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Editorial: The pope, new Moses. From Eugene IV to the Medicean popes

Gaetano Lettieri, and José María Salvador-González

The **Thematic Section** of the current issue of *De Medio Aevo* is configured by the following fourteen articles, preceded by a short introduction.

Between the 15th and 16th centuries, Moses became and remained a key figure within the symbolic self-representation of the Roman papacy: absolute sacral head, directly ordained by God, at the same time supreme divine mediator, source of the high priesthood (granted to Aaron) and earthly prince, spiritual and temporal monarch, prophet and king, legislator and legitimate holder of arms, his model allows the popes emerging from the crisis of the Western Schism to ideologically promote and strengthen their power. As the source of all spiritual and legislative authority, whose *imperatoria maiestas*, ready to defend even with weapons the freedom of the people of God, contains within itself the same theological *iustitia in terra* of the *civitas Dei*, Moses typus papae expresses the definitive liquidation of conciliarist positions through the affirmation of the pontifical *plenitudo potestatis* within the Church, but also a justification of the commitment to diplomatically and militarily guarantee the integrity and Italian expansion of its temporal dominion, thus registering a crucial process of transformation of medieval theocratic ideology, in the sign of the affirmation of the pontiff as sovereign of a truly new ecclesiastical principality. Starting from these considerations it will be understood that the present monographic issue does not intend to merely concentrate on one of the many typological figures of ecclesiastical treatises but, rather, to identify a fundamental symbol of the pontifical claim of the primary character of his own power, both spiritual and political, and so focus on some moments of a decisive trajectory for the Renaissance and the early modern age, both on a historical-political and historical-religious level, as well as from a cultural, historical-literary and historical-artistic point of view.

This broader aspect is the object of Gaetano Lettieri's two essays, dedicated to ideally drawing the overall parable of the present volume starting from its last point of arrival: that is, the importance of the figure of Moses within Machiavelli's The Prince. In fact, interpreting Machiavellian's masterpiece as a true enchiridion pontificis, dagger/government manual for the Medici prince, therefore as an "effective work of state construction and government, of political-military protreptics and of courtly self-promotion", the first essay highlights the Machiavellian pages dedicated to Moses, the armed prophet as a demonstration of a «systematic papal protreptic, nourished by prophetic-religious codes», which exalts in the prince of the church the decisive political subject called to seize an unrepeatable opportunity of the Italian and European historical reality. In fact, the irruption, at the heart of Machiavellian's purely political investigation, of the problem of prophecy and the constitutive relationship with religion, while testifying to how the theme of belief is completely structural in Machiavellian thought, is explained primarily as a pragmatic laudatory reference and a pragmatic and courtly laudatory reference, whose magnetic center could only be the Pope, of whom Moses is traditionally the *typus* and prefiguration. Far from being ironic, Moses' call into question thus responds perfectly to Machiavellian's pragmatic objective, that is, to his unscrupulous exhortation of the Medici prince to take charge of the defense of Italy's freedom through his possibilities of religious persuasion and with the use of weapons. Moses, moreover, ideologically embodies the ambiguous and double meaning of the Machiavellian operation, intent on capturing the theological-political power that historically dominated the Italian political scene and, at the same time, offering a political wisdom capable of recognizing and declaring the ruthless laws of politics, therefore «the "earthly" substance of the celestial form, the knife of prophecy», the "political" truth of the theological: «whoever reads the Bible sensibly will see Moses having been forced [...] to kill infinite men» (Disc III, XXX,17).

