The Pontificate of Clement VII

History, Politics, Culture

Edited by Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss

Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700

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Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of Pope Clement VII*, ca. 1525, Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte.

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KENNETH GOUWENS
AND SHERYL E. REISS

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2005 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
The pontificate of Clement VII : history, politics,
culture. – (Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700)
1. Clement, VII, Pope 2. Papacy – History – 1447–1565 3. Art
patronage – Italy – Rome – History – 16th century 4. Art
patrons – Italy – Rome – History – 16th century 5. Rome
(Italy) – History – 1420–1798 6. Rome (Italy) – Intellectual
life – 16th century
I. Gouwens, Kenneth II. Reiss, Sheryl E.
262.1'3'092

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
The pontificate of Clement VII : history, politics, culture / edited by
Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss.
p. cm. – (Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0–7546–0680–5 (alk. paper)
1. Clement VII, Pope, 1478–1534.
I. Gouwens, Kenneth. II. Reiss, Sheryl E. III. Series.

BX1317.P66 2005
282'.092–dc22 2004047681

ISBN 13: 978-0-7546-0680-2 (hbk)

For John W. O'Malley, S. J.

and

in memory of John Shearman

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Series Editor's Preface

The still-usual emphasis on medieval (or Catholic) and reformation (or Protestant) religious history has meant neglect of the middle ground, both chronological and ideological. As a result, continuities between the middle ages and early modern Europe have been overlooked in favor of emphasis on radical discontinuities. Further, especially in the later period, the identification of 'reformation' with various kinds of Protestantism means that the vitality and creativity of the established church, whether in its Roman or local manifestations, has been left out of account. In the last few years, an upsurge of interest in the history of traditional (or catholic) religion makes these inadequacies in received scholarship even more glaring and in need of systematic correction. The series will attempt this by covering all varieties of religious behavior, broadly interpreted, not just (or even especially) traditional institutional and doctrinal church history. It will to the maximum degree possible be interdisciplinary, comparative and global, as well as non-confessional. The goal is to understand religion, primarily of the 'Catholic' variety, as a broadly human phenomenon, rather than as a privileged mode of access to superhuman realms, even implicitly.

The period covered, 1300–1700, embraces the moment which saw an almost complete transformation of the place of religion in the life of Europeans, whether considered as a system of beliefs, as an institution, or as a set of social and cultural practices. In 1300, vast numbers of Europeans, from the pope down, fully expected Jesus's return and the beginning of His reign on earth. By 1700, very few Europeans, of whatever level of education, would have subscribed to such chiliastic beliefs. Pierre Bayle's notorious sarcasms about signs and portents are not idiosyncratic. Likewise, in 1300 the vast majority of Europeans probably regarded the pope as their spiritual head; the institution he headed was probably the most tightly integrated and effective bureaucracy in Europe. Most Europeans were at least nominally Christian, and the pope had at least nominal knowledge of that fact. The papacy, as an institution, played a central role in high politics, and the clergy in general formed an integral part of most governments, whether central or local. By 1700, Europe was divided into a myriad of different religious allegiances, and even those areas officially subordinate to the pope were both more nominally Catholic in belief (despite colossal efforts at imposing uniformity) and also in allegiance than they had been four hundred years earlier. The pope had become only one political factor, and not one of the first rank. The clergy, for its part, had virtually disappeared from secular governments as well as losing much of its local authority. The stage was set for the Enlightenment.

Thomas F. Mayer,
Augustana College

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List of Abbreviations

Frequently Cited Sources

AB = Art Bulletin

AHP = Archivum historiae pontificiae

AHR = American Historical Review

ARG = Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte

ASRSP = Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria

ASI = Archivio storico italiano

BM = The Burlington Magazine

Carteggio = Il Carteggio di Michelangelo, ed. P. Barocchi and R. Ristori, 5 vols. (Florence: S.P.E.S., 1965–83)

CHR = Catholic Historical Review

DBI = Dizionario biografico degli italiani, 63 vols. to date (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–)

Erasmus, *CWE* = D. Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, ed. A. H. T. Levi et al., 47 vols. to date (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974–)

Erasmus, *EE* = D. Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P S. Allen et al., 12 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1906–58)

ER = The Encyclopedia of the Renaissance, ed. P. F. Grendler et al., 6 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 1999)

Giovio, *Opera* = P. Giovio, *Pauli Iovii opera*, 8 vols. to date (Rome: Società Storica Comense and Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1956–)

GSAT = Giornale storico degli archivi toscani

GSLI = Giornale storico della letteratura italiana

Guicciardini, *History* = F. Guicciardini, *The History of Italy*, trans. and abr. S. Alexander (New York: Macmillan, 1969)

Guicciardini, *Storia* = F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, ed. S. Seidel Menchi, 3 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1971)

Hochrenaissance = *Hochrenaissance im Vatikan: Kunst und Kultur im Rom der Päpste I 1503–1534*, exh. cat. (Bonn: Kunst-und-Ausstellungshalle, 1999)

IMU = *Italia medioevale e umanistica*

Iter = P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, 6 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1963–92)

JMRS = *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*

JSAH = *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*

JWCI = *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*

Lettere di principi = *Lettere di principi: le quali ò si scrivano da principi, ò à principi ò ragionan di principi*, ed. G. Ruscelli, 3 vols. (Venice: G. Ziletti, 1570–77)

MAHEFR = *Melanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome*

MKIF = *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*

Pastor = L. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages. Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, ed. F. I. Antrobus et al., 40 vols., 3d ed. (London: Kegan Paul, 1901–33)

Pieraccini = G. Pieraccini, *La stripe de' Medici di Caffagiolo*, 2d ed., 3 vols. in 4 (Florence: Valecchi, 1947)

QFIAB = *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*

RACAR = *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review*

RQ = *Renaissance Quarterly*

RS = *Renaissance Studies*

RSCI = *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*

Sanuto = M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, 58 vols. (Venice: Visentini, 1879–1902) (N.B.: for Sanuto, numbers in citations refer to columns)

SCJ = *The Sixteenth Century Journal*

TNG = *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1980)

Vasari-BB = G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. R. Bettarini, with comments by P. Barrocchi, 6 vols. in 9 (Florence: S.P.E.S., 1966–87)

Vasari-Milanesi = G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori...* (1568), ed. G. Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1878–85)

Other Abbreviations

In dates, "ca." is used for "circa"

Abbreviations for the citation of archival and manuscript sources:

c.: *carta*
doc.: document
f.: *filza*
fasc.: *fascicolo*
fol.: *folio*
ins.: *inserto*
r: *recto*
v: *verso*

Names of some collections, if located in museums or cited infrequently, appear unabbreviated. Names of frequently cited archives, libraries, and manuscript collections, arranged alphabetically by location, have been abbreviated as follows:

FLORENCE

ACSL = Archivio Capitolino di San Lorenzo

ASF = Archivio di Stato
Cart. Strozz. = Carte Strozziane
Corp. Rel. Soppr. = Corporazioni Religiose soppresse dal Governo Francese
MaP = Mediceo avanti il Principato
MdeIP = Mediceo del Principato

BMLF = Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

BNCF = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

BRF = Biblioteca Riccardiana

MANTUA

ASM = Archivio di Stato
AG = Archivio Gonzaga
BCMan = Biblioteca Comunale

MILAN

ASMil = Archivio di Stato
Ambrosiana = Biblioteca Ambrosiana

MODENA

ASMod = Archivio di Stato
BEMod = Biblioteca Estense

ORVIETO

AODO = Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo
ASO = Archivio di Stato

ROME

ASR = Archivio di Stato
BNR = Biblioteca Nazionale

VATICAN CITY

ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano
BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

VENICE

ASVen = Archivio di Stato
Marciana = Biblioteca Marciana

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Her current projects include an edition (with R. W. Ulery, Jr.) of an unpublished English manuscript on Tacitus from the early Stuart period; a study of the work of a humanist bookseller, editor, and publisher, Antonio Moretto, of Venice (with Ennio Sandal); and the history of Villa Gamberaia and its gardens in Settignano (Florence).

