented himself at the *Collegium Germanicum* on January 23, 1554 (see Ignatius’ letter to Nicolaus Lanojus in *Monumenta Ignatiana*, 1907, vol. 6, n. 4102, pp. 237–238: “li gioveni raccomandati... sono hoggi comparsi”) and to have left – to Ignatius’ relief – on March 11 of the same year (see Polanco’s letter *ex comm.* to Canisius of March 14, 1554, *ibid.*, n. 4262, pp. 462–463: “sono partiti... venerdì 11 del presente”). For the Bishop of Ljubljana’s letter to Ignatius see *Epistolae mixtae ex variis Europae locis ab anno 1537 ad 1556 scriptae* (Matriti: Augustinus Avrial, 1900), vol. 3, n. 704, pp. 588–590.

It is not clear why Čvrlijak (*Filozofija u enciklopedizmu Pavla Skalića*, 2004, p. 34) assumed that Scalichius had reached the *Collegium* as early as 1552. After Scalichius’ return to Vienna, Canisius wrote a letter to Polanco (on June 8, 1554), in which he described Scalichius’ refusal to abandon his Cabalistic doctrines (“mordicusque retinere vellet suam Cabalisticam, qua fretus iactaret, se de omnibus nullo negotio et in utraque fortasse partem disputaturum”): *Beati Petri Canisii S.I. epistolae et acta*, ed. by Otto Braunsberger (Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder, 1896), vol. 1, letter n. 153, pp. 470–477, here p. 471.

On the 1553 theses (*conclusiones*) that Scalichius had already discussed in Bologna see *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> He was also in correspondence with Celio Secondo Curione: see Scalichius’ letter to him from Tübingen dated 16 August 1559 (Universitätsbibliothek Basel: G2 I 15:2:37).

Cf. also his dedication to Oporino of the “Encomium scientiarum,” in Scalichius, *Encyclopaediae ... epistemon* (1559), p. 688.

Lelio Sozzini dedicated a copy of Scalichius’ *Dialogus de missa* (Tubingae: s. n., 1558) to Heinrich Bullinger (the signed copy is held at the University of Cambridge, St John’s College, Special Collections: A-B8).

Gerta Krabbel has edited three letters from Scalichius to Bullinger written between 1557 and 1560 (*Paul Skalich*, 1915, pp. 197–200). On the relationships between Scalichius, Vergerio, Bullinger and Curione see Lelio Sozzini, *Opere*, ed. by Antonio Rotondò (Firenze: Olschki, 1987), pp. 267–269, and the well-documented essay by Neven Jovanović, “Pavao Skalić protiv Pier Paola Vergerija, 1559.–1564.,” in *Secretarii actiones Petri Pauli Vergerii*, ed. by Gregor Pobežin

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Weissenwolff. In Tübingen, he made no secret of his conversion to the Lutheran faith. Shortly after, he published the first edition of his main work, *Encyclopaediae, seu orbis disciplinarum, tam sacrarum quam prophanarum, Epistemon* (1559). In 1561, under the recommendation of Ungnad and the request of Duke Albrecht of Prussia, he travelled to Königsberg, where he became the Duke's advisor and taught philosophy and theology at the local university. There, he published a number of works, some of which of cabalistic content. However, because of his great influence on the Duke, he soon made enemies among the Prussian nobility, who gathered evidence that he had lied about his noble origins. Forced to leave for fear of being exposed, he fled to Gdańsk, and from there to Paris. In the meantime, the Duchy of Prussia ostracized him. In 1567, he reached Münster, where he turned back to Catholic faith and married his housekeeper. There, he also earned the favor of the local bishop and reconnected with some Polish noblemen, so that by 1574 he was rehabilitated by the new Polish king Henry of Valois. In the meantime, in 1571, he had published a second, revised edition of his main work, now significantly renamed *Catholicus Epistemon*, under the name of "Paulus princeps de la Scala et Hun".<sup>5</sup> Back to Gdańsk, he began negotiating the return of his goods with the new Duke of Prussia, but, in 1575, he died.<sup>6</sup>

### III. The historical background

Scalichius' vast, intricate, and often repetitive production – from his juvenile *Conclusiones* to the *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571) – can be properly

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and Peter Štoka (Koper: Biblioteca centrale Srečko Vilhar, 2018), pp. 27–58.

On Sozzini and Scalichius in particular see also Friedrich Samuel Bock, *Historia Socinianismi Prussici maximam partem ex documentis msstis* (Regiomonti: Hartung, 1754), pp. 6–8; Johann Christoph Strodtmann, "Anhang zur Geschichte des Herrn Doctor Bocks", in *Das Neuen Gelehrten Europa*, Sechster Theil (Wolfenbüttel: Johann Christoph Meißner, 1755), pp. 379–483, here pp. 379–380; Johann Gottlob Wilhelm Dunkel, *Historisch-kritische Nachrichten: von verstorbenen Gelehrten und deren Schriften etc.* (Cöthen und Dessau: In der Cörnerischen Buchhandlung, 1757), vol. 3, t. 1, pp. 147–149.

On Scalichius' relationship with the Protestant reformer Primus Truber / Primož Trubar see Radoslav Katičić, "Zur Polemik von Primus Truber mit Paulus Skalich", *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 53 (2007), pp. 55–66.

<sup>5</sup> Paulus Scalichius, *Miscellaneorum tomus secundus, sive Catholici Epistemonis* (1571). From now on, I will refer to the first edition of the work as *Encycopaediae Epistemon* (1559) and to the second as *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571).

<sup>6</sup> His name (as Paulus Scalichius) had appeared in the *Index librorum autorumque S. Sedis Apostolicae, Sacrique Concilii Tridentini auctoritate prohibitorum* (Monachii: Adam Berg, 1569), f. 11v. Cf. Franz Heinrich Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Literaturgeschichte*, Band I (Bonn: M. Cohen & Sohn, 1883), p. 531.

understood only when placed against the background of some of the most significant cultural trends and transformations that characterized Europe between the 15th and 16th centuries. At least four of them should be kept in mind: 1) the rising impatience toward scholastic culture and the need for a reform of the traditional systems of education; 2) the aspiration to a new, encyclopedic organization and unification of knowledge; 3) the revival of occult sciences and the rediscovery of a supposedly ancestral and secret theological wisdom (*prisca sapientia*); 4) the emergence of Christian Cabala and its encounter with the tradition of Lullism.

Between the end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th centuries, humanistic ideas and criticisms of traditional academic culture and education – accused of being sterile, obscure, bookish and pedantic – gained a European dimension. The need for a reform was also motivated by the fact that the medieval “map” of knowledge – systematized in the medieval curricula and based on the Latin Aristotelian corpus – appeared increasingly obsolete when faced with the massive influx of new knowledge and information generated by historical and philological investigations, geographical explorations, technological and scientific advancements, and the proliferation of new books and translations thanks to the printing revolution. In this context, the problem of a new organization and classification of the sciences became central.<sup>7</sup> In reality, however, here as in other areas, scholasticism and humanism not only clashed, but also coexisted and often interacted in eclectic and productive ways.<sup>8</sup>

Already at the end of the 15th century, there had been attempts, within Italian humanistic circles, not simply at enumerating and collecting various notions and doctrines, but rather at rearranging the sciences and their ramifications into a more orderly framework. Important and influential examples of this are Angelo Poliziano’s *Panepistemon* and Giorgio Valla’s monumental *Rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum libri*, published posthumously in 1501. Another successful work was the *Margarita philosophica* by the German Carthusian Gregor Reisch (1503), an encyclopedic textbook aimed at introducing students to academic philosophy. By presenting an arboriform index of the sciences (the

<sup>7</sup> Cf. on this Eugenio Garin, *L’educazione in Europa (1400–1600)* (Bari: Laterza, 1957); Cesare Vasoli, “I tentativi umanistici cinquecenteschi di un nuovo ‘ordine’ del sapere,” in Cesare Vasoli, *Le filosofie del Rinascimento*, ed. by Paolo Costantino Pissavino (Milano: Mondadori, 2002), pp. 398–415.

<sup>8</sup> Luca Bianchi, “Le scienze nel Quattrocento. La continuità della scienza scolastica, gli apporti della filologia, i nuovi ideali del sapere,” in Vasoli, *Le filosofie del Rinascimento* (2002), pp. 93–112; Ann M. Blair, “Organization of Knowledge,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by James Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 287–303.

seven liberal arts, natural philosophy, psychology, ethics) and covering them in a compendious way, it was a unusual combination of medieval spirit and early modern encyclopedic ambitions.<sup>9</sup>

A related aspiration was that of devising a *methodus* as a way of organizing and ordering the body of knowledge for the purpose of instruction. Starting from the middle of the 16th century, an increasing amount of works dedicated to this concept was published in Central Europe. This was also a response to the curricular changes that affected Central European schools and universities in the first half of the century: the establishment of professional chairs for ancient languages and specific philosophical disciplines led to the search for a “method” as a means to restore unity and cohesion to philosophy instruction.<sup>10</sup> But there was more. In Petrus Ramus’ influential reform of logic (or dialectics), *methodus* was connected to memory and was conceived as a *classifying* tool whose organizing function was applied to both knowledge and reality, since the order of knowledge was thought to *reflect* the order of things. As for many authors of encyclopedias, the totality of arts and sciences corresponded to the perfection and completeness of the cosmos created by God.

Another very important phenomenon was the semantic shift undergone by the classical term “encyclopedia” in the course of the 16th century. The Greek expression had been translated by Quintilian as *orbis doctrinae*, meaning a “cycle” of preliminary studies or a basic training.<sup>11</sup> This was also the way humanists understood it as they rediscovered the notion, often relying on Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria*. However, as Annarita Angelini has pointed out, in the writings of authors as different as Daniele Barbaro, Petrus Ramus, Mario Nizolio, Guillaume Baudé, Joachim von Ringelberg, Paulus Scalichius, Rudolfus Goclenius, Johann Alsted and many others, the term “encyclopedia” gradually came to mean a *total* and *self-sufficient* system of knowledge. By the second half of the century, expressions like *orbis doctrinae* or *orbis disciplinarum* had taken on *cosmological* and *metaphysical* connotations expressing

<sup>9</sup> Expanded and revised by Reisch in four successive editions between 1503 and 1517, this work was reprinted several times in the 16th century and was also translated into French and Italian. Cf. Charles B. Schmitt, “The Rise of the Philosophical Textbook,” in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by Charles B. Schmitt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 792–804, here p. 796.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph S. Freedman, “Encyclopedic Philosophical Writings in Central Europe during the High and Late Renaissance (ca. 1500 – ca. 1700),” *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 37 (1994), pp. 212–256.