To systematically demonstrate how Moses is a specific and traditional figure of the pontiff, who is interpreted as the absolute sacral head and supreme earthly *princeps*, the essay goes back, in its second part, to document examples capable of focusing on the relevance and pervasiveness of the humanistic-Renaissance pontifical ideology relating to Moses, thus offering a synthetic cross-section of numerous significant moments that will return in other contributions of the volume: the bull Moyses *vir Dei* of Eugene IV and the anti-papal invective of Lorenzo Valla; the *Oratio Moyses vir Dei* by Enea Silvio Piccolomini; the curial theological production from Eugene IV to Sixtus IV; the anti-Florentine writing *Dissentio inter Sanctissimum dominum nostrum Papam et Florentinos suborta*; the theocratic iconography of the Sistine Chapel commissioned by Sixtus IV, with the cycle of Moses placed in dialectical relationship with that dedicated to the life of Christ, on the opposite wall of the Chapel; the orations on the Pope as Moses by Egidio da Viterbo and Cristoforo Marcello at the V Lateran Council; the new pope as a spiritual and warrior Moses in the *Libellus ad Leonem*, the Michelangelo statue of Julius II, portrayed in the features of Moses in his tomb built in San Pietro in Vincoli; Clement VII new Moses and new David/Mercury in the paintings of Rosso Fiorentino and in the commendatory medal by Benvenuto Cellini; the official pasquinade of 25 April 1526, in which Machiavelli certainly participated, in which the Mercury/David typos presents a new figure of a biblical and mythological hero called to exalt the pope in war as a messianic liberator; the remarkable re-emergence of Moses, symbol of the pope, foundation of the universal church, against Protestant heretical sedition, even in Erasmus' *De amabili ecclesiae concordiae*.

The volume continues with the contribution of Umberto Longo dedicated to the reconstruction of some decisive medieval stages in the development of the papal primacy, between the 11th and 12th centuries. Starting from Bernard of Clairvaux, whose famous treatise, *De consideratione ad Eugenium*, composed between 1148 and 1153, described a set of papal typological attributions (such as Abel, Noah, Abraham, Melchizedek, Aaron, Moses) of extraordinary success, which would have marked the affirmation of primacy in the following centuries, presenting the pope as the compendium and fulfillment of all sacred history. Longo goes back to the Cistercian environment of its author and in particular to that gravitating around the monastery of the Tre Fontane in Rome, from where Pope Eugene III himself and Nicola Maniacutia came. In fact, Bernardo's statements in *De consideratione* take on even greater importance if they are read in light of the tradition of recovery and valorisation of the symbolic value of the Old Testament which is taking shape within the Roman see and which already finds significant attestations, as in the first analogies between the Lateran basilica and the Temple of Solomon or Mount Sinai; as in Pier Damiani's Epistle 48, in which he claims that the cardinals are the realization of the oracle of Zechariah, or as above all in the case of another fundamental work, the Descriptio ecclesiae Lateranensis, in which these tendencies culminate in a reminder systematically to the symbols of the Ancient Alliance, moreover in the conviction that fundamental sacred relics of the Temple and of the passion of Christ are kept in the cathedral of the Most Holy Savior and of Saints John the Baptist and the Evangelist.

The essay in two parts by Ludovico Battista takes us forward within our trajectory by aiming to elucidate the ideological context that was the backdrop to the *decretum Moyses vir Dei* of Eugene IV, with which he presented himself as the new Moses, using the example of seditious revolt of the Levites Korah, Dathan and Abiron against Moses and Aaron to denounce the heretical and schismatic error of the Council of Basel. Battista argues in his essay how the image of the Levites was not at all random but resumed the use that had been made of it by the same council in its eighth session to order the Pope himself and his curia to obey the council, under threat of the penalties established by law against schismatics. Highlighting the canonical basis of the use of the episode of the punishment of the rebellious Levites, through a diachronic path that from Ockham, passing through Zabarella, D'Ailly and Gerson, reaches Ragusa and Segovia, the importance of the question of heretical pope and the hermeneutics of the *Causa XXIV*, *Quaestio I*, *C. Didicimus* (containing the episode) for the justification of the conciliar claims first of Pisa, then of Constance and finally of Basel. This allows Battista to more intrinsically reinterpret Eugene's bull as an explicit, violent attack against the conciliarist tradition that had found expression in the Basel decrees, in particular by overturning one of its key arguments: the clause deposing the pope for heresy, through which the council fathers, since Zabarella in Pisa, had affirmed the superiority of the council over the pontiff.