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Acknowledgments

This book originated in nine sessions on the pontificate of Clement VII that the editors co-organized for the 46th annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, held in Florence, Italy, in March, 2000. Early versions of the essays (excepting those of Gouwens, Wolk-Simon, and Reiss) were presented as papers in those sessions. We are grateful to the Renaissance Society of America—and in particular to its executive director, John Monfasani—for making the Florence sessions possible, and for providing space for them in the Tribuna d'Elci of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Laura Schwartz of the RSA office and Angela Dillon Bussi of the Laurenziana provided critical logistical assistance. We would like to thank Denise Allen, Douglas Dow, Paul Flemer, Elisabeth Gleason, Peter Lynch, Maria Saffiotti-Dale, Bonner Mitchell, and Ingrid Rowland, whose papers contributed much to the sessions but do not appear in this collection. We are also grateful to Melissa Bullard, Rebecca Edwards, Konrad Eisenbichler, John O'Malley, John Paoletti, Randolph Starn, and Bette Talvacchia, who served as chairs for some of the sessions. We also wish to acknowledge the encouragement, enthusiasm, and good counsel of the late Phyllis Pray Bober and the late John Shearman, who were unable to attend the Florence meeting.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the institutions and the many individuals to whom we are indebted for their help in making this book possible. The University of Connecticut and Cornell University are to be thanked for financial and practical support. The American Academy in Rome and the Center for Advanced study in the Visual Arts (CASVA) at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., provided congenial homes for us as the volume took shape. Along with our contributors, we have relied upon the collections and professional staffs of myriad libraries and archives in Europe and the United States. The editors wish to single out for special thanks the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome, the Homer Babbidge Library of the University of Connecticut, the Cornell University Library, and the National Gallery of Art Library, the resources of which were critical to the book's completion.

We are deeply indebted to a number of people at Ashgate. Erika Gaffney first expressed interest in the project and proposed it to the editorial board in 2001. Our warmest thanks are due to Ashgate editors Tom Gray and Celia Hoare, who have seen the manuscript through production with forbearance and dedication. We must also express our appreciation to Anne Keirby, Ann Newell, and Nicole Norman, who have assisted in various ways. For his energetic support and sage advice, we wish to thank Thomas F. Mayer, the editor of Ashgate's new series "Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700." We are also grateful to the anonymous reader whose thoughtful comments have strengthened the volume in many ways. We wish to thank Ronald A. Davies for his work on the formatting of the manuscript and Antonia Reiner for her expert translations from the Italian of chapters 7 and 8. Robert C. Richardson, Vice Provost for Research at Cornell University, and the Research Foundation of the University of Connecticut are to be thanked for providing funding for these translations.

A number of friends and colleagues have provided constructive criticism, practical assistance, and moral support at various stages of this project. For much-appreciated aid with photographs and permissions, we are indebted to John Benicewicz, Gerhard Gruitrooy, Leslie Kuo, and Elizabeth Safford at Art Resource in New York, as well as to Fabio Barry, Frederick Ilchman, Manfred Leithe-Jasper, and Arnold Nesselrath. Special thanks are due to Karen-edis Barzman, Caroline Elam, Paola Farenga, David Franklin, Julia Gaisser, Nelson Minnich, David Myers, Alexander Nagel, Patricia Osmond, David Posner, Eike Schmidt, Father William Sheehan, Cinzia Sicca, Larry Silver, David Wilkins, Linda Wolk-Simon, and Price Zimmermann. Our spouses, Joan E. Meznar and Paul F. Goldsmith, have provided unflagging support and have braved the genesis of the book with remarkable patience and good humor. No doubt they will be at least as delighted as we to see it in print. This volume is dedicated to Father John W. O'Malley, S.J. and to the memory of John Shearman—two extraordinary scholars whose work has provided constant inspiration for our own, and from whose humane example we have benefited immeasurably.

INTRODUCTION

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Chapter 1

Clement and Calamity: The Case for Re-evaluation

Kenneth Gouwens

... he endured a great labor to become, from a great and respected cardinal, a small and little-esteemed pope. —Francesco Vettori[1]

When Cardinal Giulio de' Medici was elevated as Pope Clement VII in November of 1523, the event occasioned rejoicing both in Florence and in Rome. The pontificate of his predecessor, Adrian VI (1522–23), had been marked by fiscal retrenchment and perceived cultural austerity. Now, people hoped for a return to the policies and values championed by Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici, Giulio's cousin), whom Giulio had served as vice-chancellor of the Church from 1517 until Leo's death in 1521 (Figure 1.1). While Clement's elevation promised a politically strong and successful papacy, artists and literati alike hailed the new pontiff as the one destined to usher in a new Golden Age. In a letter to his quarry superintendent, Michelangelo expressed uncharacteristic optimism: "You will have heard that Medici has been made pope, to the joy of the whole world it seems to me; and around here it looks as if there will be a lot of art to be made."[2] Many humanists were similarly hopeful: Pietro Bembo, the famous Ciceronian Latinist and papal secretary, predicted, "Clement will be the greatest and the wisest pope whom the Church has seen for centuries."[3]

Bembo could scarcely have been more wrong. Spectacular political and ecclesiastical disasters ensued, including the spread of the Lutheran heresy, the Sack of Rome, and the loss of Henry VIII's England from the Catholic fold. In the later 1520s, as Charles V came to dominate Italian politics, the pursuit of the *libertà d'Italia* (i.e., Italian autonomy in the face of foreign threats)—the cause that so agitated Machiavelli, and that had helped shape the policies of Pope Julius II—was no longer an option. Instead, Clement strove above all to reassert Medicean control of Florence, and in 1529–30 he countenanced an imperial siege of that city to return his family to power there. Meanwhile, humanists and artists had become dispersed from

1 "[D]urò una gran fatica per diventare, di grande e riputato cardinale, piccolo e poco stimato papa." F. Vettori, *Sommario della storia d'Italia*, as cited and translated by T. C. P. Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 60.

2 *Carteggio*, 3:1, letter of 25 November 1523. The translation is that by Alex Nagel, below.

3 Pastor, 9:247. See also *Lettere di Principi*, 1:101r (G. Negri to M. Michiel, 18 November 1523): "Le buone lettere, già quasi fugate dalla Barbarie preterita, sperano d'esser restituite. Est enim genuinum Mediceae familiae decus, fovere Musas."

Rome, which no longer offered such exceptional opportunities. Indeed, it has become commonplace to assert that the Sack of the city in 1527—and therefore the period of Clement's pontificate—caused, or at least signaled, the end of the Renaissance.[4]

Such claims have seldom received the scrutiny they ought to require.[5] Indeed, the 1520s and 1530s in Rome are a neglected period, lacking the extensive scholarly literature that marks both earlier and later decades of the century. This curious omission is not owed to a lack of primary sources.[6] Instead, it appears to be a historiographical artifact, the inadvertent consequence of a scholarly emphasis upon the "High Renaissance" of the early sixteenth century giving way thereafter to a focus upon the Protestant Reformation. Only with the opening of the Council of Trent in 1545 does Italy or the papal court receive substantial treatment in most European history surveys. In the history of art, meanwhile, a longstanding tendency to idealize the cultural production of Julian and Leonine Rome has led to the undervaluation of the art that followed. A quarter-century ago, André Chastel challenged this long-dominant narrative: he argued that a Tuscan-influenced "Clementine style" had flourished in the mid-1520s, only to be ruined by the Sack in 1527.[7] By no means universally accepted, Chastel's thesis has had a salutary effect in that it has redirected scholarly attention to papal Rome in the 1520s—both to cultural production and to the character and politics of the "*piccolo e poco stimato*" pope himself.

The present collection, the first on its subject in any language, aims to consolidate and advance current research on Clement VII's pontificate. It comprises original essays by distinguished scholars from five countries—Italy, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and the United States—whose specialties range from the history of art and architecture, to literature, musicology, and history. Drawing upon neglected sources, they employ an array of methodologies and interpretive strategies including archival research, the analysis of images and buildings, and the close read-

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4 On the topos of the Sack as watershed, see K. Gouwens, *Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), chaps. 1 and 6. The assertion is made, e.g., in J. F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), e.g., 11–12: "His [Clement's] disastrous foreign policy ... culminated in the sack of Rome and marked the end of High Renaissance Roman culture." In his *History of the Popes*, Ludwig von Pastor had similarly concluded that the Sack "marked, in fact, the end of the Renaissance, the end of the Rome of Julius II and Leo X." Pastor, 10:443.

5 Many influential monographs on Renaissance Rome have explicitly ended their coverage on the eve of the Reformation. Others that extend beyond 1521 have drawn little evidence from the period of Clement's pontificate. The former group includes D'Amico (1983); J. W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1979). The latter includes P. Partner, *Renaissance Rome, 1500–1559: A Portrait of a Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976); I. D. Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); C. L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985). Cf. Stinger's essay below.

6 The most detailed (if dated) account of Clement's pontificate, that of Pastor, 9:231–509 and vol. 10, lists copious sources. See also A. Prosperi, "Clemente VII," *DBI*, 26:237–59.