<sup>11</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 1, 10, 1. Cf. Vitruvius, *De architectura*, 6, 4. For an overview of the classical notion see Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 1–89.



two fundamental notions: that of a universal *system* of knowledge, reflecting in its order and perfection the image of the cosmos, and that of the *circulation* and *compenetration* of the various disciplines, which in turn was a reflection of the articulations and connectedness of the cosmos itself. Unlike the medieval *summae* or the still incomplete classifications of the humanists, the encyclopedias of the Late Renaissance systematists aimed to condense *all* the sciences into a unitary, organic, all-embracing structure and to identify the bond that tied and unified them together.<sup>12</sup>

These developments were closely connected to the encounter and intertwining, over the course of the 16th century, of three different traditions: encyclopedism, the doctrines of Raymond Lull and his followers, and Christian Cabala. To Renaissance men, Lull's "art" (*ars magna*) appeared as a universal science founded on infallible principles and as a "science of all the sciences" on whose basis all knowledge could be organized in a rational and hierarchical manner.<sup>13</sup> In Lull, logic was identified with metaphysics, meaning that the ultimate principles of the art *coincided* with the very roots and foundations of reality, which in turn reflected the attributes and nature of God. To master the art, therefore, meant to penetrate the profound structure of the cosmos. The nine fundamental attributes of God (also called "names" or "dignities"), which formed the basis of the art and its hierarchical ramifications, were indicated by Lull with the letters from B to K, which could be recombined in complex ways with the aid of various kinds of movable geometrical figures. Moreover, in his *Arbre de Sciencia* ("The tree of science"), Lull had constructed an intricate encyclopedia of all the various branches of knowledge stemming from the single trunk of science and its principles, which was presented at the same time as an exact representation of the structure of the universe. As a Franciscan, Lull also believed that his art could be used as a tool to persuade and convert

<sup>12</sup> Annarita Angelini, "Encyclopaedias and Architecture in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Power of Images in Early Modern Science*, ed. by Wolfgang Lefèvre *et al.* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2003), pp. 265–288.

On Renaissance encyclopedism see Paolo Rossi, *Clavis universalis. Arti della memoria e logica combinatoria da Lullo a Leibniz*, terza edizione (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000); Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Topica universalis. Eine Modellgeschichte humanistischer und barocker Wissenschaft* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1983); Neil Kenny, *The Palace of Secrets. Béroalde de Verville and Renaissance Conceptions of Knowledge* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Umberto Eco, *Dall'albero al labirinto. Studi storici sul segno e l'interpretazione*, seconda edizione (Milano: La nave di Teseo, 2017), pp. 15–120.

<sup>13</sup> On Lull and the tradition of Lullism, see Rossi, *Clavis universalis* (2000); Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 173–198; Schmidt-Biggemann, *Topica universalis* (1983), pp. 155–176; Umberto Eco, *La ricerca della lingua perfetta nella cultura europea* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1993), pp. 61–81, 129–155.

the infidels to the universal truth of Christianity. In Lull and his enthusiastic followers, combinatory logic, encyclopedism, mysticism and cosmology had been harmonized in a totalizing vision of the universe.

Starting with Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Lullism and Christian Cabalism were increasingly associated and often identified. The myth of a Cabalist Lull became widespread and a number of pseudo-Lullian Cabalistic, Hermetic and alchemical works began to circulate across Europe. Lull's letters were somewhat associated with the ten emanations of God (the Sephiroth) and with Cabalist angelic names. In fact, Pico had distinguished between a Cabala as *ars combinandi* (analogous, though not identical, to the art of Lull) and a Cabala as the "supreme part of natural magic," capable of bypassing the intermediary causes (the stars), and gaining immediate access to the divine powers. In its merging with the occult sciences and Cabalist mysticism of numbers and letters, the art of Lull could thereby be seen – as in Cornelius Agrippa and Giordano Bruno – both as a key to decipher the universe and a means to acquire magical power over it.<sup>14</sup>

What is important to remember, however, is that in their inextricable bundle of Lullism, Cabalism and Hermeticism, encyclopedic projects of the 16th and 17th centuries often presented themselves as the *rediscovery* of a primeval, perfect and secret wisdom that originated with the "first theologians" (Zoroaster, Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato, etc.), with Moses or even with Adam. In this context, knowledge appeared essentially as a *closed* system, and the idea of an absolute science capable of harmonizing all disciplines and traditions could be regarded not as a dream, but as a realistic aspiration, since it was thought to have *already* existed in the past – not only in antiquity, but even earlier, when Adam was still living in the Garden of Eden.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), pp. 84–116; Andreas B. Kilcher, *Die Sprachtheorie der Kabbala als ästhetisches Paradigma* (Stuttgart-Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 1998), pp. 178–185; Vittoria Perrone Compagni, "Il *De occulta philosophia* di Cornelio Agrippa. Parole chiave: uomo-microcosmo, *prisca theologia*, cabala, magia," *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 13/2 (2007), pp. 429–448, esp. pp. 439–448.

On Pico and Cabbala see also Chaim Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 133–152; Giulio Busi, Raphael Ebgi, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Mito, magia, qabbalah* (Torino: Einaudi, 2014), pp. XXV, 294–306.

On the merger of various forms of magic with Cabbala in both Jewish and Christian thinkers during the Renaissance see Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy, 1280–1510. A Survey* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), esp. pp. 281–286.

<sup>15</sup> Jean-Marc Mandosio, "Méthodes et fonctions de la classification des sciences et des arts (XVe–XVIIe siècles)," *Nouvelle Revue du XVIIe Siècle* 20 (2002), pp. 19–30, here p. 23.



**Fig. 1.** Portrait of Paulus Scalichius. From Nikolaus Reusner, *Icones sive imagines virorum literis illustrium* (Argentorati: Bernardus Iobinus, 1587), f. 182r.

Lastly, it is no wonder that in the divisive climate brought about by the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, the religious conflicts and the devastating wars of the 17th century, ideals of reform of society and education, encyclopedic projects, the search for a perfect language and the rediscovery of an ancient, universal wisdom were variously connected – from Bruno to Alsted to Comenius to Leibniz – to millenarian expectations, political utopias, or to dreams and hopes of universal pacification, religious concord, spiritual transformation, universal salvation, elimination of confusion and ignorance, reciprocal and immediate comprehension of all peoples and resolution of conflicts through a common language.<sup>16</sup>

#### IV. A controversial figure

Almost forgotten today, Paulus Scalichius must have been relatively famous (or infamous) during his own time, since he appears in two popular biographical collections of the time: the *Icones sive imagines virorum literis illustrium* by the German jurist Nikolaus Reusner (fig. 1)<sup>17</sup> and the *Icones quinquaginta virorum illustriorum* by the French antiquarian Jean-Jacques Boissard.<sup>18</sup> His name belongs to the history of encyclopedism, Christian Cabalism,<sup>19</sup> Renaissance magic, prophecy,<sup>20</sup> and his work is mentioned often in the literature dedicated

<sup>16</sup> Rossi, *Clavis universalis* (2000), pp. 211, 221–257; Eco, *La ricerca della lingua perfetta* (1993), pp. 85–90, 193.

<sup>17</sup> Nikolaus Reusner, *Icones sive imagines virorum literis illustrium* (Argentorati: Bernardus Iobinus, 1587), f. 182r.

<sup>18</sup> Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Icones quinquaginta virorum illustriorum* (Francofurti: Theodorus de Bry, 1597), part III, pp. 65–67.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. François Secret, *I Cabbalisti cristiani del Rinascimento* (1964, 1985), Italian trans. by P. Zoccatelli (Roma: Arkeios, 2001), pp. 180, 202–203, 261–263, 277, 285, 294; Kilcher, *Die Sprachtheorie der Kabbala* (1998), pp. 96, 178.

<sup>20</sup> See his late interpretation of the (pseudo-Joachimite) *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*, which he edited and published in Köln in 1570 (*Pauli principis de la Scala ... tomi miscellaneorum de rerum causis et successibus atque secretiori methodo etc.* – cf. *supra*, note 1) and commented directly against the “pseudo-magical” interpretation of the *pseudomagus* Paracelsus, who – from a catholic “subversive” perspective – had read the *Vaticinia* as a general statement about the corrupted condition of the Church, to which the coming of an angelic pope would put an end. Scalichius, instead, interprets the book from an orthodox catholic perspective and defuses its millennial character: Joachim’s prophecy has been already fulfilled, because it concerned *only* the previous popes, not a *renovatio mundi* still to come. See Marjorie E. Reeves, “Some Popular Prophecies from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Popular Belief and Practice*, ed. by G. Cuming, D. Baker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 107–134, here pp. 122–123. Cf. also Germana Ernst, “From the Watery Trigon to the Fiery Trigon. Celestial Signs, Prophecies and History,” in “*Astrologi hallucinati*”. *Stars and the End of the World in Luther’s*

to symbols, emblems and the tradition of Lullism. Antonio Ricciardi's entries *symbolica* and *symboli* in his *Commentaria symbolica* are almost entirely drawn from Scalichius.<sup>21</sup> In his *Praecognita logica*, an introductory textbook to logic, the logician and polymath Bartholomaeus Keckermann criticized him repeatedly in the context of a rather ferocious attack on Lullism.<sup>22</sup> Johann Heinrich Alsted mentioned him polemically in his works on *Ars Lulliana*.<sup>23</sup> His name appears also in the 1577 edition of Johann Wier's *De praestigiis daemonum*, which included an *Apologia adversus Paulum Schalichium*: in it, Wier – in the context of a discussion surrounding demonology and the separated soul – responded to earlier criticism advanced by Scalichius in his *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571).<sup>24</sup>

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*Time*, ed. by Paola Zambelli (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986), pp. 265–280, here p. 277; Paola Guerrini, “Uso e riuso della profezia nel tardo Medioevo. Il caso dei *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*,” in *Église et État, Église ou État? Les clercs et la genèse de l'État moderne*, ed. by Christine Barralis et al. (Roma: École Française de Rome, 2014), pp. 391–415.

On prophecy, see also Scalichius' late *Epistola de ratione prophetandi* (in *Miscellaneorum de rerum causis, et successibus & de secretiore quadam Methodo qua eversiones omnium regnorum universi orbis, & futurorum series erui possint, Libri septem*, Coloniae: Theodorus Graminaeus, 1570, pp. 265–275), where, mostly relying on Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* and Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico*, Scalichius argues that prophecy, as miracle-making and other supernatural powers, can only come from above, when the mind is pure and united to God, so that his sacred and most powerful name – IHSVH – can be invoked. In this sense, it is not man who acts, but God that acts through him.

<sup>21</sup> Antonio Ricciardi, *Commentariorum symbolicorum tomus secundus* (Venetiis: Franciscus de Francischis Senensis, 1591), ff. 228r–229r.

Cf. Scalichius, *Miscellaneorum de rerum causis* (1570), f. 48v, and *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571), pp. 71–82.

<sup>22</sup> Bartholomaeus Keckermann, *Praecognitorum logicorum tractatus III* (Hanoviae: Guilielmus Antonius, 1599), pp. 72, 174. Keckermann mentions Scalichius together with Petrus Gregorius Tholosanus (Pierre de Grégoire), deeming *alchymisticos fumos* and *alphabetarias vanitates* their attempts to carry on Lull's project (pp. 72–73). At p. 174, as part of a historical overview of modern logic from the times of Ramus to 1597, he briefly criticizes Scalichius' *Reolutio alphabetaria* and *Dialectica contemplativa*. On Keckermann, who was born and taught in Gdańsk from 1602 until his death in 1609, see Joseph S. Freedman, “The Career and Writings of Bartholomew Keckermann (d. 1609),” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 141 (1997), pp. 305–364.

<sup>23</sup> Johannes H. Alsted, *Clavis Artis Lullianae* (Argentorati: Lazarus Zetzner, 1609), pp. 5, 61, 138.

<sup>24</sup> Johann Wier, *De praestigiis daemonum* (Basileae: Ioannes Oporinus, 1577), coll. 836–873 (*editio princeps*: Basileae: Johann Oporinus, 1563). Cf. Scalichius, *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571), pp. 218–226.

On this, see Michaela Valente, *Johann Wier. Agli albori della critica razionale dell'occulto e del demoniaco nell'Europa del Cinquecento* (Firenze: Olschki, 2003), pp. 168–175; Čvrlijak, *Filozofija u enciklopedizmu Pavla Skalića* (2004), pp. 67–72.