In the second part of the essay, the author instead focuses on the pro-papal treatises of Pietro del Monte and Juan de Torquemada to highlight how the typological application of the model of Moses to the pope witnesses a slow but significant ideological transformation of his power, which led him to modify his universalistic projection, adapting it to the development of the European powers, and to split into two natures: one always spiritual and priestly, the other openly temporal and princely, with the birth of a true ecclesiastical principality. Battista suggests, however, that, precisely to understand the specificities of this ideological evolution, we must also read the elements of continuity that made it possible and developed it starting from the traditional universalistic and theocratic instances of 14th-century treatises on the power of the church. In this sense, demonstrating how the passages on the typological interpretation of Moses as a papal figure are largely dependent on authors such as Egidio Romano, Giacomo da Viterbo and Agostino d'Ancona, he aims to highlight on which ideological bases this evolution and on which aspects it was based. A new image thus emerges of the theoretical reasons and conditions of possibility for the transformation of papal sovereignty on the model of Moses, revolving in particular around the extraordinary theological-political elaboration of Egidio Romano, who had thematized the absolute supremacy of the pontiff as a reserve of power exceptional with respect to the law and order that he establishes, as well as the legitimacy of the extraordinary use of the temporal sword in order to defend spiritual good.

Elena Cerqua's essay examines the exhortation to the anti-Turkish crusade addressed by the humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini, then ambassador of Emperor Frederick III, to Pope Nicholas V in the famous oration *Moyses, vir Dei* (1452): Moses chief, prophet and liberator, is indicated protreptically to the pontiff as a model for leading the chosen people, universally understood, freeing the world from infidels. In profound continuity with the anti-conciliarist polemic of the Florentine decree of 1439, which identified Moses as the only sacral foundation that guaranteed against the divisive logic of heresy, Piccolomini inscribes in the exodic image of

the passage to the promised land the concept of a victorious Europe led by the pontiff and liberator from the Muslim threat. As stressed by Cerqua, the underlining of the role of liberator, which represents "a novelty with regard to the Eugene IV's Decree, attributes a religious or metaphysical role to the pontiff, who heritages the Mosaic historical and supra-historical task of liberating Christianity both concretely and spiritually". Papal propaganda makes wise use of the eminently theological-political ideal of the Renaissance of classicism, carried forward by the philological care of the curial humanists with the intention of exalting the universal primacy of Christian Rome, capable of recapitulating and sacrally perfecting the political and cultural primacy universal of ancient Rome.

Chiara Spuntarelli's essay outlines the theological-political importance of Philoni's Life of Moses, on a double level. If the original strategy of Philo's text was aimed at showing the compatibility between Judaism and the empire through the figure of Moses $\check{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega\nu\nu\dot{\omega}\mu\mu\rho\varsigma$, in a political project aimed at the universalization of the Mosaic $\pi o\lambda \iota\tau\epsilon i\alpha$, it is the absolute historical relevance of the six-volume translation by Lilio Tifernate, between 1477 and 1485, dedicated to Sixtus IV, which consecrates its absolute contemporary value for the pontifical ideology.

The essay by Niccolò Brandodoro still revolves around the crucial pontificate of Sixtus IV, which analyzes the "propaganda war" fought by Pope della Rovere using the mosaic figure. Brandodoro shows the coherence and continuity over time of the pontiff's recourse to the Mosaic figure, from the youthful *De sanguine Christi* up to the *De potentia Dei*, where a theology of the divine *potentia absoluta* is reflected in a first theocratic theorization, radicalized after the election to the pontifical throne, exploded in the conflict with the Medici and in the Pazzi conspiracy, where the Mosaic typus was brandished against the Florentine enemies, heretics because they were political rivals with respect to the papal projects of temporal and nepotistic expansion. From the bull *Ad apostolice dignitatis auctoritatem*, to the *Dissentio inter sanctissimum dominum nostrum Papam et Florentinos suborta*, up to the lateral frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, consecrated as a temple of the papal primacy, a coherent theological-political strategy of sacral consecration of the theological and temporal primacy of the pontiff is deployed forcefully.