7 A. Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, trans. B. Archer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

ing of literary texts. Taken together, these essays demonstrate the vital importance of Clement VII, and of cultural production during his pontificate, to our grasp of the history not only of Renaissance Rome, but also of the papacy, Italy, and Europe.

The chapters that follow are grouped topically. Part One, entitled *History, Politics, and Humanism*, comprises three subsections: Character, Politics, and Family; The Sack of Rome and its Aftermath; and Resynthesis. Part Two, on *Patronage, Cultural Production, and Reform*, adds three more: Clement VII as Patron; Artists, Musicians, and Literati in Clementine Rome; and Antiquity Revived and *Renovatio* in Religion and Art.

Character, Politics, and Family

Any attempt to reconsider the character and political acumen of Clement VII must confront first of all the highly influential appraisals of him by contemporaries in a position to speak with authority. In particular, subsequent interpretations have relied substantially upon the views expressed by two figures close to the pope in the 1520s: the humanist physician and historian Paolo Giovio, a confidant of Pope Clement for 15 years; and Francesco Guicciardini, the Lieutenant General of the papal troops in the army of the League of Cognac, whose monumental *Storia d'Italia* has perhaps done the most to shape posterity's image of Clement VII. In his essay for this collection, Price Zimmermann shows how Giovio and Guicciardini assigned similar character flaws to the pontiff, yet deployed them to different purposes. While attentive to concerns of genre, Zimmermann highlights the ways that frustrations and personal disappointments help to shape the narratives. Whereas Guicciardini finds Clement a convenient scapegoat for the failure of policies that he himself had encouraged and sought to implement, Giovio, disappointed with his rewards for faithful service to the pope, emphasizes Clement's avarice, coldness, and inadequate support or promotion of those loyal to him. Above all, Zimmermann demonstrates that we need to situate these influential narratives in their personal, literary, and historical contexts.

To be sure, Giovio and Guicciardini were not alone in attributing indecision and weakness to Pope Clement: ambassadors to his court expressed similar views. But they reported other things, too. In a close reading of dispatches from the period 1527–34, particularly those preserved in Marin Sanudo's *Diarii*, Barbara Hallman argues that Clement was in fact remarkably consistent in his pursuit of five goals: (1) to protect his *parenti*, Catherine, Alessandro, and Ippolito de' Medici; (2) to ensure his family's control over Florence; (3) to keep the Papal States intact; (4) to maintain the integrity of Western Christendom under the aegis of Rome; and (5) to preserve the dignity and prerogatives of the papacy. Conspicuously absent from this list of priorities is the *libertà d'Italia*. Initially, Clement VII strove to keep Charles V from gaining decisive hegemony on the Italian peninsula; but upon being inadequately supported by his allies, including the Venetians—who meanwhile sought to regain properties that had been absorbed into the Papal States, and to usurp the pope's control over ecclesiastical appointments within their territories—he ultimately concluded that his central goals did not accord with theirs. Viewed in light of Clement's own objectives, Hallman asserts, the terms of his agreements with Charles V in 1529–30

were perhaps as much a triumph for the pope as they were for the emperor, in whom the pontiff had found "the one man who had the power to help him realize his goals." In short, the conventional reading of Clement VII's political "failure" must be modified by an awareness that he has been judged by a standard other than his own: with respect to what mattered most to him, especially but not exclusively the advancement of family interests, he was strikingly consistent and, given the challenges he faced, surprisingly successful.

The fourth essay, by Natalie Tomas, further articulates the importance of family in Clementine politics. Long overlooked in the scholarly literature, women with ties to the Medici popes exercised significant influence in the papal Curia, where they served as unofficial advocates for their husbands, sons, and other kinsmen. Their intrusion into a traditionally male domain evoked resentment, as well as a fear that it would bring on financial disaster or ruin; yet so long as they justified their actions in terms of their duties as wives or mothers, they had substantial scope for influence. Tomas focuses upon Lucrezia Medici-Salviati (Clement VII's cousin) and her daughter, Maria Salviati-Medici. Lucrezia, a sister of Leo X, came to serve as de facto "boss" of the palace of her son, Cardinal Giovanni Salviati. Beyond seeking Clement's support for him, she fielded requests from friends and clients of the Medici and the Salviati for the cardinal's patronage. Her daughter, Maria, who married Giovanni de' Medici "delle Bande Nere," advocated the advancement of their son, Cosimo, who would become duke of Florence in 1537. Although Maria's own fortunes declined with the accession of Pope Paul III (1534), the favor that she had helped to obtain for her son thus had lasting historical consequences.

Patricia Osmond's essay analyzes sixteenth-century accounts of the Conspiracy of 1522 against Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, reading them in the context of assessments of Machiavelli, whose chapter in the *Discourses* on conspiracies may have influenced the plotters. They and Machiavelli, respectively, had used ancient examples in distinct ways: whereas they tried to imitate the deeds of heroes of the ancient Roman Republic, Machiavelli in *discorso* 3.6 had expressed no special preference for republican government, being more concerned with the derivation of concrete lessons to guide pragmatic behavior. In the mid-cinquecento, the historian Filippo de' Nerli noted the gap between the failed attempt of the conspirators in 1522 and Machiavelli's advice. Yet in the following years, especially after Machiavelli's books were placed on the Index in 1559, a growing distrust tainted him as an instigator of revolution, and in addition (through guilt by association) the ancient authorities Sallust and Tacitus, whom he had cited in *discorso* 3.6. Thus, ways of reading and appropriating ancient models shaped interpretations of contemporary politics, and vice-versa. Osmond also notes the characterizations of Giulio de' Medici in these accounts. Nerli described the cardinal's effectiveness both in extirpating the conspiracy, and in using the episode to strengthen his political hold on Florence. Other cinquecento historians emphasized Cardinal Giulio's practice of deception: for example, Benedetto Varchi described the newly-elected Clement VII as "*di sua natura simulatore, e dissimulatore grandissimo*," a phrase recalling Sallust's description of the conspirator Catiline as "*simulator ac dissimulator.*" In short, by reading politics and history-writing against the backdrop of ancient *exempla*, Osmond enriches our understanding of cinquecento historians' accounts of the protean persona of the second Medici pope.

The Sack of Rome and its Aftermath

The following four essays help us to move beyond the standard generalizations about the Sack of Rome to analyze concrete details that improve our grasp of its causes and consequences. In addition, they further elucidate Clement's character and his aspirations for the Medici. Cecil Clough provides the most thorough assessment to date of the motivations and military decisions of the commander of the army of the League of Cognac, Francesco Maria Della Rovere, whose failure to engage or to block the advance of the imperial troops under the command of Charles de Bourbon the Sack of Rome possible. Della Rovere's recalcitrance makes sense when viewed in the context of his mistreatment by the Medici. He had become duke of Urbino during the pontificate of his kinsman Julius II (Giuliano Della Rovere), but was deposed by Leo X in 1515–16 so that the duchy could be conferred upon the pope's nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici. Following Lorenzo's death in 1519 and Adrian VI's reinstatement of Della Rovere in his ducal title in 1523, Giulio de' Medici—now as Pope Clement VII—still hoped to make Urbino a hereditary possession of his family, and so refused to invest the duke. The struggles between these two further evidence the importance of individual character and family aspirations to the course of politics. Neither forgiving nor pliable, Della Rovere responded vindictively to being abused, yet he did so not least because he, like Pope Clement, sought to bequeath political power and territory to those of his own lineage.

Ivana Ait examines a comparative outsider's perspective on Pope Clement and Rome in the time of the Sack. Her key source is the *Ephemerides historicae* written by a Netherlander, Cornelius de Fine, about his experiences in Rome, 1511–44. Until now, this work has been underutilized, essentially being mined for discrete pieces of information—for descriptions of ceremonies, anecdotes about well-known artists or Churchmen, and details on politics. Ait situates De Fine's detailed account of the Sack of Rome in the context of his larger narrative. She highlights the meanings that De Fine attaches to events that he, as an employee of Bishop Mario Maffei (a close friend of Giulio de' Medici), often witnessed firsthand. Yet in his telling, the Romans are not passive victims, but fight valiantly to defend both the city and the pope, despite their resentment of his administration. De Fine notes Clement's fiscal missteps, including the imposition of burdensome new taxes on the clergy, that ultimately turned the Romans against him.

