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VENETIAN CARDINALS AT THE PAPAL COURT  
DURING THE PONTIFICATES OF SIXTUS IV AND  
INNOCENT VIII, 1471 - 1492

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## SUMMARY

The histories of particular cities and states within that myriad-faceted slice of civilisation, the Renaissance in Italy, have received more scholarly attention than have the diplomatic, ecclesiastical and cultural connections between them. This study is part of a balance-redressing process. Senior clerics traversed frontiers, owing allegiance to their native state, their benefices and, above all, to the Papacy. The purpose of this exploration of the curial careers of four later quattrocento Venetian cardinals is essentially twofold: to account for relations between Venice and the Papacy with reference to individuals who were at once Venetian patricians and princes of the Church; and to examine the cardinals' responses to this situation in terms of political, ecclesiastical and cultural patronage. Where did their loyalty lie? To Venice, with its perennial suspicion of the Church and peculiar notion of the characteristics of a Venetian cardinal? Or to the Pope, expressing overt hostility towards the Republic in the War of Ferrara and placing it under an interdict? Chapter one sets Marco Barbo, Pietro Foscari, Giovanni Michiel and Giovanni Battista Zeno in a Venetian context. Chapters two and three chart relations between the two powers, from the exposure of Cardinal Zeno's involvement in a scheme to transmit Venetian state secrets to Rome in exchange for ecclesiastical preferment, through to Ermolao Barbaro's controversial appointment to the patriarchate of Aquileia, via the short-lived Papal-Venetian league negotiated by Cardinal Foscari in 1480. The fourth chapter considers their proximity to the Supreme Pontiff and how their material fortunes varied under Popes Sixtus and Innocent, after which an assessment of the nature, extent and effectiveness of their patronage is divided between chapters five and six, focussing particularly on Venetian connections. Despite diverging careers, it is concluded that all were bound by variations of the Venetian inheritance.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archivium Arcis
ASF	Archivio di Stato, Florence
ASMa	Archivio di Stato, Mantua
ASMi	Archivio di Stato, Milan
ASMo	Archivio di Stato, Modena
<u>ASRSP</u>	<u>Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria</u>
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
ASVen	Archivio di Stato, Venice
Barbaro	Marco Barbaro, <u>Arbori di patrizi veneti</u>
Barb. lat.	Fondo Barbarini latino
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Borg.lat.	Fondo Borgiano latino
<u>Il carteggio</u>	<u>Il carteggio fra il card. Marco Barbo e Giovanni Lorenzi</u> (1481-1490)
	ed. P. Paschini
Cons. X Misti	Consiglio dei Dieci, Deliberazioni Misti
<u>DBI</u>	<u>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</u>
Div. Cam.	Diversa Cameralia
Eubel	C. Eubel, <u>Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi</u> .vol.II
Fondo Concist.	Fondo Concistoriale
Introit. et Exit.	Introitus et Exitus
<u>JWCI</u>	<u>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</u>
Litta	P. Litta <u>Famiglie celebre d'Italia</u> .
MAP	Mediceo avanti il Principato
Marc. lat.	Codice Marciana latina
<u>NAV</u>	<u>Nuovo Archivio Veneto</u>
Oblig. et Solut.	Obligaciones et Solutiones
Oblig. Part	Obligaciones Particulares
Pastor	L. von Pastor. <u>History of the Popes from the Close of the</u> <u>Middle Ages</u>

Reg. Vat.	Registro Vaticano
<u>RIS</u>	<u>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</u>
SS.	Senato, Deliberazioni segrete (Senatus Secreta).
SPE	Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma.

## INTRODUCTION

- Cardinal : a. On which something else hinges or depends, fundamental; chief, principal, of special importance.
- n. One of the Roman princes ranking immediately after the Pope who, when assembled in Consistory, are his immediate councillors. The Sacred College of Cardinals ... assume the government of the Church during a vacancy of the Holy See and enjoy the right of electing the Pope, a privilege restricted to them since the third Lateran Council in 1173.<sup>1</sup>

The equation of cardo (= hinge) with the ecclesiastical dignity cardinalis is more convenient than accurate, yet none the less attractive. The first Roman cardinals were of neither "cardinal" importance or eminent rank, but were "incardinated" or wedged into a title or diocese other than the one to which they had always been attached, moved to meet the peculiar needs of the Roman churches. As Rome was distinct from all other sees in Western Christendom, so the clergy who served Rome's bishop were almost bound to develop a dignity not permitted to their counterparts elsewhere. Leo IX (1048-1054), initiator of a major reform movement, and his successors, recognised the value of having a permanent body of advisers, whether Italian or non-Italian, who subscribed to papal acts, took part in Church government and participated in Rome's judicial functions.<sup>2</sup> The Sacred College of Cardinals was born. Four centuries, the

Avignonese "captivity" and consequent inflated Conciliar pretensions transformed them into princes of the Church with the power to make or break popes or anti-popes and claim collective authority as valid as that of the pontiff himself. In the course of the quattrocento, papal authority in Rome and the Papal States made a partial recovery, though the Sacred College continued to exert itself in one election capitulation after another, all of them rejected. Nevertheless, increased papal authority in the Patrimony of St. Peter and in relation to neighbouring states necessitated the devolution of some powers onto curial cardinals.

Our later quattrocento "hinges" number four, namely Marco Barbo, Pietro Foscari, Giovanni Michiel and Giovanni Battista Zeno : four Venetians who served as curial cardinals during the pontificates of Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere) and Innocent VIII (Giovanni Battista Cibò), 1471-1484 and 1484-1492 respectively. Their careers can be most succinctly summarised in terms of episcopal appointments. Barbo (b. c. 1420, d. 1491) : Bishop of Treviso, 1455-64; of Vicenza, 1464-71; Patriarch of Aquileia, 1471-91; Bishop of Palestrina, 1478-91. Foscari (b. c. 1430, d. 1485) : Bishop of Treviso, 1455; of Spalato, 1478-79 (in administration); and of Padua, 1481-5 (again in administration). Michiel (b. c. 1444, d. 1503) : Bishop of Verona, 1471-1503; of Padua, 1485-87; Albano, 1491; Palestrina, 1491-92; Porto, 1492-1503; Patriarch of Constantinople, 1497-1503. Zeno (b. 1442, d. 1501) : Bishop of Vicenza, 1471-1501; of Tusculum, 1479-1501, and of Frascati from 1483. There is a slight chronological discrepancy in Eubel's account of these episcopal translations, one that has been perpetuated by later historians. Barbo, Michiel and Zeno's appointments to Aquileia, Verona and Vicenza respectively all took place on 18 March 1471. Eubel fails to harmonise calendars,

putting Michiel's promotion in March 1471, but the other two a year earlier.<sup>4</sup> Barbo was made a cardinal on 18 September 1467, Michiel and Zeno on 21 November 1468, all promoted by their kinsman Pope Paul II (1464-71). Pietro Foscari joined them in the Sacred College on 10 December 1477, raised to the cardinalate in Sixtus's fourth promotion, although he too had been resident in Rome throughout the early years of the Sistine pontificate.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to this skeletal information, contemporary observations, scholarly interpretations and architectural evidence may be employed to create pen-portraits of the four, distinguishing them from their fellow cardinals and from each other. The following impressionistic biographies will be supplemented or refuted as appropriate in the course of this study.

The authorities are agreed upon Marco Barbo's multiple virtues, his piety, prudence and conscientious work for the Church against the backdrop of an increasingly worldly and corrupt Curia. Pastor synthesises his most noted characteristics : "A singular sweetness of disposition and deep piety were in his case united with a rare capacity for business and great learning. He was absolutely disinterested. During his lifetime he gave all his income to the poor, to whom afterwards he bequeathed what remained, 'for', he said, 'the goods of the Church are, according to the Fathers, the inheritance of Christ's poor'. His fine library was the only gratification he allowed himself".<sup>6</sup>

The first decades of Marco Barbo's life remain obscured, a date of birth in 1420 being calculated solely on the basis of the fact that his father, Marino, registered him for the balla d'oro on 20 November 1438, eighteen marking a Venetian patrician's political coming of age. Thereafter historians and chroniclers place Cardinal Barbo centre-stage at the Roman Curia on a number of occasions during the forty years of his

service to the Papacy. For Paul II he acted as cardinal-camerlengo in all but name after the death of another Venetian, Lodovico Trevisan, besides serving on commissions charged with reforming the Knights Hospitallers and investigating the activities of Pomponio Leto's Roman Academy. Within a year of Sixtus IV's election, Barbo was dispatched on a thirty-three-month legation to Germany, Hungary and Poland, theoretically extended to Denmark, Sweden and Norway, though actually confined to the former regions, where the cardinal worked actively for the internal peace of the Empire and engineered an agreement between Poland and Hungary over the kingdom of Bohemia.<sup>7</sup>

In a strictly Roman context, Cardinal Barbo's most frequently cited foray onto the historical stage came during the interregnum caused by Sixtus's death on 12 August 1484. Barbo was held in such respect by all parties that he not only imposed order on the Roman populace during what was, by tradition, a season of chaos prior to the election of a new pontiff, but succeeded in quelling the worst excesses of factional conflict among his fellow cardinals. This achievement was all the more remarkable in that it came within days of the formal conclusion of the War of Ferrara which, like all peninsular hostilities, had been fought out in miniature in the Sacred College. In consequence, he came within a narrow margin of being elevated to the papal eminence himself; that he ultimately fell short of the required number of votes is interpreted by Gualdo as a victory for worldliness over the personal austerity of the Cardinal of S. Marco, a simplification which fails to take into account political divisions between the cardinals and the secular powers they represented.<sup>8</sup> Thereafter, as reflected by Pastor's above-quoted comments, the most significant event which distinguished Cardinal Barbo from his peers was the holy manner of his dying on 2 March 1491 at S. Martinello

in Rome—"ad limina apostolorum"—and the curious nature of his legacy. The five hundred volumes of his library, of which only a small proportion have been identified by scholars, would have been among the first rank of quattrocento collections. Chaconius, Cicogna and Querini all pay tribute to Barbo's literary interests and expertise, while portions of the Palazzo Venezia in Rome stand as testimony to his patronage of the visual arts. A contemporary account of the cardinal's last days buttresses the general assessment of his character, as does his memorial, a modest slab set into the floor of his titular church, the Roman basilica dedicated to Venice's patron, St. Mark.<sup>9</sup>

Marco Barbo's restraint contrasts with the all-too-conspicuous vestiges of Cardinal Zeno's transient earthly glory, the Cappella Zen within the atrium of S. Marco at Venice, for the sake of which the basilica was deprived of its most direct entrance from the lagoon. Thomas Coryat described it as "a very faire little Chappel having a sumptuous Altar . . . . In the middle of this Chappel there is a sumptuous brasse Tombe of a certaine Cardinal . . . . Upon this Tombe, is made at length, the whole proportion of his body with his Cardinals habits".<sup>10</sup> In return for bequeathing a considerable fortune to the Republic, Zeno had hoped to be buried in the basilica itself, the atrium being at once a compromise and the most enduring relic of his career. The location and circumstances are somewhat ironic when viewed in relation to one of the other two episodes in his life that merit inclusion in the standard histories of Renaissance Venice and Rome. In the Winter of 1471-2, the extent of the cardinal's involvement in an espionage conspiracy, the essence of which was the conveyance of Venetian state secrets to Rome in exchange for promises of ecclesiastical preferment, became known: one of the most serious political scandals of the period.<sup>11</sup> For the other

episode, one must turn to the pontificate of Alexander VI (1492-1503), during which Battista Zeno abandoned the duties of a cardinal, left Rome and became resident in the Veneto, probably dividing his time between Padua and his Vicentine bishopric. On the occasion of the cardinal's death at Padua, 8 May 1501, agents of the Venetian Signoria were hastily dispatched to take possession of the exceptional wealth with which the late cardinal was known to have surrounded himself. According to a contemporary account, 22,714 ducats were found at the episcopal palace at Vicenza, 60,000 at Padua, a further 26,000 at Ancona and a total of 130,000 ducats from all sources. Pope Alexander was no less avaricious, as Marino Sanudo's version of the episode relates: "And a messenger came to Padua from the legate with a brief from the pope, who excommunicated, etc., because the pope wants the money for himself."<sup>12</sup> Both sides remained obdurate, each claiming legitimate possession of this substantial fortune, until Alexander capitulated in April 1502. Consequently, in death as in life, the predominant image of Cardinal Zeno is of a stumbling block in relations between Venice and the Papacy.

Whereas Cardinals Barbo and Zeno have received attention as the most respected and the most notorious Venetian princes of the Church of their day, Giovanni Michiel has excited minimal interest among contemporary and later commentators. Nothing so publicised his life as the leaving of it, at Porto on 11 April 1503. The Borgia pope, having failed to secure Battista Zeno's fortune, took care not to allow a second prize to elude him. So swiftly did he descend on Porto to collect the late cardinal's moveable wealth that it was widely rumoured that Michiel had been a victim of Borgia poison. Heading a list of Michiel's assets, the Venetian ambassador Antonio Giustinian gives a figure of more than

150,000 ducats "tra denari, argenti et altre tapezzarie de casa", continuing, "In denari contadi si hanno ritrovati da ducati 50 in 60,000, si come me ha detto messer Francesco Candi suo secretario; de argenti, circa 20,000; el resto è in altre cose sopraditte, fin alla somma".<sup>13</sup> The cardinal's effigy in his titular church of S. Marcello, above that of another familiar, Antonio Orso, Bishop of Canea in Crete, leans awkwardly on his right elbow, mitred head back and thoroughly anonymous.

Cardinal Michiel and the fourth member of the quartet, Pietro Foscari, are dismissed by Pastor in a diatribe against declining moral standards in the Sacred College: "Giovanni Michiel and Pietro Foscari ... were essentially Venetian patricians, and found the new order of things by no means uncongenial".<sup>14</sup> This generalisation does not do absolute justice to either cardinal, but particularly not to Foscari, to whom contemporaries accorded a pious reputation. Nor does Pastor make mention of Foscari's rôle as architect of a short-lived alliance between Venice and the Papacy, concluded on 16 April 1480 and now the cardinal's chief claim to fame. This relative obscurity finds its sepulchral parallel, and an ironic one at that when contrasted with the Cappella Zen, at the hub of the Venetian establishment, for Foscari's tomb-effigy long suffered as the victim of mistaken identity, in the somewhat unlikely setting of Rome's S. Maria del Popolo, oak-garlanded monument to the Della Rovere family.<sup>15</sup>

Under what criteria have these four cardinals been selected for study? They were certainly not the only Venetians in the Sacred College between 1471 and 1492, as Maffeo Gherardo (1405-1492) was cardinalated by Pope Innocent on 9 March 1489. Trained in the religious life by Paolo Venier at S. Michele di Murano, Gherardo continued the reforming tradition as

abbot of the same house. Twice a candidate for the patriarchate of Venice in 1464, he received the Senate's nomination two years later, though Paul II was reluctant to ratify their choice and did not finally consent until December 1468. In twenty-six years as patriarch, Gherardo was responsible for notable ecclesiastical reforms and for treading a careful path between his Venetian and Roman masters, judiciously feigning illness rather than personally conveying the papal Interdict to the Signoria in 1483. According to Chaconius, the patriarch was created a cardinal in pectore (i.e. secretly), which resulted in a minor controversy surrounding his participation in the conclave of 1492. "Gherardo sarebbe stato costretto dal senato a recarsi al conclave, e solo Giuliano della Rovere gli avrebbe scritto di venire benché tutti gli altri cardinali fossero contrari".<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, Gherardo was simply not a curial cardinal and on these grounds he may be discounted, though due attention will be paid to his rôle in the 1492 conclave, his single Roman foray.

Antonio Giacomo Venieri (1422-1479) has frequently been described as a Venetian cardinal, even by the most respected authorities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, on the assumption that he was a scion of the Venetian Venier clan. No evidence substantiates this claim, while Peter Partner has recently made a positive identification of the cardinal in his study of the Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance. The Venieri of Recanati were actually a leading curialist family, among whom the cardinal's uncle was Archbishop of Ragusa and an associate of Lodovico Trevisan the Cardinal-Patriarch of Aquileia (d. 1465). Moreover, in the light of evidence to be presented in chapter two, the creation of a Venetian cardinal by Sixtus IV in any year, but perhaps particularly in 1473, would certainly not have passed unnoticed by the Senate and

similarly interested parties.<sup>17</sup>

An anonymous seventeenth-century work entitled Della Dignità Ecclesiastica listing, with compact biographies, Venetian popes, cardinals and primicerii of S. Marco, includes the following among the cardinals : "Giacomo Surian. q. Andrea fu del 1471 eletto cardinale da P.P. Paolo II, ma essendo (?) la morte subitanea del Pontefice non poté esser publicato. dove non è menzionato et haveva figlioli". Though of a similar nature, Querini's Tiara et Purpura Veneto contains no corresponding reference to Surian, whose plight bore a resemblance to that of Pietro Foscari, created a cardinal in pectore by Paul in 1471, but remaining unpublished as a consequence of that pope's death. Even if Surian did exist - and a Giacomo Surian was certainly abbot of S. Zeno, Verona, in this period and a candidate for the bishopric of Padua in 1481, whether or not he fitted the precise description quoted above - he need not detain us since the relevant authorities do not regard Foscari as a cardinal prior to his publication in 1477.<sup>18</sup>

In the wake of Sixtus's Interdict against Venice on 23 May 1483, the diarist Giacomo Gherardi listed the Venetian cardinals who boycotted solemn vespers with the Pope and the Sacred College on the feast of Corpus Domini as Barbo, Zeno, Michiel, Foscari and Gabriele Rangoni.<sup>19</sup> Veronese by birth, Rangoni's position is also somewhat ambiguous, his città being subject to Venetian rule. However, in view of the fact that, in correspondence with their cardinals, the Venetian Signoria restricted the number to four, those of genuine Venetian patrician birth, it is perhaps better to place Rangoni in the category "friend of Venice", of which the most celebrated representative in the later quattrocento was the cultivated Greek emigré "Bessarion Venetus".

Having thereby isolated four Venetian cardinals, what justifies a study devoted to that particular curial quartet? As Venetians and cardinals they were persons of two distinct, all-but mutually exclusive, capacities. According to Pius II, a cardinal had but one patria and that was Rome. The Venetian Signoria, with its peculiar notion of precisely what constituted a Venetian cardinal, was no less exacting towards its subjects, whether lay or clerical. This presented a conflict of loyalties in any Venetian-held diocese, but how much more so in the cosmopolitan melting-pot of curial Rome, where patriotic motives were generally of considerably less consequence than individual greed and ambition. A history of poor relations between Venice and the Papacy, wrangling over appointments to benefices, decima contributions or responses to the Infidel, made the position of Venetians in Rome and of cardinals in particular, one of great delicacy, their dilemma all the more acute. Obstinate loyalty to Venice would render them politically isolated and ineffective at the Curia for as long as the supreme pontiff shared Pius II's sentiments : "(Venetians) wish to appear Christians before the world but in reality they never think of God and, except for the state, which they regard as a deity, they hold nothing sacred, nothing holy. To a Venetian, that is just which is for the good of the state; that is pious which increases the empire".<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, absolute identification with the Papacy would negate the exclusive patrician heritage to which they were born and bred.

The two decades chosen for study present phases of tenuous alliance between the two powers, ranging through mutual suspicion to open warfare in fairly rapid succession. Fluidity of circumstances forced the cardinals to meet a variety of challenges in the course of coming to terms with their dual characters. Not least important was the death of

the belligerent Sixtus in 1484 and the election of the pliant Innocent; a succession of scarcely less importance to Barbo, Foscari, Michiel and Zeno than the demise of their papal benefactor thirteen years before.

After an exploration of the cardinals' Venetian heritage, the first half of this study will be devoted to charting their involvement in Veneto-Papal political relations. Considerable historiographical emphasis has been placed on Italian states in isolation, most obviously Venice and Florence, whether in terms of governmental practice, social institutions or cultural patronage, to the detriment of inter-state relations. With the unfolding publication of the letters of Lorenzo de' Medici the balance is being redressed in favour of later quattrocento diplomacy, but where better to observe such connections than Rome, the diplomatic hub of Christendom?<sup>21</sup> Keeping the cardinals in the foreground provides an additional dimension: four individuals of similar origins in the same situation. How did they react? Individually or as a group? On which side did their loyalty ultimately lie? The last three chapters will be concerned with the cardinals as recipients of papal patronage, in terms of benefice and office-holding, and as channels for the distribution of political, ecclesiastical and cultural patronage. Again, the principal point of interest is whether their personal or collective responses were determined by the motives of a prince of the Church, whether disinterested or otherwise, or those of inbred loyalty to the Serenissima. In each case, there is one fundamental question to be asked ...

Venetian cardinals : patriots for whom?

NOTES ON INTRODUCTION

1. Amalgamated from the Oxford English Dictionary and the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.
2. S. Kuttner, "Cardinalis : The History of a Canonical Concept", Traditio 3 (1945), pp. 129-214. "Not from any 'cardinal' importance of the suburbicarian sees or the title churches, nor from any eminent rank (cardinalis principalis) of their incumbents, did the Roman cardinalate take its origin ...", p. 150. Kuttner explains the evolutionary process by which cardinal bishops, priests and deacons came together to form the Sacred College.
3. Among relevant studies : John F. Broderick S.J., "The Sacred College of Cardinals : Size and Geographical Composition (1099-1986)", Archivium Historiae Pontificiae 25 (1987), pp. 7-71. R. Gregoire, "Il sacro collegio cardinalizio dall' elezione di Sisto IV all'elezione di Giulio II (1471-1503)", Atti e Memorie della Società Savonese di Storia Patria n.s. XXIV (1989) pp. 209-232. (L'età dei Della Rovere vol. 1)
4. C. Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi vol. II : Treviso, p. 248; Vicenza, p.267; Aquileia, p.92; Palestrina, p.60; Spalato, p.240; Padua, p.210; Verona, p.265; Albano, p.59; Porto, p.60; Constantinople, p.135; Tusculum, p.61. ASV, Obligationes et Solutiones 82, fol. 61 r-v, 18 March 1471 (a Monday!)
5. Eubel II, pp. 15,18.
6. L. Von Pastor, The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages vol. IV, p.121 (English edition by F.I. Antrobus). For career summaries and character assessments : A Chaconius, Vitae et res gestae pontificum romanorum et S.R.E. cardinalium, ed. A. Oldoinus (Rome, 1677), cols. 1241-2; E.A. Cicogna, Delle iscrizioni veneziani vol. II (Venice, 1827) pp. 255-9; Angelo Maria Querini, Tiara et Purpura Veneto ab Anno MCCCC LXXIX ad Annum MDCCLIX (Brescia, 1761), pp. 31-4. In terms of more recent publications, the trail begins with G. Gualdo, DBI 6, pp. 249-52; a distinction as yet denied to his three peers.
7. DBI 6, pp. 249-50
8. op. cit., p. 250. Chapters three and five, below, attempt to scratch beneath the surface of that conclave.
9. Giuseppe Zippel, "La morte di Marco Barbo cardinale", in Miscellanea in onore di G.B. Monticolo, ed. C. Cipolla et al. (Venice, 1922), pp. 193-203.
10. T. Coryat, Crudities, vol. 1 (Glasgow, 1905), p. 351.
11. See below, chapter two. Biographically, see Chaconius, op. cit., col. 1244; Querini, op. cit., pp. 34-6. Also on a biographical note,

Marino Sanudo, in his De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae, states specifically that Battista Zeno was born on 16 October 1442 at 19.49 hours!; though 1439 at an unspecified hour has also been suggested. The cardinal's tomb, inspired by Antonio Rizzo, was begun by Leopardi and Antonio Lombardo, but completed by Paolo Savin.

12. Sanudo, quoted by B.M. Hallman, Italian Cardinals, Reform and the Church as Property (Berkeley and London, 1985), pp. 80-1.
13. Biographies : Chaconius, op. cit., cols. 1244-5; Querini, op.cit., pp. 37-9. For the circumstances of his death : Antonio Giustinian, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 474-5, to whom the root of the poisoning theory can also be attributed. The tomb is by Jacopo Sansovino.
14. Pastor IV, p. 414.
15. See below, chapter three, for the league, and subsequent chapters for Foscari's funerary chapel and tomb. Querini, op. cit., p. 39.
16. Quoted by A. Nieri, I patriarchi di Venezia : da Lorenzo Giustiniani ai nostri giorni, Studium cattolico veneziano (Venice, 1961), pp.42-6. Eubel II, p. 21.
17. P. Partner, The Pope's Men : The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance (Oxford, 1990), pp. 254-5. Cameral records include a Matteo de Venier de Recanati : ASV, Diversa Cameralia 36, fol. 24v, 16 August 1471.
18. ASV, Vat. lat. 10419, fols. 144r-171r. For Surian, fol. 150v. The creation of cardinals in pectore will be met with in chapter two, with regard to Foscari.
19. G. Gherardi, Diario Romano, ed. E. Carusi, RIS XXIII 3 (Città di Castello, 1904-11), pp. 118-19. Rangoni was created a cardinal on the same occasion as Foscari and died 27 September 1486.
20. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II, an abridgement translated by Florence A. Gragg (London, 1960) p. 301.
21. Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, vols. I - VI, eds. R. Fubini, N. Rubinstein and M.E. Mallett (Florence, 1977-90).

1. THE VENETIAN BACKGROUND : SAINTS AND SCHOLARS,  
PATRICIANS AND POPES

"Siamo veneziani, poi cristiani!" proclaims the old Venetian saying without a hint of shame. Though perhaps originally spoken in dry self-parody, this terse confession contains more than an element of truth. Our four princes of the Church were Venetian patricians by birth, but ecclesiastics only by "profession", and it is as citizens of Venice, as inheritors of political, cultural and religious traditions peculiar to that city, that they will be regarded in this chapter.

Whether sacred or secular, this Venetian inheritance derived ultimately from the city's inescapable insularity, which fostered a political system and cultural identity self-consciously independent from and in reaction to that which obtained on the mainland. Perhaps the most subtle threat to this celebrated independence was the Papacy, doubly so in being both a temporal power in the peninsula and a supra-national, spiritual one in every parish.

By surveying the families of the four cardinals in the context of their relationship to the Venetian Signoria, it is hoped to put the cardinals themselves into some kind of perspective vis-à-vis their patria. From political connections, the focus will shift to intellectual influences, in terms of formal education and the wider cultural ambience of quattrocento Venice. It will be argued that this inheritance, along with the prevalent ecclesiology and flourishing spirituality, was peculiarly Venetian in character. The scene will finally be set by the introduction of a Roman element with the election of two Venetian popes in the course of the fifteenth century, and a consideration of the cardinals as bishops of Venetian terraferma dioceses.

The most fundamental bond uniting Cardinals Barbo, Foscari, Michiel and Zeno was their Venetian patrician birth. Michiel and Zen fortunes reached their zenith in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the two clans producing between them four doges within a 160-year span.<sup>1</sup> By the fifteenth century, however, both families, although numerous, shared the fate of other case vecchie in being consigned to comparative obscurity. By contrast, the Barbo and Foscari came to prominence in the fifteenth century, though there is ample evidence that they provided the Republic with ducal electors, ambassadors and officials of less exalted status from the twelfth century onwards.<sup>2</sup>

The cardinals themselves may be identified with reference to Tables I, II, III and IV. The standard authorities are in general agreement over the precise identification of Foscari, Michiel and Zeno within their wider clans and immediate families, though at least one claims that Pietro was the son rather than the nephew of Doge Francesco<sup>3</sup>. Isolating Battista Zeno's family within the vast Zen clan, his direct ancestors have been traced to the parishes of SS.Apostoli and S.Aponal, as have those of Giovanni Michiel to S. Geminiano (S. Zeminian), S.Severo and S.Trovaso.<sup>4</sup> The Palazzo Foscari at S.Simeone Piccolo stands as a witness to Pietro's branch of that family.<sup>5</sup>

The identification of Marco Barbo has proved rather more problematic, the cardinal being long the victim of mistaken identity.<sup>6</sup> Giuseppe Zippel's 1904 reconstruction of the Barbo genealogy not only sets the record straight, but provides the most comprehensive discussion of the question.<sup>7</sup> In an age of extensive clerical nepotism it was perhaps only natural that contemporaries such as Infessura in his Diary and Francesco Ariosti in his account of Borso d'Este's visit to Rome in 1471, should refer to

Marco Barbo as nipote of the Barbo pope, Paul II. Agostini, Litta and other later commentators, perpetuating the inaccuracy, made the assumption that Cardinal Marco was the son of Pietro Barbo's brother Paolo; doubly attractive in view of Paolo's distinguished political and diplomatic career, his experience of the papal court, proximity to the pope and noted literary interests.<sup>8</sup> Convenience, however, is no measure for either probability or documentary evidence. Born in 1416 and married in 1434, Paolo is an impossible candidate to be father of the mature man who became bishop of Treviso in 1455 and who died in his seventy-second year in March 1491. Zippel cites numerous sources en route to his conclusion that Marco was in fact the son of Marino di Marco Barbo and Filippa della Riva, and thus nephew of Lodovico Barbo, the celebrated Bishop of Treviso (d.1443).<sup>9</sup> Consequently, it is necessary to work back through five generations before Cardinal Marco and the Barbo pontiff find a common ancestor. On paper, the relationship is so tenuous as to make the term nipote an almost acceptable convenience!

Evidence which Zippel fails to cite are the wills of Paolo, Marino and their kin. If Paolo had been the father of Marco, then the fact might reasonably be expected to appear in his testament of c.1460. Mention is made of his brother Pietro, then bishop of Vicenza, but Marco appears in his episcopal dignity and no other.<sup>10</sup> Nor does Orsa Soranzo, Paolo's second wife, mention a son or even a step-son in her will of 15 August 1451, though there are references to her young daughters Polissena and Marietta.<sup>11</sup> When the said Polissena, by then wife of her kinsman Pantaleone Barbo, drew up her own testament in 1484, she also made no mention of Cardinal Marco in a fraternal capacity or any other. She did, however, make a bequest to her first cousin, the Cardinal of S. Maria in Porticu, Battista Zeno.<sup>12</sup> More will be said below of

Marino Barbo, but it may be noted here that in his testament of 2 December 1444 he left as his sole heir his son Marco.<sup>13</sup> Since 1904 it has been orthodox to identify Cardinal Marco as the son of Marino, an identification which will be accepted unequivocally throughout this study.

From the outset, Pietro Foscari stands slightly apart from his fellows. They shared a certain heritage, having a common ancestor in Marco di Pancrazio Barbo, a ducal elector in 1311.<sup>14</sup> Among kinsmen close enough to influence his career, Foscari could boast only laymen, albeit including the formidable Doge Francesco, while the other three benefited from exalted clerical connections, their secular relatives tending to bask in the reflected glory of the Church.

Though entitled to a rôle in the governmental process, not all patrician males could rise to the higher levels of the pyramidal structure of which the Maggior Consiglio was the base and the dogado the apex. Among Cardinal Marco's contemporaries, the Barbo clan contained at least three figures worthy of political or diplomatic note. Marco di Andrea Barbo received the balla d'oro on 20 November 1440, two years after the future cardinal, and served as bailo and capitano of Corfù in 1472, capitano and podestà of Ravenna in 1487 and 1488.<sup>15</sup> A ducal elector of Andrea Vendramin (1476), Giovanni Mocenigo (1478) and Marco Barbarigo (1485), he was also a ducal councillor and obtained the titles Court of Zara (1479) and Duke of Candia (1500). Paolo di Andrea di Giovanni il Procuratore, born c.1422, was podestà at Chioggia in 1480, a savio with responsibility for Cyprus the following year and podestà of Brescia in 1485. In 1487, he was elected provveditore to the Venetian army at Vicenza during the border conflict

with Sigismund of Austria, but refused the post and, for non-payment of the 500 ducat fine thus incurred, was exiled to Zara for a year, but resumed his career thereafter, being one of the ambassadors sent to congratulate Pope Alexander VI upon his election in 1492. Paolo di Niccolò Barbo, already dismissed as an improbable father for the cardinal, was the son of another Barbo podestà of Chioggia. He appears most prominently in foreign embassies, including the dangerous mission to Lodi (clad in a Franciscan habit) for the signing of peace in 1454, and to France in 1461-2 in company with Bernardo Giustiniani. Failure to persuade his brother Pietro to renounce the bishopric of Padua in 1459 resulted in removal from all offices and a year's exile. Again, this proved to be a temporary interruption rather than a permanent reversal.<sup>16</sup> In this, Paolo may be contrasted with his first cousins/sons-in-law, Pantaleone and Alvise Barbo, who were evidently expendable and never recovered from their involvement in the Barbo-Zen espionage ring and consequent disgrace in 1472.<sup>17</sup>

Among Cardinal Marco Barbo's direct ancestors, his great-grandfather Pantaleone il Grande was a ducal councillor at the time of the deposition of Doge Marino Falier in 1355 and continued in high office until his death in 1367. The cardinal's grandfather, also Marco, was both a senator and a man of action, commanding ships from the sestiere of Dorsoduro for the attack on Chioggia in 1380. Litta offers little information on Marino di Marco Barbo, merely that he was registered for the balla d'oro in 1409, the year of his father's death, married Filippa della Riva and was alive in 1438 when his own son reached political maturity. Although Marino is not known to have had an active political career, his secular interests were no less typically Venetian, entering into a successful business partnership with a Piero Michiel (not a close relative of the

Michiel cardinal), transporting goods - cloths, spices, soap, oils and wine - on a triangular route between Venice, Syracuse and Constantinople.<sup>18</sup> In short, an impeccably Venetian lineage.

According to Barbaro, a double marriage united the Barbo and Zen in the 1430s. Apart from Battista, little is known of the offspring of either union.<sup>19</sup> The only one to emerge from the shadows is Tommaso, a naval captain in the 1480s and '90s and a member of the Council of Ten in 1471 when his cousin's activities came under investigation. While the chroniclers leave little doubt as to Elisabetta Barbo-Zen's singularly forceful character, commentators have found little to say about her husband. Presented in the balla d'oro in 1421, Niccolò di Tommaso Zen married seventeen years later and died towards the middle of June 1465. It is known that his brother-in-law granted him an annual pension of 300 ducats from the wealthy abbey of S.Andrea di Carrara, diocese of Padua, of which Pietro Barbo was perpetual commendatory.<sup>20</sup> Zippel acknowledges no children of this marriage besides the cardinal, though Barbaro does include a brother, Alvise, provato in 1454 and therefore presumably six years the elder.

Table IV includes three of the sons of Piero Zen of S.Aponal, whose careers took on heroic, if not mythic, proportions in the later trecento. The family memoir relating the explorations of Niccolò and Antonio Zen in the Northern seas, once considered little more than fabulous, has recently been investigated by Giorgio Padoan, providing confirmation of the claims made therein. In the process, Padoan assembles a wealth of information about the fraternal adventurers and their family - easily the most comprehensive guide to any of the four dynasties under consideration here - and raises them to something approaching the reputation of their brother

Carlo, much-fêted hero of the War of Chioggia.<sup>22</sup> As Carlo's grandson Jacopo's account leaves little doubt, every virtue was granted him and all were expended in the service of the Republic. Yet even he was not above reproach, the penalty for receiving gifts or pensions from the Carrara lords of Padua being the loss of all his offices and a year's imprisonment.<sup>23</sup> The period 1471 to 1492 offers no such heroic successors. Luca Zen appears as the leading political representative of his clan, serving as savio di terraferma in 1482, a capo of the Ten, 1483 and 1484, visdomino of Ferrara in 1485 and a ducal councillor on several occasions. Simone Zen made his mark in the Senate in the mid-1480s and as a capo of the Forty in 1484, while Caterino Zen distinguished himself as ambassador to Usun Hassan in the early 1470s.<sup>24</sup> None of these were closely related to the cardinal. Similarly, the only Michiel to take a leading rôle in the Senate (let alone the Ten) was Francesco, savio di terraferma in 1481 and a principal member of the vocal party hostile to Ercole d'Este in the period immediately prior to the War of Ferrara.<sup>25</sup> Cardinal Michiel's uncle Francesco is not known to have risen to such distinction.

The parallel with the Zen continues with Lorenzo Michiel, the cardinal's father: the Barbo marriage, an indefinite number of offspring and an annual grant of 200 ducats from the exchequer of Cardinal Pietro (as administered by his brother, Paolo Barbo), perhaps to cover the educational expenses of young Giovanni on the first rung of the nepotistic ladder.<sup>26</sup> Following Lorenzo's death in June 1459, the cardinal assumed direct responsibility not only for Giovanni, transferred to Rome to live with his cousins Giovanni Barbo and Battista Zeno, but also for his nieces, variously distributed among convents at Venice, Torcello and Padua. In 1461 Nicolasa Barbo-Michiel took a second husband, Giovanni di Andrea Bragadin, but by 1469 was again a widow. Barbaro refers to a daughter of Giovanni

Bragadin who was also a sister to Cardinal Michiel, but no further issue from this marriage has been traced.<sup>27</sup>

Doubt remains as to the number of Giovanni Michiel's siblings, Table III having been calculated on the basis of wills made by most of them.<sup>28</sup> A brother Luca is mentioned by Andriana in 1484 and Elisabetta the following year, but no further definite information on him has come to light.<sup>29</sup> The earliest testament in this group is that of Eugenia, in religion Suor Serafina of the convent of S. Maria degli Angeli at Murano, in which she acknowledges her father but no other kin. The cardinal's brothers-in-law, while all of patrician standing, were probably of minimal weight in the councils of the Republic. Barbaro notes little more than that Zorzi Foscarini died in 1497 and Alvise Michiel di S. Cassiano completed his mortal span aged eighty-five. Francesco Gritti, though one of the Forty, is noted for little beyond dying 'de mal Francese' in 1507. Family ties may not have been close: Laura (1482), Andriana (1484) and Elisabetta (1491) refer to their brother the cardinal, but merely to state the fact, reserving genuine affection for their sisters, husbands and children.