Among other things, Wier accused him of having plagiarized entire passages of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Cornelius Agrippa. On a similar note, Jacques Charpentier (a Platonist and famous antagonist of Ramus) called him an “ape of Pico.”<sup>25</sup>

It is difficult to reconstruct the real extent of the intricate web of relationships entertained by Scalichius, whose controversial and ambiguous personality elicited opposite reactions. His religious behavior and aristocratic ambitions attracted accusations of being an opportunist, an impostor and a turncoat.<sup>26</sup> Boissard called him *alter Eceboles*, referring to the Christian rhetor who converted to paganism in order to please the emperor Julian, only to return to Christian faith after Julian’s death. In his *Historia critica philosophiae*, Johann J. Brucker called him a charlatan intent on mixing “the profane with the sacred” and classified him as a syncretic philosopher alongside (among others) Patrizi / Petrić, Ramus, Alsted and Leibniz.<sup>27</sup> The encyclopedist Louis Moréri, instead, described him as a great enemy of the new Protestant sects sent to Prussia to defend the Catholic faith.<sup>28</sup>

In his works, Scalichius attributed himself a large number of titles: prince of Scala, count of Hun, margrave of Verona, baron of Zkrad and lord of Kretzburg in Prussia. Indeed, some of these works are specifically dedicated to proving – against his enemies – his descent from the Scaliger family;<sup>29</sup> in one of them, he even appears to have solicited the opinion on the matter of – among many others – Jean Bodin.<sup>30</sup> Another controversy surrounded the *Encyclopa-*

<sup>25</sup> “Praefatio in comparationem Aristotelis cum Platone,” in Jacobus Carpentarius, *Platonis cum Aristotele in universa philosophia comparatio* (Parisiis: Iacobus du Puys, 1573), f. a2r:

“Incideram ante annos duodecim in sermonem cum Paulo Scalichio, quem Io. Mirandulæ simium, meo iudicio, possis appellare.”

<sup>26</sup> See Polanco’s letter to Peter Canisius (Rome, February 27, 1554), which contains a very harsh assessment of Scalichius’ personality and scientific competence (*Monumenta Ignatiana*, 1907, vol. 6, letter n. 4207, pp. 379–383 – cf. *supra*, note 3); the judgment is echoed by Ignatius in a letter to Canisius dated June 26, 1554: “ci parse de poca dottrina, et manco giuditio, et assai vanità” (*Monumenta Ignatiana*, 1908, vol. 7, letter n. 4572, pp. 177–181, here p. 178).

<sup>27</sup> Johann J. Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae* (Lipsiae: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1743), vol. 4, t. 1, pp. 764–765.

<sup>28</sup> Louis Moréri, *Grand Dictionnaire historique. Nouvelle et dernière édition* (Paris: Libraires associés, 1759), vol. 9, p. 225.

<sup>29</sup> Paulus Scalichius, *Genealogia seu de antiquissima Scalichiorum <...> principum origine <...> Sermo* (1561); *Epitoma de origine Scaligerorum* (1568).

<sup>30</sup> Paulus Scalichius, *Responsa Jurisconsultorum, iudicum et juratorum...de origine, gente ac nomine Pauli Scaligeri* (Coloniae: Nicolas Grapheus, 1567).

On this, see Aldo Garosci, “Jean Bodin avvocato per un avventuriero slavo in un ignoto consilium,” *Rivista storica italiana* 87 (1975), pp. 557–570.

*ediae Epistemon*, parts of which had been written when he had converted to Protestantism. In the second edition of the work, the *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571), Scalichius – by then Catholic again – claimed that the previous edition had been heavily and deliberately perverted by a scribe, whose interpolations had been for the most part of heretic content. Since the two editions are scarcely different, this appears to be in large part a cautionary move motivated by opportunistic reasons and by fear of the Inquisition.<sup>31</sup>

### V. Scalichius' thought

No doubt, Scalichius' works were affected by the turbulent vicissitudes of his life and, most of all, by his oscillations and turnarounds in matter of faith.<sup>32</sup> However, on a deeper level, the general direction of his thought, together with the scope and meaning of his encyclopedic project, does not seem to have changed considerably during the course of his life. Scalichius' mission – as he saw it – was to carry on what Giovanni Pico della Mirandola had started: a spiritual reform leading to the establishment of a universal philosophy – described as “encyclopedia” – which would harmonize all the conflicting scientific, philosophical and theological sects under the umbrella of Christian revelation, thereby bringing political peace and unity in a climate charged with

<sup>31</sup> In the *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571), titles and content of the theological or apologetic works were carefully adjusted to fit Scalichius' return to Catholicism and avoid persecution by the Church. Scalichius also made an effort to render the book more coherent by inserting dialogues between Philomusus and Epistemon (the protagonists of the dialogue “Encyclopaediae Epistemon”) at the beginning and at the end of each section as a way of introduction or epilogue and to better connect each work with the following one. Although at first sight the changes with respect to the first edition appear to be minimal, at a closer look one also encounters rather significant additions (as in the dialogue “Eulogus”) or an entirely different work (as with the “Revolutio alphabetaria”). On this, see *infra*.

<sup>32</sup> For an overview of Scalichius' thought see Krabbel, *Paul Skalich* (1915); Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), vol. 6, pp. 455–457; Secret, “La tradition du ‘De omni scibili’ à la Renaissance: l’œuvre de Paul Scaliger” (1955); Rossi, *Clavis universalis* (2000), p. 124; Ljerka Schiffler, *Ideja enciklopedizma i filozofijsko mišljenje* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko filozofsko društvo, 1989), pp. 82–90; Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin, “Pavao Skalić. Filozofija između sinkretizma i paradoksa,” *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 20 (1994), pp. 117–130; Ivica Martinović, “Žanrovi hrvatske filozofske baštine od 15. do 18. stoljeća,” in *Orvorena pitanja povijesti hrvatske filozofije*, ed. by Pavo Barišić (Zagreb: Institut za filozofiju, 2000), pp. 100–103; Annarita Angelini, *Simboli e questioni. L'ortodossia culturale di Achille Bocchi e dell'Hermathena* (Bologna: Pendragon, 2003), pp. 35–37; Čvrlić, *Filozofija u enciklopedizmu Pavla Skalića* (2004); Erna Banić-Pajnić, “Skalić, Pavao,” in *Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by Marco Sgarbi (Cham: Springer, 2019): [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-02848-4\\_277-2](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-02848-4_277-2).

For further bibliography on specific aspects of Scalichius' thought see *infra*.

eschatological expectations. Fundamentally, this mission was to be achieved by integrating Raymond Lull's *ars magna* with Cabalist doctrines. This is evident in his *Encyclopaediae Epistemon*, published in Basel in 1559, actually a heterogeneous collection of fifteen works written in different periods of his life.<sup>33</sup> Of these, some are of apologetic content or deal with specific philosophical or theological problems; others, instead, are more closely connected to his encyclopedic project.<sup>34</sup> In what follows, I will discuss mostly this latter type of works, but I will also briefly address some of the former (such as the dialogue "Eulogus" on the separated soul).

### a) The "Conclusiones"

The "Conclusiones in omni genere scientiarum" make up the earliest of the treatises collected in the *Encyclopaediae Epistemon*.<sup>35</sup> They appear to have been discussed in the Church of San Petronio in Bologna on April 1st, 1553 (and not

<sup>33</sup> So far, only parts of this work have been edited or translated. The dialogue *Encyclopaediae Epistemon*, which opens the work and gives it its title, has been edited and commented by Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin: Pavao Skalić / Paulus Scalichius, *Epistemon*, Croatian trans. by Ivan Kapec and Neven Jovanović (Zagreb: Institut za filozofiju, 2004). This edition also includes four brief excerpts (in Latin and with a Croatian translation) from the *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571).

A short excerpt from the Latin text of the first version of the dialogue "Eulogus" has been published in Erna Banić-Pajnić, Mihaela Girardi Karšulin, Marko Josipović, *Magnum miraculum – homo (Veliko čudo – čovjek)* (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1995), pp. 488–522.

The Latin text and Croatian translation (by Serafin Hrkać) of the 164 *Conclusiones de anima* (a part of the "Conclusiones in omni genere scientiarum") have been published as Pavao Skalić, "Teze o duši," *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 31 (2005), pp. 340–355.

For an overview of the whole work, see Martinović, "Žanrovi hrvatske filozofske baštine" (2000), pp. 100–103; Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin, "Uvod o Pavlu Skaliću i njegovu Epistemonu," introduction in Pavao Skalić, *Epistemon* (2004), pp. 13–31, here pp. 27–31; Ivica Martinović, *Žanrovi hrvatske filozofske baštine od 15. do 18. stoljeća* (Split: Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilišta u Splitu, 2011), pp. 43–44, 61–65, 78–79, 93–96, 301–307.

<sup>34</sup> On Scalichius' encyclopedism, see, in addition to what listed in note 32, Ljerka Schiffler, "Encyclopaediae, seu Orbis disciplinarum... Pavla Skalića u kontekstu filozofijskog mišljenja renesanse," *Radovi Leksikografskog zavoda Miroslav Krleža* 10 (2001) [= *Zbornik znanstvenog skupa u povodu obilježavanja 50. obljetnice Leksikografskog zavoda* (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod, 2001)], pp. 81–100; Angelini, "Encyclopaedias and Architecture in the Sixteenth Century" (2003), *passim*; Maja Hudoletnjak Grgić, "Sinkretizam i enciklopedizam u Skalićevu Epistemonu: slučaj medicine," *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 33 (2007), pp. 7–33; Ivana Skuhala Karasman, "Enciklopedizam i predviđanje u Epistemonu Pavla Skalića," *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 38 (2012), pp. 65–78.

<sup>35</sup> Scalichius, "Conclusiones in omni genere scientiarum," in *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (1559), pp. 548–629. This appears to be the first edition of the work; I found no evidence of a 1553 *editio princeps* printed in Bologna whose existence was claimed by Kukuljević-Sakcinski, Pavao Skalić (1875), p. 55 and by others who followed his lead.



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PAVLI SCALIGERI

## SVBSEQUENTES NVMERO MILLE

QVINGENTAS, QVINQVAGINTATRES, DIVINAS, ANGE-  
 LICAS, COELESTES, ELEMENTALES, HVMANAS, CHRIS-  
 TIANAS, Philosophicas, Metaphysicas, Physicas, Morales, Ratio-  
 nales, Doctrinales, Secretas, & Infernales, Conclusiones, olim  
 disputandas publicè proposuit, Paulus princeps de la Scala &  
 Hun, Marchio Veronæ, &c. Dominus Creutzburgi Prufsie,  
 iuxta laudatissimum scholasticorum morem Ca-  
 lend. April. in ædibus S. Petronij Bono-  
 niæ, Anno scilicet Christi

1553.

CONCLVSIONES DE MVNDO AR-  
 chetypo, numero 260.

- 1 Deus est animus, per immensas mundi partes, omnemq; natu-  
 ram commeans atque diffusus, causa omnium liberrima.
- 2 Divina essentia est æternus ac purissimus actus, se cognoscens  
 & agendo & existendo, infinite atque naturaliter: per similitudi-  
 nem namque angeli, & per speculum hominis cognitio est.
- 3 Tres sunt personæ, sibi inuicem coæternæ & coæquales: vna  
 tamen essentia, & substantia, naturaque simplex omnino: sicut  
 enim personæ ipsæ inseparabiles sunt, ita inseparabiliter operan-  
 tur.
- 4 Vna igitur est causa omnium, quam nosse consummata iusti-  
 tia est, & summa: scire virtutem, radix immortalitatis.
- 5 Natura eius magis est vna, quam sit humana, aut angelica, auctus  
 infinita, existens, viuens, sentiens & intelligens, identificè omnia  
 in se complectens.
- 6 Esse, in quantum esse, est hæc ipsa natura, radix & principium  
 omnium esse.
- 7 Ipsum esse est ratio prima, qua cognoscimus Deum, & reliqua  
 de Deo: & quale est ipsum esse, talis est ipsa quoque essentia, cui  
 omnia per esse conueniunt.