Filip Malesevic's text proposes an interpretation of the first pictorial program inside the Sistine Chapel in relation to the transformation of the curial ceremonial, so that the restauratio urbis program of Pope Sixtus IV, aimed at exalting the theological-political glory of the Roman pontiff, it was perfectly consistent with the relevant innovations introduced in the liturgical textures of the Caeremoniale Romanae Curiae. With the construction of a new chapel inside the Vatican Apostolic Palace, which effectively replaced the previous Cappella magna, an ambitious program of renewal of the Roman ceremonial was carried out with a view to the affirmation of papal ecclesiastical supremacy. For example, the scene of the temptations of Moses is represented in a landscape context with an oak tree dominating the central axis of the overall space of the image: the particular spatial proximity between the oak tree (the Della Rovere family symbol) and the papal throne in the Sistine Chapel establishes a direct association with Pope Sixtus IV, defining its central place within the sacred space and liturgical ceremonial in the high solemnities destined to be celebrated in the new chapel of the Apostolic Palace. The narrative program on the walls of the Sistine Chapel shows an interweaving of Christological episodes and mosaics that seem to design the liturgical spaces, expressing specific distances from the altar and the papal throne, incorporating them (thanks to the Roman architectural references present in the pictorial cycles) within the urban landscape; at the same time, Malesevic suggests that the events of Moses' life depicted on the south wall seem intended to openly support the ritual aspects of the new, revised ceremonial of the Roman liturgy: they contain references to fundamental elements of the pontiff's coronation ritual and to his position as Vicar of Christ within the organization of ecclesiastical government.

Contested Moses: the decisiveness of the Mosaic typos is unequivocally confirmed by the irruption into the Florentine theological-political arena of an alternative to the papal Moses, in the person of Girolamo Savonarola. Virginia Lauria's essay reconstructs the homiletic strategy of the Dominican preacher in the decisive Lenten season of 1496, proposing a suggestive reversed reading of the Florentine Carnival, which Savonarola would have subverted by reinterpreting it as a mosaic event, prematurely dissolving the festival into an "Easter" as a celebration of exodus and passage, where the symbols of worldly vanities are abandoned and burned, so that the chosen people can finally enter Jerusalem.

The Italian wars and the catastrophic epilogue of the Sack marked a moment of profound crisis for the city of Rome and the curia, as well as for the temporal ambitions of the second Medici pope. The imperatorial *maiestas* of the pontiff must deal with another power, the imperial one of Charles V, which demands the coronation in Bologna and which requires a wise negotiation that at least guarantees the preservation of the centrality and relevance of the pontiff (and of the Medici family) in Italy. Thus, with the essay by Maria Fallica the investigation on the figure of Moses moves to trace it in the symbolism that greets the triumphal entry of Clement VII into Bologna, precisely on the occasion of the imperial coronation: in this ritual moment with profound Christological and Eucharist, through a rich Old Testament iconography, with the liberator Moses at the center and Esther married to the Persian Ahasuerus, the Clementine curia proposes a model of harmonious coexistence with the winner of the Italian wars, Emperor Charles V, called to recognize the sacred centrality of mosaic-papal symbol.