In marked contrast to these otherwise invisible figures is the family of Pietro Foscari. The events of his uncle's thirty-four year dogado, the protracted and costly terraferma expansion, the extravagant celebration of Jacopo Foscari's wedding and the humiliation of his repeated exiles, together with the doge's highly dramatic deposition in 1457, are well known. Francesco Foscari stamped his character on Venetian history as did few holders of his rigidly circumscribed office. The cardinal's father, Marco, was closely associated with the ducal policy and acted as executor of his brother's will, besides holding the Captaincy of Padua in 1426, being a

procuratore di S.Marco from November 1434 and on a commission to supervise the integration of Friuli into the Venetian dominions in 1445. He managed to survive the débâcle of 1457, though not without some suspicion being cast upon him.<sup>30</sup>

The pattern of service, disgrace and rehabilitation, found above with reference to individuals, applied no less to families. In the case of the Foscari, this is perhaps best illustrated by the career of the doge's grandson, Niccolò. In 1481, he was sent to negotiate a condotta with René of Lorraine prior to the Ferrarese war, while 1484 saw him as an ambassador to Maximilian of Burgundy. Later appointments included serving on the Council of Ten, as provveditore and capitano of Padua (1490, 1497 and 1501 respectively).<sup>31</sup> The Cardinal's brother Alvise was one of the three capi of the Ten in 1480, while his son Francesco was employed by the Signoria as a go-between in their correspondence with Cardinal Pietro.<sup>32</sup> Turning to another branch of the family, Filippo, brother of Bishop Polidoro, was a member of the Ten in 1471, a savio del consiglio, and procuratore di S.Marco from November 1474. Filippo's three sons all had notable secular careers, Urbano being an ambassador to Hungary in 1476 to promote war against the Turks, and Michele a ducal elector in 1486 and 1501.<sup>33</sup>

The value to a cardinal of politically active kinsmen and the misfortune of their absence will emerge in the course of chapters two and three.

Speculation about the intellectual formation of the four cardinals rests largely on circumstantial evidence concerning Paduan contemporaries and cultivated kinsmen.

Though unsupported by dates, Papadopoli states that all four studied law at Padua, Zeno and Michiel each emerging as 'jurus utriusque doctor', while

there are hints that legal studies may have been preceded by arts for both Barbo and Zeno.<sup>34</sup> A slightly more detailed reconstruction of Pietro Foscari's Paduan career is possible. Zonta and Brotto provide ample evidence of his presence there between 16 March 1448 and 9 May 1450 (the year their source breaks off). In that twenty-seven month period the young apostolic protonotary and primicerio of S.Marco witnessed the granting of degrees on seven separate occasions.<sup>35</sup>

Among recipients, sponsors and witnesses, Foscari's name is linked with such notable figures as Palla Strozzi, the wealthy Florentine exile whose promotion of Greek studies has earned him the title of "la pietra fondamentale del Rinascimento dell' Italia settentrionale,"<sup>36</sup> and Antonio Roselli, professor of laws, who appears in the list of Paduan graduations 214 times between November 1438 and 1450.<sup>37</sup> Foscari's first appearance as a witness was on the occasion of Lauro Quirini receiving his doctorate. Quirini went on to include Francesco and Jacopo Foscari among his correspondents, together with the likes of Francesco Filelfo, Pietro Dolfin and Bernardo Bembo.<sup>38</sup> One further connection culled from the Acta Graduum : on 31 March 1449, Foscari was principal witness to the granting of a degree by licence to one 'Benedicti q. Antonio de Francischis de Venetiis'. A fellow witness was Angelo Fasolo, who went on to become one of Marco Barbo's closest associates. The termination of Foscari's own studies is marked by Ognibene Leoniceno's Oratio in privato examine Petri Foscari, protonotarii apostolici et primicerii sancti Marci Venetiarum, in iure pontificio, delivered on 31 August 1454.<sup>39</sup>

Tempting though it is to flesh out these bare bones, it is safer to say that Pietro Foscari's early initiation into the republic of letters at what was effectively the university of Venice, paralleled his closer contact with Venetian political circles. In 1481, he returned as both

Bishop of Padua and, automatically, Chancellor of the University.

So many illustrious names can be associated with mid-quattrocento Padua that it would be excessive to list them here in the hope of stumbling across any definite contacts of the cardinals.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, such was the stream of talent flowing from Padua to Rome that they may have felt carried along in the intellectual current. Janus Argyropulos and Calixtus Andronicus, Greek émigrés given sanctuary by Palla Strozzi at Padua, were among those who gravitated towards Rome and, more specifically, the circle of Cardinal Bessarion.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps the most attractive piece of speculation concerns Francesco della Rovere (the future Sixtus IV), who received his doctorate at Padua in 1444. He appears in the Acta Graduum 47 times between 1432 and 1449. If the testimonies of Argyropulos and Bonfrancesco Arlotti may be believed, every learned man in Italy had been a disciple of Della Rovere.<sup>42</sup> Presumably Barbo and Foscari, by no means unlearned, may be counted among that number.

One particular source relating to a group of like-minded Paduan contemporaries came under analysis over a century ago, the members of Girolamo Molin's circulating library in the 1450s. Molin's membership list is based upon books returned to him and includes Domenico de' Domenichi, already Bishop of Torcello in 1455. The most avid borrower was Francesco Diedo, returning more than eight volumes between July 1454 and July 1456. Others included Marco Aurelio, another future ambassador to the Curia, Pietro Barbaro, Stefano Quirini and Vinceguerra Dandolo.

One item merits especial notice :

"Dominus Marchus barbo nepos olim Leonardi venerio qui occubuit mediolani tempore comitis francisci ex discipulus Iohannis petri veronensis, restituere debet varranem de lingua latina in cartis membranis in parvo volumine, copertum corio rubeo, quem sibi mutuo dedi undecima die mensis marcii MCCCC LV<sup>43</sup>"

Neither Litta nor Zippel record any Marco Barbo who fits this precise description, though the future cardinal, who had been made a canon of Padua eight months previously,<sup>44</sup> and Marco di Andrea Barbo are the likeliest candidates. Girolamo Squaciacifco described the latter as a 'most learned and diligent man'. A marble medallion in the seminary museum at Venice, dating from the latter half of the fifteenth century, displays a bas-relief profile portrait of a man identified as Marco di Andrea, with the title 'MVSARVM CVLTOR'. A closely related branch of the family yields Bernardino di Francesco, whom Litta describes as a gentleman of great merit and 'cultore delle muse', citing a note in his hand in a certain Petrarchan codex.<sup>45</sup> These would appear to be comparatively minor figures in the verdant landscape of fifteenth-century Venetian humanism, yet they remain valuable as part of the stock from which Cardinals Barbo, Michiel and Zeno sprang. Indeed, in Margaret King's assessment, "Not only individuals, but families, it seems, engaged in the intellectual life of Venice. Ties of birth and interest - crossing the barriers of ordination - knit the patrician humanists together, perhaps even more intensively than they knit together Venice's wider ruling class".<sup>46</sup> In the case of the Barbo clan, the most prominent figures were Niccolò, uncle of the aforementioned Bernardino, who corresponded with Pontano, Andrea Trapezuntius, Isotta Nogarola, Antonio Beccadelli, Francesco Barbaro and Maffeo Vallaresso, among others; and Paolo di Niccolò, praised for his learning by Flavio Biondo and Poggio Bracciolini, and noted for a series of orations, including one delivered before Louis XI at Tours in December 1461.<sup>47</sup> In turn, Paolo's son Giovanni paraded his learning in correspondence with the educationalist Guarino da Verona and in an astrological treatise directed against his former tutor, Paul of Middelburg.<sup>48</sup> Kinship ties, albeit occasionally rather tenuous,

can be traced from the Barbo to other patrician families who displayed an interest in the humane letters. Into this category, those deemed worthy of King's "profile" studies are the layman Vitale Lando and the clerics Lorenzo Zane, Gregorio Correr, Francesco and Pietro Barozzi.<sup>49</sup>

Concentrating on the Venetian cultural environment is of greater relevance with regard to Barbo and Foscari, than to Zeno and Michiel, whisked off to Rome at an impressionable age, though later returning to Padua. It is not known precisely when they and their cousin Giovanni Barbo were installed in the house of Alto di Nero at their uncle's expense, though his nepotism doubtless extended to the provision of tutors.<sup>50</sup> Though selective in terms of humanist patronage, Pietro Barbo did reward his own tutor, Antonio (Lotto) degli Agli, upon his elevation to the papacy, and pursued advanced studies under George of Trebizond.<sup>51</sup> Further illumination may be sought in the early career of Lorenzo Zane (1429-1484), sent to Rome from Venice under the protection of Eugenius IV and the tutelage of Cardinal Francesco Condulmer, both kinsmen on his mother's side. Ecclesiastical preferment came to Zane at an early age, bishop of Spoleto at twenty-three. He studied in Rome under Lorenzo Valla, whom he proposed as official Venetian historiographer and defended in controversies with Poggio.<sup>52</sup> Taking the prodigious Zane as a model, Papal Rome offered no lack of cultural inspiration for the two young Venetians growing up in its midst and in its ways.

Subject to the peculiar insularity of Venetian politics though they were, and open to its cultural expressions, it is of more immediate relevance to set the cardinals against the backdrop of the Republic's ambiguous relationship with Rome and its bishop.<sup>53</sup> Venice's topography stands as a lasting witness to this ambiguity, the basilica of S. Marco,

ducal chapel and venue for state occasions, being centrally located in the social and governmental heart, while the bishops and, subsequently, patriarchs were subjected to a form of internal exile at S. Pietro in Castello. Without inviting formal schism, State interference in Church affairs resulted in such distinctive features as the election of priests by their parishoners, the unique liturgy of S. Marco reflecting the sacral nature of the ducal honour, and a thorough legislative framework to check the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the temporal sphere. A clear distinction between servants of the Republic and those of the Papacy was enshrined in law : relatives of the reigning doge were barred from ecclesiastical office, as were ambassadors residing at other courts, members of the Collegio and their relatives. All who were related to beneficed clergy became tainted as papalisti and obliged to leave the council chamber when matters concerning the Papacy were discussed. The distinction was necessarily a fine one, since the Republic also insisted that all benefices in the Venetian dominio worth over 300 ducats be the preserve of Venetian patricians, a policy underscored by the system of probae by which such posts were filled. The Senate voted on a selection of candidates as each bishopric or major abbacy became vacant, forwarding their preferences to Rome in the hope of papal ratification for their first choice. This arrangement presents at once the Signoria's aspirations to control the Church by means of loyal subjects in senior posts and the most frequent source of friction between Venice and the Papacy.

54

Between them, the four cardinals represent different responses to the Church-State dilemma. Regardless of legal restrictions, two members of Francesco Foscari's family were appointed primicerio of S. Marco during his dogado, his cousin Polidoro from 1425 and his nephew Pietro from at least 1447. The deaths of all Francesco's sons except Jacopo between 1425

and 1437 feeds speculation that Pietro was selected in their stead as the object of some dynastic policy, though perhaps this should not be overstated.<sup>55</sup> While not a State-imposed alternative to the Venetian patriarch, the primicerio nevertheless represented something in the order of an official cultus. Responsible for the clergy serving the basilica and the worship therein, the position was at the disposal of the Signoria and one of its functions was the anointing of the new doge. Additional privileges obtained for the primicerio by successive doges included the use of pontifical insignia appropriate to a bishop in the celebration of divine office and the enjoyment of almost episcopal jurisdiction over lesser clergy at the basilica, quite independent of the patriarch.<sup>56</sup>

At the opposite end of the spectrum, Zeno and Michiel (following in the footsteps of Lorenzo Zane, among others) invited charges of disloyalty to Venice by living in Rome as the protégés of Pietro Barbo, the man at the heart of the Paduan conflict of 1459-60.<sup>57</sup> Finally, Marco Barbo represented a position between these two extremes and at the same time above the Papal-Venetian test of wills. His association with the Congregation of S. Giustina, Lodovico Barbo and the reforming tradition which he inspired identifies Marco with an ideal of pastoral and spiritual mission frequently presented as no less characteristically Venetian than the Erastian position of the primicerio. At the same time '... the huge machine of monasticism in the Venetian possessions ... always constituted a solid and united opposition to the secular power'.<sup>58</sup>

Clerical dynasticism was an integral part of the natural order within which senior prelates functioned, a system most readily observed at Rome. A glance at papal nepotism reveals, for instance, the rise of the Catalans

under Calixtus III, who promoted his nephews Rodrigo Borgia and Luiz Juan de Mila to the cardinalate, the Sienese under Pius II or, more blatantly, the Ligurians under Sixtus IV, who created no fewer than six cardinals from his own family besides advancing their secular brethren. Barbara Hallman's study of cardinals and their property between the pontificates of Julius II and Pius V provides a detailed analysis of all the relevant dynastic relationships, including those of eight Venetians. Of those, all except Pietro Bembo were related to one another by ties of blood or vaguer kinship. Francesco Pisani, cardinalated in 1517 and living until 1570, could claim kinship with Francesco, Andrea and Marco Corraro, Domenico and Marino Grimani and Gasparo Contarini.<sup>59</sup> In comparison, quattrocento clerical dynasticism verges on the amateurish!

Cardinals Zeno and Michiel, together with their cousins Giovanni and Agostino Barbo, represent at least the fourth generation of clerical nepotism within the Condulmer-Barbo dynasty, their grandmother Polissena Condulmer being a niece of Gregory XII and sister to Eugenius IV.<sup>60</sup> From them, the succession (Apostolic and otherwise) passed to Polissena's son Pietro (Paul II) and thence to his nephews. Pietro's first cousin, Franceschina, was grandmother to Pietro Barozzi, Bishop of Belluno (1471-87) and of Padua from 1487 until his death in 1507, who maintained contacts with each of the cardinals to whom he was related. Marco Barbo acted as his patron at the Curia and Barozzi was later among the principal witnesses to Battista Zeno's will. The Paduan controversy of 1485-7, when Barozzi and Giovanni Michiel were pawns of the Signoria and the Papacy respectively, does not appear to have resulted in any animosity between the two bishops themselves.<sup>61</sup> Giovanni Barozzi, Bishop of Bergamo in succession to Polidoro Foscari and thereafter Patriarch of Venice (January 1465 until his death in

Holy Week the following year), was also counted among Paul's nipoti and would have received a red hat but for his untimely death. Widening the kinship net in a different direction, via the Condulmer, Lorenzo Zane found favour not only under the Venetian pontiffs Eugenius and Paul, but also under Pius and Sixtus. Pius appointed him papal treasurer-general in 1463, Paul made him governor of Cesena, a post which he held five times between 1465 and 1484, while Sixtus created him successively Patriarch of Antioch (1473), Bishop of Treviso (1473-78) and of Brescia (1478-80).<sup>62</sup> Paolo Zane succeeded his uncle at Brescia and was among the candidates for Aquileia in 1491, while the marriage of Lorenzo's sister Isabella to Vitale Lando introduced yet another clerical dynasty, comprising Girolamo, Pietro, Marco and Andrea Lando.<sup>63</sup> Further to these, the anti-Pope John XXIII had created Francesco Lando a Cardinal in 1411.

While not providing comprehensive coverage of the careers of the leading clerics in this group of inter-related families, Table V - sequences of patriarchs and bishops relevant to this and later chapters - does give an indication of the extent to which they dominated the most important Venetian-held benefices. Table VI charts the spread of Venetian cardinals throughout the quattrocento. Three distinct 'waves' corresponding to the pontificates of Gregory, Eugenius and Paul illustrate the fact that, with odd exceptions, it took a Venetian pope to create a Venetian cardinal. Pope Gregory (Angelo Correr) was a cousin of Gabriele Condulmer, which means that the two Correr representatives ought properly to be included in the greater dynasty delineated above. The inclusion of 'Bessarion Venetus' may distort the picture slightly, but the significance of his promotion by a Venetian pontiff remains.

TABLE VSEQUENCES OF PATRIARCHS AND BISHOPS RELEVANT TO THE TEXT

Based on C.Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi, vols. II, III.

a. Patriarchs of Aquileia

Lodovico Trevisan	1439 - 1465
MARCO BARBO	1471 - 1491
Ermolao Barbaro <u>il giovane</u>	1491 - 1493
Niccolò Donato	1493 - 1497
Domenico Grimani	1497 - 1523

b. Patriarchs of Constantinople

Isidore of Kiev	c. 1445
Bessarion	1463 - 1472
Pietro Riario	1472 - 1474
Girolamo Lando	1474 - 1497
GIOVANNI MICHIEL	1497 - 1503
Giovanni Borgia	1503

c. Patriarchs of Grado

Marco Condulmer	1438 - 1445
Domenico Michiel	1445 - 1451

d. Patriarchs of Venice

S. Lorenzo Giustiniani	1451 - 1456
Matteo Contarini	1456 - 1460
Andrea Bondimerio	1460 - 1464
Gregorio Correr	1464 -
Giovanni Barozzi	1464 - 1466
Maffeo Gherardi	1466/68 - 1492
Tommaso Donato	1492 - 1504

e. Archibishops of Crete

Fantino Dandolo	1444 - 1448
Filippo Paruta	1448 - 1458
Girolamo Lando	1458 - 1493
Andrea Lando	1493 - 1505

f. Bishops of Bergamo

Polidoro Foscari	1437 - 1449
Giovanni Barozzi	1449 - 1464
Lodovico Donato	1465 - 1484
Lorenzo Gabriel	1484 - 1512

g. Bishops of Brescia

Pietro del Monte	1442 - 1457
Bartolomeo Malipiero	1457 - 1464
Domenico de' Domenichi	1464 - 1478
Lorenzo Zane	1478 - 1480
Paolo Zane	1480

h. Bishops of Feltre and Belluno

Jacopo Zen	1447 - 1460
Francesco Lignamine	1460 - 1462

diocese split 1462

Bishops of Feltre

Teodoro Lelli	1462 - 1464
Angelo Fasolo	1464 - 1491
Giovanni Robobello	1491 - 1494
Andrea Trevisan	1494 - 1504

Bishops of Belluno

Lodovico Donato	1462 - 1465
Moïse Buffarelli	1465 - 1471
Pietro Barozzi	1471 - 1487
Bernardo de' Rossi	1487 - 1499

i. Bishops of Padua

Pietro Donato	1428 - 1447
Fantino Dandolo	1448 - 145
Pietro Barbo	1459 - 1460
Jacopo Zen	1460 - 1481
PIETRO FOSCARI	1481 - 1485
GIOVANNI MICHIEL	1485 - 1487
Pietro Barozzi	1487 - 1507

j. Bishops of Spalato

Lorenzo Zane	1452 - 1473
Pietro Riario	1473 - 1474
Giovanni Dacre (Zanetto da Udine)	1474 - 1478
PIETRO FOSCARI (in admin.)	1478 - 1479
Bartolomeo Averoldo	1479 - 1503
Bernardo Zane	1503 - 1524

k. Bishops of Treviso

Lodovico Barbo	1437 - 1443
Ermolao Barbaro <u>il vecchio</u>	1443 - 1453
Marino Contarini	1453 - 1455
PIETRO FOSCARI	1455
MARCO BARBO	1455 - 1464
Teodoro Lelli	1464 - 1466
Francesco Barozzi	1466 - 1471
Pietro Riario	1471 - 1473
Lorenzo Zane	1473 - 1478
Giovanni Dacre (Zanetto da Udine)	1478 - 1485
Niccolò Franco	1485 - 1499
Bernardo de' Rossi	1499

l. Bishops of Verona

Francesco Condulmer	1438 - 1453
Ermolao Barbaro <u>il vecchio</u>	1453 - 1471
GIOVANNI MICHIEL	1471 - 1503

m. Bishops of Vicenza

Francesco Malipiero	1433 - 1451
Pietro Barbo	1451 - 1464
MARCO BARBO	1464 - 1471
GIOVANNI BATTISTA ZENO	1471 - 1501
Pietro Dandolo	1501 - 1509

Also note :

Leonello Chiericati, Bishop of Arbe, 1472 - 1484

Bishop of Traù, 1484 - 1488

Bishop of Concordia, 1488 - 1506

TABLE VIVENETIAN CARDINALS, 1380 - 1500

<u>Pope</u>	<u>Cardinal</u>	<u>Created</u>	<u>Died</u>
Urban VI (1378 - 89, Rome)	Lodovico Donato	1381	1385
Boniface IX (1389 - 1404, Rome)	-	-	-
Innocent VII (1404 06, Rome)	Angelo Correr	1405	1417 (resigned 1415)
Gregory XII (1406 - 15, Rome)	Antonio Correr	1408	1445
	Gabriele Condulmer	1408	1448 (Pope, 1431-48)
	Angelo Barbarigo	1408	1416
	Pietro Morosini	1408	1424
John XXIII (1410 - 15, Pisa)	Francesco Lando	1411	1427
Martin V (1417 - 31)	-	-	-
Eugenius IV (1431 - 48)	Francesco Condulmer	1431	1453
	("Bessarion Venetus")	1439	1472)
	Lodovico Trevisan	1440	1465
	Pietro Barbo	1440	1471 (Pope, 1464-71)
Nicholas V (1448 - 55)	-	-	-
Calixtus III (1455 - 58)	-	-	-
Pius II (1458 - 64)	-	-	-
Paul II (1464 - 71)	Marco Barbo	1467	1491
	Giovanni Battista Zeno	1468	1501
	Giovanni Michiel	1468	1503
Sixtus IV (1471 - 84)	Pietro Foscari	1477	1485
Innocent VIII (1484 - 92)	Maffeo Gherardi	1489	1492
Alexander VI (1492 - 1503)	Domenico Grimani	1493	1523

Based on information from C. Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica medi aevi, vols. I, II.

On the evidence presented in Tables II and III, the Michiel and Zen boasted but one other figure of eminence in the Church, Jacope Zen. After attending the Council of Ferrara-Florence, he beat the path to Rome, becoming an apostolic subdeacon by 1444 and papal referendarius after 1447. Prior to his twenty-one year tenure at Padua, he was an unsuccessful candidate for Vicenza (1451), Verona (1453) and Venice (1456), defeated by Pietro Barbo, Ermolao Barbaro il vecchio and Matteo Contarini respectively.<sup>64</sup> Antonio Zen had been Pietro Donato's vicar at Padua earlier in the century, but was not closely related to the cardinal.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, one might mention the last Patriarch of Grado, Domenico Michiel (d.1451) and the Giovanni Michiel, Abbot of S.Giorgio Maggiore, who had a powerful conversion experience at S.Giustina in 1414, but neither were close kin to Cardinal Michiel.<sup>66</sup> Both cardinals owed their rise to eminence entirely to their Barbo connections.

Of the branch of the Barbo clan to which Paul II belonged, Marco Barbo wrote on 9 March 1483: "Quia certe sine eorum opera mendicaremus".<sup>67</sup> It is undeniable that until 1471 he owed his advancement to that source; yet other influences, impressed upon him at an early age, help to explain aspects of his later career. The key figure is Lodovico Barbo, inter alia Abbot of St.Giustina and Bishop of Treviso, the inspiration for generations of reformers in Venice and the Veneto.<sup>68</sup> Lodovico, the regular priest, did much to shape Marco's mind; Cardinal Pietro, the secular priest, offered him worldly fortune : a retreat from mendicancy in more senses than one!

Vocations proliferated among Marco Barbo's uncles. Besides Lodovico, Francesco and Pietro were both Secular Canons, the latter concentrating on missionary work. Although Marino Barbo remained in the world, he maintained close links with his brothers' work, acting as their agent or representative

in matters concerning the Signoria, besides offering considerable financial assistance in times of grave necessity. Among other duties, he acted as executor of Lodovico's will, having charge of money intended for the restitution of Christians fallen into the hands of the Sultan.<sup>69</sup>

By 1431, Marino Barbo and Filippa della Riva had three children, Marco, Donato and Elisabetta. In that year, their uncle Pietro assisted them, while still minors, to take possession of a house in Padua "in contrata S. Marie de Betlem Prativallis", a property belonging to S. Giustina.<sup>70</sup> In the absence of information to the contrary, this invites speculation that the children were installed in Padua for educational purposes. Presumably Donato and Elisabetta had died by the time their father made his will of 2 December 1444, in which Marco was left as sole heir. At that date, Marino was living "de confinio sancti Juliani de Venetiis", though in 1442 he had a house in the parish of S. Felice (remnants of neither property being discernable today), where Lodovico Barbo had received Tommaso Tommasini Paruta, Bishop of Feltre and Belluno.<sup>71</sup> A less circumstantial connection between uncle and nephew was Marco's visit to Lodovico at Treviso, c. 1440, at the age of twenty, fifteen years before his own elevation to that see. This visit has been noted for bringing about the first contact between Marco and Ognibene Leoniceno, Pietro Foscari's future eulogist, then commencing a five-year teaching post at Treviso to which the bishop had appointed him.<sup>72</sup>

Following the deaths of Lodovico and Marino, Marco obeyed the summons to Rome : a blatant rejection of the saintly prelate's teaching? Not necessarily! Contemporaries leave no doubt as to Marco's personal piety, untainted by the worst excesses of Roman life, from which he took pains to absent himself as often as diplomatically possible. The community of

S.Giustina itself had a notably urban character, directing its mission to those beyond the monastery wall. Indeed, in the abbot's thinking, to escape from the world is good, but to have an habitual sense of God, a profound religious sense suffusing everything, is better. An urban location meant proximity to the University of Padua, from which many members of the community were recruited, bringing with them the study of Greek literature and philosophy. Lodovico Barbo's particular brand of monasticism was also receptive to the 'new learning', making compatible "De contemptu mundi" and "De hominis dignitate" in a devotion to Christ's humanity. All of which serves as a suitable curtain-raiser to Marco Barbo's cultural interests even before coming into contact with Bessarion. Finally, S.Giustina was an important centre for the distribution of De Imitatione Christi, which stresses that the Christian must be "obedient unto death". By going to Rome, Marco Barbo obeyed his father in Christ, the pope.<sup>73</sup>

Whereas Zeno and Michiel inherited a pattern of thought centred upon the outward manifestations of the Church in Rome, perhaps at the expense of the individual's experience of the divine, Marco Barbo was the pope's good servant, but God's first.

As in the secular field, so in the clerical, Pietro Foscari is easy to isolate from his red-hatted fellows. None of his immediate family are known to have had careers in the Church though, apart from Pietro, three Foscari bishops emerged in as many centuries. Of these, neither Paolo (d.1377) nor Polidoro (d.1450) promoted relations between Church and State. Paolo di Giovanni Foscari, as Bishop of Castello (i.e. Venice) inherited a feud with the Republic over decima allocations. The bishop called upon the doge and Senate to appear before the pope at Avignon, which resulted in Giovanni Foscari being ordered to instruct his son to submit to Venetian

law. Evidently he did not, for Paolo became an archbishop, dying in Rome the following year. Polidoro Foscari, having been elected primicerio of S.Marco in 1425, became Bishop of Bergamo in 1437. Twelve years later, he fled that city after a singularly stormy tenure, his fiery temperament alienating chapter and Bergomaschi in general. Nicholas V provided compensation in the form of the archbishopric of Zara, but Polidoro died in Venice without setting foot in the Dalmatian city.<sup>74</sup> As bishop and diplomat, Pietro Foscari inherited nothing from either of these.

During his six-year pontificate, Paul II created nine cardinals in two promotions. Those raised to the cardinalate on 18 September 1467 were Marco Barbo, Oliviero Carafa, Jean de Balue, Francesco della Rovere, Thomas Bourchier, Teodoro de Monferrato and Amico Agnifilio. They were joined in November 1468 by Zeno and Michiel, totalling an even greater proportion of nipoti than Sixtus's six out of thirty-four creations.<sup>75</sup> Papal nepotism, its purpose and effects, were central features of the Renaissance papacy and an appreciation of it is vital to an understanding of Roman society. In the quattrocento it had yet to acquire the institutional character of the "cardinal nephew", but the origins of that concept may be traced to our period. In the constantly fluctuating world of curial politics, in which parties realigned with each successive pontificate and positions were consolidated or interests balanced by judicious promotions to the Sacred College, papal nepotism was intended to have a positive rôle, providing the pontiff with eyes, ears and loyal support. The inevitable apex of a system spreading down through all levels of the hierarchy, it was regarded as reasonably legitimate provided the promotion of obviously unsuitable candidates was avoided. Pius II was in no position to censure the practice himself, yet took exception to Calixtus III's promotion of his three nephews: "They were

all so young, though of great promise, that it was not inaptly said that the three cardinals together had not years enough for one. It was evident that men were not made cardinals because they could help the Church but because they themselves had need of her help; though it is indeed a common fault to subordinate the office to the man, not the man to the office".<sup>76</sup>

Whether in a Roman context or with regard to Papal-Venetian relations, too close an identification with the Barbo pope was something of a ~~poisoned~~ chalice. "An expert seeker after worldly favours",<sup>77</sup> the most substantial relic of his taste for outward splendour is the Palazzo di S.Marco (Palazzo Venezia), setting new standards of monumentality in the construction of Roman palazzi. Another frequently cited form of self-glorification on Paul's part was his striking of more commemorative medals than any other quattrocento pope. Thus Platina : "Praeterea vero numismata prope infinita, ex auro, argento aereve sua imagine signata, sine ullo senatusconsulto in fundamentis aedificorum suorum more veterum collocabat" ...herein imitating the pagan ancients rather than Peter, Anacletus and Linus.<sup>78</sup> Character assassination rose to a crescendo following the pope's suppression of the Roman Academy in 1468, an episode which will be covered in chapter six as part of Paul's cultural bequest to his nipoti. Though certainly exhibiting a magpie-like attraction to dazzling objects, Paul took care to share his wealth among his sisters, their husbands and children, besides other members of the Venetian community in Rome.<sup>79</sup> This generosity has done as little for Paul's reputation as a Franciscan's lack of financial experience has for Sixtus IV's.

Barbo, Michiel and Zeno were also in a position to be handicapped as creatures of a Venetian pope who bore a deep resentment towards the

Republic, dating from the controversy over his claim to the bishopric of Padua. On the death of Fantino Dandolo, the Senate selected Gregorio correr to succeed him, other contenders including Domenico de' Domenichi, Marco Barbo, Pietro Foscari, Jacopo Zen, Pietro Lippomano and Giovanni Barozzi. Expressing revulsion for irreligious Venetians, to whom "that is just which is for the good of the state; that is pious which increases the empire",<sup>80</sup> Pius overruled the Senate, appointing Pietro Barbo to the vacancy. One flock would suffer from a non-resident bishop at Vicenza. The consequence would be doubly scandalous if he were bishop of two dioceses simultaneously. So argued Venice. Confusion reigned until the early months of 1460 when Barbo renounced the second bishopric and Pius transferred Jacopo Zen from Belluno to Padua with Venetian approval.<sup>81</sup> Pietro Barbo had been papabile in the conclave of 1455, when he was supported by Venice, Naples and the Orsini. According to Cicogna, Venetian support continued, with his election in 1464 being due to the "parole efficaci" of Doge Cristoforo Moro, though Pastor maintains that no election could have been more embarrassing to Venice.<sup>82</sup>

The Pauline biographers Gaspare da Verona and Michele Canensi da Viterbo find nothing amiss in the promotion of Michiel and Zeno, nor does Platina include the advancement of the two youthful prelates in his catalogue of Paul's crimes and misjudgements. Not so Bessarion, whose objections on account of their age and inadequate qualifications may be compared to Pius II's disapprobation of the Catalans and, more significantly, suggest an identification with the Republic at the pope's expense.<sup>83</sup>

A further indication of Zeno and Michiel's proximity to their uncle, to add to this necessarily sketchy account of the relationship, may be discerned in the contrast between their rise to eminence and the stunted careers of their fellow nipoti. Until 1468, their situation was paralleled

by that of Giovanni Barbo. A candidate for the patriarchate of Venice and the bishopric of Treviso in 1466, he failed to obtain any major benefices, while Paul's death consigned him to obscurity.<sup>84</sup> Similarly Giovanni's brother Agostino, though favoured by the pope to a certain extent, was prevented from progressing beyond canonries at Verona and Padua. More surprising is the failure of Lorenzo Zane, experienced in the ways of the Curia and a valued instrument of papal government in the *Patrimony*, to receive greater rewards from Paul. Re-appointed treasurer-general in the first few days of the pontificate, Zane played a crucial part in crushing the Anguillara rebellion a year later, yet Paul did not bestow so much as a bishopric upon him.<sup>85</sup> Were Zeno and Michiel distinguished by impressionable malleability?

It seems clear that Marco Barbo remained in Venice or the Veneto for as long as his uncle and father lived. It is not known when he took orders and followed the well-trodden path to Rome, but the silence is broken by his first documented appearance there, as maestro di casa to Cardinal Pietro, c. June 1451. Payments to him from the cardinal's exchequer began in 1450 and continued on a regular basis until at least 1453, during which period Pietro Barbo's patronage began to bear fruit in the form of benefices.<sup>86</sup> In due course, there followed a period as a conscientious diocesan bishop, before his elevation to the Sacred College obliged him to be based in Rome. According to Pastor, there were rumours that Barbo and Stefano Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, would be so honoured during the first year of Paul's pontificate, though the same authority states that it was only after the death of the trusted Teodoro de' Lelli in 1466 that both Barbo and Bessarion were taken into the pope's confidence.<sup>87</sup> Such confidential relations are mentioned a number of times by the Este ambassador Giacomo Trotti. On September 1467, Trotti

advised his master to congratulate the new Cardinal of Vicenza "il quale è lo ochio destro del papa e ragiona in concistorio di darli il suo titolo de S.Marco".<sup>88</sup> Once set on this path, it was Barbo's duty to put his administrative and pastoral talents at the pope's disposal, regardless of the discordance of their characters, possibly following Bessarion's model in this.

The so-called 'lost' fifth book of Gaspare da Verona's De gestis Pauli secundi provides an excellent synthesis of contemporary comment on Marco Barbo at this stage in his career, highlighting the proximity between pope and cardinal:

"Every day I hear men speak of the cardinal of Vicenza .... I hear, indeed, that Paul II is very well pleased to have added him to the number of cardinals and to have confided difficult tasks to him, and he constantly gives him more responsibilities of such a kind. He is certainly very well endowed for important affairs, with keen intelligence and a prodigious memory; he is prudent as well, and very scrupulously continent, and he is well able to take care of many kinds of business, a most fervent supporter of justice, loyal and devoted to the supreme pontiff Paul II, a zealous friend of scholars, and a most diligent worker in many fields of study."<sup>89</sup>

All of which suggests that Barbo's debt to Paul was as great as those of Michiel and Zeno, if not greater. However, in the course of events to be related in chapters two and three, it will be more than apparent that Venetian attitudes towards Barbo were considerably less hostile than towards Michiel and, particularly, Zeno. Wherein lay the difference? Appointed to the bishoprics of Verona and Vicenza in 1470-71, the two young nipoti were largely unknown quantities in Venice. By contrast, Barbo, having been in their midst as an acolyte of Lodovico Barbo, as

Bishop of Treviso, vicar for Pietro Barbo at Vicenza and subsequently bishop there too, could be treated with some confidence by the Signoria as a man of reasonably independent nature and proven ability.

In view of the prevailing antagonism between Venice and Rome, paradoxically a strong bishop was in the Signoria's interest, providing that strength is measured in terms of devotion to pastoral duties, reform of religious communities and the setting of spiritual and educational examples for priests and laity. The most renowned religious reformer of Renaissance Venice, Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, composed both a famous treatise on the office of a bishop, De officio viri boni ac probi episcopi (c.1516), and an ardent defence of the Venetian system of government in his De magistratibus et republice Venetorum libri quinque (1523-4, revised 1531, published 1543).<sup>90</sup> The two ideals were evidently not incompatible. Contarini's model bishop was, of course, Pietro Barozzi, whose Paduan reform programme has been studied in depth.<sup>91</sup> Some measure of Barozzi's favour with the Signoria may be gauged from his appearance in probae for Padua (1481), Nicosia (1484), Bergamo (1484), Treviso (1485) and Padua (1485), and the tenacity with which Venice upheld his claim to the last mentioned until the non-resident Giovanni Michiel's resignation in 1487. Although the long succession of reformers were not working in favour of the State, neither did the results of their endeavours altogether work against it. In the light of these comments, the four cardinals will here be considered as bishops of terraferma sees, representatives of Rome to Venice and of Venice to Rome.

Under these criteria, Marco Barbo's career appears to have been an unqualified success, in that he abided by the spirit of the reformers and presented an acceptable face of the clerical hierarchy to his secular overlords. On 20 February 1456, Maffeo Vallarossa wrote to

congratulate him on his appointment to Treviso, stressing the good fortune of his new flock, "quod felicis recordationis rev. mi patrum vestri, cuius sanctitatis fama ad ethera penetravit, superstitem ac successorem non imparem virtutibus tandem sint consecuti."<sup>92</sup> Perhaps the most important sign of continuity from the first to the second Barbo bishop was that both resided in the diocese and were conscientious in their pastoral duties. A pastoral visitation, one of the key features of reforming practice, was begun in 1457. Pesce's exhaustive study of the diocese of Treviso in the first half of the fifteenth century provides a selection of episodes illustrating Marco Barbo's involvement there, besides profiling the personnel responsible for daily administration.<sup>93</sup> One such was the highly competent Antonio di Tommaso Ducci da Firenze, himself an element of continuity in that he assisted Lodovico Barbo at Treviso, returning in 1457 as vicario e luogotenente, after performing similar tasks for Francesco Malipiero at Vicenza and Fantino Dandolo at Padua. A noted jurist and bibliophile, he probably enjoyed a smooth relationship with both Barbo bishops.<sup>94</sup>

Marco's translation to Vicenza was also facilitated by prior administrative experience, as Pietro Barbo's luogotenente from July 1459. Though based at Treviso at the time, he maintained a more direct influence on the see than did the non-resident cardinal. One of his achievements was the foundation of a diocesan seminary to improve the educational, cultural and moral standards of the clergy, based on a Trevisan model, long before such establishments were required by the Council of Trent. From 1460 until his translation to Aquileia, Barbo retained direct control over this institution, its finances and teaching staff. This said, there are signs that by 1470 the idealism was beginning to wane, as the cardinal was forced to combine pastoral responsibilities with attendance at the Roman Curia.