Hoc

Fig. 2. Opening page of the second edition of the "Conclusiones." From Paulus Scalichius, *Miscellaneorum tomus secundus, sive Catholici Epistemonis* (Coloniae: Theodorus Graminaeus, 1571), p. 682.

in 1552, as often argued). This information is explicitly provided by Scalichius in the second edition of the work (fig. 2).<sup>36</sup> It is certainly not a coincidence that the number of theses (1553) matches the year in which they were defended, as if announcing the coming of a new era – which is in line with the eschatological agenda behind Scalichius' (and Pico's) encyclopedic project. In fact, it is Scalichius himself who, as early as 1561, in an autobiographical passage, made perfectly clear that the matching was intended.<sup>37</sup> Once in Rome, his ambition was to add other 10,477 theses to the previous ones, thereby reaching the total number of 12,000, and to discuss them publicly. This discussion, however, as he himself pointed out, never took place due to the opposition of the Jesuits.<sup>38</sup>

The “Conclusiones” are drawn in large part from Pico, but, unlike in Pico, are organized on the basis of disciplines and subjects, not authors. The theses (presented as “conclusions,” but not demonstrated as such) are divided into seventeen sections, and address both the hierarchical structure of the cosmos (from the “archetypal world” down to Hell) and a select number of subjects and disciplines (such as physics, metaphysics, “secret philosophy”, dreams, “doctrinal philosophy” – which includes mathematics, music and medicine – and so on).<sup>39</sup> Even a cursory look reveals that much work remains to be done as concerns the identification of his (unacknowledged) sources as well as the understanding of the reasons behind their *modification* and *recombination*. In

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On this work, see Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin, “Pavao Skalić. Teze o svjetovima i o znanosti-ma,” *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 21 (1995), pp. 67–82; Martinović, “Žanrovi hrvatske filozofske baštine” (2000), pp. 100–101; Angelini, *Simboli e questioni* (2003) pp. 35–36.

<sup>36</sup> Scalichius, “Conclusiones,” in *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571), p. 682:

“Subsequentes numero mille quingentas, quinquaginta tres <...> conclusiones, disputandas publice proposuit, Paulus princeps de la Scala et Hun <...> iuxta laudatissimum scholasticorum morem, Calend. April. in aedibus S. Petronii Bononiae, Anno scilicet Christi 1553.”

Cf. “Conclusiones,” in *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (1559), pp. 549–550, where the year is not provided.

<sup>37</sup> Paulus Scalichius, *Genealogia seu de antiquissima Scalichiorum <...> principum origine <...> Sermo* (1561), f. 26r: “Mille quingentas, quinquaginta tres propositiones ad numerum annorum a Christo nato, propono.”

This clarifies the widespread misunderstanding according to which Scalichius had defended his 1553 theses as part of his doctoral exam in 1552. Cf. for example Čvrlić, *Filozofija u enciklopedizmu Pavla Skalića*, 2004, pp. 34–35. In fact, if the information Scalichius provides is correct, this discussion took place approximately four months *after* such exam (on Scalichius' whereabouts in this period see *supra*, note 3). For more details, see the *Appendix*.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 3.

<sup>39</sup> On Scalichius' theses on natural philosophy see Martinović, “Žanrovi hrvatske filozofske baštine” (2000), p. 101; Martinović, *Žanrovi hrvatske filozofske baštine* (2011), p. 62.

fact, the author also relies extensively on Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* (especially the third book, according to the revised text of the 1533 edition) – a fact that goes often unnoticed.<sup>40</sup> The “Conclusiones,” conceived when Scalichius was still a catholic, already reflect his syncretistic attitude. Faithful to Pico's concordism, he merges traditions as different as Neoplatonism, Aristotelianism, Pythagorism, scholastic theology and occultism.

*b) The “Theses of mystical philosophy”*

Other works are explicitly devoted to the exploration of the most recondite of secrets or “mysteries”. Such is the case with *Occulta occultorum occulta, seu Mysticae philosophiae Theses*,<sup>41</sup> first published separately in Vienna in 1556.<sup>42</sup> The general atmosphere, predictably, is that of occult literature: the content and the language adopted to convey it – as explained in the dedication to the Emperor Ferdinand I – are directed only to a *select, initiated few*, because pearls should

<sup>40</sup> A few examples: theses 35 to 47 of *Conclusiones de mundo minore* in Scalichius, “Conclusiones” (1559), p. 590 – dedicated to man as “microcosm” – are taken from *De occulta philosophia*, 3, chapter 36; theses 48 to 67, are taken from chapter 38; theses 68–78, from chapter 39.

Cf. Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia* (Coloniae: Johannes Soter, 1533), pp. 284–293; ed. Vittoria Perrone Compagni (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 506 ff.

This was not noticed by Girardi-Karšulin, “Pavao Skalić. Teze o svjetovima i o znanostima,” *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 21 (1995), pp. 67–82, and Erna Banić-Pajnić, “Nauk o korespondenciji mikrokozmosa i makrokozmosa u hrvatskih filozofa,” *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 44 (2018), pp. 317–324.

Scalichius' definition of the human soul (*Conclusiones*, 1559, p. 601) as “lux quaedam divina ad imaginem verbi, causae causarum, primi exemplaris creata, substantia Dei sigilloque figurata, cuius character est verbum aeternum” is a literal quote from Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* 3, chapter 37 (ed. 1533, p. 289; ed. Perrone Compagni, p. 514), who was in turn drawing from Ludovico Lazzarelli's influential *Crater Hermetis*.

See the edition published by Lefèvre d'Étaples together with Ficino's translation of the *Pimander* and *Asclepius*: *Contenta in hoc volumine: Pimander, Mercurii Trismegisti Liber de sapientia et potestate Dei ... Item Crater Hermetis a Lazarelo Septempedano* (Parisiis: Henricus Stephanus, 1505), f. 72r.

<sup>41</sup> Paulus Scalichius, “Occulta occultorum occulta, seu Mysticae philosophiae Theses,” in *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (1559), pp. 104–145.

On this work, see Ian Maclean, “The Interpretation of Natural Signs. Cardano's *De subtilitate* versus [Julius Caesar] Scaliger's *Exercitationes*,” in Brian Vickers (ed.), *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 235–236; Martinović, “Žanrovi hrvatske filozofske baštine” (2000), pp. 101–102; Martinović, *Žanrovi hrvatske filozofske baštine* (2011), pp. 62–63.

<sup>42</sup> Paulus Skalic de Lika, *Occulta occultorum occulta* (Wien: Michael Zimmermannus, 1556).

not be thrown at swine.<sup>43</sup> To be sure, certain doctrines, enshrouded by tradition under enigmas or fables, have been rendered more clearly; however, the greatest and most precious secrets have been carefully guarded, lest they end up in the hands of the unwise, the fools, or the unlettered, such as “women”, “butchers” or “farm workers”. These secrets are part of an ancestral tradition of knowledge which – following Pico’s integrated chain of *prisci theologi* – originated with the Jews and was passed on to the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Arabs and the Christian theologians.<sup>44</sup> A brief introduction in which Scalichius instructs the reader on how to deal with occult matters is followed by eight sections devoted to the mysteries of all the different but concordant traditions (from the Jews to scholastic theologians), each divided into a series of theses or “canons”. Significantly, Scalichius introduces each canon with the formulation “whoever understands already <...> will be able to understand,”<sup>45</sup> which typically alludes to doctrines that he does not want to disclose to the uninitiated.

This secret knowledge, however, is not simply intellectual in nature, but also operative. In other words, it allows its possessor to travel up and down the “scale of nature,” namely to ascend to God and the highest powers as well as to “capture” those powers from above and use them in this world. This, however, cannot be done simply through natural magic, as Ficino thought, but only by relying on the divine power of Hebrew words and numbers – that is, on Cabalist magic. In fact, this is the same kind of magic previously articulated by Pico and brought to its extreme consequences by Reuchlin and Agrippa. In the eighth canon of the section on “Persian mysteries,” for example, Scalichius writes:

“Whoever understands how the existence and operation of all things depends from the highest God, creator of all, will also understand from where any word derives its power and effectiveness in the domain of magic; he will know how it is in the voice of God that the nature of magic is exercised in the first place, and how any power in magic is formed by the voice of God. And whoever understands all this, will also understand that in magic non-significative words have more power than significative ones, and why only Hebrew names, or those closely derived from them, have power in magical operations.”<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Scalichius, “Occulta occulorum occulta” (1559), p. 105.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104–105. On Scalichius’ notion of *prisca sapientia* see Erna Banić-Pajnić, “Pavao Skalić i tradicija ‘aeternae sapientiae’,” *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 9 (1983), pp. 111–122.

<sup>45</sup> Cf., for example, Scalichius, “Occulta occulorum occulta” (1559), p. 113: “Qui intelligit <...> intelliget”, or “qui scit <...> sciet”.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 123–124:

“Qui scit, quomodo omnium rerum esse atque operari a summo Deo omnium creatore dependet, sciet unde quaelibet vox virtutem habeat in magia, et efficaciam; quomodo illud, in

This is a recombination of Pico's magical theses number 19 to 22.<sup>47</sup> Reuchlin had already approvingly recalled three of them in his *De verbo mirifico*.<sup>48</sup> Scalichius was placing himself within this tradition. He repeated Pico's most controversial statements, including the one according to which Cabalist magic is the science that can certify Christ's divinity more than any other.<sup>49</sup> He also drew extensively from Reuchlin's *De arte cabalistica*, often without acknowledging it.<sup>50</sup>

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quo primo magica exercetur natura, vox sit Dei, et quomodo quaelibet virtus in magia, voce Dei formatur. Et qui dicta intellegit, intellegit quare non significativae voces plus possint in magia, quam significativae, et cur sola Hebraea nomina, vel inde proxime derivata, in magico opere virtutem habeant."

The phrase "omnium rerum esse atque operari a summo Deo omnium creatore dependet" is taken from Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, 3, chapter 7 (ed. 1533, p. 219; ed. Perrone Compagni, p. 415).

Scalichius' eighth canon is quoted (polemically) by the Lutheran theologian Jacob Heilbronner (1548–1618) in his *Daemonomania Pistoriana: magica et cabalistica morborum curandorum ratio* (Lauingen: Typis Palatinis, 1601), p. 83, where excerpts from Johann Pistorius' (1546–1608) *De artis cabalisticae hoc est reconditae theologiae et philosophiae scriptum tomus I* (Basileae: Sebastianus Heinricpetri, 1597) are discussed and attacked.

Cf. also pp. 75, 114, 116 in *Daemonomania Pistoriana* for other quotes from Scalichius.

<sup>47</sup> Pico, "Conclusiones DCCCC," in *Opera omnia* (Basileae: Henricus Petrus, 1557), p. 105.

<sup>48</sup> Johannes Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico* (1494) in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers et al. (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1996), vol. 1, t. 1, p. 186.

Cf. Charles Zika, "Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* and the Magic Debate of the Late Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976), pp. 105–138, here 124–125.

<sup>49</sup> Scalichius, "Occulta occultorum occulta" (1559), p. 122: "Nulla est scientia quae nos magis certificet de divinitate Christi, quam Magia et Cabala."

<sup>50</sup> On magic, see also Scalichius, "De magia naturali, in lapide philosophorum et reliquiis scientiis," in *Satyrae philosophicae sive miscellaneorum tomus primus* (Königsberg: Jan Daubmann, 1563).