The singular anomaly of the centrality of the mosaic figure in Michelangelo's tomb of Julius II, highlighted by Marco Ruffini's essay, clarifies once again, in the words of contemporaries, the symbolic power and evocative capacity of the typos: as Ercole Gonzaga said, according Condivi, «this statue alone is enough to do honor to the burial of Pope Julius». The essay proposes an important reconstruction of the relative chronology of the Tomb and Michelangelo's interventions, showing the absolute artistic coherence of the project. As underlined by Ruffini, Michelangelo, who came into contact with Machiavelli in a moment of crisis in his relationship with Julius II, in 1506, chose the mosaic typology to celebrate the pontiff, entering into consonance with the Machiavellian model. In Michelangelo's statue, as Vasari writes, the sublime art of Michelangelo, interpreted as an instrument of grace, recreates and breathes life. Moses lives again, in the imperial papal *maiestas* and in the revivifying art of his favorite artist.

The essay of Antonio Borrelli, finally studies the influence of the book of *Exodus* on the representation of the political relations between the Christian army and its captain, Goffredo di Buglione, in Torquato Tasso's Gerusalemme liberata. Borrelli shows how Tasso, in his poem, uses, as a latent model for the difficulties encountered by Goffredo in leading the crusade, the events of Moses in the desert faced with the murmurings of the people, thus connecting Jewish epic and Crusader epic in the representation of torment religious and political captain. But this restitution of Goffredo as Moses, Borrelli notes, also implies, not secondarily, the accentuation of the political connotation of the prophet and an unscrupulous Machiavellian interpretation of him as a political leader who exercises an earthly and military government in order to establish a new Kingdom: ultimately, the parallel with the story of the *Exodus* helps us to understand how the relationship between the army and its captain embodies, in the *Liberata*, the relationship between a lord and his people, and how the actions of the first are strictly necessary for the life of the second. Tasso thus establishes an interesting dialectic between the ancient conception of chivalric war, represented by Rinaldo, individualistic, based on honor and personal protection, to the new one of Goffredo himself, aimed exclusively at the common objective of the collective good, to achieve it as quickly as possible and sacrificing the ethical-chivalrous imperative. Suggesting therefore how the Machiavellian characterization of Moses, the perfect example of a new prince who imposes his will even with weapons, influences the character of Tasso's poem, Borrelli illuminates the political use of one of the main biblical characters within the most important poetic work of the Counter-Reformation period and the role of the most controversial political treatise of the time in this new reading.

In the last article Javier García-Lomas Gago aims to highlight, in contrast to the figure of the pope as *Typus Moysis*, the portrait of the ideal pontiff outlined by Bernard of Clairvaux in his *De Consideratione ad Eugenium Papam*, written for Eugenius III. This papal portrait drawn by the abbot of Clairvaux is more concerned with self-knowledge and the practice of virtue (in line with the Platonic-Augustinian tradition) than with asserting its authority over secular powers. According to the author of the paper, the virtue of consideration is proposed by Bernard as a path towards an exercise of authority in the key of *ministerium*. Through an analysis of the Bernardian text, García-Lomas underscores that, although Bernard of Clairvaux resumes the medieval thesis of the two swords, he places it in a context where the spiritual aspect prevails over the political and the organizational, being a more faithful reader of Saint Augustine than the so-called political Augustinism. So, the author of this essay concludes that the thesis of the two swords, a good reflection of the movements of political Augustinism during the Middle Ages, finds a more suitable interpretative framework that provides an alternative to the claims made by Eugenius IV in his bull of 1439.