Among the luogotenenti of the increasingly absent bishop, the most significant was Angelo Fasolo, one of Barbo's closest friends and colleagues and, in due course, buried near him at S.Marco in Rome. Successively Bishop of Cattaro, Modone and Feltre, Fasolo owed his promotions to his association with Pietro and Marco Barbo, supplemented by his own capacity for work. On being called to Rome in 1466, he was replaced at Vicenza by Moise Buffarelli, Bishop of Belluno, assisted by Buzio de Palmulis (1466-71) and the archdeacon Eugenio Morosini (1470-71). During the six years from his triumphal entry into the city, Barbo remained effectively in control of the diocese despite competing commitments.<sup>95</sup>

The extent of his subsequent involvement with the Patriarchate of Aquileia may be gauged from Giuseppe Vale's introduction to the Itinerario di Paolo Santonino in Carintia, Stiria e Carniola negli anni 1485-1487 (Vat. lat. 3798). In two decades, he paid but one visit to the territory, on the legatine journey to Germany, Hungary and Poland in March 1472. Again, the deficiency was partially offset by the appointment of Angelo Fasolo as patriarchal governor and Barbo's vicar 'in spiritalibus et in temperalibus', though he left Friuli in June 1476 following a personal disagreement with Doge Andrea Vendramin. Among his successors, the most notable was Buzio de Palmulis, a doctor of laws, canon of Aquileia, governor and vicar-general of the same in 1476-78, 1485-87, 1488-c.92. An able administrator, Buzio was also concerned to implement monastic reform. Between December 1480 and October 1484, the posts of governor and vicar-general were held by Pietro Bocca, Bishop of Bagnorea, while from 1487 to 1488 the dual positions belonged to Casare de' Nacci, Bishop of Amelia, another doctor of laws and numbered among Barbo's household from at least February 1470. Behind these figures, with whom Barbo and Giovanni Lorenzi were in regular

if not constant contact, the cathedral chapter continued to function, as in each of the sees under consideration here, whether the bishop was resident or not. Such was the effectiveness of Barbo's long-distance control at Aquileia and the respect in which he was universally held, that no cries are heard against the evils of non-residence or the inadequacy of the patriarch. Programmes of mission and reform were undertaken by the vicars, though among indications of Barbo's personal concern Vale cites building work at the bishop's palace and elsewhere, breathing new life into the malaria-stricken community. The political significance of the patriarchal territories, straddling the uneasy Venetian-Austrian border and acting as a bulwark against the ever-present Turkish threat, meant that Venice preferred to deal with a reliable patriarch. Despite his opposition to a Venetian "army of occupation",<sup>96</sup> Barbo matched their needs.

Pietro Foscari was named Bishop of Padua on 15 April 1481 and, although he had been long resident in Rome, left that city the following 18 June to take possession of his see, in keeping with good Venetian practice! Of his four-year tenure, he was probably based in Padua for two years before returning to Rome to defend Venice at the height of the Interdict crisis.<sup>97</sup> It is not known whether Foscari was directly influenced by the reforming ideas then current, but by combining his rôle as unofficial ambassador to the Holy See with a reasonably high degree of residence, he was certainly conscientious in his undertakings. In May 1482, he braved unseasonably bad weather to visit the Camaldolese monastery of S. Michele in Murano, as the reforming General of the Camaldolese order Pietro Dolfin related to his correspondents Pietro Barozzi and the monk Petrus de Porticu.<sup>98</sup> At an unspecified date that same year, Foscari donated the library of his predecessor Jacopo Zen to the Paduan chapter. Apart from the fact of this,

the act of donation lists numerous canons as witnesses, providing the roughest of guides to those who administered the see on the bishop's behalf. The list is headed by Taddeo Quirini as archpriest (he had been Zen's vicar-general since 1469) and Alessandro Bon as treasurer. Another witness worth isolating is Giovanni da Roma (d.1511), a canon since 1473, auditore delle cause and pro-vicario to Bishop Zen, besides vicar-general in 1470, 1474, 1507 and 1509.<sup>99</sup> Foscari also appointed one of his most trusted familiars to that last post, his maestro di casa, Domenico Can.<sup>100</sup> Gios endeavours to limit further the length of Foscari's actual residence at Padua and consequent impact upon the city, chapter and diocese. The effect of this is to contrast the cardinal with his successor Pietro Barozzi, an unfair comparison in that Barozzi did not have to balance curial responsibilities. As Bishop of Padua, Foscari was able to build upon foundations laid during his previous period of Paduan residence ... literally so, in the case of his palace by the Roman Arena!<sup>101</sup>

Regardless of the Signoria's expressed concerns over episcopal non-residence, loyalty to Venice was not strictly determined by consistent residence, Cardinals Barbo and Foscari being cases in point, positively encouraged to represent their patria in the bear-pit of the Roman Curia. Nevertheless, Rome as a haven for refugees from Venice remained a source of suspicion and the natural home of non-resident clerics. Zeno and Michiel's records of non-residence at Vicenza and Verona respectively were not entirely of their own choice, being prevented from taking possession of the said bishoprics when Venice refused to recognise Paul II's unilateral promotions of 18 March 1471. It was not until 28 April 1477 that Zeno made his entry into Vicenza, not returning until 1492 (and then as a result of his break with Alexander VI). Vicars-general appointed by the bishop could only reappear in 1477 and even then it is unlikely that

the cardinal enjoyed a close working relationship with the chapter. Zeno's first vicar-general was Giovanni da Roma, temporarily transferred from Padua. His successors were also men of experience and ability, Pietro Bruto and Leonardo Contarini. Bruto is best remembered for his anti-Semitic writings, provoked by the alleged murder of the Christian child Simon at Trent. Contarini was an unsuccessful candidate in eight probae, but survived to witness his bishop's will.<sup>102</sup>

Giovanni Michiel's period of potential residence at Verona was even more truncated than that of Zeno at Vicenza, sharing the same restrictions until 1477, but having his entire Veneto income confiscated once more in response to Innocent VIII's bestowal on him of Padua in commendam. Deadlock existed for a little over eighteen months. There is nothing to indicate that, at least prior to Innocent's death, Michiel availed himself of what opportunities there were to visit Verona and take some direct rôle in administration and pastoral responsibilities. These duties devolved upon the chapter which, at some stage, included Agostino Barbo and at least one of the bishop's nipoti. One Simone Resini served as archdeacon, but his colleagues have largely ~~remained~~<sup>103</sup> shrouded in obscurity.

It is apposite to observe that Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga (d.1483) spent two years resident at Mantua during the seventeen that he was bishop of the same, but held that "non-residence was acceptable if the non-resident was a meritorious Mantuan".<sup>104</sup> It is extremely doubtful that, by the same token, Zeno and Michiel could be described as virtuous Venetians!

Besides the fact that no official opposition was forthcoming to Marco Barbo's three major Veneto appointments, his three appearances in probae between 1459 and 1464 also suggest that he was in favour with the Signoria. In 1459, he was the third most popular candidate for Padua, behind Gregorio

Correr and Jacopo Zen. Pietro Foscari's name was deleted for some unspecified reason, and that of Pietro Barbo, the pope's choice, is conspicuous by its absence. Five years later, Marco Barbo reappeared in the two probae for the Patriarchate of Venice. On the first occasion, the Senate's choice rested on Gregorio Correr, Maffeo Gherardi and Antonio Morosini, with Barbo in fourth place. Three months later, following Correr's death, Barbo was the first choice in a field of fifteen, with 149 votes in his favour and only four against. It was on this occasion that Paul II refused to accept this decision on the grounds that Marco's presence in Rome was too valuable to lose. <sup>105</sup>

Apart from the deletion, Foscari's name appeared in two probae. After 1459 he did not feature again until the second Venetian vacancy of 1466. The number of votes cast for and against each candidate have not survived, but Foscari was beaten by Maffeo Gherardi, whose name subsequently received papal ratification. The cardinal's third appearance followed the death of Jacopo Zen in April 1481, his name being preferred to twenty-one others including Maffeo Vallaresso, Girolamo Lando, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Leonardo Contarini, Battista Zeno's vicar at Vicenza. <sup>106</sup> Other names included in the probae lists for this period include one or another Giovanni Barbo (Venice 1466, Bergamo 1484, Aquileia 1491), Angelo Fasolo, Girolamo and Domenico Michiel. There is but a single reference to Giovanni Michiel, youthful and unsuccessful candidate for Venice in 1466. Cardinal Zeno's eponymous nephew, described as a canon of Vicenza, was proposed for the Trevisan vacancy in February 1485, but the cardinal himself makes no appearance in this source. <sup>107</sup> In short, the distribution of probae references to each of the cardinals may be interpreted as a guide to their relative popularity with the secular government.

NOTES ON CHAPTER ONE

1. Vitale Michiel I, 1096 - 1102, Domenico Michiel, 1118-1130; Vitale Michiel II, 1156-1172; Renier Zen, 1252/3-1268. Michiel fortunes rose or fell according to the success or failure of the Levantine expeditions to which their ducal representatives committed the Republic. J.J. Norwich, Venice, The Rise to Empire (London, 1971) chaps. 7 and 8 cover the period 1095-1172. F.C. Lane, Venice, A Maritime Republic (Baltimore and London, 1973), especially pp. 31-35; p.53 for Doge Renier Zen's Maritime Code of 1255.
2. P. Litta, Famiglie celebre d' Italia, vol.IV for Foscari, vol.XII for Barbo. (Milan - Turin, 1819 - 99).
3. M. Barbaro, Genealogie, vol.V for Michiel; vol. VII for Zeno - version in the Archivio di Stato, Venice. For the exception which proves the rule with regard to Pietro Foscari : Dictionnaire des Cardinaux, ed. J. - P. Migne (Paris, 1857).
4. Barbaro, V., p.127; VII, p.373. As Cardinal Zeno will be met with generally in a Roman context, the non-Venetian form "Zeno" will be employed throughout this study when referring to him. Otherwise, the truncated and perhaps more familiar "Zen" will be used, e.g. Elisabetta Zen, Cappella Zen.
5. Similarly the Palazzo Zen near the church of the Gesuiti, parish of SS. Apostoli. The garden of the Ca' Michiel at S. Trovaso, once considered particularly fine, also survives.
6. One of the principal "culprits" : G. Degli Agostini, Notizie istorico-critiche intorno la vita e le opera degli scrittori viniziani, vol.I., p.334 (Venice, 1752). Followed by E.A. Cicogna. Delle Inscrizioni Veneziane, vol.II, pp.255-9 (Venice, 1827).
7. G. Zippel, ed., Le Vite di Paolo II di Gaspare da Verona e Michele Canensi. R.I.S., III xvi, p.173, n.7. (Città di Castello, 1904)
8. Paolo Barbo's career is most usefully summarised by King, Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance. (Princeton, 1986). Profile of Paolo Barbo, pp.329-31.
9. His principal witness is Maffeo Vallaresso, whose letter of congratulation to Marco on his appointment to Treviso makes mention of the illustrious kinsman in whose episcopal steps he was following. ASV, Barb. lat., 1809, fol. 78.
10. ASVen, Miscellanea Testamenti, Notai Diversi, b. 31e, no. 3929.
11. ASVen, Notarile Testamenti, Atti Gritti Francesco, b. 560, no. 69
12. ASVen, Miscellanea Testamenti, Notai Diversi, b.27, no. 2679.
13. ASVen, Notarile Testamenti, b.823, quad. pergam., fol. 2r.

14. Most of what follows on the Barbo is derived from Litta, the veracity of which is occasionally dubious.
15. For brief accounts of the positions and duties of a bailo, capitano, podestà, procuratore di S. Marco and so forth, see Glossary of Venetian Government and Administration in D.E. Queller, The Venetian Patriciate : Reality versus Myth (Chicago, 1986), pp. 343-8. For the Signoria at work : R. Finlay, Politics in Renaissance Venice (London, 1980); D.S. Chambers, The Imperial Age of Venice, 1380-1580 (London, 1970).
16. King, op cit., pp. 329-31. On the episcopal controversy : G.Zonta, "Un conflitto tra la repubblica veneta e la curia romana per l'episcopato di Padova (1459-60)", Atti e Memorie della R.Accademia di S.L.A. in Padova, n.s. 40 (1923-1924), pp. 221-38.
17. See chapter three.
18. L. Pesce, Ludovico Barbo, Vescovo di Treviso (1437-43): cura pastorale, riforma della chiesa, spiritualità, vol. I, p.68 (Padua, 1969).
19. Barbaro, VII, pp. 373-4.
20. Zippel, op. cit., p.72, n.4. The account book of Paolo Barbo, acting on the cardinal's behalf - Vat. lat., 7285 - includes annual payments to Niccolò Zen, "mio chugnato", from at least 1455.
21. ibid., p.216. Barbaro, VII, p.273.
22. G. Padoan, "Sulla relazione cinquecentesca dei viaggi nord-atlantici di Niccolò e Antonio Zen (1383-1403)", followed by the text of Niccolò Zen il giovane, "Dello scoprimento dell' isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engroveland, Estotiland et Icaria fatto per due fratelli Zeni, messer Niccolò il Cavaliere et messer Antonio. Libro uno, col disegno di dette isole", Quaderni Veneti, 9 (June, 1989), pp.7-104. The bulk of the fascinating biographical material is contained between p.31 and p.44. Padoan's bibliography is no less comprehensive.
23. I. Zeno, Vitae, morum, rerumque gestorum Caroli Zeni Veneti. ed. G.Zonta. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, XIX, 6 (Bologna, 1940). Lane, op.cit., pp. 189-95, summarises the career of Carlo Zen.
24. ASVen, Senato Secreta, reg. 30, fol. 109v; Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti, reg. 21, fol. 83v; SS, 34, fol. 77r (Luca Zen); SS, 33, fol. 47r (Simone Zen); Cons. x., Misti, 19, fol. 45r (Caterino Zen as capo of the Ten in March 1477). Subsequent generations of the family are the domain of P.M. Giraldi, The Zen family (1500-1550): Patrician office holding in renaissance Venice, London University, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1975.
25. ASVen, SS, 30, fol. 55r; fol. 109r. Francesco Michiel and Luca Zen appear together among the proposers of a letter to the Venetian ambassador in Rome, Francesco Diedo, 3 July 1482. Francesco's personal resentment against d'Este dated back to their time together in Tuscany during the Pazzi War. He was also related to Andrea Vendramin, to

- whose sons Este owed certain debts. Together with Giovan Antonio Minio and others, Michiel stirred up Venetian public opinion in favour of war in 1482. See Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere VI, ed. M.E. Mallett, esp. Excursus, pp. 345-61.
26. Zippel, Le vite di Paolo II, p.73, n.4. Vat. lat, 7285 lists payments to Lorenzo Michiel from 1452 (f.33v) but 100 ducats were paid to a Niccolò Michiel in October 1449 (f.6r), followed by other amounts in successive years. Other beneficiaries included Marco Barbo, prior to his preferment to Treviso, and Andrea Barbo, a son of Cardinal Pietro's brother Giovanni and consequently a first cousin of the highly favoured nipoti Giovanni di Paolo Barbo, Giovanni Michiel and Battista Zeno.
  27. *ibid*, p. 216. Barbaro IV, p.192. Of Francesco di Niccolò Gritti of the parish of S.Martino, Barbaro notes that he married in 1479 "q. Zuanne Bragadin(vedova) sorella — del card Michiel."
  28. Testaments of the daughters of Lorenzo Michiel and Nicolosa Barbo :  
 Eugenia (Suor Serafina). 12 May 1462. ASVen, Atti Fomei, b.1239,no.677  
 " " " " " " b.1240,no.150  
 Laura, wife of Alvise Michiel. 28 August 1482. ASVen, Atti Baccinelli, b. 152, no. 27.  
 Andriana, wife of Francesco Priuli. 23 April 1485, ASVen, Atti Bonicardi, b.68, no. 11.  
 Elisabetta, wife of Zorzi Foscari. 15 January 1485. ASVen, Atti Bonamico, b.68, no.115.  
 Elisabetta, wife of Zorzi Foscari. 20 May 1491. ASVen, Atti Bonamico, b.41, no. 76.
  29. A Luca Michiel is mentioned in a letter of Niccolò Dolci to Benedetto Soranzo, written at Rome on 20 December 1486, in connection with the Cardinal of S.Maria in Porticu, though family relationships are not specified.
  30. Barbaro IV. Giovanni Lorenzi to Marco Barbo, 13 August 1481 : "Ex Venetiis heri vesperi nunciatum est, patrem d.ni Cardinalis Foscari diem obiisse". Il carteggio, p. 36.
  31. Barbaro IV.
  32. See chapter three.
  33. Barbaro IV.
  34. Nicolai Comneni Papadopoli, Historia Gymnasii Patavini (Venice, 1726), tomo II, p.24, no. XXXIX, Foscari; p.25, n.XLIII, Barbo; pp 30-1,no.LIII, Zeno; p.31, no.LIV, Michiel. Besides noting Zeno's conscientiousness as a scholar, Papadopoli suggests a timescale for the cardinal's early years : 'indeque I. (uris) V. (triusque) D. (ctor) laureatus, Romamque adolescens annorum undeviginti ab avunculo Paulo II ....'
  35. C. Zonta and I. Brotto, Acta Graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini ab anno MCCCXVI ad annum MCCCCL(Padua, 1922). pp.430-1, no. 2235 - 16 March 1448; p.444, no. 2317-31 March 1449; p.451, no.2355 - 26 July 1449;

- p.458, no.2394 - 5 March 1450; p.459, no.2401 - 21 March 1450;  
p.459, no.2404 - 19 April 1450; p.460, no.2407 - 9 May 1450.
36. G. Fiocco, "Palla Strozzi e l'umanesimo veneto", in Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano, ed. V. Branca (Florence, 1963), p.358.
  37. Roselli considered himself worthy of a cardinal's hat, but had to settle for the Paduan chair of canon law. Turning the full force of his learning against the Papacy, his writings were burned along with Pico's theses.
  38. King, op. cit., pp. 419-21.
  39. Marc. lat. XI. 52 (4355) Praising Pietro, the oration also provides a laudatory account of the Foscari family in general. Of Leonicensino, more will be said below.
  40. Papadopoli's list of alumni includes Ardicino della Porta, Bartolomeo Roverella and Ferry de Cluny, all subsequently contemporaries of the four Venetians in the Sacred College. One who narrowly missed that distinction was Teodoro Lelli, close confidant of Paul II and possibly a student contemporary of Foscari. The distinguished ambassador and man of letters Bernardo Bembo was certainly at Padua in Foscari's day. And so one might continue, citing the likes of Giovanni Lorenzi or Leonello Chiericati, future close associates of Marco Barbo, but of an age with Michiel and Zeno.
  41. DBI 3, pp. 162-3,-4, pp.129-31.
  42. Pastor IV, p. 206. Della Rovere's academic career took him from Padua to Bologna, Pavia, Florence and Perugia.
  43. B. Cecchetti, "Una libreria circolante a Venezia nel secolo XV", Archivio Veneto, n.s. XXXII (1886). Based on: ASVen, Atti dei Procuratori di S.Marco, Misti, b.144, n.7. Diedo and Aurelio both merit the "profile" treatment - King, op.cit., pp.361-2, 315-16.
  44. Paschini, Il carteggio, p.3
  45. Litta, vol. XII
  46. King, op.cit., p.288. DBI 6, pp. 252-3 (Niccolò Barbo), pp.254-6 (Paolo di Niccolò Barbo).
  47. King, op.cit., pp.328-31
  48. P.O. Kristeller, "An unknown letter of Giovanni Barbo to Guarino", Italia Medioevale e Umanistica VIII (1965), pp.243-8. DBI 6, pp.243-4
  49. King, op.cit. Profiles: Vitale Lando, pp.385-6; Lorenzo Zane, pp.446-7; Gregorio Correr, pp.355-7; Francesco Barozzi, pp.332-3; Pietro Barozzi, pp.333-5. On the compatibility of the clerical life and scholarship, c.f. Ermolao Barbaro to Antonio Calvo, upon the former's appointment to Aquileia in 1491: "o felice Disgrazia che restituì me alle lettere e le lettere a me, anzi me a me stesso; o beata sfortuna che mi restituì

la pace mia; o candida tempesta che mi ridonò la sicurezza ..."  
Quoted by P.Paschini, "Tre illustre prelati del Rinascimento",  
Lateranum, n.s. xxiii (1957), p.30

50. Zippel, op.cit., p.54, n.5. The house, rebuilt by Pietro Barbo, was located close to S. Marco.
51. ibid., p.78, n.3; p.43, n.2.
52. Degli Agostini, op. cit., vol. 1., pp. 177-204.
53. Obviously, this 'portrait' of the Church in Venice can be nothing more than a sketch, reams having been written on the subject. Details of Venetian legislation concerning the Church, clerics and property can be found in the following : A.Battistella, "La politica ecclesiastica della repubblica di Venezia", N.A.V., 16 (1898), pp.386-420; B.Cecchetti, Venezia e la corte di Roma nei rapporti della religione 2 vols (Venice, 1874); A.Sagredo, "Leggi veneti interno agli ecclesiastici sino al secolo XVIII", Archivio storico Italiano III, 11 (1865). These venerable studies, though frequently taking Paolo Sarpi and the Interdict of 1606-7 as their inspiration, do contain a vast deal of material relevant to the quattrocento. They can be supplemented by more recent forays, particularly P.Prodi's thorough introduction, "The Structure and Organisation of the Church in Renaissance Venice : Suggestions for Research", in Renaissance Venice, ed. J.R.Hale (London, 1973), pp. 409-30. G.Cozzi and M.Knapton, Storia della Repubblica di Venezia dalla Guerra di Chioggia alla Riconquista della Terraferma (Turin, 1986), pp. 233-52, discuss various aspects of Venetian religious policy, including disputes with Rome over benefices, the patriarchs of Grado and Venice, papalisti and calls for an ecumenical council.
54. C.Cenci O.F.M., "Senato Veneto : probae ai benefizi ecclesiastici", in C.Piana and C.Cenci, Promozioni agli ordini sacri a Bologna e alle dignità ecclesiastiche nel Veneto nei secoli XIV-XV, (Florence, 1968). pp.315-25 explain how the probae system worked.
55. The four sons who died of plague between those dates were Donato, Giovanni Lorenzo and Domenico. Litta offers no further information about them.
56. Vat.lat. 10419, fol. 167r - 169r. I have been unable to establish a comprehensive list of primicerii with the dates of their service. Between Polidoro and Pietro Foscari, there may have been one other, Nicodemo Marcello, whom Pietro succeeded as a canon of Padua on Marcello's death (1 July 1448). Marco Foscari's first wife (Pietro's mother?) was a Margarita Marcello. Niccolò Vendramin became primicerio in 1477, upon Foscari's cardinalation, Pietro Dandolo in 1478 and Girolamo Barbarigo in 1501.
57. Zonta, op.cit.
58. A Lamberti, quoted by Prodi in Hale (ed.), op.cit., p.421.
59. B.M. Hallman, Italian Cardinals, Reform and the Church as Property (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1985). The Grimani were perhaps the best

example of cinquecento "professionalism", holding together a wide selection of bishoprics and lesser benefices through a system of nominal resignations to one another. Among other sees, they held Ceneda from 1508 to 1547, Concordia from 1533 to 1585 and, with the Barbaro, monopolised lucrative Aquileia between 1497 and 1616. The Lando built up a similar network. Hallman, pp. 117-121.

60. Barbaro II, p.413.
61. P. Gios, L'attività pastorale del vescovo Pietro Barozzi a Padova (1487-1507), Padua, 1977), pp. 71-2, for Barozzi and Marco Barbo. Besides De modo bene moriendi, dedicated to Barbo and containing consolatory letters to Michiel and Foscari, Barozzi wrote the epitaph for Elisabetta Barbo-Zen's tomb in St. Peter's, Rome. Gios, p.87, n.101, claims that, of the four Venetian cardinals, Barozzi was closest to Michiel. These connections will be explored at greater length in chapters four, five and six.
62. R.Weiss, "Lorenzo Zane arcivescovo di Spalato e governatore di Cesena", Studi Romagnoli 16 (1965), pp.163-9. See also Degli Agostini and King. Zane's relations with Venice, his rôle in the administration of the Papal States and literary connections will be dealt with below, as appropriate.
63. For Aquileia, Cenci, op. cit., pp.425-7. For all bishoprics, see Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica, as summarised in Table V. Girolamo Lando first comes to prominence as a layman, exiled from Venice in 1446 for his association with Cosimo de' Medici, and went on to take orders following the death of his wife. His subsequent career brought him the archbishopric of Crete in 1458, which he resigned in favour of his nephew Andrea (c.1493), the patriarchate of Constantinople (1474-96), together with embassies to Bohemia, Poland, the Emperor and Umbria. His appointments tended to result from family connections, Venetian rather than papal favour. The same applies for Pietro, another widower in orders and who became Bishop of Paphos; and for Andrea, Archbishop of Candia and unsuccessful candidate for Aquileia in 1497 (Cenci, pp. 430-2). Of Marco di Vitale Lando, Litta claims that the Senate selected him as their candidate to succeed Gregorio Correr at Venice in 1464, yet the "nephew" by whom Paul II did not wish to be abandoned in his (premature) old age was surely Marco Barbo. Marco Lando duly benefited from the patronage of his maternal uncle, Lorenzo Zane.
64. King, op.cit., pp. 447-9. Profile of Jacopo Zen.
65. F.S. dell'Orologio, Serie cronologico-istorica dei canonici di Padova Padua, 1805), p.185. Antonio Zeno: canon of Milan, 1442; doctor of both laws; provost of Santissima Trinita, Pavia; vicar-general of Padua until 1438; died 1445. A later Antonio Zen(o) was an apostolic abbreviator in 1474, with interests in the diocese of Verona (ASV, Reg.Vat. 573, fol. 261v - 262v).
66. P. Sambin, 'L'abate Giovanni Michiel (d.1430) e la riforma di S.Giorgio Maggiore di Venezia', in Miscellanea G.G. Meersseman, II (Padua, 1970), Italia Sacra, 16. Dell'Orologio lists another Giovanni Michiel as a canon of Padua from 1458. The future cardinal? Battista Zeno did not

become a canon until 26 June 1493, on the death of Matteo Aliprando : Dell'Orologio, op.cit., p.185.

67. Il carteggio, p.75. I suspect that Barbo refers to the "invisible" years, 1444 to 1451.
68. It would be superfluous even to summarise Lodovico's career, as a number of studies have been devoted to him in recent years, most notably : L.Pesce, Ludovico Barbo vescovo di Treviso (1437-43) : cura pastorale, riforma della chiesa, spiritualità (Padua, 1969); L.Pesce, La chiesa di Treviso nel primo quattrocento, 3 vols., Italia Sacra : Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica, 37 (Rome, 1987); G.B.F. Trolese (ed.), Riforma della Chiesa, cultura e spiritualità nel quattrocento veneto, Atti del convegno per il VI centenario della nascita di Ludovico Barbo (1382-1443), Padova, Venezia, Treviso, 19-24 settembre 1982. (Cesena, 1984).
69. Pesce, Ludovico Barbo, vol.II contains the texts of various documents illustrating the link provided by Marino Barbo between his brothers and the secular authorities. p.126 : " ... ser Marin Barbo mio fradello al incontro de' dare recevudi per mio nome de dom Siro per scuoder prizioni da Infedeli, a dì 11 novembre 1442, ducati 150".
70. *ibid.*, p.67.
71. *ibid.*, vol. I, p.200; vol.II, pp.122-3.
72. L.Pesce, Vita socio-culturale in diocesi di Treviso nel primo quattrocento, (Venice, 1983) pp. 182-3. Leonicensino (known alternatively as Enrico Bonisoli) was a disciple of Vittorino da Feltre, a friend of Antonio Loschi and Francesco Barbaro, and master of Platina, who affirmed the friendship between Leonicensino and Marco Barbo. Besides teaching at Treviso and Vicenza, he returned to Mantua as tutor to Federico Gonzaga, for whom he composed a Liber de octo partibus Orationis sive Grammaticae libellus ad Fredericum de Gonzaga, printed at Venice, 1473. (Splendours of the Gonzaga catalogue, London, 1981, p.113 n.22).
73. For Lodovico's spirituality and concept of monasticism see Trolese, esp. chapters by G. Penco on the monastic life and society in fifteenth-century Italy, G. Lunardi on Lodovico Barbo's monastic ideal, and L. Gargan on books and libraries at Treviso in Barbo's time. G.Picasso covers "L' 'Imitazione di Cristo' e l'ambiente di S.Giustina", though there is also the monograph by P.Riccardo Pitigliani, Il Ven. Ludovico Barbo e la diffusiome dell' Imitazione di Cristo per opera della Congregazione di S.Giustina (Padua, 1943).
74. Litta IV. In the following century Girolamo di Marco Foscari was Bishop of Torcello from 1526 to 1563. See chapter six for the case of mistaken identity with regard to Pietro Foscari's tomb.
75. Eubel II, p. 15.
76. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II, an abridgement, translated by Florence A. Gragg (London, 1960), p.71.

77. *ibid.*, pp. 77-8.
78. B. Platina (Bartolomeo Sacchi), quoted by R. Weiss, Un umanista veneziano, Papa Paolo II, *Civiltà Veneziana*, Saggi 4 (1958), p.74. On commemorative medals, see the writings of G.F.Hill, most pertinently, "The Medals of Paul II", Numismatic Chronicle, ser.4, X (1910).
79. Platina, in his Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum, was the chief character assassin, as will be explored in chapter six, with Roberto Weiss as counsel for the defence. Evidence of Paul's munificence can be found in Paolo Barbo's account book, Vat.lat. 7285, supplemented by lists of the pope's "familiars" (A.S.Roma, *Diversorum Pauli II*) published by Zippel, Le vite di Paolo II, appendix IX, pp. 211-15.
80. Piccolomini, *op. cit.*, p.301.
81. Zonta, *op. cit.* Also Cenci, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-3. Summarised by Pastor, IV, pp. 93-4.
82. Cicogna, *op.cit.*, vol. VI, p.578. Pastor, IV, pp. 94-5.
83. G.Soranzo, "Giovanni Battista Zeno, nipote di Paolo II, Cardinale di S.Maria in Portico (1468-1501)", Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia, 16 (1962), p.249.
84. Cenci, *op.cit.*, pp. 398-401. He was also an unsuccessful candidate for Bergamo in 1484, pp.416-17. Confusion reigns over the precise number of individuals named Giovanni Barbo in this period. According to Litta, there were four answering to that name who were both apostolic protonotaries and/or canons of Padua. Dell' Orologio settles for two of the latter, Giovanni di Paolo and a Giovanni di Michele unidentified by Litta. Zippel enters the fray, Vite di Paolo II, pp.114,n.2., with ample documentary support, including a brief of Sixtus IV (10 February 1472) ordering "dilecto filio Johanni Barbo" to put himself under the authority of Cardinal Marco Barbo, to whom the pope was entrusting the management of Giovanni di Paolo's benefices.
85. Zane was also legate to the Papal army in the war against Roberto Malatesta, 1469. (Pastor IV, p.169. Along with Marco Barbo, Vianesio Albergati, Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo and others, he sat on the commission investigating the congiura of 1468. Nevertheless, his hopes for the patriarchate of Aquileia, temptingly vacant between Lodovico Trevisan's death in 1465 and Marco Barbo's 1470 appointment, came to nothing.
86. Vat.lat. 7285. On benefices, see chapter four.
87. Like Giovanni Barozzi, Lelli was raised to the purple but died before his publication could take place. This distinction between published and unpublished cardinals is one of not inconsiderable significance in this period, the case of Pietro Foscari's publication providing material for chapter two. For the realignment of familiars following Lelli's death, see Pastor, IV, p.112.

88. Dispatch quoted by Pastor, IV, p.121.
89. A. Andrews, "The 'Lost' Fifth Book of the Life of Pope Paul II by Gaspar of Verona", Studies in the Renaissance, 17 (1970), p.39. The contrast in character between pope and cardinal, the one censured for worldliness, the other repeatedly praised for his piety, is perhaps reflected in their respective ages. Whereas Pietro Barbo donned the tiara at the comparatively youthful age of forty-seven, and received other forms of advancement correspondingly early in life, Marco waited for greatness to be thrust upon him as Bishop of Treviso at thirty-five, Vicenza at forty-four and cardinal at forty-seven. It must be remembered that Marco was the younger of the two by only two years.
90. Three of the many relevant studies: H. Jedin, "Gaspare Contarini e il contributo veneziano alla riforma cattolica", La civiltà veneziana del Rinascimento (Florence, 1958), pp.103-124. O.M.T. Logan, "The Ideal of the Bishop in the Venetian Patriarchate: c.1430-c.1630", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 29 (1978), pp.415-50; J.B. Ross, "Gasparo Contarini and his Friends", Studies in the Renaissance, 17 (1970), pp.192-232.
91. Principally by Gios, though others have taken part in the white-washing of the Church in the Veneto. Giuseppina de Sandre Gasparini, "Uno studio sull'episcopato padovano di Pietro Barozzi (1478-1507) e altri contributi sui vescovi veneti nel quattrocento: Problemi e linee di ricerca", Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia, 34 (1980), pp.81-122, takes particular exception to Denys Hay's less starry-eyed view of the Church in Italy. D. Hay, Italian Clergy and Italian Culture in the Fifteenth Century, The Society for Renaissance Studies, Occasional Papers, No. 1, London, 1973.
92. Vallaresso (at Zara) to Barbo, 20 December 1455. Barbo replied from Treviso, 3 February 1456. BAV, Barb. lat., 1809, fols.78-9.
93. Pesce, La chiesa di Treviso, pp.456, 472-3.
94. *ibid.*, pp.318-20, 399. Pesce, Ludovico Barbo, pp.75-83.
95. G. Mantese, Memorie storiche della chiesa vicentina, III/ii (1404-1563), Vicenza, 1974, pp.143-53.
96. G. Vale, ed., Itinerario di Paolo Santonino in Carintia, Stiria e Carniola negli anni 1485-1487, Studi e testi, 103, Vatican, 1943, pp.1-119. The authoritative account of Barbo as patriarch, the actions and personnel of the chapter throughout his tenure at Aquileia. The Barbo-Lorenzi letters contain a few references to Aquileia, though considerably more to the men acting there on the patriarch's behalf. On 9 August 1485, Barbo referred to the theft of precious objects from the basilica, which had taken place at the beginning of July that year. Two days later, the cardinal voiced his opposition to Venetian occupation of the territory and its implications: "saltem ut pudore suffusi non mihi denegent, sicut re ipsa faciunt, proventus, immo stipendia usurpati status patriarch(atus) aquileien", Il carteggio, pp.103 and 104, respectively.

97. Gios, op.cit., p.36. See also chapters three and four.
98. Marc. lat., XI, 92 (3828) pars. 1, lib.1, pp. 14-15, 19.
99. E. Govi, "La biblioteca di Jacopo Zeno", Bolletino dell' Istituto di Patalogia del Libro, 10 (1951). pp 34-118. Taddeo Quirini was brother to the Lauro whose degree Foscarelli had witnessed. Taddeo himself witnessed Giovanni Lorenzi's doctorate, 28 August 1469. For career and cultural interests, King, op.cit. pp.421-2. Succeeded Niccolò Franco as a canon of Padua in 1480, Dell' Orologio, op.cit., pp.176-7. Dell'Orologio also provides information on Bon and Giovanni da Roma, pp.26 and 185, respectively.
100. Each of these individuals will come under scrutiny in chapter five.
101. Gios, op.cit., p.36 for Foscarelli as an absentee bishop. p.40, n.16, cites Marino Sanudo's Itinerario per la terra ferma veneziana : "Episcopo Piero Foscarelli, cardinal di Sancto Nicolao inter imagines, habita nell' Arena sua; à de intrada ducati sete amilia. L'Arena è uno palazzo posto ne la contrà dei Remitani ..., murada a terno, et entro loco amplo et di gran cercuito con li zardini, mostra vestigia fusse anticha et bella : in capo è uno palazzo fabricato per il soprascripto Episcopo quando era primicerio di San Marco; la comprò per ducati 3 amilia, entro è una chiesa (the Scrovegni Chapel), dà ducati 100 de ius patronatus".
102. Mantese, op.cit., pp.154-60. For Bruto, see King, op.cit., pp.343-4.
103. On Resini, see Dell' Orologio, op. cit., p.184-5.
104. D.S. Chambers, "A defence of non-Residence in the Later fifteenth-century : Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga and the Mantuan Clergy", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 36 (1985), p.623.
105. Cenci, op.cit., pp.391-3 (Padua, 18 February 1459), pp.395-6 (Venice, 9 August 1464). pp.397-8. (Venice, 27-28 November 1464)
106. *ibid.*, pp.398-400 (Venice, 8 April 1466). All of which ignores the fact that Foscarelli held the bishopric of Treviso for a few months from 30 April 1455. Trevison documents, cited by Pesce, La chiesa di Treviso, suggest a certain degree of activity in that capacity, but he resigned the post and was replaced by Marco Barbo in November of that year. Mystery surrounds this episode. It has been suggested that he stood down on the advice of family and friends, but this does not necessarily shed any more light on his decision.
107. *ibid.*, pp. 417-19 (Treviso, 16 February 1485). For Giovanni Battista di Tommaso Zen, see chapter five.