The text has been edited and translated into Croatian (on the basis of the copy held at the National Library in Zagreb, R II F-16<sup>o</sup>-40a), by Ivan Kapec: Paulus Scalichius, "De magia naturali, in lapide philosophorum et reliquiis scientiis," *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 32 (2006), pp. 239–254. On its literary style cf. Ivan Kapec, "O sadržaju i jezično-stilskim osobitostima u Skalićevoj raspravi 'De magia naturali,'" *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 26 (2000), pp. 165–186.

In this work, a traditional distinction between superstitious demonic magic and natural magic is proposed – however, the text is still waiting for a proper examination. Important quotes are not recognized in Kapec's edition: at p. 241, Scalichius draws not only from Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*, but also from chapter 90 (on alchemy) of his *De vanitate scientiarum*, while the *doctissimus vir* whose verses are reproduced (pp. 242–243) is Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus, author of the popular *Zodiacus vitae*, first published in Venice in the middle of the 1530s and then by Robert Winter in Basel in 1537 and again in 1543 (ed. by Johann Herold). I have used a later edition: *Zodiacus vite hoc est, de hominis vita, studio ac moribus optime instituendis libri XII* (Basileae: Nicolaus Brylinger, 1552), pp. 152, 258.

The fortune of Scalichius' "theses" in the context of the literature on magic is poorly known and should be further investigated: his theses have been reproduced (except the first two chapters, but with integrations of the 1571 edition) in at least two seventeenth-century collections of treatises on magic published in Frankfurt: the *Trinum magicum* (1614; repr. 1616), edited by a certain Caesar Longinus, and the *Antrum magico-medicum* (1625–1626), published under the name of the Aristotelian commentator Marcantonio Zimara (1470–1532?).<sup>51</sup>

### c) The "Encyclopaediae Epistemon"

The dialogue "Encyclopaediae <...> Epistemon" functions as a kind of prologue to the volume and also gives it its title.<sup>52</sup> The protagonists are Philomusus ("Lover of the Muses") and Epistemon ("He who knows", *scil.* the encyclopedia of all sciences), an all-wise philosopher initiated to the most sacred mysteries who is clearly Scalichius' *alter ego*.<sup>53</sup> Epistemon guides his interlocutor through an intellectual journey that covers all the profane and sacred sciences, whose subdivisions are inspired by Angelo Poliziano's classification in the *Panepistemon* (from which Scalichius draws whole passages expressly mentioning its

<sup>51</sup> Caesar Longinus, *Trinum magicum, sive secretorum magicorum opus* (Francofurti: Wolfgang Richter, 1614), pp. 521–629 (Scalichius' authorship not acknowledged); Marcus Antonius Zimara, *Antrum magico-medicum, in quo arcanorum magico-physicorum etc.* (Francofurti: Fridericus Weisius, 1625–1626), pp. 675–742 (Scalichius' authorship acknowledged at p. 674).

Zimara's name is associated with the *Trinum magicum* as well: a previous edition of it, edited by the same Longinus (Frankfurt, 1609) and very different in content (Scalichius' theses did not appear here), contained actual passages from Zimara, which, however, did not reappear in the 1614 edition.

Thorndike discussed all these works in his *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 6, pp. 599–602, but was not aware of the transcriptions of Scalichius' text; Secret (*I Cabbalisti cristiani*, 2001, p. 262) was, but only as regards the *Antrum*, not the *Trinum*.

<sup>52</sup> Paulus Scalichius, "Encyclopaediae, seu orbis disciplinarum, tam sacrarum quam profanarum, Epistemon," in *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (1559), pp. 3–103. For studies on this work, see notes 32, 33, 34.

<sup>53</sup> In the name "Philomusus," Girardi-Karšulin ("Uvod", in Pavao Skalić, *Epistemon*, 2004, pp. 18–19) has seen a possible allusion to the poet Jacobus Locher Philomusus, author of a poem praising Reisch's *Margarita philosophica*, which Reisch published at the end of his work (Basileae: Michael Furterius, 1517), f. 292v. In this sense, Philomusus would represent the traditional academic knowledge as opposed to Epistemon's new universal wisdom. The name "Epistemon" is surely an echo of Angelo Poliziano's *Panepistemon*.

However, it is also the name of Pantagruel's tutor in Rabelais' *Gargantua et Pantagruel* (1532), who represents the new humanistic and encyclopedic culture as opposed to the old scholastic one.

author).<sup>54</sup> All disciplines and their ramifications are grouped into five branches of philosophy: *supernaturalis* (metaphysics), *naturalis* (medicine, psychology, the four mathematical sciences – arithmetic, music, geometry, “sphaerics” – and their ramifications), *moralis* (economics, politics), *rationalis* (grammar, history, dialectics, rhetoric, poetics) and *symbolica* (the supreme science or *divinum culmen scientiae*). In the course of his exposition, Epistemon repeatedly attempts to reconcile different doctrines and traditions, especially as concerns the contrast between Plato and Aristotle, which he – as Pico before him – regards as a false problem. In general, the progressive acquisition of knowledge in its various disciplinary partitions is described as a *scala sapientiae*,<sup>55</sup> a gradual ascension from the visible to the invisible, so that the contemplation of divine mysteries – a gift from God – can be acquired. These are the same mysteries and secrets revealed to the first theologians (*prisci theologi*) and enshrouded by them in their esoteric doctrines.

This work, however, is intended to be much more than an exercise in syncretism or a “panoramic view” of the sciences of the time spiced up with some mysticism, as it is sometimes presented. As Scalichius saw it, the *encyclopaedia* or *orbis disciplinarum* was a total, unitary and self-sufficient system of knowledge that reflected the hierarchical structure of the cosmos: those who understood its inner connections and articulations could therefore travel up the scale of being back to the divine source of all. The “divine culmination” of science was the acquisition of a *symbolic knowledge* or philosophy that could not be achieved by human effort, but only bestowed by God.<sup>56</sup> This supreme philosophy is in fact Christian Cabala, particularly the soteriological version elaborated by Reuchlin in his *De verbo mirifico* (1494) and *De arte cabalistica* (1517), from the latter of which Scalichius draws – often recombining them – entire passages.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Martinović, “Žanrovi hrvatske filozofske baštine” (2000), p. 102, note 117; p. 103, note 120; Girardi-Karšulin in Pavao Skalić, *Epistemon* (2004), pp. 326–327, 336.

On Angelo Poliziano’s *Panepistemon*, published in Florence in 1495 and reprinted multiple times across Europe until the middle of the 17th century, see Jean-Marc Mandosio, “Filosofia, arti e scienze: l’enciclopedismo di Angelo Poliziano,” in *Poliziano nel suo tempo*, ed. by Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Firenze: Franco Cesati, 1996), pp. 135–164; Daniela Marrone, “Dai lavori preparatori per l’edizione del *Panepistemon* di Poliziano: la nuova organizzazione delle scienze, delle arti e dei mestieri,” *Studi umanistici Piceni* 30 (2010), pp. 245–257.

<sup>55</sup> Scalichius, “Encyclopaediae Epistemon” (1559), p. 9.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85. Cf. Rossi, *Clavis universalis* (2000), p. 124; Angelini, *Simboli e questioni* (2003), pp. 35–37.

<sup>57</sup> For some references, see Girardi-Karšulin’s commentary in Pavao Skalić, *Epistemon* (2004), pp. 323–325, 355–356. Some of these borrowings, however, are not recognized by Girardi-Karšulin; most importantly, when Scalichius discusses the silent language of the angels and the “signacula memorativa”, he is quoting and recombining, with minor changes, Reuchlin’s

Scalichius' intricate Cabalist mysticism of letters and numbers and its relationship with cosmology, angelology and mystical ascent cannot be explored here: suffice it to say that it seems to depend mostly on Reuchlin's Christian interpretation of classic Jewish Cabalist texts. There is, however, a difference. While Reuchlin's Cabalism had to do mainly with mysticism and religious magic, Scalichius' Cabalism was incorporated – following the early Agrippa – into an *encyclopedic* project influenced by the tradition of Lullism. Its aim was to restore a symbolic science based on a universal language whose components and organization reflected the structure of reality and the order of things. This was the same language with which God – who spoke in Hebrew – created the world. It was also the same language with which He communicated with angels and with those who had been divinized. A language that, presumably, was the expression of that “absolute science” possessed by Adam before the Fall, when he enjoyed the presence and the voice of God.<sup>58</sup> In this symbolic knowledge – Scalichius significantly added in the second edition of the work – “letters and names are not only *signs* of things, but also *the things themselves*”.<sup>59</sup>

To master this language, therefore, meant not only to be able to mystically communicate with God and the highest beings, but also to understand and

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text (*De arte cabalistica libri tres*, Hagenau: Thomas Anshelmus, 1517, ff. 55v, 56v–57r). Here is an excerpt from Scalichius, “Encyclopaediae Epistemon” (1559), p. 95:

“In spiritu enim et veritate, quales habent linguas nostrae mentes, tales habent linguas [Reuchlin: *habeant aures*] angeli. Et sicut spiritus divini linguis angelorum loquuntur: ita spiritus humani auribus mentium auscultant. Quo fit, ut non ea necessitate sibi nomina imponant, quod velint palam nominari et clamari: sed signacula memorativa tradunt, quod cupiant a nobis recordari. Quare non omnis vox divina in voce latet [Reuchlin: *ne omnem putetis vim divinam in voce latere*]. Symbola igitur haec frequentes [Reuchlin: *frequentem*] angelorum memoriam poscunt, quorum sedula remisscentia nos in amorem Dei mutuo traducit, et vicissim amor in rememorationem” [*linguas* instead of *aures* appears to be an error in copying, since the following statement has not been modified].

On the *signacula memorativa* cf. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964), p. 102. More generally, on the language of the angels, see Bernd Roling, *Locutio angelica. Die Diskussion der Engelsprache als Antizipation einer Sprechaktheorie in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 301–303.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Scalichius, “De iustitia aeterna,” in *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (1559), p. 220.

Cf. Johannes Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico* (1494) in *Sämtliche Werke* (1996), vol. 1, t. 1, p. 162:

“simplex autem sermo purus, incorruptus, sanctus, brevis et constans Hebraeorum est, quo Deus cum homine, et homines cum angelis locuti perhibentur coram et non per interpretem, facie ad faciem, <...> sicut solet amicus loqui cum amico.”

Cf. Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia* 3, chapter 11 (ed. 1533, pp. 227 ff.); Pico, *Apologia adversus eos qui aliquot propositiones theologicas carpebant*, in *Opera omnia*, pp. 175–176.

<sup>59</sup> Scalichius, “Catholicus Epistemon,” in *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571), p. 71:

“in qua non modo literae ac nomina sunt rerum signa, verum etiam res ipsae.”



penetrate the inner structure of the cosmos. Did it also mean the possibility to manipulate and transform it in a magical and miraculous way? Scalichius – if I understand him correctly – is not as explicit on this delicate matter as Agrippa had been. However, following Reuchlin, he thinks that it is by having been granted access to this supreme form of knowledge and by way of this angelic mediation that Moses was able to part the sea with his hand.<sup>60</sup> Agrippa – as Vittoria Perrone Compagni has eloquently put it – “believes that man, the magician, is something more than the diligent minister and peaceable overlord of nature. Rather, he pursues a utopia, namely that of producing a renewed world in which the transformation of matter and the deification of man follow the same path.”<sup>61</sup> Did Scalichius pursue a similar utopia?