Using previously unstudied registers of Roman notaries from the time of imperial occupation (6 May 1527–16/17 February 1528) Anna Esposito and Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro further elucidate the condition of Rome and of its citizens after the Sack. Conventionally, historians have drawn upon letters, diplomatic dispatches, and literary accounts of the Sack and occupation which, while useful, have too often been taken as transparent and reliable representations of reality. Attentive to the city's symbolic significance, literary sources describing the Sack have tended to exaggerate its disruptive force, and to treat the event as marking a historical watershed. In so doing, they have obscured with a powerful rhetoric of difference the continuities between pre- and post-Sack Rome. In contrast, Esposito and Vaquero-Piñeiro demonstrate that Roman notaries continued to be of service not only to their fellow citizens but also to the Spanish soldiers occupying the city. More generally, the authors

point to longer-term demographic, economic, and social changes that were underway years before the Sack, and that therefore cannot be attributed entirely to its impact. While not dismissing the event's historical significance, this essay demythologizes it, allowing us to glimpse the pragmatic actions of individuals who directly experienced it and sought to rebuild their houses—and their lives—in its aftermath.

Anne Reynolds's essay returns the focus to papal policy, especially with respect to Orvieto, where Clement VII and his court resided from early December 1527 until the end of May 1528. Already in mid-November 1527, while negotiating for his release from Castel Sant' Angelo, the pontiff had to fend off strong imperial pressure to relinquish Orvieto into their control: clearly, all parties recognized its strategic importance. When he fled to the hill town on 6 December, he found it prepared to receive him. In fact, in accordance with his wishes, construction had begun long before in an effort to enhance the town's fortifications and to remedy its chronic water shortage. Drawing upon archival records, Reynolds details the financial burdens of these projects upon the city, yet also notes the resilience of the citizens in accepting them and supporting the pope. From his makeshift court in the bishop's palace, Clement worked to remedy his financial and political deficits, repealing concessions that he had made under duress while in Castel Sant' Angelo, and soon receiving foreign ambassadors. Reynolds's account makes clear the difficulties confronting the refugee pope, but also attributes to him a clarity of goals and a systematic pursuit of them that reinforces Hallman's thesis in Chapter 3. To be sure, Clement frequently temporized; yet at least in the case of his connection with Orvieto, he was capable of advance planning, endurance of hardship, and realistic appraisal and successful negotiation of the unpleasant political alternatives that he confronted.

Resynthesis

Part One ends with Charles Stinger's essay, which situates Clement VII and Clementine Rome in the longer-term contexts of papal politics and of the distinct outlook that characterized Renaissance Roman culture. Stinger defines the "Renaissance Papacy" as encompassing a range of political and institutional assumptions, including the assertion of temporal power in central Italy as the key to sustaining papal independence, and the pursuit of dynastic ambitions, whether through careers in the Church or through the establishment of territorial states in central Italy. According to Stinger, Clement differs from his predecessors less in his intentions than in the constraints upon his actions. The pope's political options were severely circumscribed, above all by the sparring of Charles V and Francis I on the peninsula, but also by the incursions of the Turks into eastern Europe and by the Protestant Reformation. Rome was becoming less central, and the pope's political choices mattered less to Europe as a whole than they had in the time of Julius II.

Even as the meaning of being pope was changing dramatically, however, there persisted in attenuated forms the image and mystique of the papacy and of its ties to Rome's special destiny. In the myth of Rome, an emphasis on "the extra-temporal and perennial characteristics of the city" dignified events and personages in ways that to some extent removed them from "the arena of ambiguity and contingency." So, in

this particular sense, Renaissance Rome outlived the Renaissance papacy: although Clement VII's achievements were constrained by changes beyond his control, the cultural outlook that he and previous Renaissance popes had fostered, lived on.

Clement VII as Patron

Scholars of patronage have traditionally portrayed Clement VII as having accomplished little, but a generation ago, André Chastel challenged this assumption with his thesis of a distinctive "Clementine style" that developed in mid-1520s. More recently, Sheryl Reiss established convincingly that Giulio de' Medici's patronage has heretofore been vastly underrated.[8] The following essays further the re-evaluation by showing a range of ways that Clement VII personally influenced artistic and musical developments during his pontificate.

Through a close reading of Michelangelo's *carteggio*, William Wallace highlights the special relationship between the artist and Giulio de' Medici, who had known each other since youth and who had already worked together extensively during the Leo X's pontificate. Correspondence sent between Florence and Rome reveals the inner dynamics of this patronage relationship, which often worked through the agency of intermediaries such as Giovan Francesco Fattucci. In the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence, especially in the Laurentian Library and the New Sacristy, Michelangelo would produce some of his finest works of architecture and sculpture. Wallace shows how actively Pope Clement participated in the design and progress of these commissions through intervention, advice, and enthusiastic support. Although Clement gave Michelangelo a free hand in many decisions, he kept himself constantly informed of the progress, and through a "complicated interplay of friendship and favor" he participated meaningfully in the process of artistic creation.

Caroline Elam's contribution further enhances our understanding of Clement's role in Michelangelo's architectural work in the New Sacristy. The pope's participation in production and innovation, she argues, can be taken to bolster Chastel's thesis of a distinctive "Clementine style," in this case in Florence and in the realm of architecture. Since Vasari's *Lives*, Michelangelo's work in San Lorenzo has been viewed as critical to his development of a new architectural language. Drawing upon new archival evidence concerning the design of windows in the lunette zone of the New Sacristy, Elam analyzes a key moment in this development. Importantly, she points to Clement's encouragement, support, and preference for novel and unorthodox solutions—all of which continued after the Sack of Rome—as integral to this breakthrough in architectural language. In effect, the dialogic relationship between artist and patron was the crucible of artistic creativity and innovation. Here, Clement emerges as a patron at once inventive and enthusiastic, with a taste for *bizzarie*, but also a sense of decorum about what would be appropriate in a Florentine context. In sum, Clement VII was actively involved in pushing forward creative artistic change.

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8 See the influential work of S. E. Reiss, especially her "Cardinal Giulio de' Medici as a Patron of Art 1513–1523," 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1992). I am grateful to Sheryl Reiss for her careful readings of several drafts of this introductory essay.

Richard Sherr turns our focus to Clement's patronage of music, and in particular the management of the papal choir. By 1565, the Clementine period was looked upon as a golden age of sorts for the choir, when it had been "illustrious and adorned with a sufficient number both of voice types and of singers." Drawing upon published and unpublished sources, Sherr demonstrates that, in large part, this assessment was accurate. Arguably the most competent musically of sixteenth-century popes, who himself enjoyed listening to music and had a good singing voice, Clement also strove to form a choir of 24 members who were good singers. He quickly replenished the choir (which had lost members under Adrian VI) and, following the disruptions of the Sack of Rome, he dispatched Jean Conseil as his representative to France and Flanders to recruit new singers. Clement also sought to ensure that those admitted to the choir were competent. He does not stand out as a patron of sacred polyphony—indeed, he is not known to have commissioned any particular piece of music—but he did seek to maintain a high standard of music in the papal choir. As in art, so too in music his subtle tastes helped to shape cultural developments during his pontificate.

Artists, Musicians, and Literati in Clementine Rome

Linda Wolk-Simon, Victor Anand Coelho, and Julia Haig Gaisser focus, in turn, upon the artists, musicians, and humanists who sought patronage in Medicean Rome. Wolk-Simon traces the fortunes of the erstwhile members of Raphael's workshop following the master's death in 1520. She describes a shift in Rome from what she calls the "universal artist-impresario" to "artist-specialists." Initially, Giulio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni inherited the reins of Raphael's workshop, but it never had the centrality and monopoly enjoyed before 1520. Its artists reconfigured in various combinations (e.g., Perino del Vaga and Polidoro da Caravaggio working together) under different patrons, but fragmentation and dispersion took their toll. The intense patronage relationship between Clement and Michelangelo was an exception rather than the rule. In a period of diminished economic resources and enhanced competition for preferment, artists not only looked to fill more specialized niches but also sought better fortune in other locations. Thus, while artistic patronage in Clementine Rome continued in attenuated form, it lacked the focus and hierarchical organization of the Raphael workshop under Leo, or of Perino's a decade after the Sack. Under Clement, any artist wishing to be an artist-impresario like Raphael would have to go elsewhere, to create his own "Rome" in a provincial locale—a model that many, including Giulio Romano and Perino del Vaga, chose to follow.