2. VENICE AND THE PAPACY, 1471 - 1480.

Francesco Guicciardini's nostalgic view of the years immediately either side of 1490, in which "Italy had never enjoyed such prosperity, or known so favourable a situation", has exercised an extraordinarily magnetic attraction on students of inter-state relations in later quattrocento Italy.<sup>1</sup> To it have attached the proponents of a balance of power or political equilibrium, in which fluctuating alliances maintained power blocs at roughly equivalent strengths, diplomatic oscillations were carefully regulated and coexistence was peaceful. Viewed from a different angle, Guicciardini's idyll was characterised by "brush-fire" wars and increasing tensions culminating in the French invasion of 1494.<sup>2</sup> Whichever interpretation is adopted, the great game in which the four Venetian cardinals were pawns or at least minor players, did observe certain rules; the "underlying tensions" between the Italian states remained "surprisingly constant" throughout our period and have been summarised thus : "Milan, usually linked to France, was always suspect to Naples, fearful of Angevin, and later French, claims to its throne. Venice's fear of the Turks and of Milanese reprisals for the Lombard lands lost before 1454 were constant factors. The rising economic and naval power of Naples frightened all the other Italian states, while the hegemonic aspirations of King Ferrante in Genoa and southern Tuscany ... affected Florence and Milan in particular. The Papacy, inevitably mutable in its policies, yet had a consistent fear of Naples on its southern frontier and of a possible Medici signoria on those to the north. Florence ... conducted an economic rivalry with Venice and an increasingly apparent territorial and jurisdictional rivalry with the Papacy."<sup>3</sup>

Thus, among the five larger states, the only enduring co-operation was between Milan and Florence, Francesco Sforza and Cosimo de' Medici having linked those previously hostile states.<sup>4</sup> Any alliances or leagues negotiated in defiance of these generalisations inevitably came to grief, the signatories having no definite intention of participating in a crusade, encouraging a general Italian league, remaining at peace with one another for twenty-five years or complying with any other stipulated terms. Similarly, the warfare of the period resembled a courtly dance, the participants mostly concerned with risk minimisation. "(T)he whole framework of fifteenth-century war policy ... was oriented towards wars of attrition which damaged the rival state's economy and aimed at minor territorial gains - rather than the annihilation of the enemy."<sup>5</sup> Recent research has suggested that diplomacy on the one hand and open warfare or military preparedness on the other were complementary and intimately connected rather than alternatives and poles apart.<sup>6</sup>

Among the dramatis personae of the 1470s and '80s, several rulers endured throughout the period, principally the Emperor Frederick III (reigned 1440 to 1493) and Ferrante of Naples (reigned 1458 to 1494), while Lorenzo de' Medici inherited his dynastic responsibilities in 1469 and retained them until his death in 1492. Ferrante's ambitions for the creation of an Aragonese "lake" in the western Mediterranean were effectively offset by the constant threat of baronial opposition to his rule, erupting into civil war in the 1450s and again in 1485-6.<sup>7</sup> The personality of Lorenzo was no less significant, regardless of his lack of official status; for just as it was he who mediated between Naples and Milan in 1470, so in 1478 the Pazzi Conspiracy was directed against Lorenzo and Giuliano and, in the war which ensued, Sixtus IV and Ferrante

maintained that they were attacking Lorenzo himself rather than the Florentine Republic.<sup>8</sup> A further element of consistency appears in Ercole d'Este's rule at Ferrara between 1471 and 1505, the prosperity of which was interrupted only by the War of Ferrara. Moving back to the leading peninsular powers, although the Sforza maintained their hold on Milan with sufficient success to prevent any popular uprising following the assassination of Duke Galeazzo Maria in 1476, on balance the sons of Francesco Sforza could not equal their father's good fortune or political stature. Nevertheless, Lodovico il Moro, who assumed the reins of government upon his brother's death, and Cardinal Ascanio Maria were men of not inconsiderable ability.<sup>9</sup>

This brief survey of the major Italian states and their rulers is concluded by the two with which we are most concerned, the Papacy and the Most Serene Republic of Venice. In their spiritual capacity, successive popes placed emphasis on different aspects of their ministry, be it Pius II with his genuine crusading zeal or Sixtus IV's devotion to the Blessed Virgin and favours towards his own Franciscan Order. In the temporal sphere, their distinguishing marks were all the more emphatically pronounced, dependent on the holder of the supreme office, his place of origin, contacts among the secular rulers, family and ambitions to carve out a lasting niche in the Curia and Roman society, and found a princely dynasty. In no period was this more so than the later quattrocento, when the tiara was worn by a series of popes of non-Roman birth, each intent on furthering the interests of their clan through multiple benefices or judicious marriage alliances and military campaigns. The state over which these pontiffs so capriciously ruled was inevitably prone to turbulence. Detailed studies of the city of

Rome in this period have suggested that considerable instability existed there, particularly in terms of popular hostility to the papal régime. This was in addition to the feuding baronial families, led by the Colonna and Orsini, whose disputes found expression in the Curia, the city as a whole and the Patrimony beyond. Tyrants and usurpers throughout the Papal States took advantage of the weakness of papal rule. Moving to the very periphery, the only remaining "power vacuum" in Italy after 1454, the Romagna, was ostensibly papal territory, but in reality represented a vulnerable battle-ground for all the neighbouring powers.<sup>10</sup>

Venetian isolation in Italy, most apparent during the latter stages of the War of Ferrara (i.e. 1483-4) but no less significant throughout the period, provides yet another element of consistency. Rubinstein has charted the general fear of Venetian terraferma expansion, yet the persistent Turkish threat probably rendered Venice rather more vulnerable than her Italian neighbours were prepared to accept. The reign of Mehmet the Conqueror (d.1481) witnessed extensive Ottoman expansion at Venetian expense in the Peloponnese, including the loss of Negroponte in 1470, followed by portions of Dalmatia, with raids into Friuli beginning in 1478.<sup>11</sup> Since the other powers were largely content to see Venice thus contained, the Republic's appeals for a general league tended to fall on deaf ears. How to escape the trap of isolation? By the same means as the much-vaunted Italian balance of power was maintained - diplomacy and its near relation, espionage.

It has long been accepted that quattrocento Italy witnessed a diplomatic revolution, ad hoc missions being supplanted by permanent embassies, withdrawn in time of war.<sup>12</sup> The flow of information between

the various states and beyond the Alps to France, Burgundy and elsewhere, as trading interests and political expediency determined, improved in both quantity and quality. "The resident ambassadors, more informal spies and informers, and the development of patron-client relationships in which one of the main obligations of the client was to keep his patron informed, all contributed to this."<sup>13</sup> Apart from the resident ambassador's increased capacity to assimilate information about his host state, its society, economy, culture and key individuals, an important advantage which he enjoyed over his temporary predecessors was the opportunity to foster factions among his hosts. "This was not just a way of gaining additional inside information, but a form of calculated subversion and interference which could affect policy decisions and if necessary be directed towards undermining the political will" of that state.<sup>14</sup> Such subversion could as easily be intended as a route to outright hostility or to some form of agreement or alliance : a complement to war rather than an alternative to it.

By 1471, Paul II's crusading fervour was long past as, indeed, was the Pauline Peace of 1468 on which he prided himself, the pope's obstinacy leaving the Holy See without friends in the peninsula. In the case of Venice, a number of bones of contention arose during the pontificate, starting with Paul's resentment towards the Republic over the diocese of Padua, from which he claimed the 2,000 ducat annual pension from 1459 onwards. This was not paid to him "until, as pope, he shamed the incumbent bishop into liquidating the accumulated debt". Further to this, he complained that the Republic had imposed a decima on its clergy without papal consent, had requested tributes from visiting cardinals, disregarded the dignity of bishops and had taken illegal

possession of Cervia and Ravenna. 1471 brought the nadir of relations between Paul and Venice when, on 18 March, he created Giovanni Michiel and Battista Zeno Bishops of Verona and Vicenza respectively, in defiance of the Signoria and its preferred candidates. Domenico Malipiero informs us that diplomatic relations had declined so far that by the time of Paul's decease, the Republic had withdrawn its ambassador from Rome :

" ... È morto con fama d'haver sempre atteso a cumular danari : e perché 'l no ha fatto provision alcuna contro i Turchi, el se ha fatto odioso a tutta la Christianità. Per questa causa la Signoria è vegnuda in discordia con esso, e a tempo della so morte la no tegniva Ambassador in Corte, come era sua usanza." The Senate's last instructions to the ambassador were dated 26 March and those from the Council of Ten, 1 April.<sup>15</sup>

With the exception of the period from June 1479 to June 1480 and that of the twenty-two month Interdict against Venice (May 1483 to March 1485), the Republic was represented at the Curia on a regular basis throughout the pontificates of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, the ambassadors generally being distinguished public servants. Ad hoc embassies continued to sign treaties and congratulate newly-elected pontiffs, but the following were accredited to the Holy See as permanent ambassadors : Federico Corner (1472-3), Antonio Donato (1473-4, with Leonardo Sanudo, who was replaced by Marco Aurelio), Paolo Morosini (1475), Antonio Donato again (1475-6), Jacopo del Mezzo (1476-8), Sebastiano Badoer (1479), Zaccaria Barbaro (1480-1), Francesco Diedo (1481-3), Antonio Loredan (1485-6), Bernardo Bembo and Sebastiano Badoer (1487-8), Domenico Trevisan (1489-90), Ermolao Barbaro il giovane (1490-1) and Girolamo Donato (1491-2).<sup>16</sup> Among the secretaries representing Venice in Rome, by far the most prominent was Antonio Vinceguerra, ambassador in all but name following the disgrace of Antonio Loredan and before the appointment of Bembo and Badoer.<sup>17</sup>

Eight of the above named also served as Venetian ambassador at Florence, Milan or Naples between 1471 and 1492, Antonio Donato and Zaccaria Barbaro serving terms at two out of the three other major states. Although they were moved round rather more frequently than "orators" of other nations - the Neapolitan Aniello Arcamone, for example, served at Venice for three years and was based at the Curia throughout the early 1470s and again in 1481-3 - their appreciation of a given situation was probably not impaired to any significant extent.<sup>18</sup>

Of the major Italian states, the last to dispatch permanent representatives was the Papacy. Sigismondo de' Conti was sent to Venice on a specific mission in 1482, but the first nuncio, Niccolò Franco, Bishop of Treviso, was not sent until Innocent's pontificate. In the same diplomatic spasm, Giovanni Gigli was assigned to England, Leonello Chiericati and Antonio Flores to France, the Bishop of Orte to Matthias Corvinus of Hungary and Giacomo Gherardi to Milan.<sup>19</sup>

Besides the normal functions of an "orator", ambassadors to the Curia were allotted the extra task of securing benefices for favoured clerics and other privileges of the Church. Bearing this in mind, how much more convenient for the secular power to cultivate curialists, even to the extent of having representatives in the innermost council of the Church - the Sacred College of Cardinals - with all its potential for patronage and close proximity to the supreme pontiff in both his temporal and spiritual capacities : a natural extension of the diplomatic process.

According to Pius II, cardinals have but one natural patria, and that is Rome. Nevertheless, as the later fifteenth century witnessed both the diplomatic revolution and the emergence of nation-states and national consciousness, the courting of cardinals by secular powers to advance

their own interests developed rapidly. Initially, cardinal protectors were selected to represent a state's interests in a general sense when matters relating to that state arose in consistory, besides securing benefices for the patron's candidates and acting as a source of information. His rôle in conclaves, consistories and elsewhere was to enhance the interests and prestige of his patron, which would, in turn, augment his own significance at the Curia. The cardinal protector "indueth as it were our owne Person, for the defence of Us and our Realme in al matiers (in the Curia) ..." : the King of England's interpretation in the early sixteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

From a cardinal protector of unspecified origins to a "national" cardinal totally loyal to the secular patron was a small step and entirely in accordance with the notion of diplomatic subversion. A cardinal who was also a subject of the patron, if not a close relation, was all the more likely to exhibit such loyalty. On 15 September 1472, Lorenzo de' Medici wrote to Sixtus concerning "el lungo desiderio di casa nostra di havere uno cardinale", the Florentine candidature having passed from Filippo de' Medici, Archbishop of Pisa, to Gentile Becchi, Bishop of Arezzo. Medicean honour and interests were not satisfied until the promotion of Giovanni de' Medici to the Sacred College in March 1489, but Lorenzo's persistence reflects the political importance which the cardinalate had acquired.<sup>21</sup>

The period 1471 to 1492 yields a total of sixty-six cardinals, of whom forty-five were Italian, twelve French or Burgundian, five Spanish, with one German, one Englishman, one Portuguese and one Greek.<sup>22</sup> Not all were resident at the Curia, but of those that were, the proportion of Italians to non-Italians cannot have varied much from the totals.<sup>23</sup> Thus the Sacred College had a tendency to appear as Italy in microcosm,

regardless of the more logical division of honours proposed at the Council of Constance.<sup>24</sup> Most significantly, ruling families were represented by Ferrante's son Giovanni d'Aragona (promoted 10 December 1477, d. 17 October 1485), Francesco Gonzaga, son of Lodovico III and brother to Federigo I Gonzaga of Mantua (promoted 18 December 1461, d. 21 October 1483), Giovanni de' Medici (promoted 9 March 1489, Pope Leo X, 1513-21) and Ascanio Maria Sforza, brother to Galeazzo Maria and Lodovico il Moro (promoted 17 March 1484, d. 27 May 1505). While Cardinal Gonzaga served as resident legate at Bologna and Mantuan diplomatic representation at Rome was principally in the capable hands of Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene, d'Aragona and Sforza may be regarded as prime examples of cardinals who assumed quasi-ambassadorial functions, to the benefit of their respective patrons.<sup>25</sup> Venice could not afford to be excluded from this important development.

As cardinals came increasingly to resemble ambassadors, so it is evident that any cardinal representing and promoting Venetian interests in the Sacred College would be expected to meet the exacting standards required of any servant of the Republic. Venetian ambassadors were barred from accepting any office or honour bestowed by a foreign ruler, Ermolao Barbaro's acceptance of the patriarchate of Aquileia in 1491 being the classic aberration.<sup>26</sup> A Venetian cardinal would therefore have to distance himself from excessive pluralism and from the self-glorification denied to any Venetian citizen. He would have to balance these restrictions against the need to carry sufficient weight in the College and the Curia in general to acquire benefices for the Republic's candidates, information for its councils and to have a persuasive voice in papal circles.

There is nothing so unfashionable as that which has just passed out of fashion, yet the "grandfather law" states that, after a generation - in reaction to a reaction - that fashion experiences a revival.

Paul II died on 26 July 1471. There was no hope of him being succeeded by another Venetian and no pressure was applied by the Signoria in support of such a candidate. The Senate's 1 August message to the College of Cardinals merely advised them to consider the peace of Italy and the good of the Church, with assurances of the Republic's loyalty to the Holy See.<sup>27</sup> The absence of diplomatic representation at ambassadorial level obviously made opportunities to apply pressure somewhat limited. Marco Barbo's proximity to Paul II was sufficient reason for Venice not to support his candidature : he stood no chance of election, as was duly borne out by the fact that he received only one vote, that of Amico Agnifilio, Bishop of Aquila. Zeno and Michiel were of considerably less significance, excluded on the grounds of age and a mere thirty-four months each in the College. Even the extraordinarily youthful Leo X was thirty-eight at the time of his election : the cousins were still in their twenties. Neither received any votes, indicating that, along with Teodoro de Monferrato, they were the least consequential members of the College.<sup>28</sup> Pietro Foscari's ambiguous position as an unpublished cardinal depleted the Venetian ranks. In 1471 he was the least papabile of the four.

It is uncertain quite when Foscari took up residence in Rome, whether on a temporary or at least semi-permanent basis. As an apostolic protonotary in the later 1440s and promoted to the see of Treviso in April 1455 by Calixtus III, he may well have gained curial experience

early in his career. He unequivocally emerged in a Roman context in June 1468 as a witness to the act by which Paolo Morosini, on behalf of the Republic, took possession of Cardinal Bessarion's library,<sup>29</sup> but thereafter effectively returned to the shadows until the beginning of June 1471 when, along with Giovanni Battista Savelli, Pedro Ferriz (Pietro Ferrici) and Johann Vitéz, Archbishop of Gran, Paul created him a cardinal in pectore.<sup>30</sup> The creation of cardinals in pectore (i.e. secretly) was - and, indeed, is - a perfectly legitimate practice if, for instance, the life of the individual concerned might be endangered by public knowledge of his promotion; but creation is without effect unless publication follows. Paul's action was unusual in that the four were to be considered as published in the event of the pope's death, thereby permitting them to take part in the subsequent conclave. Their nomination was evidently something of an open secret. What does remain a mystery is Paul's motive for advancing Pietro Foscari to such eminence : was he prompted by the primicerio's personal ability or by a desire to improve relations with Venice?

Confusion broke out concerning Foscari and Savelli's admission to the conclave, the opposition being led by Cardinal Latino Orsini. Foscari was thus unwittingly caught up in the seemingly interminable struggle between the Roman baronial families, the Savelli being principal allies of the Colonna. Orsini's view prevailed.<sup>31</sup>

Lacking a realistic Venetian candidate to counter the aspirations of Cardinal Orsini and of the Milanese-backed Frenchman Guillaume d' Estouteville, the Republic's first choice for the papal tiara was, in all probability, Bessarion. Legatus a latere to Venice and the dominio under Pius II and adopted son of the Republic, as pope he might have been able to heal the

rift between Venice and the Papacy. He had been papabile in the previous two conclaves, but was rejected on account of his Orthodox beard (to put it succinctly!) One source relates that Venice openly supported his candidature in 1471. Gerardo Colli, the Milanese ambassador at Venice, reported on 2 August : "Non si poteria dire quanta festa ha facto questa cità universalmente de questa morte (Paul II's); io me ritrovay quà ala sua creatione, ma niente fu la alegrezza de allora ad quella della morte. In soma si havesaro recuperato Negroponte non haveriano più gaudio et ano scripto ad Roma a tutj li lor cardinali amici vogliono far capo et ellegere Niceno grecho".<sup>32</sup> If so, the advice was disregarded, for no pro-Venetian party emerged in the conclave.

In terms of Papal-Venetian relations, the first phase of the Sistine pontificate was characterised by the rise of the Ligurians and the ostracising of Venetians at Rome. Francesco della Rovere's first promotions to the Sacred College took place four months after the conclave, on 15 December, when the papal nipoti Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere began to tip the balance against the Pauline protégés. As early as 4 September, Riario had been granted the bishopric of Treviso, vacant due to the death of Francesco Barozzi, one of the multiple benefices bestowed by the indulgent pope before Riario's death at the age of twenty-eight on 5 January 1474.<sup>33</sup> The most surprising development here is that the Senate not only accepted the appointment of a non-resident, non-Venetian bishop to a see with a history of patrician pastors, but welcomed it with abundant enthusiasm, as is attested by their letter to Sixtus on 15 September. Riario, the Franciscan who had won over so many wavering votes in the conclave - including those of Barbo and Bessarion? - was evidently the coming man.<sup>35</sup> The Senate was not above abandoning principles

which had all too frequently jeopardised relations with Rome, in order to cultivate the papal confidant, a man whose taste for worldly extravagance would have broken any sumptuary law.

In the course of the pontificate, the Ligurian/Della Rovere element in the Sacred College came to outweigh any other regional or family grouping. Giovanni Battista Cibò (the future Innocent VIII) was promoted on 7 May 1473, Girolamo Basso della Rovere, Cristoforo della Rovere and Raffaele Sansoni-Riario on 10 December 1477. Cristoforo's death on 1 February 1478 was swiftly followed by his replacement by his brother Domenico on 10 February.<sup>36</sup> The extent of the family's pluralism was similarly remarkable, particularly in the case of Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere, the latter eventually accumulating eight bishoprics, one archbishopric and numerous abbeys. Symptomatic of their rise at the expense of a Venetian faction was the fact that those two most favoured nipoti were successive holders of Bessarion's titular church at SS. Apostoli and succeeded him as protectors of the Franciscan Order. Paralleling the fortunes of their clerical kinsmen, the pope's lay nephews obtained important posts and married into the families of King Ferrante and Federico da Montefeltro. Girolamo Riario, married to Galeazzo Maria Sforza's illegitimate daughter, succeeded his brother Pietro as the pope's closest adviser and, consequently, as the focus of Venetian diplomatic activity.

Reflecting the Sistine eulogists, Pastor relates of Francesco della Rovere that "Cardinal Bessarion is expressly mentioned as having been among his hearers, and ever after having held him in the greatest esteem. So much was this the case, that from that time he would not publish any of his works until the great Franciscan philosopher and

theologian had revised and corrected them".<sup>37</sup> It is true that Della Rovere acted as confessor to the Greek cardinal before 1459, but they had grown apart by 1471, to such an extent that it is by no means certain that Bessarion actually voted for the Franciscan in the conclave. Far from standing forth "almost like a father of the Church", as he had in the later 1460s, Bessarion rapidly found himself isolated in the College, his nearest associate being Cardinal Barbo.<sup>38</sup> Both had been intimately connected with the previous régime and had no place in the new order of things. Their association certainly dated back as far as Bessarion's legatine mission to Venice, during which he dealt with Barbo, the then Bishop of Treviso.<sup>39</sup>

Eight days after Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere were added to the College of Cardinals, Sixtus instituted a subtle purge of their ranks, selecting five senior cardinals as legates who would call upon Christendom to unite and defend the Faith. Barbo was appointed to the German lands, Hungary and Poland, Bessarion to France, Burgundy and England, Borgia to Spain, Angelo Capranica to Italy and the Neapolitan Oliviero Carafa to the command of the papal fleet.<sup>40</sup> The pope had certainly chosen some of the most experienced and highly respected cardinals for <sup>the</sup> task of firing a factious continent with crusading zeal, but he was also removing from Rome for lengthy periods of time potential foci of opposition to his own authority. The appearance of the Sacred College had been transformed at a stroke. Bessarion and Barbo, already isolated on account of their Venetian allegiance, were given the longest and most daunting missions. Bessarion had no hope of bringing the rival powers of North-West Europe into common cause and, as he foresaw in the early months of 1472, the effort killed him.<sup>41</sup>

Marco Barbo was absent from Rome for thirty-two months, from February 1472 to October 1474, a crucial break in his career. The appointment and subsequent departure coming only months after Paul's death, those events combined to form a definite watershed in his career. From being one of the most senior figures at the papal court, he was prevented from exercising any of the functions of a cardinal, whether as a patron to fellow Venetians, familiars or others, as a client of a secular power or as a natural councillor of the pope. All but the most devoted of associates would surely desert such a figure, especially as the star of Pietro Riario was in the ascendant. The winter of 1471-2 also witnessed the unravelling of Cardinal's Zeno's part in a plot to transmit Venetian state secrets to the Papacy.<sup>42</sup> Zeno and Michiel, already personae non gratae with Venice on account of the disputed appointments to Vicenza and Verona, were in no position to represent anyone but themselves in the Senate of the Church. Consequently, within a few months of the conclave, the Republic was entirely deprived of loyal and reliable cardinalitial representation.

The significance of this dilemma may be gauged from a couple of Venetian sources which reflect the value attached to Cardinals Barbo and, particularly, Bessarion during the months either side of the 1471 conclave. Surviving correspondence between Bessarion and Doge Cristoforo Moro begins in December 1470, but most of the dated letters fall between 21 August and 18 September 1471 and are supplemented by others from Moro to Sixtus and the Sacred College collectively. Doge Moro's successor, Niccolò Tron (elected 23 November 1471) continued to communicate with Bessarion until early January 1472.<sup>43</sup> A single theme dominates, prompted by Foscari's exclusion from the conclave: that the pope should publish the name of the primicerio to avoid further confusion

and recognise his undoubted merits. "Maximo desyderio tenemur, ut cum pro honore patrie, tum pro virtute, et singulari bonitate Reverendi domini Petri foscari nobilis nostri protonotarij, et primycerij Sancti Marci, ac meritis familie sue ..." <sup>44</sup> Relating the circumstances of the case back to Paul's pontificate, the ducal message never varies in substance. For the "honour" of his patria, read the diplomatic advantage of having an unquestionably loyal Venetian planted within the Sacred College. A single, undated appeal was also made by Moro to the Bishop of Treviso, in all probability Pietro Riario, more or less coinciding with the Senate's approval of his appointment to the Veneto bishopric. <sup>45</sup> This can be interpreted as a case of keeping options open : endeavouring not to alienate the papal favourite, while continuing to express faith in Bessarion, regardless of his waning authority at the Curia.

The embassy sent to congratulate Sixtus on his election was not dispatched until November. Prior to that the Senate also conducted correspondence with Bessarion, in lieu of an ambassador. <sup>46</sup> Among the leading senators then proposing Rome-related business were Filippo Foscari and Lodovico Foscari, both then savii del consiglio, the one a kinsman and the other a sometime correspondent of the aspiring cardinal. <sup>47</sup> The Senate's commission to Triadano Gritti, Andrea Leone, Marco Corner and Bernardo Giustiniani, dated 9 November, instructed the ambassadors to visit the Greek cardinal, "our special friend and protector", and pay him particular honour on account of his services to Venice. They were likewise enjoined to visit the Cardinal of S. Marco, but his position was evidently that of second best. Zeno and Michiel were to be avoided at all costs, due to the Vicentine and Veronese controversies, ~~and this was~~ to remain the Senate's position when instructing

Venetian ambassadors to the Holy See throughout the early 1470s.<sup>48</sup>

Only one other such commission - that of Federico Corner, 8 February 1472 - predated Bessarion's death. In it, the same priorities appear with the specific request that he visit both Niceno and S. Marco "frequentissime", even though Barbo was on the verge of leaving for Germany. To some extent, Corner filled the gap left by the two cardinals.<sup>49</sup>

Reacting to news of Bessarion's legatine appointment on 15 January, the Senate anticipated the "inconvenience and detriment" caused by his absence from the Curia, but were unanimous in requesting him to promote Foscarelli's cause before his departure. The Senate's preferred line of succession could hardly have been stated more plainly.<sup>50</sup> Living, Bessarion was a model or type of a specifically Venetian cardinal; dying at Ravenna on 18 November 1472, a Milanese ambassador described him as "tutto veneziano".

Unfolding during the same period of time as the events described above and altogether dominating relations between Venice and the Papacy during the early 1470s, was the exposure of Cardinal Zeno's part in one of the most serious breaches of Venetian state security in the fifteenth century. Although his disaffection may well have dated back far into Paul's pontificate, perhaps the most immediate motivation for his actions can be found in Venice's opposition to his appointment as Bishop of Vicenza in succession to Marco Barbo. The parallel between Zeno and Michiel at that stage was highlighted by events following the death of Ermolao Barbaro il vecchio, Bishop of Verona, on 11 March 1471. Lorenzo Zane came out top in the proba held two days later, perhaps reflecting a desire on the Senate's part to have a bishop of some importance at the Curia, however detrimental to his Veronese flock that might be. Disregarding their choice, Paul imposed Giovanni Michiel on Verona as he

did Battista Zeno on Vicenza.<sup>51</sup> Apart from the ambassadorial implications, the official Venetian response to this was delayed until the first week of September. In the meantime, letters written by Cardinal Zeno and sent to his cousin Tommaso were read in the Council of Ten on 30 May. Herein are found the first references to an anti-Venetian plot.<sup>52</sup>

On 5 September, accusations of espionage and reactions to the episcopal promotions became linked in the deliberations of the Ten. "Manifestum est huic consilio Cardinalem de Cha Zeno, vivente papa Paulo, quaesivisse intelligere secreta nostra et alienum semper se ostendisse, quin ymo adversum potius omni nostrae voluntati et omnibus comodis status ..." <sup>53</sup> Besides refusing to acknowledge Zeno as Bishop of Vicenza, the Ten confiscated the income from all his benefices within Venetian territory and any other goods he possessed in the same. Perhaps an account of the bishoprics, perhaps because of the obvious proximity between Zeno and Michiel, the Ten imposed identical strictures against the latter cardinal, regardless of the fact that they possessed no evidence against him. At this stage in the proceedings, the accusations against Zeno related exclusively to the period of Paul's pontificate, with no indication of any evidence other than that which had presumably been gleaned from the correspondence with his cousin Tommaso.

No further illumination is forthcoming until 7 November, when the Ten stated their position to the departing ambassadors who would, in turn, present the Venetian cause to the pope. Again, the correspondence between the cardinal and his cousin, revealing Zeno's "perfidy and ill-will" towards Venice, is given as the only source of evidence. Though emphasising the "treacherous attempts" of a prince of the Church to

apprise himself of state secrets, the ambassadors must continue to stress Venetian loyalty to the Holy See.<sup>54</sup> This was duly reflected in Bernardo Giustiniani's celebrated address to the pope, delivered on 2 December, in which he focussed on the resurgent Turkish threat and the need for Christendom to unite, regardless of the activities of Cardinal Zeno.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, news from the East had dominated Venetian correspondence with Sixtus from the beginning of the pontificate and largely prompted the desire to establish and maintain good relations with Rome by means of one or more Venetian cardinals.<sup>56</sup> The Ten and the Senate agreed that Giustiniani and his fellow delegates should isolate Zeno and Michiel, probably as a means of damage limitation. On 7 November, the Council of Ten also wrote to their new ambassador in Naples, Zaccaria Barbaro, on the matter of the two cardinals, revealing that Barbaro's predecessor, Vettore Soranzo and the Neapolitan ambassador to Venice, Angelo d'Atri, had become aware of Cardinal Zeno's "bad ways and practices".<sup>57</sup> A more strongly worded statement from the guardians of Venetian state security was issued on 30 December, upbraiding the ambassadors in Rome for treating the matter so "lightly and superficially" in their negotiations with the pope.<sup>58</sup>

It is not clear exactly when or how the full evidence against Zeno was accumulated by the Ten, but they were able to proceed with a trial against those conspirators unable to hide behind the cloak of clerical immunity once the crucial correspondence between the cardinal and his mother, Elisabetta, had been secured, some of it intercepted by the podestà of Chioggia. Having established the centrality of her rôle in the conspiracy - "per via de Isabeta Zen, se saveva tutte le cose della Terra a Roma" - Malipiero relates how "la not(t)e de Lun(ed)i de Carneval, è stà manda a casa a Isabeta a tuorghe le scritte; et è stà trovà un libro che

contegniva tutte le deliberation del Conseg(1)io de Prega(d)i<sup>59</sup> In  
 return for state secrets, Elisabetta had promised ecclesiastical  
 preferment to the "molti senatori ... alcuni di loro de savii del  
 Collegio, et altri del Consiglio de' Dieci ..." whom she had entertained  
 at her house. In one account the drama of the episode is further  
 enhanced by the image of two clerics concealed behind an arras  
 assiduously writing down all that the noble senators divulged. According  
 to Malipiero, she had been conveying information to Rome for some years,  
 though it is impossible to be more precise about that. Nor is it  
 possible to judge the effectiveness of the secrets-for-benefices scheme  
 in terms of benefice allocation. The Vatican series *Obligaciones et  
 Solutiones* reveals that neither Zeno nor Michiel sponsored anyone,  
 Venetian or otherwise, to major benefices during the months immediately  
 after Sixtus's election.<sup>60</sup> On the other hand, Cicogna does cite two  
 letters, written in another hand but subscribed by Elisabetta, dated 19  
 and 24 March 1470 and relating to ecclesiastical matters. The first, to  
 her cousin Alvise di Giovanni Barbo at Rome, concerns a certain priest,  
 Marco de Marchetti, whom she was recommending to a particular parish.  
 The second was addressed to a Don Benedetto, her chaplain in Rome, asking  
 if His Holiness "ha lassato ferma la indulgentia plenaria che per avanti  
 Sua Santità haveva concesso ali poveri puti desolati e abandonati posti  
 nel hospitale de la pietade et essendo questo che cusì credo procurate  
 instantissimamente con lo prefato Rmo San Marco (i.e. Marco Barbo) de haver  
 un breve de la S. de N.S. che si drezi qui a la Signoria, o veramente a  
 mi azoche in questa quaresema questo se possi publicare azoche a questi  
 poveri puti possi conseguir questo tanto ben zoe la soventione de multi  
 devoti cristiani, la qual suventione li e manchata perchè multi dubita  
 che la indulgentia sia levata." <sup>61</sup>

The twenty-five-strong zonta appointed to assist the Ten when the case came to trial after Elisabetta's arrest included Filippo Foscari, Lodovico Foscari, Francesco Sanudo, the noted diplomat and traveller Giosafat Barbaro and Candiano Bollani, a correspondent of Marco Barbo in the 1460s.<sup>62</sup> Foscari has been described as one of the numerous Barbo and Zen allies within the patriciate, essentially on account of his cultural interests. The new ambassador to Rome, Federico Corner, was sent an account of the charges against the cardinal on 4 February.<sup>63</sup>

As the trial proceeded between 12 and 26 February, so it became clear how far the conspiracy had permeated patrician society. With Elisabetta were named Girolamo Badoer, a sometime member of the Council of Ten and a ducal councillor on several occasions, Domenico Zorzi, Pantaleone and Alvise Barbo and Andrea Trevisan. Members of the Contarini family were said to be involved as well, though evidently not among the ring-leaders.<sup>64</sup> Pantaleone Barbo was a capo of the Forty and his brother Alvise a senator at the time their treachery was exposed. Only months before, the two brothers had married the daughters of Paolo di Niccolò Barbo, nieces of Elisabetta and perhaps instrumental in their husbands' involvement. Like them, Andrea Trevisan was not among the first rank of Venetian political figures, but had important family connections. Girolamo Badoer, it may be noted, was uncle to the distinguished statesman Sebastiano. All of which provides some indication of how this conspiracy cut through the core of the patriciate.

The conspirators received their sentences on 26 February. Elisabetta, "(una) donna di spirito, ma ambiziosa e intrigante", was exiled to Capodistria for ten years, beginning the following month. If she escaped, she would be subject to a fine of one thousand ducats and a further term

of imprisonment. If she became a religious, she would still be prevented from re-entering Venice or any of its territories, under similar pains. The sentence could only be lifted with the assent of three-quarters of the Ten (with zonta). Pantaleone received a year's imprisonment with exclusion from all offices and councils of state for ten years, Girolamo Badoer the same deprivation of patrician rights with six months' incarceration. Alvise Barbo and Andrea Trevisan were given conditional discharges: "Que relaxetur pro nunc de carceribus".<sup>65</sup>

At which point those at the Venetian end of the espionage network all but disappear from sight. As legate to Venice in 1477, Cardinal Zeno made a number of appeals to the Ten, requesting permission to visit his mother. Thereafter, the only known connection between them was her burial in the sacristy of St. Peter's basilica, where Zeno was archpriest. The tomb inscription is dated 1480. Of the others, Pantaleone Barbo appealed to the Ten in 1490 for some form of employment in consideration of his large family. The Barbo-Lorenzi carteggio hints at correspondence between Pantaleone and Cardinal Barbo in August 1485, while on 7 March 1483 Giovanni Lorenzi wrote: "Misi d.no Pantaleoni Barbo optimum breve pro causa sua iuxta minutam quam mihi miserat". The same source also contains references to a Lodovico Barbo on 31 July 1481, 17 October 1485 and 10 September 1487. Paschini found no such person in the genealogies, but failed to allow for the interchangeability of the names Lodovico and Alvise. It seems likely that Alvise di Giovanni Barbo was the individual in question in those letters. Although Marco Barbo evidently maintained some form of contact with his distant kinsmen, no hint of suspicion was cast upon him in 1471-2.<sup>66</sup>

How was the Zeno case received in Rome? Was Sixtus genuinely interested

in defusing the situation or content to see the Venetians feuding among themselves? Obviously it was incumbent upon the pope to make official protestations against the Republic's treatment of two princes of the Church. That he did so is reflected in the fact that the Vicentine and Veronese bishoprics formed a stumbling block in diplomatic relations between Venice and Rome throughout the early 1470s. In the course of the Ten's deliberations, the pope's representative, Fra Angelo da Bolsena, appeared before the Council in the interest of the two cardinals. The Ten responded by emphasising Venetian devotion to the Papacy, with suitable reference to Sixtus's personal prudence and piety, but insisted that Fra Angelo inspect copies of the letters at the centre of the case, in which Zeno's guilt was more than apparent.<sup>67</sup> In implicit acceptance of the facts, the most ground that Sixtus was prepared to concede was to request that Venice treat Zeno and Michiel as separate cases, the latter having done nothing to deserve the same punishment as the former. Financial support to the two cardinals from the Apostolic Camera to compensate for loss of income from Vicenza and Verona will be dealt with in chapter four.

Marco Barbo, meanwhile, had left Rome on his way to Germany by the time the storm broke in February, reached Udine by 16 or 17 March, staying there until 21st, and thereafter visited Cividale, S. Vito al Tagliamento, S. Daniele del Friuli and Pontebba before passing into Austria.<sup>68</sup> This stage of his journey reminds one that no objection had been made to his promotion to Aquileia twelve months previously, in marked contrast to the situation at Verona and Vicenza. Indeed, on 16 September 1471, the Senate confirmed Barbo's bull of appointment, supplementing it the next day by ducal letters to the Venetian luogotenente in Friuli: "... Deliberavimus cum nostro Consilio Regatorum et ita vobis mandamus: ut prefato R.mo D.mo Cardinali seu Nuncio suo, dari facere debeatis possessionem Ecclesie

Patriarchalis Aquileiensis : et responderi ei seu Nuncio suo providendo atque mandando de omnino fructibus, redditibus, et proventibus dicte Ecclesi Patriarcalis iuxta solitum."<sup>69</sup> After he had left Rome, we learn from the Council of Ten that Cardinal Barbo had acted on their behalf in writing to Sixtus to request that the pope hand over some of the correspondence between Zeno and his mother.<sup>70</sup> The Signoria had cultivated Barbo and he had reciprocated in such a manner as to allow himself to be identified with Venice, at the expense of the Papacy, in the first crisis of the pontificate. Disunity among the Venetian cardinals was made manifest.

Between the events related above and Sixtus IV's eventual conferral of a red hat on Pietro Foscari on 10 September 1477, the saga of diplomatic relations between Venice and the Papacy presents two constant themes in parallel : on the one hand, the Republic's pressing for Foscari's unequivocal promotion and, on the other, the need to resolve the dilemma surrounding Zeno and Michiel's exclusion from Vicenza and Verona. Cardinal Barbo's appearances in Senate and Council of Ten correspondence with Venetian ambassadors in Rome are severely limited, most obviously in the period up to Autumn 1474 when the central European legation was concluded.

In the course of the Senate's campaign of words designed to persuade Sixtus to recognise Foscari's claims, his cause was impressed upon ambassadors and other influential persons on at least three occasions in 1471, five times in 1472, three again in 1473, not at all in 1474, twice in 1475, four times in 1476 and eleven in 1477 as speculation rose to a crescendo. It appeared in the various ambassadorial commissions as something of a matter of course, but what circumstances prompted the precise nature and timing of other requests, some of them rather forthright, even when addressed to the pope? This campaign cannot be divorced from the

wider perspective of Papal-Venetian relations in the 1470s. Within that range, it is necessary to isolate, as far as possible, the individuals who were responsible for shaping the Senate's policy on this matter, and those in Rome who were thought to be sympathetic to their cause and could bring influence to bear upon the pope.