#### d) *The “Revolutio alphabetaria”*

Scalichius’ merger of Cabala and Lullism clearly stands out in another treatise: “Revolutio alphabetaria.”<sup>62</sup> In the preface,<sup>63</sup> he transcribes an entire passage from Agrippa’s dedicatory letter introducing his commentary on Lull’s *Ars brevis*: a review of the diffusion of Lullism in Europe is sketched through its main protagonists, and the “art” is presented as the key to understanding and mastering all the sciences, a skill that can be acquired just “in a few months”. Once acquired, this art allows its possessor to discuss every subject with absolute certainty.<sup>64</sup> In what immediately follows, Scalichius not only adds further names to Agrippa’s list of Lullists, but, more importantly, presents both Pico and Reuchlin as *experts* in the same art:<sup>65</sup> he quotes Pico’s equation of Lull’s

<sup>60</sup> Scalichius, “Encyclopaediae Epistemon” (1559), p. 95. Cf. Johannes Reuchlin, *De arte cabalistica libri tres* (1517), f. 55v.

<sup>61</sup> Vittoria Perrone Compagni, “‘Dispersa Intentio’. Alchemy, Magic and Scepticism in Agrippa,” *Early Science and Medicine* 5/2 (2000), pp. 160–177, here p. 177.

<sup>62</sup> Paulus Scalichius, “Revolutio alphabetaria, seu perfectissima ad omnes scientias Methodus,” in *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (1559), pp. 418–532.

On the first version of the work see Mihaela Girardi Karšulin, “Temeljni pojmovi Skaličeve rasprave *Revolutio alphabetaria*,” *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 22 (1996), pp. 195–210.

<sup>63</sup> Scalichius, “Revolutio alphabetaria” (1559), pp. 418–421.

<sup>64</sup> Cornelius Agrippa, “Commentaria in Artem brevem Raimundi Lulli,” in *Opera* (Lugduni: per Beringos fratres, s. d.), ripr. anast. Hildesheim: Olms, 1970, vol. 2, pp. 319–451 (the work was composed probably before 1510). Cf. Rossi, *Clavis universalis* (2000), pp. 64–67.

<sup>65</sup> Agrippa had mentioned Pedro Dagui (Petrus Daguinus), Jaime Janer (Iacobus Ianuarius), Fernando de Cordova (Fernandus Cordubensis), Raymonde de Sebonde (Raimundus de Sabunde) Lefèvre d’Etaples (Johannes Faber Stapulensis), Charles de Bovelles (Carolus Bovillus), and the brothers Andre, Pedro and Jaime Canterio (Andreas, Petrus, Iacobus Canterius).

*ars combinandi* and Cabalist *revolutio alphabetaria* in the *Apologia*,<sup>66</sup> and transforms Reuchlin into a Lullist by presenting his works (especially *De verbo mirifico*) as evidence of his mastery of the art.

In this complex work, Scalichius' aim is to identify the principles at the basis of *all* the sciences (which coincide with the very foundations of reality), including the most fundamental terms and notions at the basis of the "universal encyclopedia" as articulated in the *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (1559).<sup>67</sup> From their interactions and re-combinations it is possible to derive all existing sciences and therefore all knowledge and truth. This is attempted by associating these notions and principles (mostly Neoplatonic and Peripatetic concepts) with the letters of Hebrew alphabet and with Cabalist concepts, whose interactions take place through a mix of Lullist and Cabalist combinatory.

It should be noted that in the *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571) this treatise was completely transformed.<sup>68</sup> First of all, it was turned into a dialogue between Epistemon and Philomusus. More importantly, much more stress was put on the Jewish origins of the art, which was subsequently transmitted to the Greeks and then to the Latin authors, thereby losing its original perfection.<sup>69</sup> Now Scalichius sees Lull's art as a *corrupted* version of the original one, and believes all his followers had imitated this flawed version. Not even Agrippa had managed to bring it back to its origins. These flaws derive from the reliance on the Greek and Latin alphabet instead of the Hebrew one, and on the fact that Lull's combinatory system did not reflect adequately the structure of reality (it did not take into account the eschatological future). What he has done in the previous edition of this work – Scalichius writes – is little more than what Lull

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Scalichius adds Agrippa himself, Pico, Reuchlin, Salvatore Gavelli (Salvator Gavellus Spoletanus), Pietro Mainardi (Petrus Maynardus), and Bernardo de Lavinetha.

On Gavelli, a poorly known Lullist with hermetic interests, see Rafael Ramis-Barceló, "Lullismo y derecho en Italia durante el Renacimiento," in *Il lullismo in Italia: itinerario storico-critico*, ed. by Marta M.M. Romano (Palermo-Roma: Officina di Studi Medioevali/Antonianum, 2015), pp. 397–414, here p. 411. On Lavinetha: Rossi, *Clavis universalis* (2000), pp. 96–100.

<sup>66</sup> Pico, "Apologia," in *Opera omnia* (1557), p. 181.

<sup>67</sup> Scalichius, "Revolutio alphabetaria" (1559), pp. 445–448.

<sup>68</sup> Scalichius, "De revolutione alphabetaria, seu perfectissima, ad omne genus scientiarum Methodo," in *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571), pp. 543–665.

For an analysis of this version of the text, see Secret, "La tradition du 'De omni scibili' à la Renaissance" (1955); Paola Zambelli, "Il *De auditu kabbalistico* e la tradizione lulliana nel Rinascimento" (1965), repr. in *L'apprendista stregone. Astrologia, cabala e arte lulliana in Pico della Mirandola e seguaci* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1995), pp. 155–162; Manuel Mertens, "A Perspective on Bruno's *De compendiosa architectura et complemento Artis Lullii*," *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 15/2 (2009), pp. 513–525.

<sup>69</sup> Scalichius, "De revolutione alphabetaria" (1571), p. 545.

and Agrippa have accomplished.<sup>70</sup> The only two authors who did not follow Lull are Pico and Reuchlin, and it is on their example, therefore, that Lull's art must be reformed: this reform will be made possible by the reliance on the Hebrew alphabet and the meanings attributed to them by the Cabalists.<sup>71</sup>

e) *The "Eulogus"*

Mention should be made also of the dialogue "Eulogus,"<sup>72</sup> where the discussion revolves around the separated soul (*anima separata*) and its "passivity" (*utrum anima separata sit passioni subiecta*). The condition of the soul in the intermediate (and bodiless) state between death and resurrection had been a much debated theological question at least since Augustine, because it concerned the capacity of the soul to experience pain or joy in the absence of a corruptible or incorruptible body (as for pain, the problem was how a corporeal fire could torment an incorporeal soul).<sup>73</sup> Scalichius frames and answers the question mostly in traditional scholastic terms;<sup>74</sup> however, he does so in the context of a *dialogue*, which represents a very different way of conveying knowledge with respect to the medieval tradition and is part of the Renaissance revival of the dialogic form.

The topic is discussed with the help of a vast number of ancient and medieval sources. However – here as in other works – not a great deal of attention has been paid to the identification of such sources, especially as concerns the versions or editions of the texts possibly used by Scalichius. His reliance on the very popular medieval treatise *Compendium theologicæ veritatis* (ca. 1268), for example, seems to have gone completely unnoticed.<sup>75</sup> In some of the key

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 557: "parum plus effecimus, quam vel Lullius ipse, vel Agrippa".

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 557–558.

<sup>72</sup> Scalichius, "Eulogus," in *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (1559), pp. 146–218. In the second, expanded version of this dialogue Scalichius added his criticisms to Johannes Wier. See Scalichius, "De anima separata eiusque passione, de rerum sympathia et antipathia, de barbarismo, et de Ioannis Vuieri praestigijs," in *Catholicus Epistemon* (1571), pp. 139–226, here pp. 218–226.

<sup>73</sup> See for example Donald Mowbray, *Pain and Suffering in Medieval Theology. Academic Debates at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 104–130.

<sup>74</sup> Scalichius, "Eulogus" (1559), p. 155: "Quaestio, utrum anima separata, sit passioni subiecta"; p. 157: "Quemadmodum haec sensibilia patiuntur sensibiliter, sic insensibilia insensibiliter etc."

<sup>75</sup> The author of this work is now thought to be Hugh of Ripelin, a disciple of Albert the Great, but the attribution to Bonaventure or Albert the Great was common. Modern editions can be read in Bonaventura, *Opera omnia*, ed. by A. C. Peltier (Parisii: Ludovicus Vivès, 1866), vol. 8, pp. 60–246 (for what follows see pp. 103–104) and in Albertus Magnus, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Auguste Borgnet (Parisii: Ludovicus Vivès, 1896), vol. 35, pp. 1–261, on pp. 60–62.

parts of the treatise, he quotes directly from this text (calling it a *libellum theologicum*), for example when the protagonists of the dialogue are discussing the nature of the soul and its relation to the “spirit”.<sup>76</sup>

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Numerous editions were printed in the 16th century, either under the name of Albert the Great or anonymous. Cf. for example *Breve totius theologiae veritatis compendium: in septem libros commode digestum etc.* (Parisiis: Carola Guillard, 1543), ff. 46v–47r. Scalichius was probably relying on an anonymous edition since he does not mention its author.

I will quote from the version edited by the Franciscan Jean de Combes (Ioannes de Combis), which was reprinted several times in the second half of the 16th century: *Compendium totius theologiae veritatis: septem libris digestum, accurateque cum veteribus ac approbatis exemplaribus collatum* (Lutetiae: Porta, 1556). This is the version most similar to Scalichius’ text that I could find.

On the 1559 version of “Eulogus,” see Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin, “Pavao Skalić. *Eulogus* ili o odvojenoj duši,” *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 18 (1992), pp. 27–39, in which, however, the *Compendium* is not mentioned and there is virtually no discussion of Scalichius’ sources; nor is this source identified in Čvrlić, *Filozofija u enciklopedizmu Pavla Skalića* (2004), pp. 277–293, or in the excerpt of the dialogue published in *Magnum miraculum – homo* (1995), pp. 488–522 (cf. *supra*, note 33).

<sup>76</sup> See Scalichius’ definition of the soul in “Eulogus” (1559), pp. 163–164 (“Dicitur enim anima, quia corpus animat et vivificat: mens, quia recolit; animus, dum vult; ratio, dum iudicat recte; spiritus, dum spirat etc.”) and cf. *Compendium theologiae veritatis*, book 2, chapter 31 (“Quid sit anima secundum nomen”): “Anima dicitur, inquantum corpus animat et vivificat. Mens, inquantum recolit. Animus, dum vult. Etc.” (*Compendium totius theologiae veritatis*, 1556, p. 167).

See also “Eulogus” (1559), p. 165 (“Cum dicitur anima esse deiforme spiraculum vitae, tunc descriptio sumitur a Gen. 2 et datur secundum quod anima comparatur ad Deum, prout non ex traduce, vel seminali ratione propagatur, sed a Deo corpori creando infunditur, et infundendo creatur.”) and cf. *Compendium*, book 2, chapter 29 (“Quid sit anima secundum diffinitionem”): “Anima est deiforme spiraculum vitae. Haec descriptio sumitur a Gene. 2. et datur secundum quod anima comparatur ad Deum, prout non etc. (...) Item Seneca sic diffinit animam.” (*Compendium totius theologiae veritatis*, 1556, pp. 164–165).