Coelho focuses upon Francesco da Milano "Il Divino" (1497–1543), who entered papal service around 1514, remaining there until 1527, and later accompanying Clement to Bologna for his meeting with Charles V in 1533. An exceptionally esteemed musician, he performed privately for popes, as well as at public functions where diplomatic honor was paramount. The publication of three books of his lute music in 1536 was a landmark in the literature. Coelho applies to music Chastel's notion of a Clementine style, as well as what Sebastiano Serlio called a "*stile mescolato*." Placing Francesco's innovations in the context of the Florentine-Roman cultural nexus under the Medici popes, Coelho argues that what some have taken to be

autonomous compositional choices of the lutenist may in part evidence their broader cultural context. Francesco's fantasias display an elegance, refinement, creativity, and rhetorical sophistication in imitating their models that Coelho likens to the literary innovations of Pietro Bembo in the 1520s. In Francesco's hands, the fantasia was no longer just functional, complementary music: he made of it an autonomous artistic creation, rhetorically conceived. Coelho thus situates Francesco's compositions squarely within what might be called the "Clementine moment," as a musical analogue of artistic and literary innovation.

Gaisser traces the career paths of two humanists who, in seeking patronage from the Medici popes, met with different fortunes: Pierio Valeriano and Giulio Simone the Sicilian. While neither grew rich in Rome, Valeriano—his way paved by family connections—did move from marginality to a position of somewhat consistent support. Simone, by contrast, remained obscure, his compositions for the elevation of each of the two Medici popes eliciting the ridicule of those humanists already entrenched in Roman sodalities, who (not coincidentally) were competing for a limited stock of papal favors. The evidence of Valeriano's and Simone's writings and careers suggests that for many humanists, the quest for Clement VII's patronage cannot have been satisfying. Unlike artists whom the pontiff favored, the literati received at best modest remuneration, and they faced insecurity commensurate with that of papal politics in the 1520s. If the initial promise of Clementine support, particularly in the years before the Sack of Rome, may have been borne out for some artists, the humanists—less talented, perhaps, but also viewed as dispensable—fared conspicuously less well. Consequently, the unflattering images of Clement that some humanists have left us may reflect something of the disappointments that they experienced.

Antiquity Revived and *Renovatio* in Religion and Art

At least from the time of Petrarch, humanists' revival and appropriation of the forms, genres, and ideals of classical antiquity had been in tension with the theological and ethical assumptions of Christianity in their own day. While this tension might cause anxiety, it could also spur innovation, as ancient models had on occasion to be presented and interpreted so as to be edifying to Christian readers.[9] By the late quattrocento, Renaissance Platonists such as Marsilio Ficino had developed sophisticated syntheses of the classical and the Christian.[10] But the harmonizing of the two traditions reached its point of greatest articulation in early cinquecento Rome, where humanists and artists dignified the Renaissance papacy as rightful heir both to the *imperium* of classical Rome and to the traditional powers and prerogatives of the Vicars of Christ. It was precisely the commingling of classical and Christian in

9 On Petrarch's redirection of humanism toward Christian concerns, see R. G. Witt, *"In the Footsteps of the Ancients": The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), esp. chaps. 6 and 11. See also the exemplary work of J. Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1990), on the range of strategies employed to make Plato "safe" reading for Renaissance Christians.

10 See esp. Hankins (1990); cf. A. Field, *The Origins of the Platonic Academy in Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

Renaissance Roman humanism, art, and culture that would open them in the Reformation to charges of paganizing. In this matter, as in many others, the pontificate of Clement VII proved liminal, a period of creative adaptation before the need for doctrinal and ecclesiastical unity became so urgent as to dictate more disciplined approaches to cultural production for religious contexts.

The remaining four chapters all speak to the integration of the classical with the Christian in the Clementine era. George Gorse focuses upon Sebastiano del Piombo's *Portrait of Andrea Doria*, commissioned by Clement VII and begun in late May of 1526, the very moment when the League of Cognac was formed. This imposing portrait documents Doria's appointment as the Church's Captain of the Sea, responsible for dominating the Mediterranean and for defending Italian coastlines. Beyond celebrating the admiral's military contract, it expresses an "Augustan" conception of the Roman pontiff as heir to the *imperium* that the ancient Romans had exercised over the Mediterranean. The significance of that *imperium*, Gorse argues, was articulated in erudite rebuses in the naval relief painted beneath the image of Doria. Perhaps aided by Paolo Giovio and Pierio Valeriano, Sebastiano drew upon classical models and humanist Hermeticism to fashion this harmonious image at a moment of confidence about the papacy's historic role and political future. (A detailed appendix by Naomi Sawelson traces the later history of the portrait.) The alliance between admiral and pope was short-lived: in Summer 1528, disappointed by Francis I's inadequate support, Doria accepted an offer of employment from Charles V. In early 1529 the pope, too, formed an alliance with the emperor, which was consummated in the Coronation in Bologna in February 1530. Meanwhile, the auspicious beginnings and brief efflorescence of Clement's pontificate gave way to lessened patronage and to an attenuation of humanists' and artists' claims on behalf of the papacy.

Sheryl Reiss's essay revises conventional assumptions about Clement VII's immediate predecessor, Adrian VI, whom humanists derided as an enemy of the muses. Vasari influentially characterized Adrian's pontificate as culturally retrograde, a period when the arts in Rome were nearly extinguished by barbarism, only to be revived following the election of Clement VII. Thus, in Vasari's narrative, the Dutch pontiff serves as a foil for the second Medici pope, Adrian's shortcomings setting Clement's cultural achievements in sharper relief. To be sure, Adrian's aversion to some classical works (especially the *Laocoön*) is well-documented, and at no point did he show promise of being a patron on the scale of Julius II or Leo X. Nonetheless, despite severe financial constraints, Adrian did commission works by both Italian and Northern artists, notably the painter Jan van Scorel (1495–1562), who was much influenced by Michelangelo and Raphael. Reiss speculates that, had Adrian lived longer, his friend and datary, Cardinal Willem van Enckevoirt, might significantly have influenced the pope's attitudes toward the visual arts and spurred his further support for them. Reiss also identifies in the attitudes of both Adrian and Clement a sense of visual decorum, an understanding of the appropriateness of works of art to their surroundings and intended functions (as, for example, in the case of objects used either in sacred rites, or to enhance the *maiestas papalis*).

The 1520s and 1530s have long been seen as a lost opportunity for reform, but according to W. David Myers, in Rome and Italy but especially in Northern Europe, those decades encompassed a range of creative approaches to penance, the sacra-

mental status of which Luther had challenged. Focusing upon the *Exomologesis, sive modus confitendi* of Erasmus (1524; expanded, 1530), Myers explicates its conception of penance as a pastoral domain for consolation, mercy, and reconciliation, rather than as primarily an occasion for judging and disciplining. He also notes the pastoral concerns evident in two localized efforts to reform penance in the 1530s: (1) the *Reform Constitutions* produced in 1536 by the Synod of Cologne, and (2) Gian Matteo Giberti's innovations in his capacity as bishop of Verona. These experimental approaches were short-lived: soon, penance was overwhelmingly conceived as a function of God's law rather than His mercy, and the confessor more as a judge of souls than as their medic. But while Clement did not initiate major reform, his pontificate encompassed creative, experimental approaches to the theory and the practice of sacramental penance and confession. As in other aspects of culture, so too in theology and religious practice this was a period of creative flexibility.

Alexander Nagel, finally, connects artistic changes with religious debates in the early cinquecento. Controversy over the decorum of images in religious settings, he argues, helped spur the development of art criticism and of art history. By the 1520s, efforts to unify beauty and piety in religious art were becoming problematic and would soon be too controversial to imitate; but in the Clementine "moment," such experiments were still possible. Nagel shows how artists such as Titian and Rosso Fiorentino used erotic or sumptuous elements not as ends in themselves, but as means to help communicate profound theological truths about divine love and about Christ's incarnation. On the other hand, Giberti's aniconic sacrament table for the high altar of the Duomo in Verona (1530s) was part of a radical staging of the incarnation that replaced artistic representation with a focused presentation of the Eucharistic body itself. Nagel's contribution is important above all for its restoration of religious motivations and concerns to the reading of early cinquecento art. As Christology became central to contemporary discourse, the issue of whether ancient forms were ideologically neutral, or instead irredeemably tainted with paganism, came to be of paramount importance both to humanists and to artists. Viewed in this light, the art and literature of Clement's pontificate do not appear aberrant. Instead, they can be seen to participate creatively in the more generalized reconfiguration of religious and cultural assumptions and forms that characterized the early sixteenth century.