Advent was the traditional season for the creation of cardinals, and Sixtus complied with that tradition in December 1471 by promoting Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere. The same month saw the beginning of the Senate's campaign on Foscari's behalf, mention of him being made in three consecutive letters to the Gritti-Giustiniani mission. Is it any coincidence that one of the savii del consiglio then proposing Senate deliberations was Filippo Foscari? The ambassadors were instructed to build up support for Foscari among senior ecclesiastics, most particularly to cultivate the Bishop of Treviso, Pietro Riario; though in January 1472 they were informed that Ferrante of Naples had written to his ambassador at Rome - presumably Arcamone - and to Cardinal Carafa, instructing them to support Foscari as an expression of Veneto-Neapolitan co-operation.<sup>71</sup>

Two days before Bessarion's departure from Rome the following April, the Senate wrote to Corner urging him to promote Foscari's cause with more vehemence than ever before. It was, they stated, their "most ardent desire" to see him raised to the cardinalate, as the ambassador was to remind His Holiness on every convenient occasion. As significant as the timing of the letter, if not more so, was the fact that it was brought before the Senate by Triadano Gritti and Bernardo Giustiniani. Apart from the coincidence of Gritti's daughter having married Pietro Foscari's brother Giovanni, both senators had had ample opportunity during their

recent embassy to make contact with the prospective cardinal. A further connection which may be noted in passing is that it was the same Giustiniani who had delivered the funeral oration for Francesco Foscari in 1457.<sup>72</sup>

Throughout 1472 Venetian policy centred around the hope of a general league against the advancing Turk. Rochefort's mission bore fruit in the signing of an alliance with Charles the Bold, "the great duke of the West", on 15 June.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile, Cardinal Carafa's naval expedition incorporated Venetian and Neapolitan fleets and met with some success during the Summer and Autumn. In accordance with this Veneto-Neapolitan harmony of purpose, we hear of Arcamone's diligence in favour of Foscari in a letter to Corner at the end of June : Arcamone "scribimus laudantes assiduum operam sua in favore R. d. primicerij nostri sicut per introclum exemplum videbitis, et vos persequamini inceptus opus omni adhibita diligentia cum modestia tamen necessaria pro honore nostri domini ...". The orator Corner was repeatedly requested to convey to Sixtus the latest reports of Turkish naval movements. For instance, on 12 September the message was that the Turkish fleet was preparing and certainly bound for Italy : Cardinal Carafa must head to meet it in battle. This was immediately followed by a reference to the "materia ... Foscari", thereby applying subtle pressure on the Papacy. If Venice provided these vital advance warnings, would Sixtus please respond with a red hat?<sup>74</sup> Silence reigned on the subject of Foscari between September 1472 and May 1473, corresponding to the breakdown in co-operation between the Venetian fleet and the other elements under Carafa's command. With Turkish-land forces invading Friuli as far as Udine and the Isonzo in October, the only option left to the Senate was to seek Pietro Riario's intercession in December

in an effort to calm relations with Sixtus : "Querite pro obtinendo favorem omnis R. d. Cardinalius quos propitios fore existimatis et inter ceteros R. d. Card. S. Sixti cuius liberales et promptas oblationes acceptavimus, usuri ope et opera suam omnibus nostris negotijs."<sup>75</sup>

The only indication of any interest in Venetian cardinals on the part of Sixtus in 1472 concerned the hoped-for restitution of Verona and Vicenza. As often as the pope demanded that the Signoria return income from the bishoprics and other benefices under pain of ecclesiastical censure, the Ten reconfirmed their position.<sup>76</sup> Neither side was prepared to give any ground. A resolution of the problem was not foremost in the pope's mind, as the most notable events of 1473 bore witness. Concern about the extension of Florentine influence in the Romagna brought about growing sympathy between Sixtus and Ferrante. Their fears were justified when the Duke of Milan sold the papal fief of Imola to Florence. This act was revoked on 6 June after Sixtus protested, and Imola was restored to papal control. It was thereupon conferred upon Girolamo Riario. June also saw the most spectacular expression of this new co-operation between the Papacy and Naples, in the form of Pietro Riario's extraordinarily lavish celebrations to mark the visit of Ferrante's daughter, Eleanora d'Aragona, travelling northwards to Ferrara and her betrothed, Ercole d'Este.<sup>77</sup>

The Senate's commission to Antonio Donato, Corner's successor at the Curia, was agreed on 6 May 1473, Foscari appearing as a standard feature, along with assurances of Venetian devotion to the Holy See. The Ten's priorities on the same occasion were to forbid direct negotiations with Zeno, while Donato's dealings with Michiel were to be limited to giving

the advice already conveyed by Corner : "quod sibi longe commodius esset quam perseverare in contentione nobiscum (that is, their refusal to concede Verona) et gerat nobis morem, ne causam habeamus providendi in modum quod duri propositis sue poeniteat."<sup>78</sup>

Although the creation of cardinals was usually preceded by a good deal of speculation and intrigue, for which the Memoirs of Pius II furnish graphic accounts, the Senate appears to have been wrong-footed on this occasion, for Sixtus announced eight new cardinals the day after Donato's commission was sent. In this promotion, the pope was concerned to placate a number of temporal princes, including the Duke of Burgundy, whose candidate was Philibert Hugonet, Bishop of Macon. More significantly, and coinciding with the Imola episode, two subjects of Galeazzo Maria Sforza were promoted, Stefano Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, and Giovanni Arcimboldi, Bishop of Novara. As Sixtus, Naples and Milan moved into the same orbit, the Venetian ambassador could be as zealous as he liked on Foscari's behalf, but his appeals would be in vain.

In response to this snub, the Senate wrote directly to Sixtus on 1 June, outlining the history of Foscari's case, while requesting justice for a wronged man of singular merits and virtues. The longest appeal to date was also the most forceful : seeing that their efforts on his behalf had been ignored, as indeed had their other services for the Church, there was no option but to request that Foscari leave Rome forthwith .... They would write to him to that effect. The Republic, no less than the individual, had been deprived of its good name.<sup>79</sup> No such letter to Foscari has survived in the appropriate Senate register, but it happened that he did absent himself from the city between August and October, as testified by a series of letters he wrote to Ercole d'Este, sent from a variety of locations including Cortona.<sup>80</sup> Again, one must mention the

names of those who brought the 1 June text before the Senate. Giustiniani and Gritti appear once more, together with Marino Malipiero, Antonio Priuli, the future doge Andrea Vendramin (during whose dogado the case was concluded) and Paolo Morosini, whose connection with Foscari dated back at least as far as 1468 and the occasion of Bessarion donating his library to the Republic. This suggests that Gritti and Giustiniani were the nucleus of a party at work within the Senate, though how far their aims extended beyond Foscari's red hat is not at issue here.

Apart from a general sort of request to Pietro Riario on Foscari's behalf the following October, nothing more is heard from the Senate on this subject until January 1475.<sup>81</sup> At some point during 1473, Battista Zeno made contact with the Venetian chancellor "Marco", in an attempt to reach some kind of agreement with the Signoria. The cardinal's motives were probably financial and not prompted by some higher diplomatic end. The Ten consented to talks in the hope of improving relations with Sixtus, but stipulated that they must not take place in Zeno's house and only on condition that he renounce Vicenza and that the renunciation be accepted by Sixtus. Zeno and Michiel refused to accept these terms and the dispute remained unresolved.<sup>82</sup>

1474 was a year of stalemate as far as both Foscari and the Zeno and Michiel cases were concerned. Neither were mentioned by the Senate or the Ten in communications with Antonio Donato or his successors Francesco Sanudo and Marco Aurelio. Pietro Riario, to whom at least three appeals had been addressed the previous year, died at the beginning of January, making communications between Venice and Rome potentially more difficult. To whom did Venice turn for curial contacts? On 25 January, the Senate, led by Paolo Morosini, Bernardo Giustiniani, Vitale Lando and Antonio Priuli, sent their condolences to Girolamo Riario, advising Donato to

pay him the highest honour.<sup>83</sup>

Again the Turkish threat dominated Venetian foreign policy, this period witnessing the siege and heroic resistance of Scutari. Although Sixtus issued a plenary indulgence for a crusade in February 1474 and contributed valuable resources towards the Dalmatian campaign, events in the Papal States did much to alienate Venice and postpone any reconciliation.<sup>84</sup> In June, Sixtus dispatched Giuliano della Rovere to suppress an uprising in Todi. The cardinal, assisted by Lorenzo Zane, then imposed his rule on Spoleto, and finally turned his troops against Niccolò Vitelli, the unofficial "tyrant" of Città di Castello. Venice reacted strongly, condemning the pope for fighting fellow Christians when he ought to have been defending Christendom against the enemies of religion.<sup>85</sup> At the same time, the only crusade which Sixtus and Girolamo Riario were intent on waging was against the Florence of Lorenzo de' Medici. The year concluded with the negotiation of a league between Venice, Florence and Milan, agreed on 2 November. Ferrante withdrew from these negotiations at the eleventh hour and Sixtus refused to join what he regarded as an explicitly anti-papal alliance.

Signs of this new relationship with Milan were evident at the beginning of 1475, for the Senate wrote to Paolo Morosini, recently dispatched to the Curia, requesting that he not only maintain Pietro Foscari's claim in circulation, but add to it that of Ascanio Sforza, the equally official Milanese candidate for the cardinalate. In February, Morosini was informed of the ratification of the new triple alliance, the object of which was the defence of Christendom. If it failed in that purpose, the Senate warned, then the Papacy would be to blame.<sup>86</sup>

With the major Italian states falling into two distinct power blocs

in the Jubilee year of 1475 while Venice rejected Turkish peace proposals, a thaw in relations between Rome and the Republic became increasingly desirable. Both Morosini and Antonio Donato (in the latter's second commission for Rome, 15 November) were instructed to visit all three Venetian cardinals, in marked contrast to previous injunctions : "Visitare R. mos d. nos Cardinales omnes tres simul et semper estote in omni agenda re simul in via simul et in omni celebri loco". With a certain inevitability does Foscari's name head a long list of appeals on behalf of Venetian clerics hoping to take advantage of papal munificence during the Jubilee, though hopes for redress of Foscari's grievance were particularly high on account of the imminent Advent season.<sup>87</sup> At this stage, Barbo, Michiel and Zeno were all cardinal-deputies charged with negotiating a general league. The Senate material provides no indication of whether this made them more attractive diplomatic figures or cast them as agents of the Papacy. It is noticeable that no direct communication had been established between the Senate and Cardinal Barbo, since his return to Rome in Autumn 1474. The signs are that he had yet to fully re-establish his position there and was, bluntly, of little consequence with Sixtus.<sup>88</sup>

Throughout the first half of 1476, the Vicenza and Verona question became entangled in another dispute between Venice and Rome, that of decima contributions towards the defence of Italy, not least those tithes to be exacted from cardinals.<sup>89</sup> Sixtus's growing awareness of the Turkish threat, and therefore of the need to levy crusading tenths, may not have resulted in any glorious united action on the part of the Christian powers, but at least it opened up a channel of communication between Venice and Rome. In the midst of haggling over the precise level at which the decima was to be set, Sixtus took a symbolic step

towards reconciliation by sending the golden rose to Venice as an acknowledgement of the Republic's valiant stand against the Infidel. The new doge, Andrea Vendramin, replied on 2 April, within a month of his own election, thanking the pope for both this gift and for conferring a knighthood on Antonio Donato.<sup>90</sup> On the surface, at least, goodwill positively snowballed!

Nevertheless, attention ought to be drawn to the circumstances in which Sixtus issued the golden rose, for it caused division in the Sacred College and resulted in Cardinals Roverella, Barbo, Zeno and Michiel forming a party in opposition to all their peers. The authority for this episode was Arrivabene, writing to Lodovico Gonzaga on 20 March : "El papa questa matina terminoe in consistorio di dare la rosa al ambasciatore qui Venetiano in nome de la sua Si(gno)ria. E sento li fu da far assai : perchè voleva (tutti) li cardinali la compagnassero collegialiter : sopra che fu un gran disputa, perche sua S(antità) ne era molto calda, e li car(dina)li contradicevano, allegando non conoscere de usanza de acompagnare, se non fusse qui presente lo principale, a chi la se desse, come fu lo duca de ferrara, don federico, lo Re de dacia (i.e. Christian I of Denmark, who had been on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1475 and whose assistance against the Turks Sixtus had endeavoured to cultivate) e duca d'urbino. Tandem fu pur concluso : che quatro l'acompagnassero : Ravenna, San Marco, Sancta Maria in portico e Sancto angelo, chi sono venetiani ..."<sup>91</sup>

Although the golden rose episode presented an excellent opportunity for the Venetian cardinals to unite in the name of their patria, it is interesting to note that on 1 April 1476 Branda Castiglione, Bishop of Como and Milanese ambassador to the Holy See, described the Archbishop of Spalato as "una spia de Venetiani in quello Palazzo (Apostolico)".

This is curious in that Pietro Riario's successor at Spalato, from 1474 to 1478, was Fra Zanetto da Udine, otherwise known as Giovanni Dacre or d'Aciri (C.1416 - 1485). A Franciscan who had been based at the Frari in Venice in the 1440s and was General of his Order from 1469, Zanetto certainly had numerous Venetian connections and benefices. The veracity of Castiglione's statement is called into question when one reflects that Zanetto was actually closer to Sixtus than any Venetian cardinal or agent of the Republic. Not only were Francesco della Rovere and his successive Franciscan Generals, but as a bishop the latter adopted the Della Rovere oak branch as his stemma and in his testament left 5,000 ducats to the Apostolic Camera in "buona memoria di Sisto IV". Castiglione and his colleagues Leonardo Botta and Antonio Trivulzio later developed a (well-founded!) obsession with Pietro Foscari as a Venetian agent, but obviously saw no reason to isolate or suspect him at this date. Benedetto Soranzo described the Bishop of Como as "homo inimico ... di la Ill.ma Signoria nostra", making it difficult to know how much weight to attach to his remarks.<sup>92</sup>

The golden rose had done nothing to resolve either the Verona and Vicenza question nor to settle the decima dispute. On both issues, Donato bore the brunt of curial criticism, as Castiglione wrote on 4 April and Arrivabene two days later: "Appresso ad quello che la S.tà del Papa ne disse in Concistorio lo secundo subdisio (sic.) da imponersi per le cose del Turco .... Quella similiter voltandossi al M.co Oratore Venetiano; lo incharichò molto; chel volesse per parte dessa, et de questo suo Sacro Collegio confortare et strenge(re), et pregare la sua Ill.ma Sig.ria che fusse contenta una volta levare questo velo dalli occhi ad sua Beatitudine et alla libertà Ecclesiastica; che era de comportare che quelli suoi due Cardinali Venetiani, cioè Santa Maria

in portico et Santo Angelo non godessimo le sue chiese. Et con molte bone parole et persuasione dimostrò che lo dovevano fare .... (N.) S. et tutto el Collegio demostronno tanto affectare questa cosa che potessino desiderare, lo p.to M.co Oratore venetiano respose che de questa materia el non sapeva che dire perchè el non ne haveva commissione ..."<sup>93</sup>

In the light of these appeals and another reported by Castiglione on 11 April, the Ten debated the question of Verona and Vicenza between 20 and 30 April, considering whether or not to revoke their decision of 5 September 1471. They proposed returning the two sees to their respective bishops, while the Signoria would nevertheless retain the income from these and any other Veneto benefices for the intervening years, directing it towards the Turkish war. In the end, they shelved the issue, probably because it would have been a one-sided solution without a parallel agreement over the decima. All sides seem to have been aware that this was a temporary reversal, as Venice and Rome moved towards each other with the most tentative of steps. At the beginning of May, letters arrived in Rome "da Vinexia a questi Cardinali Venetiani (i.e. Zeno and Michiel), che pure danno ferma speranza che saranno exauditi, de la intercessione del papa per li loro Beneficij, vedo che quella Signoria va a placebo, quanto la po, cum sua Beatitudine et uxano termini inconsueti, id est più humani del loro uxato ..."<sup>94</sup> This report was again from the Bishop of Como and indicative of increasing diplomatic interest in the cardinals, as the changing face of interstate relations was reflected in their lives and ensured that they played more active parts in the same.

Princes of the Church were crucial to a new initiative launched from Rome in the late Spring, an endeavour to bring about some form of pan-

Italian unity against the Infidel. Cardinal Carafa wrote to King Ferrante, Barbo to Venice, Ammannati (as Bishop of Pavia) to Milan and Latino Orsini to Lorenzo de' Medici (husband of Clarice Orsini). On 9 and 13 May, Castiglione noted that no reply had been received from the Signoria, while only a few words by way of a response arrived within the following week.<sup>95</sup> This action on Marco Barbo's part might be interpreted as that of a Sistine minion. As a servant of the pope he could do no less. At this stage in his career, if not throughout, pro-Venetian and pro-Papal signals tended to cancel out each other. This balance of loyalties, this independence of judgement perhaps, can hardly be interpreted as characteristic of an overtly or exclusively Venetian cardinal. The Signoria still failed to cultivate Barbo as such, yet cardinalitial representation was evidently more vital to Venice than in previous years. The death of Cardinal Roverella on 3 May also prompted the Senate to remind Donato about Foscari's claims, perhaps particularly since the late cardinal had so recently openly identified himself with Venice.<sup>96</sup> In the course of the Ten's debate in April about the bishoprics, it was noted that since the matter had last been discussed, Triadano Gritti, one of Pietro Foscari's staunchest champions, had died. Yet another reason why the campaign had tended to lapse?

This period of frenzied diplomatic activity was terminated by natural causes at the beginning of June, when Sixtus and his entourage, which included Giovanni Michiel but no other Venetian cardinals, headed for Viterbo to avoid the plague in Rome. According to Castiglione, Sixtus left the city in the knowledge that Venice was not pleased with him, news which may have been conveyed to the pope by the Archbishop of Spalato,

or so the ever-suspicious Milanese speculated. In fact, on 11 June, the Senate expressed satisfaction with the levels of crusading contributions, the natural corollary of which was to repeat the inevitable request of a red hat for Foscari.<sup>97</sup>

Antonio Donato left Rome in the late Summer, having failed to settle either of the outstanding issues relating to the cardinals (or presumptive cardinals!) Donato's successor, Jacopo del Mezzo received his commission in November. In this, the standard request about Foscari headed a list of forty-eight applications on behalf of Venetians seeking benefices and other forms of preferment. Presumably relations had improved so far that this figure, which included the names of Paolo, Pantaleone and Alvise Barbo, Pietro Foscari's Paduan associate Alessandro Bon, the protégés of Lorenzo Zane, Marco and Girolamo Lando, as well as Giovanni Lorenzi, was not considered over-optimistic by the Senate. In the event it was, for Sixtus created a number of new cardinals that Advent, among them Pedro Ferriz, like Foscari in unpublished limbo since 1471. The ambassador was promptly sent a message conveying official frustration at this latest reversal, coupling it with news of Galeazzo Maria Sforza's assassination.<sup>98</sup>

What was significant about Sixtus's third promotion, in which two Frenchmen and two Iberians joined the Sacred College, was that it brought about visible unity of purpose between the Venetian cardinals on behalf of Foscari, and equally against their erstwhile rôle model, the Patriarch of Antioch. Lorenzo Zane had long expected to be raised to the ecclesiastical purple on account of his multiple distinguished services as a papal administrator. In that respect, he stood a better chance than Foscari, dwelling perpetually on the curial periphery. Arrivabene's account of the rival campaigns is contained in a dispatch of 10 December : " ... È

lo più forte e per questo patriarcha de Antiochia, el quale ha molti inimici in collegio et per la specialitate de la persona, ultra che ad altri despiacia de acrestere tante lo nu(mer)o di Venetiani. Egli un altro ostaculo, che li due nepoti de papa Paulo voriano lo Foscari, perchè restando escluso, lo rimantuo desperati di havere mai più la possessione di suoi due vescovati de Verona e de Vicenza. E farsene due Venetiani ad un tratto, pare troppo duro. (A neat understatement!) E in questa praticcha del Foscari se move anche al car(dina)le di Orsini la gielosia del Savelli ..." on account of Zane's part in subduing the Orsini strongholds of Spoleto and Todi in 1474. "Questi chi favoriscono lo patriarcha cerchano de persuadere lo papa che la commissione de questo oratore (Del Mezzo) non è tanto calda e fanno voce d'una lettera de messer Vitale Lando, chi è cognato del patriarcha ... chi li scrive ad panem de questo effecto, et che l'un e l'altro è gientilhuomo né manche se riputare la Signoria honorata nel patriarcha che nel Foscari". Although Arrivabene mentions only Zeno and Michiel by name, Agostini maintains that Barbo played no less a part in this crucial episode, from which at least two lessons may be drawn.<sup>99</sup>

Firstly, the most senior clerical Venetians in Rome at this period may be divided into two camps. On one side, Barbo, Michiel and Zeno unambiguously identified themselves with Pietro Foscari and therefore with Venice, realising that a resolution of the Verona and Vicenza question could only be obtained in the wake of Foscari's name being published; that all their material and political fortunes, if not their patronage ones as well, were almost entirely dependent on Veneto-Papal co-operation. Their Venetian identity was an inescapable reality. On the other side stood Lorenzo Zane, explicitly opposed to Foscari and therefore implicitly opposed to Venice. He could not have represented

Venetian interests in the College of Cardinals and, indeed, went on to express his resentment against Venice by joining Vitale Lando to breach Venetian state security. The second, and arguably more significant, lesson concerned the curial sponsorship of these Venetians. From at least the time of the Spoleto - Todi - Città di Castello campaign, Zane's curial patron had been Giuliano della Rovere, whose ambitions were consistently thwarted during his uncle's pontificate on account of Sixtus's blatant partiality for, first, Pietro and then Girolamo Riario. Returning from his Avignonese legation in 1476, Giuliano's sponsorship of Zane was part of an exercise to flex his curial muscles. It failed, but demonstrated the cardinal's intractable opposition to Girolamo Riario, who may well have sponsored the Foscari camp at this date, as he certainly did later. The seeds of Riario's association with Foscari are unclear, though subsequent events illustrated all too graphically that Foscari's diplomatic value to Venice centred on that connection. In turn, Riario's territorial ambitions in the Romagna brought him increasingly to respect Venetian support, regardless of fluctuations in papal policy towards the Republic. As early as December 1476, then, the Zane-Della Rovere axis was defeated by that of Foscari and Riario. Less than six months later, the Patriarch of Antioch was named as the accomplice of conspirators planning an attempt on Riario's life. Zane claimed to have acted in Giuliano's name, but was himself the instigator.<sup>100</sup>

That connection with the all-powerful Riario having been established, by 1477 it was more a case of "when" than "if" as far as Foscari's promotion was concerned, with speculation rife from January onwards. As early as 7 January, the Senate declared that an announcement was expected any day and that Venice would at last be vindicated.<sup>101</sup> After renewed

discussion of the question of Verona and Vicenza, the Senate wrote to the rettori of those cities on 3 February to announce that the benefices were to be restored to their bishops, thereby removing the last major stumbling block between Pietro Foscari and the cardinalate. The sources are silent about the precise motives behind this decision, though Soranzo postulates : "Probabilmente il Veneto Governo venne a questo accordo, perchè la guerra contra il Turco si trascinava penosamente e aveva recato infiniti danno alla Repubblica non solo nelle colonie ma anche nelle terre stesse del Dominio ai suoi confini orientali ... nel 1477 il Friuli stesso sar  invaso dalle truppe di Maometto II. I due cardinali forse si adoperarono presso il papa, perch  volesse dimostrarsi generoso verso la loro Repubblica".<sup>102</sup>

Sixtus, the College of Cardinals, Zeno, Michiel and Del Mezzo also received confirmation of the decision on 3 February.<sup>103</sup> Sixtus responded with a brief absolving Doge Vendramin and the Venetians in general, "a vantaggio della fede cristiana". Dated the same day, 18 February, Zeno issued a declaration absolving "il Governo Veneto e chiunque vi abbia partecipato da ogni debito morale e materiale per l'apprensione delle rendite del vescovado e di altri benefici da loro goduti nello Stato Veneto fino al 4 corrente mese", recognising that the income from the benefices had been employed for the benefit of Christendom. Michiel responded with identical sentiments the next day.<sup>104</sup>

In March the names of Giovanni d'Aragona, Ascanio Sforza and Foscari, together with those of the Sistine nipoti Cristoforo della Rovere and Girolamo Basso della Rovere, were formally proposed for the cardinalate. Mirroring Sixtus and Riario's suspicion of Florence, the Tuscan republic was significantly the only major Italian state not to be represented here. Now that Foscari's publication had a certain inevitability about it,

Senate communications on the subject not only addressed him as "cardinal" but tended to be proposed by the full complement of Doge, Ducal Councillors, Heads of the Forty, savii del Consiglio and savii di Terraferma, though the name of Paolo Morosini continued to be distinguished on occasions. More significant were the identities of cardinals and other curial personalities addressed by the Senate during this final phase of canvassing. In January, they expressed elation that the long-serving and influential Cardinal d'Estouteville had declared himself in Foscari's favour, supplementing this with hopeful noises about Giuliano della Rovere and Antonio Jacopo Venieri : wishful thinking on the Senate's part or the genesis of the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vinculi's later claim to be "a good friend of Venice"? Della Rovere was the recipient of a lengthy appeal in June, and again in August, when the Senate dispatched their most comprehensive set of petitions : to Del Mezzo, Sixtus, the Sacred College collectively, the three Venetian cardinals, d'Estouteville and Riario. The content of all these is predictable enough.<sup>105</sup> That the orator Del Mezzo was equal to his task was testified by Castiglione on 8 August : "Messer Anello (Arcamone) attende con sollicitudine ad effecto la promotione de Don. Johanne. Et credo che omnino sortirà effecto, ut habeat supplicam letitiam. Et potria essere che in questa promotione et tirasse quella de lo Hesler, et de li Nepoti del Papa, cioè el Castellano et Rachanatensis. El venetiano se travaglio molto per el Foscharo"<sup>106</sup>

Pietro Foscari's letters to the Senate have survived no more than have those of the Venetian ambassadors. It is therefore with some trepidation that one speculates on their dates and contents. The longevity and tenacity of the Signoria's campaign on his behalf from 1471 onwards must surely have been fuelled by a stream of information from their protégé, of considerable

value even from outside the cardinalate. Foretastes of Foscari the cardinal appear in the Senate register for 10 April 1477, when Del Mezzo is informed of the imminent arrival in Venice of a letter from Foscari, and a month later, when information had been received from that source.<sup>107</sup> Even before his publication, the Senate referred to him in correspondence by that highly prized title : "De cardinali nostro Foscaro scripsimus pridie vobis (i.e. Del Mezzo) et litteras misimus ad Pontefice, ad collegium cardinalium et ad Comitem Jeronimum..."<sup>108</sup>

That Battista Zeno was eager to establish positive relations with Venice was evident not only from the golden rose and Zane incidents, but also from the haste with which he journeyed to Vicenza to take possession of his see, making a formal entry on 28 April, a matter of weeks after his position had been acknowledged by the Signoria. His appointment as legate to Venice in June of that year underlined his enthusiasm. "El cardinale di Santa Maria in Porticho Venetiano ... ha havuto bono tempo, fa grande voglia andare a vedere la sua patria, et farse vedere da suoi. E per fare prova anchora de restituire et levare de confini la madre sua.... E per potere essere meglio exaudito et andare con più reputatione, ha honeste cerchato haver qualche honor. Per satisfarlo heri n.s. gli dette alchune facultà de legato ... a Venetia."<sup>109</sup> Viewed from another angle, that of Sanudo, the Republic was only too delighted to see the return of the prodigal, not wishing to put Foscari's chances in jeopardy. " ... il Doxe li andò contra col bucintoro, alozò a la caxa dil Marchese, vene in Collegio, referì alcune cosse li havia commesso il Papa dicesse a la Signoria; poi andò a Vicenza."<sup>110</sup>

The quest for the elusive red hat was concluded on 10 December 1477, Foscari and the Veronese Gabriele Rangoni (for whom no such campaign had been mounted, fuelling the notion that he did not meet the criteria of a

"Venetian" cardinal) were published, along with Cristoforo della Rovere, Girolamo Basso della Rovere, the Imperial councillor Georg Hesler, Giovanni d' Aragona and Raffaele Sansoni-Riario.<sup>111</sup> That Florentines were conspicuous by their absence accorded perfectly with Girolamo Riario's Romagnol ambitions. That Riario was also concerned to isolate Florence diplomatically, by enticing Venice and Milan towards himself, suggests that his sponsorship of Foscari was based on much more than personal grounds and provided the key to a temporary revival of the fortunes of Venetian cardinals at Rome.

The year 1478 opened in celebratory mood in Venice, with a lavish reception for the recently published cardinal, who was housed at the Ca' Foscari.<sup>112</sup> This coinciding with the death of Domenico de' Domenici, Bishop of Brescia, Del Mezzo was promptly instructed to advocate Foscari as his successor. With Foscari in Venice, however, the vacancy was filled by Lorenzo Zane who had, according to Castiglione, transferred his service from Della Rovere to Riario in Foscari's absence. Zanetto da Udine filled Zane's place at Treviso, leaving the new cardinal with the poorer diocese of Spalato, a state of affairs accepted by Venice on 9 March, as Foscari was journeying back to Rome.<sup>113</sup> Clearly, if Riario was to be of any use to Venice, Foscari could not afford to absent himself from Rome for too long. Like Riario, Ferrante was also keen to break the alliance between Venice and Florence and improve Neapolitan relations with Venice. As Milanese sources related on 5 January, he employed similar tactics, hoping to bring about a reconciliation by means of Marco Barbo's intercession.<sup>114</sup> While Barbo was evidently perceived as having some influence with Venice, at least in Foscari's absence, no more is heard of this initiative.

April brought the Pazzi Conspiracy in Florence, the murder of Giuliano de' Medici, the narrow escape of Lorenzo, summary punishments and the detention of Cardinal Raffaele Sansoni-Riario. This episode, Girolamo Riario's anti-Medicean impulse, created a crisis in Italy and rendered the Foscari-Riario connection worthless, as Venice sided with Florence and, furthermore, feared any war in Italy on account of pressures in Dalmatia : Croja fell after a year-long siege on 15 June and the Turks besieged Scutari once more from 20 June. Paralleling Città di Castello in 1474, the Senate responded by writing to each of the four Venetian cardinals, reproving the Vicar of Christ for favouring one Christian state against another, instead of championing a crusade.<sup>115</sup>

Diplomatic contacts were further impaired in the wake of Del Mezzo's complaint that all Senate business was current at the Curia and many knew of its actions on Roman matters even before he did. The leak was traced to the learned senator and diplomat Vitale Lando and his kinsman Giacomo Malipiero, who were found guilty of passing Venetian state secrets to Lorenzo Zane at Rome. On 28 August, the Ten sentenced Lando to perpetual banishment from Venice and deprivation of all offices. He died at Vicenza in 1498. Action followed against Antonio Beloxello, Del Mezzo's notary but found to have been in Zane's pay : exile to Istria for three years with loss of all offices. Zane himself incurred similar financial penalties to those imposed on Zeno and Michiel in 1471, though he himself could not be touched.<sup>116</sup> In some senses, this conspiracy was more serious than the Zeno case : Lando was one of the most senior Venetian political figures of his generation, far more highly placed than any of those found guilty in 1472, while the new Bishop of Brescia enjoyed greater favour with Sixtus than Battista Zeno had ever done.

A lull in official correspondence between the Signoria and their ambassador at Rome followed the exposure of the Zane conspiracy. The Senate's last letter to Del Mezzo was dated 22nd July, though he continued to receive instructions from the Ten until 1 September. Thereafter, the Republic was not represented by an ambassador until the arrival of Sebastiano Badoer the following February. Who, then, represented Venetian interests in Rome during the intervening months? Between 26 October, when the Senate wrote directly to Sixtus, again contrasting the sinfulness of the Pazzi War to Venice's just war against the Turks, and Badoer's commission of 3 February, only two items were apparently directed toward Rome, both of them to Cardinal Barbo.<sup>117</sup> The first, dated 1 December, pleaded with the pope to give urgent consideration to the plight of Christians in Albania. In that of 28 January, attention was turned to the peace of Christendom, with particular reference to Louis XI, with whom Venice had concluded a commercial treaty the previous January, to offset the effects of the Turkish War. In both missives, the Senate adopted a respectful tone, Barbo being neither their servant nor agent, with religious imagery employed appropriately.<sup>118</sup> The cardinal's replies have not survived.

This diplomatic lull, occasioned by the Pazzi War, could not be allowed to last. After 1474, the two peninsular alliances had at first deepened but, by 1478, it was evident that Venice would receive no serious help from her Milanese and Florentine allies with regard to the on-going conflict against the Ottoman Turks. All efforts to extract assistance from Sixtus and Ferrante were in vain, now that both were at war with Florence. These desperate circumstances allowed the peace party to prevail in Venice, the consequence of which was Giovanni Dario's agreement with the Turks in Constantinople on 25 January 1479, however

humiliating the terms were for Venice. Freedom from oriental fears prompted the Republic to seek a firmer diplomatic hold in Italy, especially in the light of a divergence between Venice and Florence.<sup>119</sup> It was rapidly perceived that the key to any new diplomatic initiative lay in securing an alliance with Girolamo Riario. The only question was how to effect this.

According to Piva, the diplomatic initiative launched by Venice in Spring 1479 and leading to the Veneto-Papal alliance of April 1480, began with the Council of Ten sending a Fra Luigi Zane with a message by word of mouth to Pietro Foscari, "uomo di acuto ingegno e aperto a qualunque difficile missione e molto intimo del nipote del papa."<sup>120</sup>

In fact, Alvise Zane was to be sent to his brother, the Patriarch of Antioch, to convey the Signoria's message of support for Riario in the event of Sixtus's death, this proposal describing Lorenzo Zane as the best person to approach Riario "et per amicitiam et praticam quam convictissimam habet cum ipso comite et per officium referendarii quod tenet apud summum pontificum".<sup>121</sup> This notion was defeated, to be replaced four days later by an alternative, also proposed by Bernardo Contarini, Marco Venier and Francesco Priuli, in which Pietro Foscari became the means by which a realignment of the powers would take place. However well-placed Zane may have been at this stage, so delicate a matter was better entrusted to a man of proven loyalty, Foscari.<sup>122</sup>

The stages by which the Veneto-Papal alliance of 16 April 1480 was reached have been charted by Piva, regardless of his slightly premature introduction of Pietro Foscari into the scheme of things. In the course of the two pontificates under review in this study, this episode surely presents the most obvious and, indeed, successful employment of a Venetian cardinal in an ambassadorial capacity. Although it is omitted by Piva,

it seems that Sixtus and Riario, attracted by the prospect of an accommodation with Venice, also realised the potential of employing a cardinal in their dealings with Sebastiano Badoer. The Milanese ambassador Giovanni Angelo Talenti reported to his masters that Battista Zeno was their chosen intermediary : " ... El cardinale de Sta. Maria in portico che è venetiano, è stato a longo ragionamento con l'oratore veneto, et per quello posso iudicare el pontefice, et el Conte Hieronymo son quelli che hanno inducto esso Cardinale ad mandare per esso oratore veneto che gli andasse ad parlare, et dopoi questa ragionamenti molti circa queste petitione porte, esso Cardinale se è resolto in questa conclusione de la pace; non ha ad sequire, salvo se non se lassa Favenza (Faenza) al Conte Hieronymo, con una promissione a la liga per el pontefice et S. ti Cardinali che se mai directe nec per indirecte. el S. re Re di Napoli se la tolesse, che allora la liga propria iure, senza ragione se gli potesse pretendere la chiesa, la possa vindicare, et torsela per ogni via et modo".<sup>123</sup>

This passage is possibly the only report to highlight a precise political rôle for Zeno at this date, yet its content is perfectly in accord with the prevailing trend in diplomatic negotiations : that any power determined to win Riario's support should allow him to pursue his territorial schemes, in this case Faenza.

That Zeno's intermediary rôle was not directly pursued and the Foscari-based initiative had to be held in reserve for the remainder of the year due to events quite beyond the cardinals' control, did not necessarily reflect badly on them personally. The odds continued to be stacked against a solution involving any of the Venetian cardinals. For all that he was impressed by Venetian overtures, Riario was still considered to be a vassal of Naples on account of his relationship with

Aniello Arcamone, of whom the Venetians and Florentines were quite as suspicious as Branda Castiglione was of Foscari. According to Pier Filippo Pandolfini, Florentine ambassador to the Holy See (1478-80), all Rome, beginning with the French orators, were hostile to the friendship of Riario and Arcamone and their consequent hold over Sixtus. "Ma sono in luogo che non ardiscono parlare quello intendono et alcuni che hanno fatto ne sono stato molto represi et con parole non conveniente del conte Je(ronimo) e da M. Aniello imbasciatore del re in modo che qui ogni cosa si fa secondo la voglia del conte Je(ronimo) il quale in omnibus dipende del re".<sup>124</sup>

The suspension of ecclesiastical censures against Florence in April 1479 ought to have eased inter-state relations, but did not. On 31 May, the various ambassadors assembled in the pope's presence to hear a statement in which he claimed to have tried every means to bring peace to the peninsula. "The Venetian Ambassador replied in a speech in which he greatly incensed the Pope, by dwelling on the obnoxious topic of the (Ecumenical) Council", the perennial threat to check papal presumption or aggression.<sup>125</sup> Not surprisingly, negotiations failed; after which Badoer and the other ambassadors of the anti-papal league left Rome in disarray.

For much of 1479, all four Venetian cardinals were conspicuous by their absence from the diplomatic scene, perhaps corresponding to a judicious departure from Rome during the plague season.<sup>126</sup> The Ten did not correspond directly with Cardinal Foscari until December, after visits to Venice by Niccolò d' Urbino, representing Federico da Montefeltro, and Cardinal Rangoni in October and November respectively.<sup>127</sup>

Led by Giovanni Capello, Giovanni Giustiniani, Marco Loredan and Marco Pesaro, the Ten assured Foscari of the singular importance of winning

Riario over to the Venetian side. In his negotiations with the nipote, it was suggested that he recall the favours of the late Pietro Riario towards Venice, an example worth emulating.<sup>128</sup> The cardinal evidently responded quickly with assurances of Sixtus and Riario's good will, for the Senate wrote again on 18 December, this time focussing on the rôle of Federico da Montefeltro, then Captain-General of the papal forces, in the proposed new order. Taking advantage of this positive turn of events, the Senate wrote directly to Sixtus on 21 December, proposing Foscari, that "ornament" of the Sacred College, as commendatory abbot of Calavina, diocese of Verona, a post left vacant by the death of Marino Badoer.<sup>129</sup> To my knowledge, nothing came of this last appeal.

Between December and March 1480, Pietro Foscari was without doubt the hinge on which negotiations for a Veneto-Papal alliance, incorporating Federico da Montefeltro as gonfaloniere of the Church, turned. In daily contact with both sides, it was Foscari who engineered every aspect of the agreement, including the posts and stipends of the potential military leaders, Riario, Montefeltro and Roberto Malatesta, the Venetian captain-general. As in any such situation, these negotiations were not necessarily straightforward, yet it was to Foscari's credit that problems were ironed out so promptly, particularly in view of the fact that he was acting as the Signoria's sole representative in Rome. Again, Piva's accumulation of documentary evidence excuses too detailed an exploration here of the diplomatic minutiae, though exception must be taken to his generalisation on the subject of senior Venetian ecclesiastics, of whom he takes Foscari to be a typical example : " ... s'adoperò a condurre a termine la sua missione con quello zelo patriotico e con quella fedeltà, che furono una delle principali e caratteristiche virtù degli alti prelati veneti verso la patria ..."<sup>130</sup> It is apposite to observe that Cardinals Barbo, Michiel

and Zeno played absolutely no part in the negotiation or even the signing of this alliance, taken into the confidence of neither side nor, apparently, seeking any form of participation.

Lorenzo Zane made a brief appearance on the diplomatic canvas in March 1480, when his involvement in yet another conspiracy was brought to light. Francesco da Casate, Milanese ambassador at Bologna, reported on 4 March that the son of Giovanni Villani, an infantry captain in Venetian service, "haveva pratichato cum il Patriarcha (i.e. Zane) di darli la rocha di Cervia ne le mane per questo mode: va ogni septimana el coleterale da Ravena a Cervia; et per non esserli altri logiamenti, smonta in rocha in la quale, mentre vi sta, se li andava et usciva liberamente; et havendo sentito questo il Patriarcha haveva ordinato cum questo conestabile che l'entrassi cum certi fanti soi et piglassi el coleterale et la rocha".<sup>131</sup> Villani's son was brought to justice, while Zane, governor of Cesena, was arrested at Forlì on Sixtus's orders, the better to ingratiate himself with Venice. Pietro Foscari's triumph over Zane was complete.