The **Miscellany** Section contains seven articles:

José María Prieto, and Javier Bustamante Donas highlight in their paper that the artist Wang Wei is the paradigmatic example of the artistic-religious syncretism that characterizes the Tang dynasty, during which there was a religious synthesis of Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, in which they interchanged and mixed artistic elements with doctrinal expressions. According to the authors, this new synthesis created a valuable set of artistic manifestations, which take shape in the works of Wang Wei. On such assumptions, Prieto and Bustamante Donas analyze a vertical scroll by Wang Wei belonging to the heritage of the Complutense University of Madrid: it is a landscape titled "the villa next to the Wang river", which captures a scene in a Chinese garden par excellence. The authors emphasize the fact that it is a rare example of a vertical scroll, in which 24 ancient seals appear, verified one by one from different sources: four belong to the chancellor Jia Sidao (13th century), including the famous Chang seal, and eight to the catalog of stamps of the Qianlong and Jiaqing emperors (18th and early 19th centuries); three seals have not been identified, and one is heavily blurred. Prieto and Bustamante Donas also underline that the content of this scroll appears cited in the list of 126 paintings attributed to Wang Wei in the Xuanhe catalogue, sponsored by Emperor Song Huizong in the year 1120.

Manuel Lázaro Pulido begins by highlighting in his article the traditional vision, according to which, in the Middle Ages, Christianity and Islam imply the idea of disagreement, whose iconic moment is the period of the Crusades and their knights. He then emphasizes that the figure of the knight is essential to the medieval world really and imaginarily. Thus, facing the conventional belief that the Christian knight's mission is to confront and combat the Islamic world, also driven by feelings of confrontation with Christianity, Lázaro Pulido pro-

poses as an alternative the experience of the encounter between Christianity and Islam, an intercultural encounter promoted by Francis of Assisi and the Franciscans. According to this new vision, some new medieval knights offer an encounter mission, without loss of identity. In this sense, the author of the article analyzes the crusader knight as a natural religious reality, the poor Franciscan knight as a supernatural alternative, before reflecting on the experience of Francis of Assisi himself in Saracens' land.

Cristina Cumbo and Valentina Cumbo begin by pointing out that, in the context of the last great transformations of the city of Rome, going from a rural aspect to a building typology of the *palazzina*, many parish churches were built with architectural and artistic characteristics refered to early Christian and medieval antiquity. In this sense, the authors analyze six cases of parish located in the Prati, Aurelio, Corviale, Parioli and Trieste neighborhoods, built between the end of the 19th century and the second half of the 20th, in which they try to highlight contemporary innovations and past recoveries. According to Cristina and Valentina Cumbo, the simplicity of the materials and the worship room does alternate with the constant symbology founded on the iconographic substratum present in the catacombs and in the first Christian churches of Rome. Therefore they conclude that the six analyzed churches manage to directly transmit some ancient Christian principles, reinterpreting them through innovative materials and images in keeping with the times.

Vicente Llamas Roig begins his paper by saying that "the incorporation of *pulchrum* to the *communissima* of the Aristotelian legacy grants beauty a transcendental value by conversion *in re (in supposito)* with *ens, bonum* and *verum: pulchrum* is *what should be desired by itself* as a *true good.*" Llamas Roig warns that the characterization of the *ratio pulchri* made by Albert the Great in his metaphysics will serve him as a basal aesthetic key to analyze the female semblance in primitive Flemish painting (15th century). To better achieve his objective, the author of the article focuses, above all, on the work of Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memling, culminating in the *Imago Pietatis*, with subsidiary attention to the figurative presence of pure intelligences in Nativity or the Descent scenes. The author stresses that in his article "the Marian image will rise in the most sublime plastic expression of a canonical neatness in which the substantial form shines in its splendor (*pulchrum = splendor formae supra partes materiae proportionatas*)."

Leopoldo José Prieto López starts his paper by historically contextualizing the theory of matter with which Francisco Suárez, in his *Disputatio metaphysica XIII*, renewed and perfected conceptually and terminologically the theory that John Duns Scot proposed in his *Lecture II*, *d. 12*. The author of the article explains how, starting from the Scotist idea of matter as *aliquid* endowed with an *entitas positiva*, and basing himself on the theological notion of *creation*, Suárez elaborated a new ontological statute of matter, of a non-Aristotelian nature, on the following renewed theoretical bases: the hypostatization of the raw material, the immediate inhesion of the quantity in the matter, the loss of the unity of the substance matter (invoking the mode of substantial union to remedy it) and the distinction between *entitative extension* and *quantitative extension*. Thus, Prieto López manages to highlight the deep intellectual affinity of Francisco Suárez with Duns Scot on the concepts of matter and material substance.