A couple of pages later, quoting again from chapter 29 of the *Compendium*, Scalichius transcribes a quite Neoplatonic definition of the soul there attributed to a certain Alexander, author of an influent medical work entitled *De motu cordis* (its author was in fact the English philosopher and translator Alfredus Anglicus, who dedicated it to Alexander Nequam, 1157–1217, scholar and abbot of Cirencester, which explains why Alexander was often thought to be its author – although the attribution to Augustine was also common). Here is Scalichius’ text (“Eulogus”, 1559, p. 167):

“Alexandri in libro de motu cordis...definitionem: anima est substantia incorporea, intellectualis, illuminationis capax, ultima revelatione perceptiva, quia mediantibus angelis percipit et inter omnes creaturas immediate post angelos, illuminationis divinae est perceptiva unde quoque passio animae intelligenti satis perspecta esse potest et animam spiritum, quod et Seneca tuetur, nominari.”

Cf. *Compendium totius theologiae veritatis* (1556), p. 163:

“Inquantum igitur anima naturam habet spiritus, diffinitur ab Alexandro sic in libro de motu cordis. Anima est substantia incorporea, intellectualis, illuminationis capax, ultima revelatione



In this particular case, however, he also refers to an author from a completely different background, and he does so apparently in order to clarify in what sense the word “spirit” should be taken. This *gravissimus auctor* – as he calls him – is Philo of Alexandria, who had already been familiar to two of Scalichius’ favorite authors: Pico and, especially, Agostino Steuco, who in his *De perenni philosophia* (1540) had mentioned him repeatedly.<sup>77</sup>

Scalichius appears to rely on the Latin edition by the Bohemian humanist Sigismundus Gelenius (1497?–1554), whose translation was one of the main sources behind the revival of Philo in the Renaissance. This translation was printed for the first time in Basel in 1554 and later reprinted multiple times.<sup>78</sup> From one of such editions, Scalichius quotes explicitly (and in this order) from Philo’s *De eo quod deterius potiori insidiatur*, *Legis allegoriarum libri III*, and *De congressu quaerendae eruditionis gratia*.<sup>79</sup> What interests him is Philo’s identification of *spiritus* as the rational “essence of the soul,” understood not as wind, air or breath (*aer motus*), but as the incorporeal *effigies* and *imago* of God.<sup>80</sup>

In what follows, the dialogue provides a typically scholastic treatment of the relationship between the soul and the intellect, with the aim of proving that in the domain of intellectual substances there is a different, unique way of being affected (*alius quidam modus est patiendi in intellectualibus substantiis*),<sup>81</sup> either for good or bad (*sive ad bonum, sive ad malum*).<sup>82</sup> In this context, Scalichius

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perceptiva. Ultima dicitur, quia mediantibus angelis percipit. Et hac diffinitione cognoscimus quod spiritum humanum (qui est anima) inter omnes creaturas immediate post angelos illuminationis divinae sit perceptivus”.

For a critical edition of Anglicus’ text see Alfred von Sareshel (Alfredus Anglicus), “De motu cordis,” ed by. Clemens Baeumker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* XXIII (Münster: Aschendorff, 1923), pp. 1–2.

<sup>77</sup> Scalichius knew Steuco’s work very well and drew extensively from it in his “De iustitia aeterna,” in *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (1559), pp. 220–266. Compare, for example, pp. 238–240 with Agostino Steuco, *De perenni philosophia* (Basileae: Nicolaus Brylinger et Sebastianus Francken, 1542), pp. 82–83.

Cf. also Schelhorn, “De vita et scriptis Pauli Scalichii commentatio” (1724), pp. 1049–1050; Krabbel, *Paul Skalich* (1915), pp. 186–190; Charles B. Schmitt, “Perennial Philosophy. From Agostino Steuco to Leibniz,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27/4 (1966), pp. 505–532, here p. 529.

<sup>78</sup> I have used *Philonis Iudaei ... Lucubrationes omnes quotquot haberi potuerunt* (Lugduni: Mauricius Roy et Ludovicus Pesnot, 1555). The *editio princeps* of Philo (in the original Greek text) had been published in Paris in 1552 by the French scholar Adrianus Turnebus.

<sup>79</sup> Scalichius, “Eulogus” (1559), pp. 165–166. Cf. *Philonis Iudaei ... Lucubrationes* (1555), respectively pp. 150, 41, 370.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Agostino Steuco, *De perenni philosophia* (1542), pp. 79–80.

<sup>81</sup> Scalichius, “Eulogus” (1559), p. 179.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

refers to a multiplicity of sources, including Aristotelian works, commentaries by Aquinas and Avicenna<sup>83</sup> and Pseudo-Dionysius' *De divinis nominibus* in the Latin version of Ambrogio Traversari.<sup>84</sup> In the following, the discussion turns fully theological and, toward the end, the *Compendium theologiae veritatis* is once again recalled when the solution to the problem of beatitude and of suffering in Hell is proposed.<sup>85</sup>

The *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (1559) ends with an encomium of the sciences<sup>86</sup> – dedicated to Scalichius' publisher, the humanist Johannes Oporinus – in which Scalichius wants not only to illustrate the usefulness and excellence of the arts but also offer a compendium of the doctrines expounded in the various sections of the book.

It is no wonder that in the very first page<sup>87</sup> he mentions Pico and paraphrases passages from his *Apologia* where the principles at the basis of his eclectic attitude were laid bare: instead of pledging alliance to a single school or sect, one should read all the masters and become acquainted with all “families,” because in each one of them there is something valuable to be treasured.<sup>88</sup> Scalichius begins with theology, then switches to jurisprudence, medicine and the various branches of philosophy.<sup>89</sup> The discussion and comparison of all these doctrines and sciences – he hopes – will allow the splendor of truth to rise and illuminate the mind.<sup>90</sup> The spirit is one of syncretism, although there is also a ferocious attack against Parisian late scholasticism, whose illustrious representatives – such as Duns Scotus, Henry of Ghent, Pierre d'Ailly, William of Ockham and others – are accused of cultivating pride, vanity, obscurity and sophistry. Their

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 181 ff.; cf. p. 151.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 211–215. The *modus passionis* proper to the separated soul (damned or blessed) is incorporeal and happens through a non-physical form of contact (with fire: p. 212) or vision and union (with God: pp. 213–215). Scalichius is quoting from book 7, chapter 22 (“De diversitate poenarum”) of the *Compendium*. Cf. *Compendium totius theologiae veritatis* (1556), pp. 675–679. See the text also in Bonaventura, *Opera omnia*, 1866, vol. 8, pp. 239–240; Albertus Magnus, *Opera omnia*, 1896, vol. 35, pp. 251–253.

<sup>86</sup> Scalichius, “Encomium scientiarum,” in *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (1559), pp. 688–750.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 689.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Pico, “Apologia,” in *Opera omnia* (1557), p. 118:

“At ego ita me institui ut in nullius verba iuratus me per omnes philosophiae magistros funderem omnes scaedas excuterem, omnes familias agnoscerem. <...> Adde quod in unaquaque familia est aliquid insigne quod non sit ei commune cum caeteris, etc.”

<sup>89</sup> Again, Scalichius explicitly recalls and follows Angelo Poliziano's classification of the sciences in the *Panepistemon*. Cf. Martinović, “Žanrovi hrvatske filozofske baštine” (2000), p. 103 with note 120.

<sup>90</sup> Scalichius, “Encomium scientiarum” (1559), p. 689.

barbarous volumes, he writes, are like a river that flows straight into Hell.<sup>91</sup> The work ends with a celebration of the concordance of all *prisci theologi* and the different religious and philosophical traditions.<sup>92</sup>

### *VI. Concluding remarks*

It is clear, from this overview, that without a proper examination of Scalichius' sources and his use of them it remains difficult to understand the evolution of his thought, to assess his originality, to grasp his relationship with his predecessors and contemporaries, and to identify both his intended audience and his place in the cultural context of his time. Much work remains to be done in this direction. In this sense, analyses of his work that tend to focus exclusively on *internal* articulations of his thought or to carefully sift out supposedly "modern" or "actual" aspects of it seem to me to miss the point.

However obscure today, Scalichius does not hold a marginal place in the history of encyclopedism, and his Cabalistic reform of Lull's art aroused interest. His name continued to reappear in the course of the seventeenth century, especially in connection with *pansophic* ideals typical of that time, where the aspiration was, on the one side, to possess and dominate the entire intellectual globe and, on the other, to identify a law, a "key," or a universal language through which to decipher the alphabet that God had impressed on things. In this context, the universe and the world of knowledge were conceived as united, structurally identical, and harmonious.<sup>93</sup>

However, as the old image of the universe gradually collapsed, as new worlds – infinitely small or infinitely large – were discovered, as the amount of data amassed by the natural sciences grew almost intractable, and as new methods of classification started to emerge, the traditional model of a closed, perfect and all-embracing encyclopedic system found it increasingly difficult to match the new, ever-expanding reality. Therefore, totalizing ambitions of the kind expressed by Scalichius and other encyclopedists began to appear unrealizable, obsolete if not even preposterous. By refusing the grandiose metaphysical constructions of their predecessors, the new French encyclopedists insisted on the *provisional*, *empirical* and *conventional* character of every classification. The editors of the *Encyclopédie* no longer believed in the coincidence of the world of knowledge and the world of things, nor that it was possible to observe and understand the universe from a *single*, privileged and omniscient point

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 691–692.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 749–750.

<sup>93</sup> Rossi, *Clavis universalis* (2000), p. 75.

of view.<sup>94</sup> For them, the world had become – in the words of d’Alembert – “a vast ocean, on the surface of which we perceive islands of varying size whose relation to the continent is hidden from us.” It was no longer what it had been for Scalichius and many others: a harmonious hierarchical structure orderly proceeding from a divine source.

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<sup>94</sup> Walter Tega, *Arbor scientiarum. Enciclopedie e sistemi in Francia da Diderot a Comte* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984), pp. 13–111.



### Appendix: Scalichius' discussion of the 1553 *Conclusiones*

From Scalichius' diploma (fig. 3) we can gather the following information:<sup>95</sup>

(1) Scalichius was promoted Doctor in Theology on December 15, 1552 ("sub anno a Nativitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi 1552, indictione decima, die vero Iovis quinta decima mensis Decembris");

(2) the exam took place *privately* in front of a commission of theologians ("arduo, rigoroso, severissimo ac tremendo examini privato omnium dominorum Doctorum almi collegii sacrae Theologiae civitatis Bononiensis");

(3) he had to discuss textual "passages" (*puncta*) specifically assigned to him by the Celestine monk Iacobus Ortonensis<sup>96</sup> ("puncta assignata miro ordine recitando, et argumentis omnium acutissime et subtiliter doctorio more respondendo");

(4) the notary deed was written and recorded in the same place where the exam took place, that is, in the sacristy of the cathedral of Bologna – which is the church dedicated to San Pietro, not to San Petronio ("in Sacristia cathedralis ecclesiae Bononiensis, loco solito congregationis dictorum reverendorum Patrum, Dominorum, Doctorum collegii praedicti").

Scalichius' discussion of the 1553 conclusions in the Church of San Petronio, therefore, must have been a separate event. But what kind of event? Krabbel, who correctly placed this discussion in the year 1553 noting the numerical correspondance with the conclusions, interpreted it as the *second phase* of his doctoral exam – a public *disputatio* following his private examination and promotion.<sup>97</sup> However, in Italy, public disputations such as these usually took place *before* the doctoral exam; in other cases, they were functional to obtaining student lectureships (*lecturae universitatis*), which in Bologna were reserved for students within a year of taking the doctoral examination.

Prof. David Lines, who is currently working on a monograph on the teaching of arts and medicine in the University of Bologna, has kindly informed me of early seventeenth-century cases in which public disputations with quite a high number of conclusions took place after securing a teaching position. Paul F. Grendler has documented a similar case in Bologna in the year 1592, in which a professor of logic offered to discuss one hundred theses in a variety of subjects ranging from logic to natural philosophy to theology.<sup>98</sup> Further research

<sup>95</sup> "Bononiensis collegii diploma," in *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (1559), pp. 754–755.