Foscari's achievement in bringing together two traditionally hostile powers in an alliance of whatever duration was certainly remarkable, but wider circumstances played a large part in propelling him to the forefront of Italian diplomacy. Principally, Lorenzo de' Medici's personal initiative in travelling to Naples in December 1479 to break the diplomatic deadlock of the previous months, gave a new urgency to the Foscari negotiations. The old alliances broke down simultaneously; Arcamone's influence over Riario was withdrawn; Foscari would have to be the one to assume that position. Lorenzo remained in Naples until the end of February, and the new Florentine-Neapolitan alliance was concluded on 25 March (Milan became allied to this in July).<sup>132</sup> As Doge Mocenigo's

procurator, Cardinal Foscari signed the preliminary act for the Veneto-Papal alliance at Raffaele Sansoni-Riario's Roman residence on 16 April, an agreement made without the knowledge of the opposing league, but surely not unanticipated by them.<sup>133</sup>

Under the terms signed by Foscari, both powers were pledged to mutual defence for twenty-five years. For its duration, the pope was to have in arms 3-4 thousand cavalry and 2-3 thousand infantry; Venice 6-8 thousand cavalry and 4-5 thousand infantry. Both promised to defend Urbino and confer upon its duke (as soon as he was free from his previous condotta with Naples), the post of captain-general of the league, as long as he did not offend Venetian territory in any way. The same territorial protection, the post of captain of the league's army and an annual stipend of 12,000 ducats was promised to Riario. Minor allies of both sides would be agreed in due course, but it was declared that if any party made war upon any ally, all the others would be obliged to deny the aggressor transit through their territory. Sixtus was obliged not to make war against Galeotto Manfredi of Faenza in the event of Venice naming him among her "collegati" (a hard pill for Riario to swallow), while Venice agreed not to oppose Sixtus in whatever he undertook against Costanzo Sforza of Pesaro, the excommunicate rebel captain of Florentine troops in the Pazzi War. "Collegati aderenti, raccomandati, complici" had to be announced within two months of the league's publication. Neither signatory would be permitted to contract a league with another Italian power without informing the other beforehand. The terms were unexceptional by the standards of quattrocento Italy; the identity of the signatories was not. A Papal-Venetian alliance defied conventional practice. Even more remarkable was that it should have been negotiated by an ecclesiastic, representing a state notoriously distrustful of the

Church and churchmen, particularly Venetians. Pietro Foscari met the credentials of a politically active, specifically Venetian cardinal, as delineated above, equal to if not surpassing in diplomatic significance the cardinal-orators of rival states.

Ascension Day, 8 May, witnessed the beginning of a three-day festa in Venice to mark the League's publication. These lavish celebrations indicated the importance which Venice obviously attached to the alliance and, by extension, the esteem in which the Signoria held Cardinal Foscari.<sup>134</sup>

NOTES ON CHAPTER TWO

1. Francesco Guicciardini, The History of Italy, translated by Sydney Alexander (London, 1969), pp. 3-4.
2. Garrett Mattingly, Renaissance Diplomacy (London, 1955), takes the former view. E. Pontieri, L'equilibrio e la crisi politica italiana nella seconda metà del secolo XV (Naples, 1946) and G. Pillinini, Il sistema degli stati italiani (1454-94) (Venice, 1970), both concentrate on the tensions and interventions by foreign powers.
3. Michael Mallett, "Diplomacy and War in Later Fifteenth-Century Italy", Proceedings of the British Academy, LXXII (1981), pp 269-70.
4. Nor did Milan and the Papacy bear any mutual grudges.
5. Mallett, op. cit., pp. 271-2.
6. ibid., pp. 272-5.
7. On Ferrante, see principally E. Pontieri, Ferrante d'Aragona, Re di Napoli (Naples, 1969). By the same author, Venezia e il conflitto tra Innocenzo VIII e Ferrante d'Aragona (Naples, 1969), draws heavily upon Venetian and other archive material for an account of the Barons' War of 1485-6. The strength of the autocratic monarch's régime may be judged from the speed with which it collapsed after his death.
8. The most recent and detailed insights into Lorenzo's career are to be found in his Lettere, ed. R. Fubini, N. Rubinstein and M.E. Mallett (6 vols. to date; Florence, 1977-90), which shed considerable illumination on the entire diplomatic scene up to 1482.
9. V. Ilardi, Studies in Italian Renaissance Diplomatic History (London, 1986) contains reprints of articles on the Sforza of Milan: "The Italian League, Francesco Sforza, and Charles VIII (1454-1461)" from Studies in the Renaissance, vi (1959), pp. 129-166; "France and Milan: The Uneasy Alliance, 1452-1466" from Gli Sforza a Milano e in Lombardia e i loro rapporti con gli stati italiani ed europei (1450-1530) (Milan, 1982), pp.415-46; "The Assassination of Galeazzo Maria Sforza and the Reaction of Italian Diplomacy" from Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200-1500, ed. L. Martines, pp. 72-103.
10. On Roman society, see Un pontificato ed una città: Sisto IV (1471-1484), ed. M. Miglio et al., especially the study of "Il rione Parione durante il pontificato sistino: analisi di un'area campione", pp. 643-744.
11. N. Rubinstein, "Italian Reaction to Terraferma Expansion in the Fifteenth Century" in Hale (ed.) Renaissance Venice, pp. 197-217. F. Babinger, Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time, translated by R. Hanheim (Princeton, 1978).

12. Mattingly, op.cit., being the seminal study.
13. Mallett, op. cit., p. 274
14. This phenomenon, of ambassadors encouraging pro-Milanese, pro-Aragonese and pro-Venetian factions within Florence - Mallett, op. cit., p. 275 - was surely paralleled with more or less success in other states.
15. Most conveniently on Paul's pontificate, as on those before and after, Pastor is the inevitable guide. Vol. IV, chapter 6 covers relations between the Papacy and other Italian states. The Pauline Peace : p.156. Paul's criticisms of Venice and the Republic's diplomatic response in 1466 are dealt with by Patricia H. Lebalme, Bernardo Giustiniani : A Venetian of the Quattrocento (Rome, 1969), pp. 185-190. D. Malipiero, Annali Veneti dal 1457 al 1500, published in Archivio storico italiano, VII (prima parte) (Florence, 1843), p.239. ASVen, Senato Segreta, 25, fol. 18r, 26 March 1471. Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti, 17, fol. 164r, 1 April 1471. All references to both these series of registers employ the new folio numbering.
16. Biographies and bibliographies for those ambassadors with notable humanist interests : King, op.cit., pp. 315-16, Marco Aurelio; 317-18, Sebastiano Badoer (also DBI, 5, 124-6); 322-3, Ermolao Barbaro (also DBI, 6, 96-9); 325-7, Zaccaria Barbaro (also DBI, 6, 118-19); 335-9, Bernardo Bembo (also DBI, 8, 103-9); 361-2, Francesco Diedo; 365-6, Antonio Donato; 366-8, Girolamo Donato; 412-13, Paolo Morosini.
17. For Vinceguerra : *ibid.*, pp. 443-4. The Council of Ten dealt with the Loredan sodomy case in September and October 1486. Vinceguerra's commission from the Ten is dated 7 November, while Badoer and Bembo did not receive theirs from the Senate until 2 November 1487.
18. On Arcamone : DBI, 3, pp. 738-9.
19. F. Gaeta, "Origine e sviluppo della rappresentanza stabile pontificia in Venezia (1485-1533)", Annuario dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea, IX-X (1958), accounts for Niccolò Franco's mission, its Milanese equivalent being E. Carusi (ed.), Dispacci e lettere di Giacomo Gherardi, Studi e testi, 21 (Rome, 1909). Although Gigli was papal collector rather than a nuncio, his diplomatic function was not dissimilar : R. Weiss, "Lineamenti di una biografia di Giovanni Gigli, collettore papale in Inghilterra e vescovo di Worcester (1434-1498)", Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia, 1 (1947), pp. 379-89.
20. State Papers of Henry VIII, viii, 485-6 (LP vi, 806), quoted by W.E. Wilkie, The Cardinal Protectors of England : Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation (Cambridge, 1974), p.6. Wilkie defines the office of a cardinal protector of a particular nation as akin to protectors of religious orders. He had no power to intervene in the country's internal affairs, his main responsibility being to secure benefices for his patron's candidates, to defend the nation's

interests in consistory "and to assist ambassadors, procurators, solicitors, and other agents on business in Rome".

21. Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, I, pp. 398-401.
22. Information calculated from Eubel, II. Some doubt surrounds precise names and numbers, but these figures are surely not too far from the truth. The most recent calculations are those of R. Gregoire, "Il sacro collegio cardinalizio dall'elezione di Sisto IV all'elezione di Giulio II (1471-1503)", Atti e memorie della Società Savonese di Storia Patria, n.s. XXIV (1989), pp. 209-232.
23. No official distinction has ever been made between curial and non-curial cardinals, although the former were entitled to certain sources of income denied to the latter (see chapter four). In 1439, Archbishop Chichele of Canterbury, smarting at the Archbishop of York's promotion to the Sacred College, claimed that such a distinction did exist. This, along with other ingenious but unconvincing arguments presented by Chichele's proctor at the Curia, forced Eugenius IV to define the nature of a cardinal's position, a thing never previously set out in words. Eugenius decreed that, by virtue of their office, cardinals take precedence even over patriarchs and metropolitans, though they could remain in minor orders all their lives. Walter Ullmann, "Eugenius, Kemp and Chichele", Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn S.J., ed. J.A. Watt et al. (Dublin, 1961), pp. 359-83.
24. John F. Broderick S.J., "The Sacred College of Cardinals : Size and Geographical Composition (1099-1986)", Archivum Historiae Pontificiae 25 (1987). See pp. 31-2 for Pierre d'Ailly's proposed reforms of the Sacred College.
25. D.S. Chambers, "Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene (1439-1504) : Humanistic secretary and bishop", Aevum, 3 (1984) pp. 397-438.
26. Barbaro fell foul of a law of 14 July 1238, renewed 31 August 1483. See Sagredo, *op.cit.*, p.124.
27. ASVen, SS,25, fol. 58r.
28. These observations are drawn from the voting list sent by Nicodemus de Pontremoli to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, published as Appendix 43 in Pastor IV, pp. 505-6. The lists of votes given and votes received do not entirely correspond with one another and at least one piece of information is contradicted by another source. Nevertheless, they remain the most comprehensive guide to voting patterns in the 1471 conclave. This and the two subsequent conclaves will be accounted for at rather more length in chapter five.
29. R. Predelli, I Libri Commemorativi della Repubblica di Venezia, Registri, tomo V, Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, serie prima. Documenti. vol. X (Venice, 1901), p.197, no. 22. Foscari's fellow witnesses included Maffeo Vallaresso, Archbishop of Zara, Francesco Barozzi, Bishop of Treviso, and Bartolomeo Barbarigo, Bishop of Scutari.

30. Pastor IV, p.123. Paschini, Il carteggio, p.21, gives the Hungarian ambassador to the Holy See in 1481 as Giovanni Vitéz. Indeed, Matthias Corvinus's emissary to Rome in 1474 is known variously as Vitéz, Vetésy or Vetesy : see F. Martignone, "L'orazione de Ladislao Vetesy per l'obbedienza di Mattia d'Ungheria a Sisto IV", Atti e memorie della Società Savonese di Storia Patria, n.s. XXV (1989), pp.205-49.
31. Pastor, IV, p.201. This episode presages others in the 1470s and '80s when Venice supported the Colonna against the Orsini.
32. Published by E. Motta, "Documenti milanesi intorno a Paolo II e al Card. Riario", ASRSP, XI (1888), p.254.
33. Eubel, II, p.248, for Treviso.
34. ASVen, SS, 25, fol. 67r.
35. Pontremoli's list of votes received concludes with the statement that Della Rovere acquired the requisite number when Borgia, d'Estouteville and Barbo acceded to him after the final scrutiny. According to Arrivabene's dispatch of 11 August (cited by Pastor), the three crucial votes were given by Gonzaga, Barbo and d'Estouteville, in that order. Either way, Barbo was persuaded to vote against his previous judgement. Doubt over whether or not Bessarion voted for his former confessor may reflect a change of heart on his part in the course of the conclave.
36. Eubel, II, pp.16-19.
37. Pastor, IV, p.206.
38. *ibid.*, p.127.
39. G. Fedalto, "Una pergamena Bessarionea : L'istituzione della parrocchia di Oriago" in Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei. Medioevo e umanesimo, 24 (1976), pp.95-101. In 1463, Niccolò Quirini wished to construct a parish church on his property at Oriago in the diocese of Treviso, to replace a chapelry without cure of souls. Bishop Barbo agreed to this in an act subscribed at S. Giorgio Maggiore, Bessarion's Venetian residence, on 5 August. This was confirmed by the cardinal legate on 21 August.
40. Pastor, IV, p.219.
41. In connection with this episode and as further evidence of sympathy between Barbo and Bessarion, material will be presented in chapter six, drawn from L. Labowsky, Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana : Six Early Inventories, Sussidi eruditi, 31 (Rome, 1979), p.49.
42. See below.
43. Marc. lat., XIV, 229 (4679), fols. 82r-110r.
44. *ibid.*, fol. 87r.

45. *ibid.*, fols. 90v-91r.
46. ASVen, SS, 25, fol. 71r, 1 October 1471 : Senate to Sixtus, including a reference to their correspondence with Bessarion. fol. 27v, 4 October : on the international situation and imminent expedition of Venetian ambassadors.
47. On Foscarini : King, *op.cit.*, pp.374-7. Lodovico Foscarini, Epistolae : Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, cod. 85, pp.383-4, no. 169, Foscarini at Udine to Foscari, 5 August 1461.
48. ASVen, SS, 25, fols. 80r-84r.
49. *ibid.*, fol. 108r.
50. *ibid.*, fols. 98v-99r.
51. G. Soranzo, "Contrastata nomina del Card. Michiel el Vescovado di Verona", Nova Historia (May-August 1955), pp. 73 seq.
52. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 17, fol. 167.
53. *ibid.*, fol. 177r.
54. *ibid.*, fols. 182v-183r.
55. Labalme, *op.cit.*, pp. 194-201. The speech was printed by Jenson in Venice and Gensberg in Rome and evidently made a considerable impact.
56. For example : ASVen, SS, 25, fol. 61, 23 August, proposing an Italian League to the new pontiff; fols. 66v-67r, 10 September, on the situation in the East.
57. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 17, fol. 183r. In early December, the Burgundian statesman Guillaume de Rochefort spent a few days in Venice as part of a mission to strengthen ties between Venice, Burgundy and Naples. The Senate resolution supporting and summarising Rochefort's speech was proposed by Lodovico Foscarini and Domenico Zorzi, who were to find themselves among the accusers and the accused respectively when the Ten came to deal with the Zeno espionage circle two months later.
58. *ibid.* fols. 184v-185r.
59. Malipiero, *op.cit.*, parte seconda, pp.661-2. Also cited by Cicogna, *op.cit.*, vol. VI, pp.108-9.
60. To be studied in more depth in chapter five.
61. Cicogna, *op.cit.*, p.109. The hospital was identified by Flaminio Cornaro as that of S. Agnese in Venice.
62. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 17, fol. 188r.
63. *ibid.*, fol. 187v.

64. *ibid.*, fol. 188r, 12 February; fol. 188v, 15 February.
65. *ibid.*, fol. 191r-v.
66. Cardinal Zeno's appeal : ASVen., Cons. X, Misti, 19, fol. 69r, 22 September 1477. On Elisabetta, see also fols. 65v, 20 August; 80v, 24 November; 81r, 28 November. For Pantaleone Barbo : Il carteggio, pp. 73, 103. The references to Alvisio/Lodovico are as follows : p.22, Lorenzi to Barbo, 31 July 1481 : "... nam d.us L. Barbo mihi in hanc sententiam et hec verba scribit, ut ex inclusa videbit"; p.127, Lorenzi to Barbo, 17 October 1485, night : "Remitto his alligatas litteras d. Ludovici Barbo, ut eas videre possit"; p.159, Barbo to Lorenzi, 10 September 1487 : "quandoquidem tot vie pateant ad scribendum et ultimo loco accessus d.ni episcopi nostri tardonen., etsi illa Venetiarum ad dominum Ludovicum Barbum vel ad dominum Jeroninum Donatum ordinaria sit".
67. ASVen., Cons. X, Misti, 17, fols. 189v-190v, 21 February.
68. Vale, *op.cit.*, pp. 18-20. The date of his departure from Rome has been given variously as 2, 8, 21 or 22 February.
69. ASVen, SS, 25, fol. 68r, 16 September. The ducal letter of 17 September is quoted by Vale, *op.cit.*, p.16.
70. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 17, fol. 193r, 10 March 1472.
71. ASVen, SS, 25, fols. 80r-84r, 9 November 1471; fols. 100v-101r, 15 January 1472. On relations between Venice, Naples and Burgundy at this stage, see G. Pillinini, *op.cit.*, pp.106-8.
72. ASVen, SS, 25, fol. 131 r-v.
73. Pillinini, *op. cit.*, p.107.
74. ASVen, SS, 25, fols. 144v-145r, 30 June; 157r-v, 12 September. On Carafa's expedition : Pastor, IV, pp.226-8.
75. ASVen, SS, 25, fols. 177v-178r, 12 December.
76. The altercations are charted by G. Soranzo, "Contrastata nomina del Cardinale Michiel al vescovado di Verona", Nova Historia, 7 (1955), pp.77 seq., but see particularly ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 17, fol. 211r, 8 August 218v-219r, 12 November. On the first occasion the Ten recommended a form of passive resistance to Corner.
77. Events covered by Pastor IV, pp.240-50. See also : C. Corvisieri, "Il trionfo romano di Eleanora d'Aragona nel giugno del 1473", ASRSP, 1 (1877), pp. 475-91.
78. ASVen, SS, 26, fols. 21v-22v, 6 May 1473.
79. *ibid.*, fol. 27r-v.
80. ASMo, Carteggio Principi Esteri, Roma, b. 1366/99. Letters dated 1, 23 August, 4(?), 6, 22 September 1473.

81. ASVen, SS, 26, fol. 47r-v, to Pietro Riario, 7 October 1473.
82. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 18, fol. 95v, 31 December. See also G. Soranzo, "Giovanni Battista Zeno", p. 253; Soranzo, "Contrastata nomina del cardinale Michiel", p. 80.
83. ASVen, SS, 26, fol. 74r.
84. Pastor, IV, p. 271 for the pope's assistance.
85. *ibid.*, pp. 262-9. Venetian condemnation of Sixtus may be found in ASVen, SS, 26, fol. 143v, 13 September.
86. ASVen, SS, 26, fols. 178v-179r, 24 January 1475; fols. 185v-186v, 21 February.
87. Senate to Morosini : *ibid.*, fol. 27v, 30 April. Donato's commission : *ibid.*, fols. 55v-57r, 15 November.
88. See chapter four for the cardinals as deputies.
89. Decima references : ASVen, SS, 27, fols. 61v-62r, 19 December 1475; 69r, 16 February 1476; 72r-v, 15 March; 77r-78r, 27 April.
90. Episode related by G. Soranzo in "Contrastata nomina del cardinale Michiel", p.80 and in "Giovanni Battista Zeno", p.253.
91. ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, E. XXV3, b. 845, no. 608, 20 March.
92. ASMi, SPE81, 1 April. On Giovanni Dacre : DBI, 31, pp.589-90. Benedetto Soranzo on Castiglione : G. Dalla Santa, "Benedetto Soranzo, patrizio veneto, arcivescovo di Cipro, e Girolamo Riario", NAV 28 (1914).
93. ASMi, SPE, 81, 4 April. Also reported by Arrivabene : ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga EXXV 3, b. 845, no. 611, 6 April.
94. ASMi, SPE, 81, 6, 11 April. The relevant Council of Ten resolutions : ASVen, Cons X, Misti, 18, fols. 206r, 20 April; 206r-v, 26 April; 206v, 29 April; 207r, 30 April.
95. ASMi, SPE, 81, 9, 13, 17 May.
96. ASVen, SS, 27, fols. 83r-84r, 13 May.
97. Arrivabene is the authority for Michiel's departure for Viterbo : ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, EXXV 3, b. 845, no. 624, 5 May. ASMi, SPE, 81, 8 June. Senate to Donato : ASVen, SS, 27, fols. 90v-91v, 11 June.
98. Del Mezzo's commission : ASVen, SS, 27, fols. 119v-123r, 23 November. The Senate's disappointment : fol. 128r, 30 December.
99. ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, EXXV 3, b.845, no. 627, 10 December. The accounts of Arrivabene and Cardinal Ammannati have been meshed by Degli Agostini, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 192.

100. The rivalry between Riario and Giuliano della Rovere is thoroughly mapped out by Christine Shaw, "A pope and his nipote : Sixtus IV and Giuliano della Rovere", Atti e memorie della Società Savonese di Storia Patria, n.s. XXIV, pp. 233-50 (L'età dei Della Rovere, vol.2). pp. 242-3 cover Zane's part in the anti-Riario conspiracy.
101. ASVen, SS, 27, fol. 134r-v, 7 January 1477.
102. G. Soranzo, "Contrastata nomina del cardinale Michiel", pp.81-2.
103. ASVen, SS,27, fols. 141r-143r, 3 February.
104. G. Soranzo, "Contrastata nomina del cardinale Michiel", p.82. For the instruments by which Zeno and Michiel absolved the Republic : Predelli, I Libri Commemoriali, pp. 222-3, nos. 103-4.
105. ASVen, SS, 27, fol. 134r-v, 7 January; SS,28, fol. 33r, 17 June, fols. 45v-46v, 12 August.
106. ASMi, SPE,84, 8 August.
107. ASVen, SS,28, fols. 16r-v, 10 April; 24r-v, 16 May.
108. *ibid.*, fol. 76r-v, 29 November.
109. ASMi, SPE, 83, 10 June.
110. M. Sanudo, Le Vite dei Dogi (1474-1494), I, ed. Angela Caracciolo Ariuò (Padua, 1989).
111. Eubel, II, pp. 18-19.
112. D. Malipiero, *op.cit.*, part 2, p. 667 : "A' ll de Zener (1478), D. Piero Foscari Cardenal, è stà re cevu dall Signoria in Bucentoro, et ha alozzà a Son Pantalon in la casa grande". Sanudo's parallel account is included in Appendix A, below.
113. ASMi, SPE,85, 27 February, 9 March 1478.
114. ASMi, SPE,85, 5 January.
115. Senate to Barbo : ASVen, SS, 28, fols. 116v-117v. Followed by similar missives to Foscari, Zeno and Michiel.
116. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti,19, fols. 123v-125r, 28 August. Against Beloxello : fol. 130v, 26 September. Financial penalties against Zane : fol.131r, 29 September. See also fols. 119r, 8 July; 145r, 12 January 1479. An account of the episode may be found in D.E. Queller, The Venetian Patriciate : Reality versus Myth (Chicago, 1986), pp. 114-15.
117. ASVen, SS, 28, fol. 132r-v, 26 October 1478. For Sebastiano Badoer's mission, see Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, IV, pp.3-4.
118. ASVen, SS,28, fol. 141v, 1 December; fol. 152r, 28 January 1479.
119. Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, IV, p.5

120. E. Piva, "Origine e conclusione della pace e dell'alleanza fra : Veneziani e Sisto IV (1479-1480)", N.A.V., 2 (1901), p.39.
121. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 19, fols. 151r-152r, 8 February, Pillinini, op.cit. p.115, addresses the balance of Venice's peninsular and oriental (1) involvements and how one tended to determine the other : "Ma è anche vero che la situazione italiana influenza i rapporti di Venezia con la Sublima Porta, nel senso che, ogniqualevolta si verifica in Italia una situazione di equilibrio, la Serenissima esplica una politica più energica verso Costantinopoli, mentre ogniqualevolta Venezia è minacciata direttamente in Italia, essa cerca un accordo con i suoi tradizionali nemici orientali".
122. *ibid.*, fols. 154v-155r, 12 February.
123. ASMi, SPE, 86, 18 March.
124. Quoted by Piva, "Origine e conclusione", p.44.
125. Pastor, IV, p.328.
126. See Appendix A.
127. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 19, fol. 200r, 12 November : on Rangoni's visit. Niccolò d' Urbino appears in the same source.
128. *ibid.*, fols. 205v-206v, 9 December.
129. *ibid.*, fol. 207r-v, 18 December. SS, 29, fol. 75r, 21 December.
130. Piva, "Origine e conclusione", p.55.
131. Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, V, p.14
132. *ibid.* vol. IV, esp. pp. 391-400, on the origins of Lorenzo's Neapolitan mission; though most of this volume of the letters is relevant, providing as it does an all-but microscopic account of the diplomatic realignment. Pillinini, op.cit., p.122.
133. Predelli, "I Libri Commemorativi", pp.233-49, nos. 147-9, 16 April. ASV, Arcivium Arcis, Arm. I - XVIII, 1443, fols. 100v-102v, 16 April.
134. Senate to Foscari on the league's publication : ASVen, SS, 29, fols. 108r-109r, 9 May; fol. 112r-v, 17 May.

3. VENICE AND PAPACY, 1480 - 1492

Praise for the negotiator of the Veneto-Papal alliance was no less fulsome in Rome than in Venice, according to the brief dispatched by Sixtus to the Signoria in the wake of their agreement : "Quamobrem hodie disponente Altissimo, ac dilecto filio Petro Cardinali Foscaro pro sua in nos observantia et in Religionem Christianam zelo, ac in te, patriamque suam, utpote de se bene meritam, summa caritate, omni studio, cura, diligentia, fide, summa denique sapientia nomine tuo procurate, tecum, tuaque Republica ac sapientissimo senatu tuo confoederationes, unionem, ligam, et intelligentiam contraximus, firmavimus, et inivimus, prout paulo ex sigillatis capitulis clare conspicias..."<sup>1</sup>

During subsequent weeks, as the implications of this latest realignment of the powers were realised, Foscari did not cease to be the hinge upon which this ill-fated alliance turned, since Venice continued to lack formal diplomatic representation at the Curia until Zaccaria Barbaro's arrival in June; at which point the cardinal automatically shed his ambassadorial mantle. While Foscari maintained this high profile, Barbo, Michiel and Zeno made but one collective appearance in the Senate's Roman material in 1480, walk-on parts in Barbaro's commission of 3 June. Zeno, however, was singled out for mention on 31 July, when the Senate expressed gratitude for a recent consistorial defence of the Republic.<sup>2</sup> A certain consistency also distinguished those senators who took the initiative in dealings with Foscari, Bernardo Giustiniani providing the element of continuity with the pro-Foscari campaign of the 1470s. He was now joined by fellow savi Francesco Venier, Niccolò Mocenigo, Pietro Priuli, Marcantonio Morosini, Zaccaria Barbaro and Marco Venier, with support from Costanzo Priuli and

Cristoforo Duodo.<sup>3</sup> In terms of content, Foscari continued to be recognised as the Senate's most reliable source of information about the strength of Riario's commitment to their league and the terms of his condotta, and of the intentions of pope and nipote in the Romagna.

As soon as the ink was dry on the two new peninsular alliances, there opened a fresh diplomatic phase, at the crux of which was the pope's ambition to incorporate Pesaro into Riario's Romagnol domain, a move sanctioned by the 16 April agreement.<sup>4</sup> Thus antagonised, the Milan-Florence-Naples axis declared military support for the defence of Costanzo Sforza of Pesaro before the end of May. A Roman reflection of these hostile moves was perceived on 7 May, when the Milanese and Florentine ambassadors entered the city to find the four Venetian cardinals conspicuous by their absence from the traditional welcoming party.<sup>5</sup>

A military campaign by Riario in the Romagna, however the Neapolitan League responded, would only create further tension in the region, to add to the succession crisis in Forlì caused by the death of Pino Ordelaffi, and King Ferrante's support for Carlo Manfredi, brother and rival of Galeotto Manfredi of Faenza. All of which was dangerously close to Venice's land empire. Venice did not seek confrontation with the pope, but Foscari was firmly instructed on 25 May to dissuade Sixtus from attacking Pesaro.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, Arcamone was advocating a general league against the Turk, to replace the two rival, particular ones, thereby seeking to re-establish his own control over Riario while thwarting Venice's diplomatic initiative. Thus, so soon after the formulation of both leagues, the power political situation was remarkably fluid, with Foscari one among many ambassadors vying for Riario's allegiance.

Since diplomatic isolation had been escaped by means of the cardinal's skill, an uneasy peace could only be maintained if Foscari continued to cultivate Riario, yet endeavour to curb his territorial ambitions: a tall order, as it was those very ambitions which had attracted him to Venice in the first place. The ambiguity of the Venetian position is borne out by the fact that, on the same day, Foscari was also instructed to convey congratulations to the recently promoted cardinals, with special mention made of Giovanni Battista Savelli, though not of Cosimo Orsini, of the Roman dynasty particularly favoured by Sixtus and Riario. In a letter to Riario, also dated 25 May, in which were defined his obligations to the Venetian-Papal alliance, care was taken to establish in his mind the centrality of Foscari's position between him and his Venetian paymasters.<sup>7</sup>

Venetian unease at what was perceived as a Medici-inspired plot to win over Riario by means of the honey-tongued Arcamone found lengthy expression in another letter to Foscari on 2 June. It was imperative, the Senate declared, that the cardinal dissuade both Sixtus and Riario from any new act of bellicosity, at variance with the peaceful intentions of their recent accord. An Italian war would leave the door open to any external invader and be a disgrace to the head of Christendom. Through Foscari, the Senate counselled prudence, restraint and the paramount importance of peace.<sup>8</sup> With this last impassioned plea, the cardinal ceded place to Zaccaria Barbaro.

Inter-state relations were simply too complex to attribute this severe straining of the Veneto-Papal alliance to any inadequacy on Foscari's part. As an ambassador, he was certainly an excellent source of information, be it on Ferrante's wooing of Riario or on Federico da

Montefeltro arriving at Urbino at the end of May but immediately taking the road for Pesaro, on a mission the intention of which was not known in Rome.<sup>9</sup> However, no sooner was Foscari supplanted by Barbaro than any Venetian hold over Riario was considerably weakened. On 15 June, Riario renewed his condotta with Naples, the work of Arcamone, as the Florentine Antonio Ridolfi reported from Rome.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, Montefeltro, whose own condotta with Naples had not expired at all, worked secretly for reconciliation between Sixtus and Ferrante.

Throughout the Summer of 1480, much of the Ten's correspondence with Barbaro focussed on the activities of Girolamo Lando, Patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>11</sup> That another senior ecclesiastic was found guilty of breaching Venetian state security was a source of embarrassment in relations with Rome, Lando's crime being mitigated only by the fact that his sympathies were pro-Florentine and therefore anathema to both Venice and Riario. In April, Lando had congratulated Lorenzo on the successful conclusion of his Neapolitan mission, at a time when anti-Florentine and especially anti-Medicean feeling was reaching a peak in Venice. Although more serious charges were dropped, the patriarch's correspondence with Lorenzo earned him a year's exile from Venice, a flavour of what Zeno and Lando's close associate Lorenzo Zane evaded for more serious misdemeanours. Giovanni Lanfredini, manager of the Medici bank's Venetian branch and himself tortured by the Ten on 20 July for "activities incompatible with his status", informed Lorenzo of Lando's treatment by the Ten in forthright terms, which were discovered and conveyed to Barbaro : "Vui ne scrivesti l'altro zorno che Zuane Lanfredini haveva scripto a Lorenzo de Medici e datoli aviso de la

condenation facta al patriarcha de Constantinopoli, cum quella trista e viciosa zonta che nui havevemo facto cussì non per dar pena al patriarcha ma per celar la pratica tra nui e Lorenzo. Et in quelle medesime lettere ne scriveste le parole vi usò el rmo cardinal Foscari del predicto Zuane che de spia et de li scrive et avisa le cosse nostre."<sup>12</sup>

Despite various attempts to break the two alliances, they held for the time being, Naples, Milan, Florence and Ferrara renewing theirs on 25 July, two days before the peninsula was plunged into chaos by the landing of Turkish forces at Otranto. This momentous news reached Rome on 4 August, and thence to Venice via Barbaro. The ambassador remained in Rome until May 1481 when he was replaced by Francesco Diedo, though the quantity of official correspondence from Venice declined dramatically after the intensive courting of Riario earlier in the year.

This new crisis again prompted Pietro Foscari to act as an eloquent spokesman for Venice, a rôle which contemporaries did not attribute to Michiel or Zeno, while Marco Barbo avoided curial controversy by inspecting the Church's Adriatic coastal defences in August and September. Barbaro was instructed to resist all plans for a general league, this direct threat to the Neapolitan alliance suiting the Republic perfectly. On this point, Venice and the Papacy found common ground, Sixtus having expressed hatred for Ferrante since the king's peace with Lorenzo. To this the impulsive Riario sought to give physical expression by declaring his intention to expel Ferrante from Naples. This fresh unity of purpose made Foscari all the more valuable to Venice. Accordingly, in the midst of August's prevailing confusion, the Senate calmly requested that Sixtus grant the cardinal benefices appropriate to his status, in response to his rôle as diplomatic intercessor.<sup>13</sup>

Ferrante lamented to Arcamone that neither Sixtus nor the cardinals had displayed any concern about Otranto : perhaps they thought the Regno could hold out alone.<sup>14</sup> Responsibility for this lack of a co-ordinated response was attributed to Zaccaria Barbaro, criticised in Rome for trying to persuade Sixtus that no more than five thousand Ottoman soldiers had landed and that no reinforcements stood in wait on the other side of the Adriatic. The Milanese ambassadors had no hesitation in identifying "questo Ambasciatore, con li Cardinali Venetiani, e la sua secta" as an entrenched, anti-Neapolitan faction.<sup>15</sup> On 2 September, the same source further identified the nucleus of this party as Barbaro and Foscari, who made it known that Venice could offer no assistance because the Republic's coffers had been exhausted by the long Turkish war.<sup>16</sup> Together, they also countered the intrigues of Arcamone, who proposed a modification of the Veneto-Papal alliance whereby Venice would be prevented from entering into another alliance without papal consent.<sup>17</sup>

Opposition to Venice could be expected from any representative of the Neapolitan league, though the Council of Ten perceived Cardinals Nardini and Borgia to be the backbone of an anti-Venetian party in Rome, besides Giovanni d'Aragona and, outside the Sacred College, the Hungarian ambassador, representing Ferrante's son-in-law, Matthias Corvinus.<sup>18</sup> On the positive side, Barbaro and Foscari became involved in negotiations with Pietro Felice, Federico da Montefeltro's agent in Rome; negotiations aimed at breaking the opposing league and which were still in progress in May 1481, the Milanese "orator" in Naples, Marco Trotti, commenting that relations between Federico and Ferrante were becoming strained as the duke veered towards Rome and Venice.<sup>19</sup>

For his pains, Foscari was granted the Benedictine monastery of Leno, diocese of Brescia, in November 1480, supplemented by a more significant prize, the bishopric of Padua, the following April.<sup>20</sup> Twenty-one other names are listed in the Paduan proba of 16 April, among them Pietro Dolfin, General of the Camaldolese Order and abbot of S. Michele di Murano; Lodovico Donato, Bishop of Bergamo; Girolamo Lando, again the Signoria's principal contender for the cardinalate; Maffeo Vallaresso, Bishop of Zara; Lorenzo Gabriel, future Bishop of Bergamo; Leonardo Contarini, Battista Zeno's vicar at Vicenza; and Pietro Dandolo, primicerio of S. Marco. No voting figures survive, but Foscari's election was probably a foregone conclusion. Senatorial appeals to Sixtus and Barbaro proved unnecessary, Sixtus having already supplied Foscari to the vacancy.<sup>21</sup> The new bishop faced an immediate dilemma : to reside in his see in accordance with the best Venetian and, indeed, non-Venetian practice, or to remain in Rome, a cardinal's natural patria, where he could continue to represent Venetian interests as Barbo, Michiel and Zeno had never done. Foscari's instinct was to take the first option, initially rejected by the Senate, though he finally left Rome on 18 June, not returning from the Veneto until May 1483.<sup>22</sup>

The Milanese ambassadors Branda Castiglione and Antonio Trivulzio continued to keep a hawk-like eye on Cardinal Foscari. It is to them that we owe an account of the circumstances of his departure from Rome. "El R.mo Car.le Foscaro heri partì de qui per andare a Venet(i)a, et per benché se partisse molto privatamente, tamen el Ser Conte li andò a casa, et lo acompagnò (fuori) de la porta uno pezzo. Et per quanto qui se affe(r)ma el p.to Conte fra octo giorni partirà anchora luy per andare in Romagna ..."<sup>23</sup> Plans for Riario's own visit to Venice in

September were obviously in the pipeline. If Foscari could not stay in Rome, then Riario would go to him. Coincidentally, and after much prevaricating, the Senate gave Sixtus its first clear piece of advice in favour of Ferrante on the very day of the cardinal's departure, prompted by the news of Sultan Mehmet's death and the consequent Ottoman withdrawal from Otranto.<sup>24</sup>

Milanese interest in the Foscari-Riario connection is well borne out by a dispatch of Trivulzio and Castiglione dated 14 August : "... la Signoria de Venetia havere mandato uno oratore al ... Conte quale forse doveva essere andato ad fine ad invitarlo andasse ad Vinetia, ne respose chel dicto oratore gli era andato ad questo modo. Che alli di passati el Conte finxi de mandare uno suo Cancellero (Pietro Luffo) ad Vinetia per certe private differire tra Forliviesi et Ravennati, et essendo dicto Cancellero ad Vinetia capitò in casa del R.mo Cardinale Foscaro, quale el precedente giorno gliera andato travestito solumus cum tre persone ... et dicto Cardinale feci intendere alla Signoria como el Conte Hieronimo haveva mandato un suo Cancellero, per notificare como voluntiera andaria ad visitare et fare reverentia ad quella Illustrissima Signoria ..."<sup>25</sup>

Accompanied by his wife, Caterina Sforza, Riario's visit to Venice duly took place in mid-September, after he had added Forlì to his Romagnol domain. One consequence of the absence of both Foscari and Riario appears in a dispatch of Branda Castiglione on 12 October, the implication of which was that Arcamone had worked upon Sixtus's infirmity of purpose to induce a quarrel with the Venetians. At this stage Sixtus was based at Viterbo, whither he had retreated in the wake of that Summer's plague outbreak in Rome, in which two members of Michiel's household had died and Barbo's was among other establishments affected.