The Way Forward: Clementine Studies in the New Millennium

Taken as a whole, the present collection demonstrates the usefulness of interdisciplinary approaches, the vitality of current scholarship on Clement VII's pontificate, and the importance of that period for our understanding of the Renaissance in Rome, Florence, and beyond.[11] For centuries, scholars were dismissive of Giulio de' Medici,

11 Numerous important studies appeared too late for consultation for the essays in this volume. Especially noteworthy is J. Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources (1483–1602)*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003). M. Gattoni, *Clemente VII e la geo-politica dello Stato Pontificio* (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2002), offers a compelling interpretation of early cinquecento political and diplomatic history that complements the essays below by Barbara Hallman and Cecil Clough. See too

but current research evidences growing appreciation for the scope and sophistication of his patronage of the arts, and even for his political acumen—at least, if one takes into account the constrained resources and limited options available to him as pope. A quarter-century ago, John Hale succinctly summarized Clement VII's predicament:

> Merely to list the problems that confronted Clement in the eleven years of his pontificate ... is to suggest that the enormity of his task precluded success, especially for a ruler working from an impoverished treasury and on inadequate or faulty information.... On those eleven years pressed the full weight of what were becoming the most pervasive spiritual and political crises Europe had experienced; one was linked to the other, and Clement was harnessed to both.[12]

Perhaps the impossibility of dealing adequately with unprecedented challenges helps to explain the indecision for which Clement VII was infamous. In any case, we ought not to overlook the perceived promise of Clement's election and the accomplishments of the early years of his pontificate as we strive to understand the disasters that ensued: in particular, we should recall his efforts not just to assert the political autonomy of the papacy, but also to create a distinct and lasting reputation by embellishing the papal image with the grandeur of humanist rhetoric and with the lasting beauty of exceptional works of art. Above all in light of these cultural contributions, Clement VII and his pontificate are long overdue for precisely the type of interdisciplinary inquiry and revision that the present collection seeks to provide.

M. Gattoni, *Leone X e la geo-politica dello Stato Pontificio (1513–1521)* (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2000); P. Farenga, "'Nuovi tormenti e nuovi tormentati.' *L'Historia del sacco di Roma* di Luigi Guicciardini," in *Sylva: Studi in onore di Nino Borsellino*, ed. G. Patrizi (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002), 281–305; G. Signorotto and M. A. Visceglia, eds., *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); A. Spotti, "'Uno caso notabille è intravenuto [...]'. Lettera inedita sul saccheggio del Vaticano nel 1526," in *Segni per Armando Petrucci*, ed. L. Miglio and P Supino (Rome: Bagatto Libri, 2002), 243–9; A. M. Cummings, "Three *gigli*: Medici Musical Patronage in the Early Cinquecento," *Recercare* 15 (2003): 39–72; P. Flemer, "Clement VII and the Crisis of the Sack of Rome," in *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence*, ed. W. J. Connell (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 409–33. A classic political narrative of the Sack has recently been reissued: J. Hook, *The Sack of Rome: 1527*, 2d ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). For further bibliography, see the indispensable annual review of scholarly literature, *RR: Roma nel Rinascimento: Bibliografia e note*. Other noteworthy recent publications that bear upon subjects addressed in the present volume include A. R. Ascoli, "Ariosto and the '*Fier Pastor*': Form and History in *Orlando Furioso*," *RQ* 54 (2001): 487–522; N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); T. J. Dandelet, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); U. R. D'Elia, *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); R. Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); L. Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); M. Simonetta, *Rinascimento segreto: il mondo del segretario da Petrarch a Machiavelli* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2004); and R. B. Waddington, *Aretino's Satyr: Sexuality, Satire, and Self-Projection in Sixteenth-Century Literature and Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

12 J. R. Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 111. Cf. Gattoni (2002), cited above in note 11.

PART ONE: HISTORY, POLITICS, AND HUMANISM

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Character, Politics, and Family

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Chapter 2

Guicciardini, Giovio, and the Character of Clement VII

T. C. Price Zimmermann

Francesco Guicciardini's famous contrast of the natures of Clement VII and Leo X, introduced in the *Storia d'Italia* during the account of the formation of the League of Cognac, is a rhetorical set piece worthy of Plutarch's parallel lives. Trenchant, incisive, persuasive, it epitomizes the second Medici pope as weak and vacillating, unable to hold to a decision or cope with its consequences:

> And although he had a most capable intelligence and marvelous knowledge of world affairs, yet he lacked the corresponding resolution and execution. For he was impeded not only by his timidity of spirit, which was by no means small, and by a strong reluctance to spend, but also by a certain innate irresolution and perplexity, so that he remained almost always in suspension ... whence ... any slight impediment ... was sufficient to make him fall back into that confusion wherein he languished before he had come to a decision; since it always seemed to him, once he had decided, that the counsel which he had rejected was the better one. For summoning up in his mind only those reasons that he had discounted, he did not recall those reasons that had motivated his choice. Thus as a result of his complicated nature and confused way of proceeding, he often permitted himself to be led by his ministers and seemed directed rather than counseled by them.[1]

Guicciardini's assessment of Clement's indecisiveness was shared by numerous contemporaries, including the datary Gian Matteo Giberti, Guicciardini's ally in the Curia and the minister most responsible for promoting the League of Cognac of 1526, a decisive link in the chain of events leading to the cataclysmic Sack of Rome in 1527.[2] While protesting that the league had been the pope's own desire, Giberti

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1 "E ancora che avesse lo intelletto capacissimo e notizia maravigliosa di tutte le cose del mondo, nondimeno non corrispondeva nella risoluzione ed esecuzione; perché, impedito non solamente dalla timidità dell'animo, che in lui non era piccola, e dalla cupidità di non spendere ma eziandio da una certa irresoluzione e perplessità che gli era naturale, stesse quasi sempre sospeso e ambiguo ... [d]onde ... ogni leggiero impedimento ... pareva bastante a farlo ritornare in quella confusione nella quale era stato innanzi deliberasse; parendogli sempre, poi che aveva deliberato, che il consiglio stato rifiutato da lui fusse il migliore: perché, rappresentandosegli allora innanzi solamente quelle ragioni che erano state neglette da lui, non rivocava nel suo discorso le ragioni che l'avevano mosso a eleggere.... Nella quale natura implicata e modo confuso di procedere, lasciandosi spesso trasportare da' ministri, pareva piú presto menato da loro che consigliato." Guicciardini, *Storia*, 3:1668–9 (bk. 16, chap. 12). Translation after Sidney Alexander, in Guicciardini, *History*, 363.

2 Cf. A. Turchini, "Giberti, Gian Matteo," in *DBI*, 54:623–9. See also A. Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e controriforma: G. M. Giberti (1495–1543)* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e

nonetheless seemed to have been of the same opinion as Guicciardini when he lamented that the pope:

> was of such a nature that I endured an extreme labor to put him on this road, but an even greater one to maintain him there, and it was impossible to put him on his feet again after so many slips—now the accord with the Colonna, now the treaty with Don Ugo Moncada, now the one with the viceroy—and so, with the many disasters bad fortune brought us, in the end we fell.[3]

Paolo Giovio's analysis of Clement's character, given principally in a retrospect following the pope's death, was similar to Guicciardini's, although with a different emphasis.[4] In regard to Clement's good qualities—his intelligence, dignity, and self-control—the assessments of the two historians were much the same. So, too, with the roster of his defects—particularly his parsimony and indecisiveness, of which Giovio gave a vivid depiction in his narration of the weeks preceding the Sack of Rome.[5] Giovio differed from Guicciardini, rather, in probing more deeply into the wellsprings of these weaknesses, outlining a structure of personality whereby Clement's indecisiveness was grounded in avarice and, paradoxically, in ambition. As a fellow Florentine, Guicciardini was perhaps somewhat more forgiving of Clement's parsimony, although he commented emphatically in his *Ricordi* that success in war depended on large and timely expenditures, certainly a reflection of the disasters of 1527.[6] But while Guicciardini acknowledged the pope's "eagerness to save" and alluded to his reputation for avarice, he subordinated avarice to indecisiveness, whereas Giovio saw it as a controlling character trait, a moral flaw. Lacking the liberality and vigor of mind of his cousin Leo X, Giovio charged, Clement VII "was of a nature to delight in parsimony and dissimulation."[7]

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letteratura, 1969); A. Reynolds, *Renaissance Humanism at the Court of Clement VII. Francesco Berni's* Dialogue Against Poets *in Context. Studies, with an edition and translation by Anne Reynolds* (New York: Garland, 1997), esp. 59–85; and the essays below by W. David Myers and Alexander Nagel.