<sup>96</sup> On the theologian Iacobus Ortonensis (Giacomo d'Ortona), who in 1561 became General of the Celestine Order, see Nicolò Toppi, *Biblioteca napoletana, et apparato a gli huomini illustri in lettere di Napoli, e del regno delle famiglie, terre, città e religioni, che sono nello stesso regno. Dalle loro origini, per tutto l'anno 1678* (Napoli: Antonio Bulifon, 1678), p. 110.

<sup>97</sup> Krabbel, *Paul Skalich* (1915), pp. 7–8.

<sup>98</sup> Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 154–155.

is needed to confirm this hypothesis, but I believe something similar happened with Scalichius, whose *conclusiones* must have been a public exhibition of his intellectual skills in line with his project of universal reformation of knowledge.<sup>99</sup>

Some important evidence in support of this hypothesis is provided by Scalichius himself, who in his *Genealogia* places the discussion of his conclusions after his graduation and what appears to be a rather precocious period of “ordinary” professorship, possibly in Bologna, where he taught the book 12 of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*:

“<...> in Italiam concessi, ibi Theologiae arcana, quum diligentius excuterem, Doctor Bononiae insignitus. Metaphysices duodecimum ordinarie, cum nondum vigesimum excessissem annum, interpretando, omnium benevolentiam mihi conciliaui. A [Bernardino] Mapheo Cardinale tandem, et Marcello Cervino, postea Pontifice Max. victricis mei cognato, magnis pollicitationibus vocor. Mille quingentas, quinquaginta tres propositiones ad numerum annorum a Christo nato, propono.”<sup>100</sup>

Scalichius’ diploma as printed in his *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* should also be compared to the much longer version of it edited by the Prussian polymath Johann Christoph Strodtmann (1717–1756), who recovered it from the cathedral library in Münster together with other manuscripts related to Scalichius’ life.<sup>101</sup> Here Scalichius is said to have been promoted both *Doctor et Magister*, and to have been granted the *licentia docendi*, namely the licence to teach theology and to hold a professor’s chair (*cathedra magistralis*) at the faculty of theology in Bologna. This, however, is not *per se* a confirmation of Scalichius’ claim to have taught university courses before his discussion of the 1553 conclusions.<sup>102</sup>

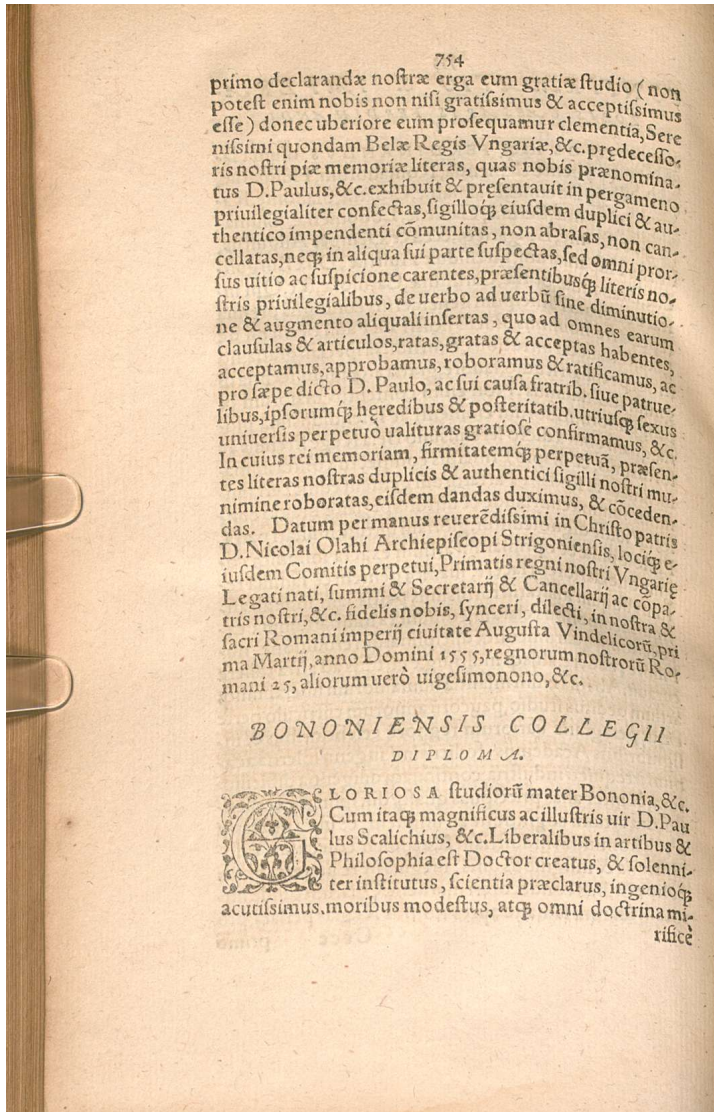
<sup>99</sup> Cf. what Scalichius writes in his address to the reader in the “Conclusiones” (in *Encyclopaediae Epistemon*, 1559, p. 549): “Etenim illas [scil. conclusiones] Bononiae in Italia, adolescens, ingenii exercendi gratia in utramque partem, Academicorum more disputandas proposui, ut ex eo conflictu, non secus atque ex collisis inter se silicibus, lux aliqua clarior emicaret atque appareret.”

<sup>100</sup> Paulus Scalichius, *Genealogia seu de antiquissima Scalichiorum <...> principum origine <...> Sermo* (Argentorati: Christianus Mylius, 1561), f. 26r.

In the following lines, Scalichius goes on to describe the events in Rome and the Jesuit affair (see *supra*, note 3).

<sup>101</sup> Johann Christoph Strodtmann, “Anhang zur Geschichte des Herrn Doctor Bocks,” in *Das Neuen Gelehrten Europa. Sechster Theil* (Wolfenbüttel: Johann Christoph Meißner, 1755), pp. 379–483, here pp. 396–401.

<sup>102</sup> On the different kinds of professorships in Renaissance Italy see Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (2002), pp. 144–146. On the *disputationes* as part of the exam see the documents edited by Marco Forlivesi, “Materiali per una descrizione della disputa e dell’esame di laurea in Età moderna,” in *Dalla prima alla seconda Scolastica. Paradigmi e percorsi storiografici*, ed. by Alessandro Ghisalberti (Bologna: Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 2000), pp. 252–279. On the teaching and learning of theology in Renaissance Bologna see Celestino Piana, “La facoltà teologica di Bologna nella prima metà del Cinquecento,” *Archivum historicum franciscanum* 62 (1969), pp. 196–266; Miriam Turrini, “L’insegnamento della teologia,” in *Bologna* →



**Fig. 3.** Scalichius' doctoral diploma as transcribed in his *Encyclopaediae, seu orbis disciplinarum, tam sacrarum quam prophanarum, Epistemon* (Basileae: Ioannes Oporinus, 1559), pp. 754–755.

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rificè præditus, qui multos annos pluribus in studijs, & præcipuè in gymnasio dictæ ciuitatis Viennensis (ubi Philosophiâ publicè docuit) & tandem Bononiensi assiduis exercitatus uigilijs, ac fidem sincerissimam cõplexus, sacræ Theologiæ sollicitâ & curiosam operam iugiter impendit & nauauit, atq; scholasticos actus tam publicè quàm priuatim gessit, cõferendo, arguendo, respondendo & disputando fuerit legitime præsentatus almo Bononiensi collegio, à reuerendo patre Iacobo Ortonensi, humanarum atq; diuinarum literarũ Doctore celeberrimo examinandus & approbandus in sacra Theologia, & ob hoc se subiecerit arduo, rigoroso, seuerissimo ac tremendo examini priuato omnium dominorũ Doctorum almi collegij sacræ Theologiæ ciuitatis Bononiensis: in quo quidẽ examine dictus D. Paulus, &c. sibi à præfato D. Iacobo Ortonensi puncta assignata miro ordine recitando, & argumentis omnium acutissimè & subtiliter doctorio more respondendo, ad eò doctè & benè gessit, atq; ita & taliter habuit, quod fuit ab omnibus dicti collegij doctoribus in sacra Theologia sufficiens, idoneus, & singulare in natura miraculum habitus, tenus & reputatus: & ob id ab eis in dicta sacræ Theologiæ facultate unanimiter, laudabiliter, cõcorditer, pari uoto, & nemine penitus discrepãte, iure & bene meritò approbatus, &c. Mandãtes mihi Laurentio Cathaneo Bononiensi notario infra scripto, dicto D. Paulo, &c. rogationem facienti sibi per me antè dictum & infra scriptũ notarium, de prædictis omnibus & singulis publicè in priuilegij forma confici instrumentum, uniendũ authenticò solito, consueto, & ad hoc deputato, præfatæ Theologorum Bononiensis uniuersitatis sigillo pendẽte. Datum & actum Bononiæ in Sacristia cathedralis ecclesiæ Bononiensis, loco solito cõgregationis dictorũ reuerendorum Patrum, Dominorum, Doctorum collegij prædicti, sub anno à Natiuitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi 1552, indictione decima, die uerò Iouis quinta decima mensis Decembris, &c.

F I N I S.

Cccc 2 . INDEX

In fact, as for Scalichius' possible teaching in Bologna, I could not find his name in Umberto Dallari, *I rotuli dei lettori legisti e artisti dello Studio bolognese dal 1384 al 1799* (Bologna: Fratelli Merlani, 1889), vol. 2, nor in Giovanni Nicolò Pasquali Alidosi's *Li dottori forestieri, che in Bologna hanno letto teologia, filosofia, medicina, & arti liberali, con li rettori dello studio da gli anni 1000. sino per tutto maggio del 1623* (Bologna: Nicolò Tebaldini, 1623). This absence, however, is not evidence *per se* that he did not teach there, but the whole matter still requires further investigation. What is clear, at least from what Scalichius tells us, is that his discussion of his 1553 did not take place in 1552 and was not part of his doctoral exam. After all, why would one want to defend 1553 theses in the year 1552?

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## Pavao Skalić: njegova misao, izvori i fortuna

### Sažetak

Ovaj esej istražuje život, misao i fortuna kontroverznog filozofa i teologa Pavla Skalića (1534–1575). U prvom se dijelu prikazuje njegova kratka biografija, a potom slijedi pregled nekih najznačajnijih kulturnih trendova koji karakteriziraju Europu 15. i 16. stoljeća. Skalićeva misao izvan takvog konteksta zapravo ostaje teško shvatljiva.

Kratko istraživanje njegove fortune između 16. i 18. stoljeća, provedeno u drugom dijelu, pokazuje da Skalić nije igrao marginalnu ulogu u povijesti enciklopedizma, magije, kršćanskog kabalizma i u literaturi posvećenoj amblemima i simbolima.

U trećem dijelu pri obradi nekih od najrelevantnijih aspekata njegove misli usredotočuje se na neke traktate sabrane u njegovoj knjizi *Encyclopaediae Epistemon* (Basel, 1559), koja je s nizom značajnih varijacija objavljena i u Kölnu 1571. godine. Zaključno je naglašeno da je i dalje teško u potpunosti razumjeti evoluciju Skalićeve misli, procijeniti njegovu originalnost i identificirati njegovo mjesto u kulturnom kontekstu njegova vremena prije nego se provede odgovarajuće istraživanje njegovih izvora i Skalićeve uporabe tih izvora. U tom je pravcu potrebno poduzeti još mnoga istraživanja.

*Gljučne riječi:* Pavao Skalić / Paulus Scalichius, misao, djela, izvori, enciklopedizam, lullizam, magija, kabalizam