There is no indication that any of the Venetian cardinals were then in the papal entourage, and everything to suggest that Marco Barbo was not, leaving the way open for Arcamone.<sup>26</sup> In terms of Venetian cardinalitial representation at the Curia, the second half of 1481 was an uncommonly lean season. The first spasm of correspondence contained in the Barbo-Lorenzi carteggio dates from 31 July to 31 August, during which period the cardinal was at Palestrina. As ever, Lorenzi kept him scrupulously well informed with news from Rome and Venice, while contact was also maintained between Barbo and Foscari. Sixtus summoned Barbo to Rome in September, but it is not known whether he complied. Certainly he spent the Autumn at Palestrina and returned to Rome on 8 November.<sup>27</sup> On Giovanni Michiel, absolutely no information is forthcoming from July onwards, when he obtained the release of Andreas Zemometič, Bishop of Krania.<sup>28</sup> But for a single letter to Diedo in Rome, dated 14 November, Venetian sources are also silent on Cardinal Zeno's activities. That solitary missive, introduced by Paolo Loredan, Giovanni Francesco Bragadin and Filippo Tron with unanimous support from the Ten, recalled that Zeno had shown himself more often averse to Signorial policy than in favour of it and had received appropriate discipline and admonition. Evidently the cardinal had now added to previous misdemeanours by causing a rift between Venice and Rome on the ever-thorny question of the decima. Citing sacrifices made by every section of the Venetian populace in war against the enemies of Christendom, they urged Diedo to assure Sixtus of the Republic's continued allegiance. The pope might also chastise the cardinal as he thought fit.<sup>29</sup> Standing in curious isolation, this letter is in marked contrast to Venetian expressions of approval for Zeno both before and after this episode.

In the months immediately prior to the Venetian invasion of Ferrarese

territory in May 1482, the diplomatically inactive Cardinal Foscarelli made only a handful of appearances in the deliberations of either the Senate or the Ten. One such occurred on 22 December 1481, when the Ten examined letters "in materia ducis Urbini", which had been sent in secret from Rome to the cardinal and were then passed from the Ten to the Senate with the request that they be discussed with the greatest secrecy.<sup>30</sup>

Increasingly influenced by a party of vocal malcontents with personal grudges against Ercole d'Este, the Signoria sought to curb Ferrara's burgeoning economic ambitions in the Po region and, by extension, take advantage of Ferrante of Naples, Este's father-in-law. In Foscarelli's absence, how did the other Venetian cardinals respond to this increasing tension and the inevitability of war?<sup>31</sup> In a series of letters to Diedo, the Senate stated the Republic's uncompromising position vis-à-vis Ferrara, repeating the same message to Sixtus and the Sacred College. The most pertinent here is that of c. 22-25 January 1482, in reply to Diedo's account of Cardinal Barbo's consistorial defence of Venice. Boundless praise is lavished on the cardinal, his love for his patria and denunciation of Ercole d'Este. This corresponds to an account of 9 January by the Ferrarese ambassador to the Holy See, Battista Bendedei, in which unnamed Venetian cardinals made an identical stand. The Senate also singled out Cardinal Michiel for having written "egregie et magnanime in dicta causa ferrariensis".<sup>32</sup> The cardinals' propaganda function was still in evidence in April when Cardinal Nardini of Milan was identified as the curial focus of opposition to the vulnerable Veneto-Papal league. Significantly, Senatorial recognition of the cardinals' loyalty extended also to Battista Zeno, regardless of the recent decima controversy. As in the 1470s, a political crisis was guaranteed to

engender uncharacteristic unity among the Venetian cardinals.<sup>33</sup>

With Foscari in the Veneto during the first phase of the Ferrarese War and Barbo again absent from Rome between October 1482 and May 1483, the cardinals' scope for political or diplomatic actions, whether individually or collectively, was severely limited. The precise date of Barbo's departure is open to conjecture, though Lorenzi recommenced their surviving correspondence on 7-9 October 1482, the cardinal replying from Torre San Severo, near Orvieto, over a week later. Writing to Lorenzo de' Medici from Ferrara the following April, Jacopo Guicciardini explained the cardinal's action as motivated by extreme annoyance with Sixtus and Riario.<sup>34</sup> In these circumstances, Michiel and Zeno were obviously unequal to the dual responsibilities expected of Venetian cardinals, lacking the contacts and experience of Foscari or Barbo. Indeed, Lorenzi's letter to Barbo of 2 December suggests that both kept their distance from Rome, at least for an unspecified period: "D.us S. Marie in Porticu est Narnie; venit pridie Baldassar (Cantagallo) eius secretarius, dixitque mihi quod putat eum non venturum ita cito; de d.no S. Angeli nihil auditor".<sup>35</sup> Nor is there any surviving correspondence from either the Senate or the Ten to any of the cardinals up to and including Sixtus's break with Venice in December 1482, apart from a congratulatory message to the Sacred College as a whole following the papal victory at Campomorto in August that year.<sup>36</sup> As the April 1480 alliance had been forged through the diplomatic initiative of a Venetian cardinal, coincidentally the deaths throes of that alliance took place in the absence of that cardinal and his brethren. Attractive though that coincidence may be, it would nevertheless be a gross distortion to claim that the cardinals were as responsible for the league's demise as for its creation.

The pope's disillusion with his Venetian ally was basically two-fold. Firstly, the extent of the Republic's military success against Ferrara, occupying the Polesine at papal invitation as part of their agreed plan to bring Ercole d'Este to heel, frightened Sixtus into believing that Venice would not give up her conquests into his rightful hands, Ferrara being a papal fief. Secondly, the forces of Ferrante's son, Alfonso of Calabria, presented a serious threat to the city of Rome itself. The failure of a Venetian army to appear in the city's defence in the early Summer of 1482 led Sixtus to accuse Riario of putting him into a position of dependence on highly doubtful Venetian aid. Riario and Diado tried to prevent him coming to terms with Naples. Eventually, Roberto Malatesta's Venetian forces arrived and got the better of Alfonso at Campomorto, near Velletri, on 21 August. Malatesta's death in Rome on 10 September and the consequent withdrawal of his troops cancelled out the euphoria of victory and left the Neapolitan holding the military initiative. When the Spanish kingdoms declared for Ferrante and the Orsini ceased to co-operate with Riario, the scales would have been heavily weighted against any eleventh-hour attempts by the nipote or the cardinals to salvage their alliance. Sixtus broke with Venice and concluded a peace with his former Neapolitan allies on 12 December (published on Christmas Day).<sup>37</sup> Alfonso of Calabria made his entrance into Rome on 26 December, to be greeted by the impressionable Riario. Sixtus marked his change of allegiance with a brief to Doge Giovanni Mocenigo requesting the return of occupied Ferrarese territory, backed by a similar appeal from the Sacred College. Indeed, the College collectively appears to have urged Sixtus to come to terms with the League, possibly at the instigation of Giuliano della Rovere, seeking to inflict maximum embarrassment on the failure of Riario's pro-Venetian policy - another facet of that nepotistic feud already observed in the 1470s.<sup>38</sup>

Did the Sacred College collectively incorporate Michiel and Zeno? All too frequently, one may be deceived by the statements of diarists and chroniclers in which all the cardinals were said to be present at a consistory or a Mass, in a procession or welcoming party, when further investigation reveals that that simply could not have been the case. After reporting Cardinal Zeno's presence at Narni at the beginning of the month, Lorenzi added a postscript to his letter of 16 December : "hoc mane tempestive pro expediendis brevibus prepositi, intellexi pro certo quod d.us S. Marie in porticu discessit ex Campagnano ut daret locum domino Mantuan. (Francesco Gonzaga) et divertit ad Nepe : cito venturus. Die XVII Decembr. mane".<sup>39</sup> Three days later, the message was that neither Zeno nor Michiel had been present in consistory.<sup>40</sup> One may reasonably conclude, then, that none of the Venetian cardinals sanctioned or condoned the pope's defection, leaving Venice all but isolated in Italy as it did.

Thereafter, the second phase of the Ferrarese War, leading to the Interdict against Venice in May 1483 and beyond, presented the Venetian cardinals with by far the most acute dilemma of their careers, at once highlighting and encapsulating their unique crisis of identity. Hitherto, relations between Venice and Rome might have ranged between distinctly frosty and at best tepid, with the cardinals themselves acting as exceptional channels of communication, whether for their own benefit or the greater good. Outright war was an entirely new situation in their experience, each side of the cardinals' dual personalities demanding total loyalty with no half measures. Was it possible for curial cardinals to side with the pope's enemies?

In short, it was. The opening months of 1483 witnessed a marked

increase in the diplomatic activity of the Venetian cardinals, overtly or covertly declaring their allegiance to Venice. One possible spur was the League's council of war at Cremona in February, attended by the papal legate, Alfonso of Calabria, Lorenzo de' Medici, Lodovico il Moro and Ascanio Sforza, Ercole d'Este, Federico Gonzaga and Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, at which a swift military campaign against Venice was agreed. Further motivation may well have been derived from the withdrawal of Francesco Diedo from Rome in February. Hitherto, cardinals and accredited ambassadors had frequently alternated the functions of an "orator": the former would quite naturally take over where Diedo left off. Breaking his journey at Orvieto, Diedo spent a day with Marco Barbo, in order to explain the Republic's policy and to encourage the cardinal's devotion to his patria. Barbo provided Lorenzi with an account of the meeting: "Redeunte autem in presentiarum d.no Francisco (sic) Diedo qui mecum fuit vix per diem naturalem, itidem facio .... Qui videlicet cum prefato oratore pro pace et communi bono Italie feci quod debui; et illum comperi optime ex certis verbis sibi paterna affectione dictis per S.um d.um n.um dispositum Venetias regredi, ut ex longo sermone ultro citroque inter nos habito. ne facias rerum immutetur; persuadeam mihi operaturum illum maxime ex supradictis verbis S.mi d.ni n.ri quicquid boni poterit".<sup>41</sup>

Zeno and Michiel, meanwhile, were certainly resident in Rome during the early months of the year, fulfilling at least some of the duties of their office - Zeno, for example, was present at the Epiphany vigil in St. Peter's - but nevertheless made no secret of their political affiliation.<sup>42</sup> When the Florentine and Ferrarese ambassadors, symbolising the new power alignment, arrived in Rome on 10 February, they were met by the households of Sixtus and all the cardinals, with the notable

exception of the Venetians, as Castiglione and Trivulzio made a point of mentioning in their next dispatch.<sup>43</sup>

From the same source on 19 February, relating to a consistorial resolution to send Cardinal Giovanni Battista Cibò to calm a factional dispute in Siena, we learn that "(T)utti li Cardinali commendorno dicta deliberatione et che li Cardinali Venetiani (i.e. Zeno and Michiel) ad questo proposito disseno che serà anche bene mandare legato dove fossi maggiore bisogno, inferendo ad Vinetia, et che Sua Santità simulò non intendere, et chel Cardinale di S. Maria in Porticu se levò et gli andare alla crecchia dicendo che forse mandandose qualche legato ad Vinetia faria fructo; alche sua Sanctità respose, che quando fusse bisogno et credesse cavarne fructo gli ne mandaria septe, nonché uno : ad che suo per noi dicto che sua Sanctità volesse precedere cum maturità et consultatione ...."<sup>44</sup> This salvo opened a period of sustained resistance by the cardinals to Sixtus and his anti-Venetian policies, resistance not unaccompanied by aspirations for peace. It was surely all the more remarkable for being made by Battista Zeno, never a master of the arts of diplomacy, uncharacteristically setting an example for Barbo and Foscari to follow in the event of their returning to Rome.

In mid-February, Sixtus again implored Venice to restore its territorial acquisitions to Ferrara or risk punishment from Rome's temporal and spiritual arms. Responding to these threats, Venice prepared an appeal to an Ecumenical Council on the basis of the neglected decree "Frequens". This appeal, dated 3 March and devised by Antonio Sarocco, Archbishop of Corinth, Niccolò Franco, the future Bishop of Treviso, Francesco Contarini and Pietro Bruto, Zeno's vicar at Vicenza, was sent to Sixtus on 14 March, Zeno and Michiel receiving copies of the papal bull,

the Venetian response and a separate list of reasons behind the Venetian stand on the same occasion. This message to the cardinals was clearly a cry for them to defend their patria in its hour of need. A similarly patriotic appeal went to Marco Barbo, fuelled by what must have been encouraging signals picked up by Diedo in February: "Et gratius quidem fuit quod eadem R.da D.tio V.ra, prout suis quoque litteris nobis declaravit, sit brevi Romam reditura et adeo liberaliter obtulerit se patrociniū communis et carissime patrie pro eius virili suscepturam, atque honorem nostrum tutaturam, ut optimum decet patricium, utque semper antehac cum summa cum laude et commendatione atque universi huius senatus satisfactione facere consuevit".<sup>45</sup>

The Barbo-Lorenzi carteggio yields a series of letters for this period which relate to the political situation and, more specifically, to the cardinal's response. Signalling Riario's mutability, Lorenzi reported on 7 March that the nipote had been in conversation with Arcamone: the old order restored? On a number of occasions, Barbo wrote of the censures threatened against Venice, spectres which significantly quickened his "love for his country" and prompted him to "recognise my Venetian origins".<sup>46</sup> Replying to the Senate's letter of 14/17(?) March, Barbo wrote to Doge Mocenigo on Holy Thursday, outlining the conflicting demands on a cardinal's loyalties: "Littere illustrissime d.nis v.re cum pluribus copiis et instructionibus reddite nobis hoc sacro die ... mira nos sollicitudine et anxietate affecerunt, ee quidem continent que non ab re cardinalem, etsi immeritum, apostolice sedis, affectissimumque patrie, maxime commovere et fluctuare in huiusmodi rerum et temporum qualitate compellant".<sup>47</sup> Much as the cardinal was prepared to assist the Republic at this critical juncture, he did not immediately head for Rome to meet the papal challenge. His paramount thoughts were

with neither Venice nor Rome nor the prosecution of war. As he lamented to Lorenzi on Good Friday, despite his wish to divorce himself from public affairs during Holy Week, "... non existi massem his sacris diebus, in hoc devotissimo cenobio vexari quietem meam, materia Ferrariensi molestissima et scandalosa .... Plura scribere prohibet devotio dierum". In a sense, these sentiments encapsulate Marco Barbo's attitude towards Italian politics throughout the period with which we are concerned : a vague sympathy for Venice, but not sufficient to hinder his primary duty to God. The secretary was also instructed to supplement the cardinal's letter to Mocenigo, written the previous day, which might be interpreted in Venice as lukewarm, though it contained nothing but what he genuinely felt.<sup>48</sup>

There can be no doubt that the Venetian cardinals were at the core of the first concerted peace initiative since the pope's defection had put the Republic into a position of military and diplomatic isolation, nor that they were acting in Venice's interests in so doing. As Foscari had been uniquely placed to effect the 1480 alliance, so in this war situation the cardinals were ideally positioned to attempt some kind of diplomatic breakthrough. The evidence for this comes from a number of sources, of which the following are the most prominent. On 26 March, Traiano Bottuni, a Neapolitan diplomat recently arrived in Rome from Ferrara, wrote to the Duke of Calabria that the Venetians there were divided between desire for peace and justification for their cause : it was a futile conflict, but they could not allow Venice's reputation to suffer. This balance certainly accords well with the views expressed by Cardinal Barbo. Bottuni continued : Zeno and Michiel showed Sixtus their letters from the Signoria (those of 14 March). Proving themselves well-versed in the official arguments, they suggested that to demand the restitution

of all occupied lands could not be the way to peace, since Venice had merely reintegrated territory which had formerly belonged to her. Nevertheless, the cardinals urged Sixtus to promote peace by some other means, adding that if the Polesine were returned to Ferrara, Ercole d' Este would be obliged to pay a sizeable annual tribute to Venice. At which point the negotiations broke off in stalemate, Bottuni anticipating further discussion upon Cardinal Barbo's reappearance, even though "the bull (of excommunication) has been written and it is the will ... of all the cardinals that it be published".<sup>49</sup> A week later, the news of Barbo's imminent return was endorsed by Jacopo Guicciardini at Ferrara, a move which could only be interpreted to mean that the Venetians were taking negotiations seriously, Barbo seeking to reap where Michiel and Zeno had sown. It was on this occasion that the Florentine orator stated the reason for Cardinal Barbo's departure from Rome the previous Autumn.<sup>50</sup> Elaboration came from Pier Filippo Pandolfini in Rome, sending news on 7 April that the Cardinal of S. Angelo had been to the Vatican again that day, where he had discussed hopes for peace at great length.<sup>51</sup>

All of which was fleshed out somewhat by Zaccaria Saggi, writing to Federico Gonzaga on 12 April. Reporting from Milan on discussions with Lodovico Sforza about peace negotiations which were said to be going on in Rome, Saggi dismisses the efforts of Michiel and Zeno as unlikely to produce a result, those two cardinals being acknowledged political lightweights. On the other hand, were Barbo or Foscari to build on these diplomatic foundations, then something might well come of the initiative. "De questo ne ho parlato col Mag.co oratore fiorentino (Bernardo Rucellai) per chiarirmene meglio; il quale me ha detto non essere da prestarli molto fede perché la cosa è praticata per lo mezo del cardinale di S. Maria in port(ic)o il quale non è tenuto savio et non ha alchuna reputatione; ché

quando la Signoria di Venetia dicesse da vero, prateria la cosa per lo mezo del cardinali de S. Marco e del Foscaro chi sonno signori savii e di gran autorità".<sup>52</sup> All of which suggests that, despite his own scale of priorities, Marco Barbo was perceived as just as much an agent of Venice as was Pietro Foscari.

By the time Marco Barbo returned to Rome, most probably on 5 May, the question of whether Venice ought to be excommunicated had been aired in consistory on several occasions. The cardinal's appearance was specifically directed against such an eventuality, his arrival being all the more remarkable at a season when cardinals were more likely to leave for the hills than take up residence in Rome - a point not neglected by Gherardi.<sup>53</sup> According to the Milanese ambassadors, Barbo's defence of the isolated Republic began without delay: "The Cardinal of S. Marco, who has been absent for some months, arrived here yesterday (i.e. 4 May) and today was with His Holiness for a considerable length of time".<sup>54</sup> No more is heard of the matter until 24 May, when the bull of Interdict and excommunication was published and later affixed to the doors of St. Peter's. It was also on 24th that Pietro Foscari arrived in Rome from Padua, via Ancona, leaving observers with no doubt that he came armed with a specific commission from the Signoria. He was met at S. Maria del Popolo by Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere, Rangoni, Balue and Auxias de Padio, Archbishop of Montereale, a delegation evidently wishing to demonstrate a strong pro-Venetian bias even on the threshold of the apostles. Giuliano and his close associate Balue went on to share with their Venetian peers the division of the spoils consequent upon Cardinal Cibò's election to the Papacy the following year, though in May 1483 the most likely motive for Della Rovere's actions was an obstinate refusal to side with Girolamo Riario, then displaying signs of coming to terms

with the League.<sup>55</sup>

In Sanudo's account, seven other cardinals, all of a mind with Sixtus, were called to a secret consistory to make a final decision on Venice's excommunication, prompted by the Republic's persistent refusal to withdraw its forces from the disputed territories. It is to the Venetian diarist that we owe a relation of what appears to have been Marco Barbo's most overtly partisan stand, in the wake of a singularly "crude and iniquitous" anti-Venetian speech by Sixtus. "E detto quello che gli parve contro la Repubblica nostra, parve al Reverendissimo Marco Barbo .... Prelato di grande autorità nella Corte, di rispondergli, e disse le rag(io)ni nostre sapientissimamente, che non era venire a questo atto di scomunica, e che dovesse avere a memoria quello che aveano fatto i Veneziani ai tempi passati per la Chiesa, ed erano l'antemurale della Christianità contra Turchi". To which appeal Sixtus and those cardinals adhering to the League remained unmoved. This incident more than any other identifies Barbo as a Venetian first and a prince of the Church only second. It could hardly have taken place in more significant or, indeed, dramatic circumstances.<sup>56</sup>

Unfortunately, Sanudo's version does not find a direct parallel in that of the Milanese ambassadors, presumably a more reliable source, who speak of unidentified Venetian cardinals where Sanudo bestows all the honours on Barbo alone. According to Castiglione and Trivulzio, the beleaguered cardinals spoke energetically against the bull, concluding with an accusation against Sixtus himself as the instigator of the present war. The same dispatch leaves no doubt about the position of Riario, according to whom the Venetians had received three pieces of bad news all at once, that is firstly the Interdict, secondly the fleet massed against them and, thirdly, his own imminent departure from Rome to take

an active part in the land war.<sup>57</sup> Whichever interpretation is preferred, the importance of this episode is unmistakable. Dismissive of their own fortunes and curial reputations, the Venetian cardinals braved the wrath of Sixtus, the Sacred College and Riario, so recently their ally and patron, choosing to champion Venice against the Papacy. The future cardinal Maffeo Gherardo, Patriarch of Venice, made the same decision, feigning illness rather than encountering Signorial wrath as the pope's messenger and representative. In Gherardo's case, the decision was rather more clear cut. Venetians in Rome might, alternatively, have chosen to sever all connections with their patria, but remarkably displayed solidarity in its defence.

Pietro Foscari may well have arrived in Rome fractionally too late to make his voice heard in that consistorial forum on 24 May. In any case, his experiences possibly made him better suited to discreet diplomacy than public denunciation. This impression was not lost on the ambassadors of the anti-Venetian coalition, particularly the Milanese, who proceeded to follow Foscari's movements with their accustomed thoroughness. From their dispatches it is evident that the cardinal sought to resurrect his previously fruitful association with Riario. As early as 26 May, they reported in a post-script: "Non sappiamo s(e) el Conte partirà domane come ello haveva deliberato, et questo per la venuta de questo Foscharo, perché crediamo vor(r)a prima intendere che expositione el farà ad n. s. et quello aporatarà con si, de quello seguirà avisarono v. s. per la prima cavalcata".<sup>58</sup> That evening, the ambassadors of the League went to Riario's house, the better to gauge the nipote's position vis-à-vis Foscari.<sup>59</sup>

Between 26 and 30 May Foscari had two, perhaps even three, audiences with Sixtus, each time emphasising the Venetian desire for peace, which

could not be sought by means of ecclesiastical censures.<sup>60</sup> The most remarkable altercation between the two was reported by the ambassadors of the League on 30 May, the well-rehearsed arguments of both sides receiving an extensive airing. To the crucial territorial question, Foscari reiterated the Venetian side of the feud which his city had been waging over possession of the Polesine of Rovigo since the fourteenth century, claiming that neither it nor the neighbouring Polesine of Ficarolo was subject to Este jurisdiction. The account seemingly presents Foscari on trial, as isolated at the Curia as Venice was in Italy. The ambassadors give no suggestion that Barbo, Michiel or Zeno were subjected to this or a similar encounter, Foscari alone being invested with the authority to speak on behalf of the Venetian Republic. His identification with Venice was absolute, again assigning the blame for starting the war to Sixtus alone. This moved the ambassadors to wonder at a cardinal calling into question the honour and good faith of the pope in so forthright a manner.<sup>61</sup>

Given that a state of ecclesiastical war now existed between Venice and Rome to add to the military one, the cardinals were instructed by Venice to reside in their dioceses rather than at the Curia; confirmation, if confirmation were needed, that Venice regarded them as ambassadors just as much as did the orators of the League. Similar restrictions were placed on all other Venetian prelates, enforcing loyalty to the Republic where it could not be gained by free will. As the diarist Gherardi was at pains to point out, Cardinals Barbo, Zeno, Michiel, Foscari and Rangoni had already absented themselves from one of the annual displays of curial strength, the Corpus Domini celebrations on 28 May.<sup>62</sup> Nor did they take part in the annual Mass for Paul II on 29 July, by which time Marco Barbo had left Rome and taken up residence at Palestrina, his

correspondence with Lorenzi recommencing on 23 July and continuing through to 9 October.<sup>63</sup> He did not return to Rome until 14 November, thereby continuing to demonstrate a certain degree of commitment to Venice.<sup>64</sup>

Cardinal Foscari had another meeting with Sixtus on 12 June, during which he repeated his previous appeals on behalf of Venice, whose citizens and those of the Terraferma were virtually deprived of the rites of the Church. Sixtus again refused to lift the Interdict, though this was followed by marginally more positive discussions on how to ensure that any agreement between Venice and Ferrara would be observed. The meeting concluded with Foscari requesting permission "de andarsene fuor di Roma per rispetto de la peste", a motive which could easily blend with the Venetian injunction.<sup>65</sup> Foscari's defence of Venice was clearly part of a wider strategy which included the second formal appeal against the Interdict, dated 15 June. This contained a studied irony absent from the cardinal's more direct approach. Recalling their previous appeal of 3 March, the Signoria explained how, after that date, they had heard vaguely that Sixtus had published certain letters of excommunication against them, but they could not believe it, in view of Venice's manifest devotion to the greater good of Christendom. Thus, not wishing to cause a scandal by appearing indifferent to such censures, they confirmed their first appeal and repeated the call for an Ecumenical Council.<sup>66</sup> It is by no means certain that Foscari did leave Rome, not even for such a time as might have been considered prudent on health grounds. The dispute over Lorenzo Gabriel and the priory at Krania, an episode reported by Giovanni Lorenzi on 23 July, suggests that Foscari was then in Rome and in direct contact with the secretary, himself no less a Venetian ecclesiastic who failed to comply with the Republic's injunction.<sup>67</sup>

After their diplomatic initiative in the Spring of 1483, Cardinals Barbo, Michiel and Zeno played no part in any of the numerous routes pursued by the Italian powers to extricate themselves from the impasse they had created. All four cardinals had unambiguously identified themselves with Venice and were, in consequence, highly improbable mediators, regardless of their peculiar dual personalities. Nevertheless, the unlikely alliance of 1480 continued to exercise an alluring fascination in Venice, where the route to peace was perceived to lie with Pietro Foscari and/or the notoriously impressionable Riario. Dalla Santa has amply charted the course of Benedetto Soranzo's frustrated negotiations with Riario, commencing in August 1483. Riario considered himself and Sixtus the best possible mediators and arbiters of peace, discounting Lorenzo de' Medici and Lodovico Sforza, likewise sometime allies of Venice. As lord of Forlì he could maintain some form of supervision over the disputed territories, and finally added to his credentials the honour with which he had been received in Venice in 1481. Soranzo acknowledged that Venice preferred Sixtus and Riario to any of the other League members, especially since Riario had actually declared himself in favour of Venice keeping Rovigo and the Polesine. Exploiting this apparent weak link in the League, Soranzo proposed that, in return for the League restoring everything claimed by Venice, Venice herself would concede as little as possible claimed by Ferrara. A second round of meetings in September 1483 proved abortive, when Riario left Imola for Rome and Foscari's orbit, leaving Soranzo effectively neglected by all sides.<sup>68</sup>

The revival of correspondence between, on the one hand, Pietro Foscari and, on the other, the Senate and the Ten during the second half of 1483 reinforces the view that Foscari's primary function was to

negotiate with the returning Riario. In contrast to 1479/80, the Signoria now tended to correspond with the cardinal via his nephew Francesco, son of Alvise Foscari and a future Venetian ambassador to the Holy See. Among senatorial proposers, the names of Bernardo Giustiniani and Francesco Venier appear with sufficient regularity to suggest that their's was this brief Foscari-centred initiative. The quantity of this now one-sided correspondence also suggests a similar conscientiousness on Foscari's part.<sup>69</sup> From October onwards, the extant letters are dominated by the peace negotiations led by Cardinal Giorgio da Costa, appointed legate to Venice for the purpose, and hinging on the shuttle diplomacy of Stefano de Teleazio, Archbishop of Antivari. The Cardinal of Lisbon (d.1508) had been spoken of as a "good friend" of Venice as early as 9 August 1480 and enjoyed correspondingly good relations with Marco Barbo, with whom he acted as Leonardo Grifo's executor in November 1485.<sup>70</sup> With so many members of the Sacred College tarnished by association with the League, Costa offered the rare distinction of being acceptable to both sides. Teleazio (d.1515) was a distinguished preacher who had held the see of Antivari since 1473. His successful diplomatic association with Venice in 1483/4 resulted in his candidature for the bishoprics of Treviso and Torcello in 1485, to the second of which Lorenzi reported his transfer on 5 September that year.<sup>71</sup>

While Barbo, Michiel and Zeno remained decidedly in the shade, further light is shed on Cardinal Foscari's activities in the Autumn of 1483 by a series of ambassadorial dispatches. Regardless of the fact that hopes for peace were centred with Costa and Teleazio, the orators of the League suspected that Venice's preferred scenario was a solution negotiated by Foscari rather than the Portuguese cardinal, and therefore continued to report his movements with interest. In conversation with Foscari,

Guidantonio Vespucci correctly perceived that the cardinal was endeavouring to break up the League, the very purpose behind his renewed courting of Riario.<sup>72</sup> A dispatch of the indefatigable Trivulzio and Castiglione, dated 11 November, consists of a detailed account of a meeting between Foscari and Riario, in which the cardinal declared that he had "neither faith nor hope in any of the princes of the League". Beginning with Ferrante's "deception" of Venice, Foscari enumerated the crimes and infidelities of each of the powers ranged against the Republic. Tracing the sequence of events back from the imposition of the Interdict through the territorial dispute to Venice's invasion of the Polesine, Foscari laid the blame for this unfortunate saga squarely at the pope's feet : "I(n)terim repli(c)a epso Car.le che la guerra facta contra Ferrara fu principiata de voluntà et consentimento de la Sanctità de N.S. ..." <sup>73</sup>

To the ambassadors it was perfectly obvious that Foscari's basic intention was "to seduce (Riario) from devotion to the League".<sup>74</sup> By 7 December, their Mantuan counterpart declared that certain unnamed Venetian cardinals had hopes of a "good peace", a view seconded by the Milanese later in the month.<sup>75</sup> Although Foscari tended to be the only Venetian cardinal mentioned in dispatches, patriotic messages sent by the Senate to each of the four individually on 7 December suggest that none had wavered in their allegiance throughout the previous twelve months of confrontation and stalemate : "Pergratus nobis fuit reditus vestrae R.mae D.nis in Urbem, et eo quidem magio quo facti sumus certiores illam pro affectuosa quam habet in charissimam patriam charitate, iam sedulo et prudenter egisse in honorem nostrum; quod sane nos mirifice delectavit".<sup>76</sup>

Venetian cardinals played no part in Cardinal da Costa's peace

negotiations at Cesena nor in the process which resulted in the long-awaited peace, signed at Bagnolo on 7 August 1484. In that peace was only concluded when the League had begun to disintegrate, Foscari's methods received a certain degree of justification. The weakest link, however, turned out not to be Girolamo Riario, but Lodovico Sforza. The Milanese were motivated by fear of a French invasion in support of Venice. Nor was il Moro prepared to sanction the dismemberment of the Venetian land empire on his Eastern borders, regardless of Ferrante's determination to destroy the Republic utterly. Echoing their master's voice, Castiglione and Trivulzio wrote on 1 January 1484 that the bull of excommunication should be revoked in order to end the war; all Italy and beyond were against it. They were also fully aware of the need to impress this on Riario.<sup>77</sup>

Apart from an isolated reference by the Ten to Giovanni Michiel in July, Pietro Foscari was still the only Venetian cardinal to feature on the diplomatic scene. His significance diminished by the advent of non-Roman talks, his purpose was yet to win over Riario.<sup>78</sup> By 18 February, the Milanese orators had learned that a member of Cardinal Foscari's household "haveva dicto al S.rie Conte Hieronimo che volendo sua ex.a parlare da vere se confidava che la S.ria de Venetia se resolveria ad venire ad una bona pace, per havere qualchi credito cum quella. Quel aviso era proceduto per lettere del Magnifico messer Anello lecte in presentia del S.te Re (Ferrante) ... "<sup>79</sup> Reflecting Neapolitan resolution in the face of Venetian threats to play the French and Turkish cards against them, Foscari described Arcamone as "contrary to every good thing".<sup>80</sup> Meanwhile, sensing the League's imminent collapse, Riario wanted to improve his relationship with Venice, thereby vindicating Cardinal Foscari's policy. By 5 May, the Venetian Senate wrote to inform all four cardinals of the

progress of negotiations at Cesena and the work of the cardinal legate. Twenty days later, the same group of senators, which included the future doge Marco Barbarigo, Bernardo Giustiniani and Paolo di Andrea Barbo, reinforced their appreciation of the Venetian cardinals, with generous praise for their steadfast loyalty in the face of anti-Venetian feeling in Rome, of which they had necessarily borne the brunt.<sup>81</sup>

The Peace of Bagnolo was a reward for Venetian tenacity. Ercole d'Este was obliged to go to the lagoon city as a suppliant, while Lodovico Sforza sent his son there, ostensibly to take part in the peace festivities, but really as a hostage in fulfilment of the treaty terms. Fulminating against "Faithless Lodovico!", Sixtus died embittered on 12 August, five days after the peace was signed. In Gherardi's account, the day before he died, the pope summoned the ambassadors of the League for a post mortem of the war and the peace : " ... The Venetians had already offered our Apostolic Legate (i.e. Cardinal da Costa) terms much fairer and more profitable to your Princes, terms which were honourable to the Holy See, whereas these are disgraceful .... This peace, my beloved sons in Christ, I can neither approve nor sanction".<sup>82</sup>

After noting Sixtus's death, the Senate wrote to the Venetian cardinals stating its opinion on the matter of electing a new captain to steer the barque of Peter. Without naming names, the pope of their choice would have as his primary concern the peace of Italy, accepting the terms of Bagnolo and revoking the Interdict.<sup>83</sup> The cardinals most obviously unsympathetic to Venice were Giovanni d'Aragona and Ascanio Sforza, on account of their proximity to the princes of the League who were, in turn, assiduously campaigning against the Venetians, Genoese and Ultramontanes. Alfonso of Calabria and Lodovico il Moro sent to their orators at Rome on 26 August with instructions to request Riario and Virginio Orsini to

use their influence to oppose the election of Costa, Cibò, Savelli or Barbo, albeit without recourse to violence. A similar message was sent to Cardinals d'Aragona and Sforza.<sup>84</sup> In this tense atmosphere, the Ferrarese ambassador Bonfrancesco Arlotti, one among innumerable commentators, suggested that "The competition may possibly become so hot, that in the end a neutral candidate like Moles, Costa or Piccolomini - all worthy men - may be elected".<sup>85</sup> The compromise candidate omitted by Arlotti was Giovanni Battista Cibò, who succeeded in obtaining the requisite seventeen votes, as Marco Barbo with ten, eleven or, depending on the account chosen, twelve votes, had failed to do in the first scrutiny. Barbo was perceived to be too partial a candidate to be allowed to win, rather than too pious.<sup>86</sup> His fellow Venetians were similarly tainted but, on personal merit and reputation, were by no means as papabile as the Cardinal of S. Marco. In addition to which, the mixed blessing of a Venetian pope was perhaps too risky to be seriously contemplated by the Signoria, satisfied by the election of a non-League pontiff; and one, moreover, who was the protégé of the increasingly sympathetic Giuliano della Rovere.

As early as 1 September, two days after Innocent's election, Arlotti perceived the connection between the Venetian cardinals voting for Cibò and the likelihood of the new pope revoking the Interdict with all convenient haste. He followed this assessment with an account of his own conversation with Pietro Foscari, following that day's consistory. In the presence of Giovanni d' Aragona, the Venetian and the Ferrarese disagreed about the Republic's willingness to comply with the terms of Bagnolo with regard to the disputed territories. Arlotti doubted Venice's intention to withdraw as required.<sup>87</sup> The Senate, for its part, declared that Innocent's election had secured the peace of Italy. On 17 September,

its thanks were conveyed to the Venetian cardinals, who had sent a report of the conclave and its conclusion, and to Costa, Teleazio and Giuliano della Rovere, to whom the grateful Republic offered not only good will but honours and benefices for his brother.<sup>88</sup>

Innocent VIII followed his predecessor's nepotistic example, but without Sistine excess. During his eight-year pontificate, he made only one promotion to the Sacred College, on 9 March 1489, his eight new cardinals including only one nipote, Lorenzo Cibò. The cardinalisation of Giovanni de' Medici, Lorenzo's thirteen-year-old son, was part of a policy of closer links with Florence, of which the dynastic marriage of Franceschetto Cibò and Maddelena de' Medici formed another element.<sup>89</sup> This alone illustrates a dramatic reversal of papal policy towards the peninsular powers, as does the fact that the Patriarch of Venice, Maffeo Gherardo, also became a cardinal, without a hint of diplomatic pressure. That is not to say that peace and harmony reigned along the Venice-Rome axis until 1492. This second pontificate was rather in the nature of an extended sigh of relief after the demise of the controversial and indulgent Sixtus.