3 "[E]ra di natura sifatta, che durai una fatica estrema a metterlo su questo camino, ma molto più a mantenervelo, et non si potè mai rimetterlo in piede in tante volte, ora col fare accordo coi Sig.ri Colonnesi, ora con la triegua di D. Ugo, ora con quella del Vice Re, tanti disordini portò la mala fortuna, sì che alla fina noi non cadessimo." G. M. Giberti, "Giustificazione," in G. B. Pighi, *Gianmatteo Giberti vescovo di Verona* (Verona: Marchiori, 1900), viii. Clement VII's role in the events leading to the Sack of Rome, which is the principal basis for the judgments of Guicciardini and, to a large extent, of Giovio, can be followed in the narrative of Ludwig von Pastor or that of Judith Hook. See Pastor, 9; J. Hook, *The Sack of Rome, 1527* (London: Macmillan, 1972). For Guicciardini's relationship to Clement VII a good starting point would be R. Ridolfi, *The Life of Francesco Guicciardini* (New York: Knopf, 1968). For Giovio's relationship to Clement see T. C. P. Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

4 *Historiarum tomi secundi pars prior*, bk. 32, in Giovio, *Opera*, 4:265–6.

5 *Pompei Columnae cardinalis vita*, in Giovio, *Opera*, 6:175–8.

6 *Ricordo* C 146, in F. Guicciardini, *Ricordi*, ed. R. Spongano (Florence: Sansoni, 1951), 161.

7 "[P]arsimonia et dissimulatione gaudentis," Giovio, *Opera*, 4:265. Guicciardini's paradoxical expression "la cupidità di non spendere" is also suggestive of a character trait.

> He had the Medici talent for knowledge and singular judgment in almost everything, including the fine arts ... but his nature was so bent to minor arts and to account books that he spent his time investigating the secrets of craftsmen and their works with excessive and almost depraved shrewdness. And certainly he was a person who was never deceived in small matters; whereas, not surprisingly, in great matters touching the welfare of everyone, he was very often deceived. For in affairs of moment the whole force of his great prudence was completely undermined by a fatal avarice, he being one of those persons who, when faced by the need for making an expenditure, dither and delay, tormented by compulsive indecision until the opportune moment for action is lost.[8]

Thus while acknowledging the play of both qualities in the pope, Giovio ultimately attributed to avarice what Guicciardini attributed to timidity: "in his actions Pope Clement was very grave, very circumspect, very much in control of himself, and with the greatest capacity if his timidity had not often corrupted his power of judgment."[9] Giovio knew of the pope's financial constraints in 1527 as well as Guicciardini did, but in the final analysis he weighted avarice over poverty or timidity.

And not only avarice. In the *Life* of the marquis of Pescara, Giovio linked the pontiff's wavering to a baleful desire for self-aggrandizement and to his hope that by favoring now one, now the other, he could keep the two most powerful monarchs in Christendom, Charles V and Francis I, in mutual check and hence dependent on his favor. That Clement VII should have been following the practice of countless popes, including his cousin Leo X, was not in itself exceptional. Leo had wavered long before breaking with Francis I in 1521 and allying with Charles V But Giovio's accusation went beyond policy and into the realm of character. He specifically rebutted the belief endorsed by Guicciardini that Clement was controlled by his ministers. His own policy was the source of the wavering, Giovio affirmed, not his

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8 "In eo quoque enitebat, quod certe familiae proprium fuit, rerum prope omnium praecellentiumque artium notitia atque censura singularis ... verum ingenio ad infimas artes sumptuariasque rationes adeo demisso haerentique ut opificum arcane subtilitatesque operum nimia et prope turpi solertia scrutaretur. Et certe is fuit quem nemo unquam in parvis rebus fefellerit; ut obiter non sit mirum si in magnis demum, quae publicam salutem respicerent, saepissime fuerit deceptus. In graviore etenim consilio omnem vim summae eius prudentiae fatalis avaritia penitus elidebat utpote qui in proferenda pecunia, quum opus foret, adeo suspensus et anceps tristi cunctatione torqueretur ut in perlevi momento gerendarum rerum occasio facile deperiret." Giovio, *Opera*, 4:266.

9 "E nondimeno nelle sue azioni molto grave molto circospetto e molto vincitore di se medesimo, e di grandissima capacità se la timidità non gli avesse spesso corrotto il giudicio." 20.7, in Guicciardini, *Storia*, 3:2070; trans. Alexander, in Guicciardini, *History*, 442. In a memorandum of March 1526 that Paolo Guicciardini thought underlay the portrait in book 16 of the *Storia d'Italia*, Guicciardini engaged in a detailed analysis of Clement's character, addressing himself to the question of how someone with the pope's intellectual acumen and previous reputation could have brought himself to be so despised. He finds him irresolute by nature and timid, imagining dangers where none exist, but he also attributes to his nature an indisposition to offending or displeasing anyone, the ill result of which is that people who would have accepted a firm denial at the beginning are kept in limbo until they feel themselves deluded and injured. *Scritti inediti di Francesco Guicciardini sopra la politica di Clemente VII dopo la battaglia di Pavia*, ed. P Guicciardini (Florence: Olschki, 1940), 105–13.

falling under the influence of now one, now the other minister.[10] Weak as he was, the pope retained final authority throughout the critical years leading up to the Sack, alternating between the recommendations of Nikolaus von Schönberg and Giberti as a means of balancing Charles V with Francis I to augment his own authority. And not only in 1526–27 but also two years later in the crisis of Henry VIII's divorce Giovio was far from describing the pope as caught between the English king and the Holy Roman Emperor. Rather, he accused Clement of actually "nourishing" the controversy in order to maintain a hold on the obedience of the two monarchs.[11]

Giovio thus gives us a portrait of a pope whose wavering stemmed from a variety of factors, some political, some personal; an individual who although weak was nonetheless ambitious; a leader who reserved to himself the decision-making power even though he did not wield it decisively and who attempted on occasion to profit from his very weakness; a statesman with insight, experience, and many admirable qualities, including moderation and self-control, one who was sincerely pious and sought to be moral in his actions and yet whose indecision coupled with ambition amounted at times to dishonesty. It is a more complex portrait than Guicciardini's and takes more account of the aspiring side of Giulio de' Medici's character, the side invoked ironically in Francesco Vettori's famous epigram, "He endured an enormous labor to become, from a great and respected cardinal, a small and little-esteemed pope."[12]

The differences between Guicciardini and Giovio with respect to the character of Clement VII broach interesting considerations relating on the one hand to personal bias, and on the other to methodology. Neither historian was an impartial observer. Both suffered the frustration of serving a weak master in turbulent times. Both blamed the pope for the disasters of 1527 from which each suffered personally and which each saw as the end of the *libertas Italiae*. The genesis of Guicciardini's great history, as Roberto Ridolfi showed some years ago, was the statesman's *premura* to justify his own role in the League of Cognac and the cataclysmic events it unleashed, a justification in which he demonstrated the degree to which he was prevented by the

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10 *La vita del marchese di Pescara*, ed. C. Panigada (Bari: Laterza, 1931), 377. Cf. Giberti, "Quando il Padrone era Imperiale, io era Imperialissimo; *et e contra*," in his "Giustificazione," in Pighi (1900), viii.

11 T. C. P. Zimmermann, "A Note on Clement VII and the Divorce of Henry VIII," *English Historical Review* 82 (1967): 548–52, at 551. In respect of avarice and duplicitous policy Giovio's analysis was supported by his friend Luis Fernández de Córdoba, duke of Sessa and imperial ambassador from 1523 to 1526, who observed in a long relation to his master, "El Papa es una persona cerrada, harto irresoluto y que si se determina en pocas cosas; ama el dinero, y, trata más con quien sabe buscallo, que con ninguno otro de negociantes; ahunque quiere monstrarse libre, todavía en el éxito de los negocios muestra que es governado, predice grande fe con Vuestra Majestad, más no se deshace de franceses, antes los tiene confiados, debaxo de una forma de neutralidad...." G. DiMeglio, *Carlo V e Clemente VII* (Milan: Martello, 1970), 27.