Roger Ferrer-Ventosa, aiming to show that in medieval and Renaissance cultures something is a microcosm of the macrocosm from different perspectives, exposes some medieval principles of astrology linked to the hermetic and neoplatonic mentality. The author studies this analogy from four perspectives: the mind, the soul, or the human imagination as a microcosm; the body of the human being as one; the city or a building, especially a church; and the work of art or the image as an *imago mundi* that reflects the whole. The author collects information from different fields of knowledge, especially visual and religious studies, anthropology of art and philosophy. Uniting visual and textual sources in this way, he comments on various iconographic types, such as the Zodiacal Man, the intellectual environment of the court of Alfonso X the Wise, some basic characteristics from Islamic texts, such as the *Picatrix* and *De radiis* by Al-Kindi, and some remote examples of Christian medieval culture, such as the Indian *Upanishads*, Andrei Tarkovski and Antoni Tàpies.

Ignacio Verdú Braganza tries to show in his article the complex process by which Aristotle became, at the end of the Middle Ages, a reference *auctoritas* for Muslim, Jewish and Christian thinkers, who will spark an intense debate around him. The author of the paper studies here the presence of Aristotle in the East and in the West, between Muslims and Christians, paying special attention to the work of the translators of his work into Syriac, Arabic and Latin. After pointing out that the one known as *Aristoteles latinus*, made up of translations, had begun its final stage, leaving the translation work of Boethius far behind, Verdú Braganza underscores that, in the translation work during the 12th century, two centers of knowledge stood out above the rest: the abbey of Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy, and the School of Translators in Toledo, under the impulse of the Archbishop of Toledo Raimundo de Sauvetat.

Massimiliano Lenzi makes in his short paper a basic re-presentation of the book *L'altro Agostino. Ermeneutica e retorica della grazia dalla crisi alla metamorfosi del De doctrina christiana*, by Gaetano Lettieri. According to Lenzi, this book, reprinted in 2002, and long at the centre of the scholarly debate, has been a seminal and influential study, even if through the past twenty years Lettieri has been able to further develop his perspective, deepening some earlier insights. So, by his concise discussion Lenzi tries to bring a new critical evaluation of *L'altro Agostino* in light of the speculative progress of its author. In the **Reviews** Section we have included six items:

Rafael Marfil-Carmona reviews the book of Jean-Baptiste Brenet, *Averroes el inquietante*, Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Metales pesados, 2018, 122 p.

Bruno Ruiz-Nicoli reviews the book co-authored by Marta Carrasco Ferrer and Miguel Ángel Elvira Barba, *Antínoo. El último dios*, Madrid: Sindéresis, 2022, 222 p.

Vicente Llamas Roig brings the critical analysis of the monograph of José María Salvador-González, *Ianua Coeli. María mediadora de la humanidad. Explicación doctrinal e iconografía*, Tirant lo Blanch, Valencia, 2023, 232 p.

José Arturo Salgado Pantoja reviews the book of Miguel Cortés Arrese, *Paisajes del románico en tierras de Castilla*, Murcia: Nausícaä, Col. Imago, 2022, 200 p.

Diego Prieto López proposes his warm approach to the collective book, edited by José María Salvador-González, *Perspectivas sobre la Edad Media. Homenaje al profesor D. Fernando de Olaguer-Feliú y Alonso.* Madrid, Sindéresis, 2022, 511 p. ISBN: 978-84-19199-41-6

Finally, Susana García León reviews the book of Faustino José Martínez Martínez, *Imágenes de la Justicia*. Roma: Editorial Aracne Editrice, 2020, 110 pp. ISBN: 978-88255-3355-2