12 *Sommario della istoria d'Italia 1511–1527*, in F. Vettori, *Scritti storici e politici*, ed. E. Niccolini (Bari: Laterza, 1972), 207. It should be noted that in his determination to repossess Florence, Clement VII was steadfast and unwavering. See also note 9 above, and Barbara Hallman's contribution below.

weakness and indecision of others from achieving goals in themselves realistic.[13] But while Guicciardini relieved his frustrations by writing, Giovio took refuge in silence. His despair as an intimate but powerless observer was so great, he lamented, that he could not bring himself to narrate in his histories the entire decade 1517–27, leaving us to reconstruct his analyses of the events of these years from his biographies.[14]

Each of our two historians knew Giulio de' Medici well, although in different capacities, Guicciardini as a high-ranking official and at times an advisor, Giovio as a physician and constant attendant for over fifteen years, a companion rather than a counselor. Guicciardini's relationship was by way of official, Giovio's by way of personal service. To some extent this difference is detectable in their respective analyses. While Guicciardini expressed the frustration of the subordinate in matters of policy, Giovio added a courtier's disappointment at failing to receive the support he felt he deserved for writing his *Histories*. To men of letters, he complained, the pope "gave the blandishments of words to hold them in the appearance of grace, but in secret he hated them like his creditors."[15] In Giovio's vignette, the pope emerges as impartial, but inscrutable and cold. "Just as he plainly hated no one, so he never loved anyone, except those who were dear to him for some secret reason, and these he shamelessly and immoderately endowed with the highest honors, with positions of the greatest authority, and with enduring riches."[16] Giovio was probably Guicciardini's source for their mutual observation that of the more than thirty cardinals created by Clement (an aspiration of Giovio's although not of Guicciardini's), almost none were chosen for the pope's own satisfaction; but whereas to Guicciardini this was a sign of the pope's control by others, to Giovio it was an indication of his innate parsimony, that he would not reward loyal service or merit.

Apart from personal perspective, however, the differences between Guicciardini and Giovio in their analyses of Clement VII yield interesting methodological insights into early modern historiography. Both historians were well aware of the conventions of classical and humanist historiography.[17] For all his interest in motive, however, far exceeding classical historians in this regard, Guicciardini nonetheless confined his précis of Clement's character to clarifying his actions, whereas Giovio, although well-aware of the classical distinctions between history and biography, when writing in his *Histories* of his former patron allowed his instincts as a biographer to override his practice as a historian in the humanist tradition. Whether Clement's wavering in

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13 R. Ridolfi, "Genesi della *Storia d'Italia*," in his *Studi guicciardiniani* (Florence: Olschki, 1978), 79–130.

14 *Histories*, dedication to vol. 2, in Giovio, *Opera*, 4:1–2.

15 "Hos quidem perblande appellabat ut imagine gratiae detineret, sed occulte oderat tanquam creditores." *Histories*, bk. 32, in Giovio, *Opera*, 4:265.

16 "Neminem enim plane oderat quum neminem adamaret, praeterquam ab occultiore causa conciliatos; his certe unis adeo intemperanter favit ut ad summos honores aut ad summum authoritatis locum stabilesque divitias nullo pudore proveheret; multorum vero constanter oblivisceretur qui ab optimis literarum studiis vetereque obsequio commendationem et praemia meruissent." *Histories*, bk. 32, in Giovio, *Opera*, 4:265.

17 For an introduction to Guicciardini's historiography see M. Phillips, *Francesco Guicciardini: The Historian's Craft* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977); for an introduction to Giovio's see Zimmermann (1995), and the concise account in T. C. P. Zimmermann, "Giovio, Paolo," in *DBI*, 56:430–40, esp. 435–6.

1526 and 1527 between French and imperial alliances was entirely owing to a weak and indecisive character, or whether that seeming weakness and indecision was owing at least in part to avarice and ambition is more appropriately a question for the biographer than for the historian. In practical terms the result was the same. Here we see Guicciardini at the birth of modern historiography focusing on the nexus of character and conduct; Giovio at the birth of modern biography intrigued by the deeper structure of personality. Biography explores the structure and byways of individual personality, the whole spectrum of individuality irrespective of its links to action. History, on the other hand, focuses on the public arena, on action. The historian seeks not so much deep psychological truth as a reasonable explanation for conduct.[18]

One might even go so far as to describe Guicciardini's explorations of character as essentially heuristic in nature. Although Guicciardini was constantly probing to understand the motives for actions, his object was to explain the actions, not the person, to give a rational account of irrational behavior as a means of understanding the historical process and the seemingly capricious. If he could determine that Clement VII were irresolute by nature, then the pope's vacillating policies would require no further explanation. The deeper causes of irresolution would lie beyond the historian's scope. For Giovio, whose *Lives* were more successful than his *Histories* (at least posterity has been more apt to read the biographies), the locus of interest was the individual in all his or her complexity; his *Elogia* delighted in the inconsistencies and quirks of individual character. Guicciardini's *Ricordi*, on the other hand, show how consistently he was striving to construct a framework of analysis for understanding human behavior, but a framework oriented toward generalization for diplomatic and historiographical purposes. It was Giovio who commented on the similarity of the Florentines to their putative ancestors, the Greeks; and in his quest to generalize his analysis of human conduct, Guicciardini indeed resembled Thucydides.[19]

In reading Guicciardini, one sometimes wonders how he can state motives with such peremptory assurance. In declaring, for example, that Lodovico Sforza was motivated by greed for power, had he induced the duke's confessor to break the seal of the confessional?[20] And would he truly have known even then? Can motives ever be known with such assurance? Always the realist, Guicciardini probably did not believe he had unlocked the ultimate secrets of the psyche. Rather, we see him at the inception of modern historiography confronting the historian's problem of explanation by devising what might be called "working models" of personality in order to gain a consistent basis for understanding a person's actions. The *Ricordi* are full of

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18 For a brief survey of the extensive literature on Renaissance biography, see the editors' introduction to *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography from Cassandra Fedele to Louis XIV*, ed. T. F. Mayer and D. R. Woolf (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 1–37. For Italian Renaissance historiography, the best introduction is E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

19 For Giovio's comparison of the Florentines to the ancient Greeks, see Zimmermann (1995), 257.

20 For example, see Guicciardini, *Storia*, 1:1. On Guicciardini's handling of motives and the limits he observed see Phillips (1977), 138–40.

such "working models." (Indeed, Giovio also devised them. His phrase cited in regard to Clement, "He was one of those persons who ...," is only one of many indications that he too was formulating working models of human personality.) Whether the models ultimately turn out to be mere heurisms or true depictions of deeper personality is less important to the historian than their power to explain a sequence of actions, whereas to the biographer inner truth is the goal. Whether Clement VII was indecisive because he was so by nature or because he was rendered so by avarice and ambition does not matter to history so much as the fact that he kept switching sides.

Having been a diplomat, Guicciardini was used to formulating a hypothesis regarding his antagonist's motives as a means to deciphering his actions, and to revising this hypothetical model from day to day—indeed, as Pandolfo Petrucci once instructed the bewildered Machiavelli, from hour to hour.[21] When writing history Guicciardini continued the same practice. As in the natural sciences, so to some extent in the social sciences, our explanatory structures belong to us, rather than to the reality we are describing. And, as in science, when our hypotheses cease to explain phenomena they must be revised.

What Guicciardini did systematically in his great history is what we all do on some level to understand and to deal with the conduct of other people: we categorize them. When they act contrarily to our categorizations we are surprised, even angry. "He's always out for number one." "You can't trust her." "He'll always do what his wife wants." These are primitive models for understanding and dealing with individual conduct. When we cannot form a satisfactory model we fall back on expressions of systematic irrationality. "It's just Bozo being Bozo." In this sense we all function as historians. It is the biographer's role to find out precisely what makes Bozo tick, or the psychiatrist's—not ours, not the historian's. The constructs of personality and motive used by Guicciardini and Giovio in developing a rational framework to analyze the frequently irrational historical process merit systematic reconstruction, for they should reveal much about ideas of human nature in the Renaissance. As is clear from the exordium of Guicciardini's history, the emotion of greed will certainly have a central place in the constructs, but so will a host of other assumptions about human nature.[22]

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21 J. R. Hale, *Machiavelli and Renaissance Italy* (London: English Universities Press, 1964), 88.

22 The historian's analysis of human motives has been extensively discussed (and with much greater sophistication) by philosophers of history. In modern times David Hume was the first to argue the essential uniformity and deducibility of human emotions and their effects. Wilhelm Dilthey explored the application of generalizations to observed behavior, a process which he termed *Verstehen* and which has been expanded by recent philosophers of history to form part of a process termed "analytical colligation" whereby the historian moves "from the description of an event to the discovery of its authors, from the discovery of its authors to the discovery of their purposes, desires, and beliefs, and from the discovery of their purposes, desires, and beliefs to the causes of those purposes and the etiology of those desires and beliefs." C. Roberts, *The Logic of Historical Explanation* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 167; see esp. chaps. 6 and 8. I would like to acknowledge my immense debt in discussions of history and philosophy to my distinguished colleagues at Reed College, the philosopher of history Marvin Levich and the historian of Renaissance English historiography Smith Fussner.