Although this pontificate witnessed a greatly reduced political rôle for the Venetian cardinals, not least because of Pietro Foscari's death only a year into the Innocentian period, they began by retaining some ambassadorial characteristics, since the next Venetian orator, Antonio Loredan, did not take up his post until June 1485, leaving Venice otherwise unrepresented at Rome.<sup>90</sup> The reason for this delay was that, although Bagnolo had effectively concluded the secular conflict, the Interdict yet remained in being. Herein lay the latest thread in Signorial communications with the cardinals and in their dealings with the Curia. Although

all four cardinals resided in Rome during the later months of 1484, acclimatising themselves to the new régime in ways which will be explored in the next chapter, there may well have been an enduring element in the Senate which looked primarily to Cardinal Foscari to bring about the revocation of the Interdict. A Senatorial letter on the subject, ostensibly from Francesco Foscari giovane to his uncle, begins by referring to the cardinal's letter of 26 September and altogether gives the impression that Foscari was still active on their behalf. Though acknowledging the contribution made by "gli altri R(everendissimi)mi signori Cardinali nostri", the Senators Marco Barbarigo, Antonio Venier, Federico Cornaro, Tommaso Trevisan, Jacopo Malipiero, Cristoforo Duodo and Alvise Bragadin patently endorsed the nephew's praise of Cardinal Foscari's "wisdom, honesty (and) expediency", all of which he had not ceased to employ to the honour of his country. Francesco Foscari was still employed as an intermediary between the cardinal and the Council of Ten, but it seems that this laudatory epistle of 5 October was the last of its kind to be addressed to Foscari alone.<sup>91</sup> Apart from any other consequences of the 1484 conclave, Girolamo Riario, for so long the linchpin of Pietro Foscari's curial career, had suffered the ignoble fate of all nipoti too closely identified with their patron's régime, severely limiting the cardinal's utility in the eyes of his Venetian masters. From non-Venetian sources, however, one may observe that the Cardinal of Venice remained active for a short while longer, regardless of these restrictions. Progress on a resolution of the Interdict was slow, but a letter of 13 October by Ascanio Maria Sforza, a cardinal since 17 March that year, to his brother, confirms that the Venetian negotiators were led by both Barbo and Foscari. The two cardinals, Ascanio reported, had just met with Innocent to discuss the lifting of censures.<sup>92</sup>

The same two Venetian cardinals were, simultaneously, involved in another facet of the wider peace process, a matter introduced by the Ferrarese orator in Rome on 8 October in his account of the latest consistory : " ... fuo anche approvato el parere del papa de parlare cum li Cardinali Venetiani, Sancto Marco et Fuscaro, et tanto più che'l Conte Antonio Maria chieva et era contento che se offerisca a venexia et, dappertutto, che'l se vole commettere per questa differentia de la concordia che l'ha cum suo fratello in quelli doi prefati Cardinali Venetiani ..."<sup>93</sup> A long-standing feud between the brothers Antonio Maria and Galeotto Pico della Mirandola, in the course of which Antonio had been imprisoned by Galeotto, lay behind their decision to champion opposing sides in the War of Ferrara. Galeotto was one among many condottieri who sided with Venice in 1482, bringing with him 300 infantry and 400 cavalry. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that Antonio, who lived in Rome under Sixtus's protection and in receipt of a large papal pension, should have taken to the field in 1483 under the auspices of the League. In the circumstances, it was hardly surprising that Sixtus created him lord of Concordia sulla Secchia in preference to Galeotto. Following the Peace of Bagnolo, it was decided that Antonio should restore Concordia to Galeotto's control, albeit under conditions guaranteed by the Venetians, Galeotto's protectors. In case of trouble, the Venetians were permitted to apply force, while the principal members of the League promised not to interfere.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, in the light of perpetual Milanese fears about the extension of Venice's borders and influence, Cardinal Ascanio sent a series of dispatches on this connection between Concordia and the Venetian cardinals, including that of 14 October : "Heri scripsi al ex.ta v. che N.S. (i.e. Innocent) haveva mandato per li Car(dina)li venetiani, et ch'io existimava fusse per le cose del Conte

Antonio Maria de la Mirandola. Hora l'aviso, che essendo stato da N.S. mi ha la sua Beatitudine dicto, havere mandato per Cardinali Venetiani et dicto a loro S(igno)rie quello che declarò al R.mo Car.le Rangone a li oratori ..."<sup>95</sup> Despite claiming to have sold Concordia to the Marquis of Mantua, ultimately Antonio had no choice but to accept defeat and live on in Rome as Innocent's pensioner, appearing at Alexander VI's coronation in 1492 as papal standard bearer. In the circumstances of Autumn 1484, though, suddenly finding themselves in favour with both Venice and the Papacy, Barbo and Foscari were eminently well placed to act as mediators and persuade Antonio to accept the fait accompli.

As a footnote to this last episode, one may note that Giovanni Zippel, editing "messer Cosimo's" account of Cardinal Barbo's death, was in no doubt that his text contained a reference to Antonio Maria Pico (d.1501). "Commendavit e al papa e a' chardinali multos specialiter, non rogatus : inter alios, il conte Antonio vostro fratello".<sup>96</sup> Consequently, the identity of the "S(ignor) Conte" to whom the letter was addressed may be narrowed down to Galeotto, ally of Venice but enemy to Antonio, and the celebrated humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, favoured unreservedly by Paschini in this context.<sup>97</sup> Though not a pupil of Ficino, with whom Marco Barbo was certainly in contact, Giovanni Pico (1463-94) and the cardinal shared several mutual friends and acquaintances among the Florentine Platonists into whose orbit Barbo gravitated in the 1480s. Moreover, when based in Rome in 1486-7 for the publication of his controversial nine hundred Conclusiones, Pico borrowed several volumes from Giovanni Lorenzi as papal librarian.<sup>98</sup> This strays into territory ear-marked for chapter six, but it also reinforces Barbo's position as a suitable mediator with Antonio Maria, with whom his brother Giovanni always remained on good terms.

The terms of Bagnolo were ratified by Venice on 9 November, in the wake of which the Venetian cardinals renewed their efforts to bring about the suspension of censures. The Ferrarese ambassador, writing on 27 November, confirmed that they were indeed "very solicitous" in this cause, though without indicating whether all four were involved.<sup>99</sup> The pressures of war having passed, the quartet of cardinals was now less likely to act together in unity of purpose and, indeed, there was little necessity for them to do so. Although the grim reaper did not reduce them to a trio until the following August, the last extant Venetian appeal to them to act together for love of the Republic is dated in the closing weeks of 1484. At issue was a dispute over shipping out of the Dalmatian port of Ragusa: "Reddite sunt nobis littere quas vos R. d. Scti Marci et Scte Marie in porticu ad nos dedistis dum R. d. Scti Angeli et Foscari consistorio interfuisse non potueritis et vidimus occiusus exempluro quod ad nos mistis litterae ex Ragusio allatarae..."<sup>100</sup> Cardinal Giorgio da Costa received a similar communication, but the matter was not raised again in correspondence with any of the Venetian cardinals.

Stepping up the pressure on Innocent, Giovanni Capello, Bernardo Giustiniani and Federico Corner led the Senate in a further supplication, dated 11 January 1485. All Italy and the ultramontane nations, they declared, had been ranged against Venice when the Interdict had been so mercilessly imposed. Venice had done nothing deserving of such treatment. The revocation of the Interdict could not be considered as other than an integral part of the general peace agreement. In the Senate's opinion, the Venetian cardinals had played as significant a part in the peace process as had the Cardinal of Lisbon.<sup>101</sup> That Marco Barbo was still valued as a representative of Venice in Rome was highlighted a few days

later when the Council of Ten dealt with a "new indignation and scandal against us", the revelation that letters written by Barbo and others had been secured, opened and read by Fra Angelo de Chiavasso, Vicar General of the Observant Franciscans, under the pretext of a visitation of his Order in the province.<sup>102</sup> That the cardinals were as significant as the Senate claimed in their lobbying on the matter of the Interdict was attested by Ascanio Sforza in a series of letters in January.<sup>103</sup> The Milanese cardinal continued to observe his Venetian peers with as much attention as Antonio Trivulzio and the Bishop of Como had ever done. Finally, although the actual suspension of ecclesiastical censures became associated with the name of Abbot Tommaso Colleoni O.P., who conveyed the bull of absolution to Venice, that document made it plain that Innocent had taken this step "at the insistence of the doge and of the Venetian cardinals".<sup>104</sup> Just as the deadlock and futility of the Ferrarese War had given the secular peace a certain inevitability, so the election of Pope Innocent made the lifting of censures something of a foregone conclusion. Nevertheless, from the combined weight of sources Venetian and non-Venetian one can safely conclude that the cardinals were at the core of the peace process under Innocent as they had not been under Sixtus. By implication, they were respected by the Cibò pontiff and his close associates in the same measure as they had been alienated for the previous thirteen years.

Resuming diplomatic representation at the Curia, Alvise Bragadin, Pietro Diedo, Bernardo Bembo and Antonio Loredan arrived in Rome in May 1485, Loredan remaining as resident ambassador until his disgrace the following year.<sup>105</sup> In a parallel development Niccolò Franco was appointed the first resident papal nuncio to Venice. All of which permitted the Venetian cardinals to stand down from their position as unofficial intercessors

between the two powers. In spite of the new spirit of co-operation, Innocent made the first of three controversial appointments to Venetian-controlled benefices when he overruled the Signoria's choice of Bernardo de Rossi of Parma for the bishopric of Treviso on 21 February 1485.<sup>106</sup> Placing Niccolò Franco in the Trevisan see was a preliminary to a wide-ranging policy in which Franco, as nuncio, was instructed to bring about another Veneto-Papal alliance. Giacomo Gherardi was sent to Milan as part of the same plan to isolate Naples and induce her to submit to papal authority. Franco's alliance came into being on 29 December 1486, with no obvious diplomatic contribution by Barbo, Michiel or Zeno.<sup>107</sup>

With full diplomatic relations now established between the Papacy and the Venetian Signoria, the immediate political significance of any Venetian cardinals would have continued to diminish rapidly, no longer forced to act as brokers or middlemen. The fact that this turn of events coincided with the decisive papal patronage shift in favour of Barbo, Michiel and Zeno, largely determined the cardinals' reactions to and participation in public affairs during the period of the Neapolitan Barons' War. Although this conflict naturally excited the attention of all Italy, the parties most immediately involved were, of course, King Ferrante and his son Alfonso of Calabria, their rebellious subjects, Pope Innocent - to whom the barons appealed for defence against their overlord - and the rival Roman baronial families, acting out inter-state relations in microcosm with a certain inevitability.<sup>108</sup> Dynastic considerations brought Matthias Corvinus into the fray on behalf of his Neapolitan father-in-law who, in 1485, also received the support of the Sforza and of Lorenzo de' Medici. Not surprisingly, Venice sought to capitalise on Ferrante's preoccupations and used the opportunity to seek an agreement with Innocent. The Republic's perfectly serious overtures were rejected by a pope who claimed that

he regretted ever having placed any trust in "faithless Venetians". The Senate and the Ten corresponded exclusively with the ambassador Antonio Loredan for the duration of hostilities, offering no diplomatic part whatsoever to the cardinals. They, in turn, participated in events entirely as agents of the Papacy, Marco Barbo serving as one of the cardinal deputies appointed to deal with the war situation, while Giovanni Michiel was appointed legate to the Patrimony and the armies of the Church in June 1486. In that capacity, Michiel had responsibility for negotiating peace conditions with Ferrante. The terms, humiliating for the king, were agreed in early August, much to the cardinal's credit. Michiel's triumph was, however, shortlived, since Ferrante rapidly disregarded the entire agreement, taking revenge on his treacherous subjects and perpetrating fresh crimes against the honour of the Church.<sup>109</sup>

From August to September 1485, the Rome-based Giovanni Lorenzi provided Barbo with a commentary on the appropriate military and diplomatic manoeuvres. The cardinal was variously in residence at S. Severo and Palestrina. Thereafter, the source is completely dry until 3 November 1486.<sup>110</sup> The overall impression gleaned from the carteggio, as well as from other Vatican and Venetian sources, is that Barbo deliberately avoided active participation in the political or diplomatic sphere, preferring to concentrate on the administration and financial yield of his benefices or to advance the curial careers of his familiars and other associates.<sup>111</sup> In a broader sense, benefices also determined the nature of relations between the Signoria, the Curia and the Venetian cardinals in the wake of Pietro Foscari's death in August 1485. Not only was the Republic robbed of its only thoroughly reliable agent in the cardinalate, but Innocent's peremptory promotion of Giovanni Michiel to the Paduan vacancy occasioned an unforeseen breach between erstwhile friends and

effectively negated the pontiff's other initiative, the quest for an anti-Neapolitan alliance with Venice. As in the 1470s, a Venetian cardinal and his benefices became - unwittingly? - a barrier to stable, let alone fruitful, diplomatic relations between Venice and Rome.

The Paduan proba took place on 26 August 1485, with Pietro Barozzi, Bishop of Belluno, emerging as the official Venetian choice. Barozzi was favoured above the primicerio Pietro Dandolo, the bishops Benedetto Soranzo, Lorenzo Gabriel, Niccolò Donato and Niccolò Trevisan, as well as Girolamo Lando, still regarded as the most likely candidate to fill Foscari's diplomatic shoes, provided Innocent would honour him and the Republic with the obligatory red hat.<sup>112</sup> By the time word of Barozzi's election reached Antonio Loredan at Rome, Innocent had provocatively nominated Cardinal Michiel to the vacancy. Further letters to Loredan followed on 29 September and 29 October, each presenting the Signoria's case at some length and endeavouring to persuade the pontiff to revoke his hasty decision.<sup>113</sup> The situation presented certain parallels to that of 1459-60, when the arguments for ecclesiastical liberty and against a non-resident cardinal-bishop of Padua had last been rehearsed. Innocent may not have shared Pius II's antipathy towards all things Venetian and, in the late Summer of 1485, had no reason to antagonise Venice, though his intransigence may well have increased in proportion to his despair over the Republic's persistent non-intervention in the conflict with Naples. In contrast to the example set by his uncle Paolo Barbo, it seems unlikely that Giovanni Michiel had any great desire to put himself on bad terms with Venice; he certainly remained friends with the rival candidate, Barozzi.<sup>114</sup> Michiel's repeated refusal to give up his claim to Padua, it may be argued, was not explicitly anti-Venetian; more a

consequence of living in close proximity to the pope, from whom the honour proceeded. Ermolao Barbaro faced the same dilemma in 1491 when he had the patriarchate of Aquileia unexpectedly thrust upon him. Marco Barbo would have been no less tenacious in his hold on a benefice, championing ecclesiastical freedom from secular control.

As with Verona and Vicenza in the previous decade, so the Paduan dilemma could not be resolved as long as there was deadlock on the diplomatic front, Innocent owing no favours to a potential ally who refused to make a military commitment against Naples. In addition, the disruption occasioned by Antonio Loredan's disgrace and replacement by the secretary Antonio Vinceguerra in the second half of 1486 can only have delayed the diplomatic process.<sup>115</sup> Neither Barbo nor Zeno were called upon to fill that ambassadorial breach in the early Autumn, while Michiel was an even less likely candidate for the post. Pastor contends that the nineteen-month controversy over the bishopric of Padua reached its conclusion in February 1487 only after the Venetians had confiscated Michiel's income from all his Veneto benefices, forcing the pope and the cardinal to concede defeat.<sup>116</sup> The Council of Ten resolved to take such steps on 20 December 1486, but a complementary explanation is also possible.<sup>117</sup> As the impasse over Padua largely coincided with the temporary breakdown in communication between the two powers, prompted by the Barons' War, so its resolution may be regarded as a natural concomitant to the signing of the twenty-five year alliance between Venice and the Papacy on 29 December 1486, the culmination of Niccolò Franco's nunciature.<sup>118</sup> This new treaty was published on the following 2 February, shortly before Cardinal Michiel finally renounced his claim to Padua. That the diplomatic alliance sparked off ecclesiastical concessions on both sides is suggested by the fact that the Senate conceded Marco Barbo's free possession of the

priory at Pontida on 6 February, while resolving a number of other disputes between Church and State. This horsetrading was complete when Innocent approved Pietro Barozzi's translation to Padua on 14 March.<sup>119</sup>

By the later 1480s, Cardinals Michiel and Zeno had effectively divorced themselves from whatever political rôle they had ever assumed on behalf of the Venetian Republic, or had been excluded from the same. Their relationship with their native city became more or less restricted to benefice-related matters, as will be related in succeeding chapters. At the same time, Marco Barbo's diplomatic potential was severely restricted by his annual retreats from Rome, occupying him for up to eight months at a time.<sup>120</sup> His name continued to appear in occasional Signorial communications, whether addressed to him directly or to the successive Venetian orators, as those of Michiel and Zeno did not, yet even he was not accorded the same treatment as Foscari had received as the type of a truly Venetian cardinal. Was it that Venetian cardinals were simply not as vital to the Signoria's diplomatic processes and objectives as they had been during the crises of the Sistine pontificate, or merely that, deprived of Pietro Foscari's lead, these particular cardinals had outlived their usefulness? The phenomenon of national cardinals, openly identified as the agents of secular powers, became more heavily entrenched in the last two decades of the century, as the Venetian government was all too well aware. The passage of time, as well as controversies such as those surrounding the Paduan bishopric or the wealthy benefice of Pontida, put all three existing cardinals out of contention. The name of Girolamo Lando continued to arise with a certain regularity in Senatorial appeals to the pope and to the orators at Rome, but never with the indignation and wounded pride with which

Foscari's cause had been so tenaciously presented. When Innocent created a Venetian cardinal in 1489, it was the aged and pious Maffeo Gherardo rather than the controversial Patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>121</sup>

Concurrently, Venice was represented at the Curia by an unbroken succession of able orators from Antonio Vincequerra onwards, while the nuncio Niccolò Franco fielded such perennially thorny questions as the collection of decime in Venice and acted as principal mediator between the Curia and his host city in day-to-day matters, both ecclesiastical and secular.<sup>122</sup> The Republic still needed to cultivate cardinals and other senior curial figures, but now boasted an effective way of bypassing the intercessory functions of Venetian cardinals. Based squarely on political considerations, the Innocentian pontificate was marked by a mutually beneficial connection between Venice and Giuliano della Rovere, the power behind the tiara. Illustrative of this relationship with the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vinculi was an instruction from the Senate to the rettore of Padua on 19 January 1488 informing him that Giuliano was to visit the shrine of St. Anthony; no expense was to be spared on an overt display of Venetian allegiance.<sup>123</sup> Della Rovere's former rival, the assiduously cultivated Girolamo Riario, had been dropped by Venice the moment his pontifical patron had breathed his last in August 1484. The Senate took due note of Riario's assassination at Forlì in April 1488, expressed appropriately anxious concern for the future of stable government in the notoriously unstable Romagna now that his hand had been removed, but otherwise severed the connection with Riario's dynasty.<sup>124</sup> Even Pietro Foscari, it may be recalled, had become a shadow of his former diplomatic self in the months between Innocent's election and the onset of his own fatal illness, his Roman career having become so intimately bound up with the favour of the Sistine nipote.

References to Cardinal Barbo in the correspondence of the Senate and the Council of Ten during the second half of Innocent's pontificate are few and far between. That they exist at all distinguishes him from Zeno and Michiel, who were then of less consequence with Venice than at any other stage of their careers. On 23 September 1488, the Ten recorded the fact that information of the utmost secrecy had reached them from Bernardo Bembo, joint emissary at Rome with Sebastiano Badoer.<sup>125</sup> Bembo's source was the Cardinal of S. Marco. This information was passed to the Senate, who responded five days later with a letter to Badoer and Bembo, in which was contained a passage of arguably the most copious and unrestrained praise to be lavished on any Venetian cardinal throughout the entire period of this study.<sup>126</sup> Whatever the precise nature of the information he had conveyed to Bembo, Marco Barbo found himself celebrated as a "greatly beloved and highly distinguished" patrician, whose ardent affection and zeal for the "honour, ease and benefit" of his patria knew no bounds. The esteem of his fellow Venetians, he may be assured, was in due proportion to his love for Venice. In seeking an explanation for this sudden outburst of affection, one may look first to the names of the Senators who proposed the text in question. Zaccaria Barbaro and Bernardo Giustiniani had, of course, dealt with Barbo on a personal level during their Roman missions. Their sympathy with the cardinal would have extended to cultural interests as well, which may well have accounted for the involvement of Domenico Morosini (1417-1509). Morosini was a correspondent of the younger Ermolao Barbaro, Matteo Bosso and Pietro Dolfín, a noted bibliophile and an author whose subject matter included the miracles of S. Lorenzo Giustiniani.<sup>127</sup> To these three were added Niccolò Mocenigo, Pietro de' Priuli, Girolamo Venier, Niccolò Foscarini, who had previously been ambassador to Burgundy, and Domenico

Trevisan, successor to Badoer and Bembo at the Curia. The fact that Barbo's only direct contact in this isolated episode was the humanist Bembo was surely not without significance. Moreover, as will be elaborated in chapter five, Barbo also happened to be one of Giuliano della Rovere's closest associates in the Sacred College, though this connection was not exploited by Venice to anything like the same degree as Pietro Foscari's with Girolamo Riario.

Thereafter, Barbo's next appearance in Senate correspondence was in December 1489, by which time Domenico Trevisan had assumed his ambassadorial responsibilities. The context was that of the still ominous threats exchanged by Naples and Rome. Again, it is an isolated reference.<sup>128</sup> Comparatively speaking, the cardinal acquired a higher profile during Ermolao Barbaro's brief appointment as ambassador to the Curia, between the early Summer of 1490 and March 1491. It was from Barbo specifically, though also from Zeno and Michiel, that the Ten instructed Barbaro to seek advice on the matter of the Ottoman prince Djem, who had famously fled from certain death at the hands of his brother, the Sultan Bajazet.<sup>129</sup> This invaluable hostage had been held by the Hospitallers in Auvergne since 1482, though each of the major Christian powers who had most reason to fear, placate or ingratiate themselves with the Turk sought to make Djem their own prisoner. The pope vied with Hungary, Naples and Venice on this account, and eventually obtained custody of the prince in March 1489.<sup>130</sup> Speculation about Djem's safety, in addition to the multiple attractions of this exotic specimen, did not end there, as the Ten's 20 August 1490 instructions suggest. The reason why Marco Barbo's name should have been introduced at this stage may well have been connected with the fact that Djem's release from Hospitaller control had been negotiated by the nuncios Leonello Chiericati and Antonio Flores, the

former being one of Barbo's most trusted familiars.<sup>131</sup> The Ten returned to this theme on 23 September, again advising Barbaro to consult first Barbo, then the other Venetian cardinals or, failing them, Cardinal Costa.<sup>132</sup>

In the closing months of Marco Barbo's life, the Senate referred to him in correspondence with Barbaro on 23 December 1490 and 22 January 1491. The latter, concerning the bishopric of Feltre in the wake of Angelo Fasolo's death, was supported by another letter to Barbo in person.<sup>133</sup> Although these are miscellaneous references, the overriding impression is of the ailing cardinal becoming more involved with Barbaro than with many of his predecessors and has fuelled vague suspicions that Barbo may have persuaded Innocent to make his last controversial appointment to a major Venetian benefice, that of Barbaro to Aquileia. The notion that Barbo selected Barbaro as his own successor might account for the speed with which Innocent filled the vacancy, four days after the patriarch's death on 2 March, but otherwise seems an unlikely scenario, regardless of family friendships and cultural sympathies. In a brief to Doge Agostino Barbarigo, Innocent stated that his action had been "ex spontanea consideratione nostra, Deo nos inspirante". Another interpretation, advanced by Picotti, is that Lorenzo de' Medici was Barbaro's secret benefactor.<sup>134</sup> Whatever the actual proportions of inspiration, human or divine, Marco Barbo's death effectively initiated the last serious Veneto-Papal crisis within the chronological span of this study. The facts of the case are well known: how Innocent refused to accept Barbaro's renunciation; how Barbaro was stripped of his ambassadorship for flouting Venetian law; how Niccolò Donato, primate of Cyprus, came top in the proba for Aquileia; how penalties were threatened against Zaccaria Barbaro if his son refused

to submit to his secular masters; and how Girolamo Donato was sent to replace Barbaro at the Curia.<sup>135</sup> The dilemma remained unresolved until Barbaro's death in 1493, after which Pope Alexander accepted Niccolò Donato's appointment to Aquileia on 4 November that year. Had this episode not centred around so prominent a personage as the renowned humanist Barbaro, its infamy would not have endured. For our purposes, it may also be passed over with apparent haste, since Venice did not invite the participation of Giovanni Michiel or Battista Zeno in the process of resolving the problem, nor did they do anything other than distance themselves from the entire controversy. Thus Innocent's pontificate was concluded in circumstances bearing a certain similarity to those in which Sixtus's began : for Aquileia, read Verona and Vicenza.

Innocent's demise had been long anticipated, both in terms of his failing health and in the aspirations of certain elements in the Sacred College with their secular backers. The latter were in evidence even from the time of the 1484 conclave, as will be explored further in chapter five, with Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia determined that the papal tiara should not elude him again. In 1488, the Florentine ambassador to the Curia declared that Borgia was even then in a position to make himself pope. His goal came even closer in the latter half of 1490 when Innocent's serious illness made a conclave appear imminent. Lodovico Podocataro, the Cypriot-born doctor who treated both Innocent and Barbo, but who was closer still to Borgia, transmitted reports of the pope's condition to his master whenever the Spaniard had reason to raise his hopes. Giovanni Lorenzi, whose opinions were probably not dissimilar from Marco Barbo's on this matter, expressed his disgust at the blatant election-eering which ensued : "Vicecancellarius (i.e. Borgia) cum Ascanio (Sforza) iam diviserunt sibi orbem terrarum; ita tamen quod vice-

cancellarius sit papa et Ascanius archypapa". Turning to Oliviero Carafa and Giuliano della Rovere, both of whom were papabile, Lorenzi added : "Neapolitanus noster non dormit et mirifice decipitur. Deus Sancti Petri ad Vincula quietus sedatusque est, nec movet quicquam".<sup>136</sup>

Innocent VIII finally died on 25 July 1492.<sup>137</sup> Throughout the previous months peninsular politics had become extremely fluid, not least because Piero de' Medici had abandoned his father's strenuous efforts to keep both Milan and Naples in alliance with Florence and disregarded his family's historic ties with the Sforza. Shifting alliances and allegiances were, not surprisingly, reflected in the College of Cardinals, Borgia's victory in the conclave being by no means as certain as it might have been in 1488 or even 1490. Ferrante of Naples declared himself independent though, in reality, he supported Giuliano, putting himself in the same - unlikely - camp as France, Genoa and Venice. Venetian sympathies lay with any member of Giuliano's party who stood a good chance, though it would appear that the Signoria's most active involvement was to secure the admittance to the conclave of Maffeo Gherardo, nominated but not proclaimed a cardinal. This was achieved on 5 August. Again, no effort was made by Venice to secure victory for either Giovanni Michiel or Battista Zeno, for such an eventuality would still not have been met with unqualified rapture in the palazzo ducale.<sup>138</sup>

Thus, this conspicuously chronological account concludes not with Venice mastering the art of controlling a pliant cardinal protector, whose election to the papal throne would have been counted as an unparalleled blessing, but with even less reliable representation in the

Sacred College than she enjoyed in 1471. In the course of two pontificates of markedly contrasting character, however, Venice had not only managed to secure the promotion of just such a cardinal in the person of Pietro Foscari but, at times of crisis and political isolation, had even been able to call upon the support of up to four Venetian cardinals. Considering Venice's notoriously anti-clerical reputation, it is particularly ironic that no other state in the later quattrocento, Italian or non-Italian, could have commanded such numbers and such allegiance from native-born cardinals.

NOTES ON CHAPTER THREE

1. M. Samudo, Vite de' Duchi di Venezia, RIS, XXII (1723), col.1212.
2. Barbaro's commission : ASVen, SS,29, fols. 118r - 120v, 3 June 1480. fol. 132r-v, 31 July : "De deliberatione facta in consistorio super re christiana et de verbis in eo hinc inde dictis intelleximus quecumque scripsistis, et gratia auditu nobis fuit fides et studium R. d. Card. Zeni qui nobilis civis nostri fecit officium. Ipsum laudate nostro nomine et confirmate si expedierit in proposito et voluntate quamvis ingentia illi set et naturalis".
3. On Marcantonio Morosini (c. 1435-1509) : King, op.cit, pp.410-12. Letters addressed to Foscari between the signing of the league and Barbaro's commission : ASVen, SS,29, fols. 103r-v, 24 April; 105r-v, 29 April; 107r-v, 4 May; 108r-109r, 9 May; 112r-v, 17 May; 114r, 25 May; 115r, 25 May; 117r-118r, 2 June; Cons. X, Misti 19, fols. 228v-229v, 9 May.
4. Picking up the story where his "Origine e conclusione" breaks off, Piva covers this period in "L'opposizione diplomatica di Venezia alle mire di Sisto IV su Pesaro e ai tentativi di una Crociata contro i Turchi", NAV, 5, pp. 49-104; 6, pp.133-72 (1903).
5. ASMi, SPE,87, 7 May.
6. ASVen, SS,29, fol. 113, 25 May.
7. *ibid.*, fols. 114r-115r, 25 May. The promotion took place ten days earlier.
8. *ibid.*, fols. 117r-118r, 2 June.
9. Piva, "L'opposizione", pp.64-66.
10. ASF, Otto di Pratica, Responsive, reg. 1, fol. 20r : "Messer Anello ha dipoi cominciato astrignersi col conte Jero(nimo) et dimonst(r)arli che se seguita in proposito di volere fare la impresa di Pesaro potra essere cagione della ruina sua et dello stato della chiesa".
11. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti,20, fols. 42v-43v, 23 June; fol. 45v, 30 June; fols. 52v-53r, 26 July.
12. *ibid.*, fols. 52v-53r, 26 July. The Lanfredini and Lando episodes are explored in Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere V, pp.43-4.
13. ASVen, SS, 29, fol. 137v, 22, 27 August.
14. Piva, "L'opposizione", p. 432, citing a letter dated 14 August.
15. ASMi, SPE,87, 29 August.
16. *ibid.*, 2 September. Discussion of the Venetian response to Otranto, supplemented by other sources, appears in Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere V, pp. 52-3.

17. ASVen, SS, 29, fol. 146r-v, 24 October, warned Barbaro against the "artifices" of Arcamone, but commended the ambassador, together with Foscari and Pietro Felice for standing fast against the astute Neapolitan. For Arcamone's proposal, see Piva, "L'opposizione", p.453.
18. ASVen, Cons, X, Misti, 20, fol. 71r, 18 November; SS, 29, fols. 150r-151r, 9 November. Both to Barbaro.
19. After 24 October, Foscari's association with Felice appears again on 17 January 1481 : Senate to Barbaro, SS, 29, fols. 167r-168r. See also Francesco Diedo's commission : SS, 30, fols. 25v-26v, 25 May.
20. ASV, Reg. Vat., 604, fols. 185v-187r, 10 November 1480.
21. Cenci, op.cit., pp. 410-11. The Senatorial appeals of 12, 16 and 17 April : ASVen, SS, 30, fols. 18-19. Eubel, II p.210, gives Foscari's Paduan promotion as 15 April, though ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 84a, fol. 95v has 17 April, the date on which Castiglione, Trivulzio and Botta reported the news, ASMi, SPE, 87.
22. Senate to Barbaro : ASVen, SS, 30, fol. 20v, 5 May.
23. ASMi, SPE, 89, 19 June.
24. Senate to Diedo : ASVen, SS, 30, fol. 30r-v, 18 June. Piva, "L'opposizione", p.146.
25. ASMi, SPE, 89, 14 August.
26. ASMi, SPE, 90, 12 October. For the plague deaths, see below, Appendix A, and ASMi, SPE, 89, 19 June, 25 July.
27. Barbo's return to Rome : Gherardi, op.cit., p.79. Evidence of the sustained connection between Foscari and Riario appears in a letter of Barbo to Lorenzi, 4 August : "Ex abundanti visum est etiam scribere d.o. Foscaro cui, si videbatur, aperies S.i d.ni n.ri deliberata, que tamen publicabuntur ex litteris oratoris (i.e. Diedo), etiam si videbitur dare litteras crediticias in personam suam ad comitem Hieronymum, ut ille meo nomine deprecetur, ne ad instantiam alicuius privati scriberet S.mo d.no n.o et perturbaret huiusmodi, in favorem rerum mearum, S. is sue optimum institutum; ut evenire posset si Venetiis interfuerit. Remitto tuo iudicio, in mittendis litteris d.o Foscaro" : Il carteggio, p.28.
28. See chapter five.
29. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 20, fol. 131r-v, 14 November.
30. *ibid.*, fol. 135v, 22 December; set in context in Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere VI, p.147, n3. See also ASVen, SS, 30, fols. 76v-77r, 28 March 1482 : Senate to Diedo with news of Foscari and Pietro Felice.
31. The part of Francesco Michiel, Giovanni Antonio Minio, Giovan Vettore Contarini, Benedetto and Niccolò Trevisan in persuading the Signoria to opt for war is charted in Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere VI, pp.345-61.

32. Senate to Diedo : ASVen, SS, 30, fol. 57v, c. 22-25 January 1482. Bendedei to Este : ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Carteggio degli ambasciatori, Roma b.3, 9 January.
33. ASVen, SS, 30, fols. 84r-v, 22 April; 87v-83r, 27 April. Both Senate to Diedo.
34. ASF, MAP, XLVIII, 308, Jacopo Gucciardini at Ferrara to Lorenzo de' Medici, 3 April 1483.
35. Il carteggio, p.55, Lorenzi to Barbo, 2 December 1482.
36. ASVen, SS,30, fol. 121r-v, 28 August.
37. E. Piva, La Guerra di Ferrara, (Padua, 1893) provides an account of the conflict based on Venetian sources. See also Pastor, IV, esp. p.370.
38. ASV, Archivium Arcis, Arm. I - XVIII, no. 6291. The Neapolitan League had considered Giuliano worth cultivating as a useful counterweight against Riario, a policy which definitely paid off in December 1482. Pastor, IV, p.370, suggests that Riario "the soul of the war party" may have been finally won over by the hope of receiving the Malatesta fiefdoms.
39. Il carteggio, p.62, Lorenzi to Barbo, 16-17 December.
40. *ibid.*, p.64, Lorenzi to Barbo, 20 December.
41. *ibid.*, p.70, Barbo to Lorenzi, 26 February 1483.
42. Gherardi, *op.cit.*, p.113. See also chapter four, below.
43. ASMi, SPE,92, 11 February.
44. *ibid.*, 19 February.
45. G. Dalla Santa, "Le appellazioni della Repubblica di Venezia dalle scomuniche di Sisto IV e Giulio II, NAV, XVII (1899), pp.216-42. Sixtus to Venice, 14 February ; pp.218-19. The Republic's first appeal is contained in ASVen, Consultori in iure, filza 1, fol.51-70. ASVen, SS. 31, fol. 3r-v, Senate to Sixtus, 14 March; fols. 3v-5r, Senate to Zeno, Michiel and Barbo. The last has been published by Paschini, Il carteggio, p.79, where the date is given as 17 March.
46. Il carteggio, p.74, 9 March; p.77, 15 March. Both Barbo to Lorenzi.
47. *ibid.*, pp.79-80, Barbo to Mocenigo, Holy Thursday.
48. *ibid.*, p.78, Barbo to Lorenzi, Good Friday.
49. ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, EXXV 3, b. 846, n. 642, 26 March. Bottuni (or Bottone), born at Trani and living until 1502, undertook missions to Siena, Ferrara, Rome, Milan and Florence in the course of the 1480s. He features in Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, vols. V and VI. See also DBI, 13, pp.503-5.

50. ASF, MAP, XLVIII, 308, Jacopo Gucciardini to Lorenzo de' Medici, 3 April.
51. ASF, X di Balia, Responsive 27, n.170, 7 April.
52. Saggi to Gonzaga : ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, 1628, b.1, n. 36.
53. Gherardi, op.cit., pp.117-18 : "Ad v maii reversus est cardinalis Sancti Marci, qui preterita estate romanum aerem vitans, este et hieme et vere etiam abfuit. in diversam eius absentia existimata, prout etiam diverse sunt sententie hominum".
54. ASMi, SPE,93, 5 May.
55. ASF, X di Balia, Responsive 27, n. 262, from Guidantonio Vespucci, 25 May.
56. Sanudo, Vite de' Duchi di Venezia l RIS XXII/4, col. 1227.
57. ASMi, SPE,93, 24 May.
58. *ibid.*, 26 May.
59. *ibid.*, 27 May.
60. *ibid.*, 27, 28, 30 May. The second of these finds a close parallel in ASF, X di Balia, Responsive 27, n.269, from Guidantonio Vespucci, 28 May, while the third is duplicated in the said Florentine collection at n. 274.
61. ASMi, SPE, 30 May.
62. Gherardi, op. cit., pp. 118-19.
63. Il carteggio, pp.83-100.
64. Gherardi, op.cit., p.126.
65. ASF, X di Balia, Responsive 28, n.20, from Vespucci, 13 June.
66. Dalla Santa, "Le appellazioni", includes the text of the second appeal, pp.238-41, the original being ASVen, Consultori in iure, filza 1, fol. 59, 15 June. Nine days later, Bonfrancesco Arlotti informed Ercole d' Este that Sixtus already knew of this appeal from the copy sent to the Venetian cardinals - Pastor IV, p.511, n.2. The appeal, like the bull of excommunication, was affixed to the doors of St. Peter's and of the Pantheon.
67. Il carteggio, p.86, Lorenzi to Barbo, 23 July. See also chapter five, below.
68. G. Dalla Santa, "Benedetto Soranzo, patrizio veneto, arcivescovo di Cipro, e Girolamo Riario", NAV,28 (1914), pp.308-87. Soranzo's relations with the cardinals will also feature in chapter five.
69. ASVen, SS, 31, fol. 64v, to Foscari, 18 August; fol.74v, to Foscari, 30 August; fol. 88r-v, to Foscari, 22 September. Cons. X, Misti 21,

fol.158 r-v, 22 October; fol.162r-v, to Foscari, 28 October; fol.168 r-v, to Foscari, 11 November. SS, 31, fol. 108r-v, 17 November; fol. 115r, to Foscari, 7 December.

70. ASVen, SS, 29, fols. 133v-134r, to Zaccaria Barbaro, 9 August 1480.  
As executor : Burchard, op.cit., p.127.
71. Teleazio as preacher : J.W. O'Malley SJ, Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome : Rhetoric, Doctrine and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521 (North Carolina, 1979), pp.116, 254.  
As episcopal candidate : Cenci, op.cit., pp.417-20. Il carteggio, p.120, Lorenzi to Barbo, 5 September 1485 : "Hodie consistorium in quo promovebitur vel, ut rectius loquar, transferretur ad ecclesiam Torcellan. Antibaren(sis) quem ultimo commendatum per efficacissimas litteras, pontifex, presente oratore et domino S. Petri ad Vincula, centies basiavit".
72. ASF, X di Balia, Responsive 29, fol. 241, no.190, from Vespucci, 18 October.
73. ASMi, SPE,94, 17 October.
74. *ibid.*, 2 December.
75. ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, EXXV 3, b. 846, no. 631, 7 December ASMi, SPE, 94, 28 December.
76. ASVen, SS, 31, fols. 114v-115r, to Barbo, Zeno, Michiel and Foscari in turn, 7 December. Senate to Barbo published by Paschini, Il carteggio, pp.99-100.
77. ASMi, SPE,95, 1 January 1484. Pillinini, op.cit., pp.128-9 covers the disintegration of the League, through the second Diet of Cremona (January 1484) and Venice's employment of the French threat, to the terms of the Peace of Bagnolo.
78. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti,22, fol.75v, 4 July.
79. ASMi, SPE,95, 18 February.
80. ASVen, SS, 32, fol. 16v, Pietro Foscari to Francesco Foscari, 7 March.
81. *ibid.*, fols. 34v-35r, Senate to cardinals, 5 May; 43r-v, Senate to cardinals, 25 May.
82. Gherardi, op.cit., p.136
83. ASVen, SS, 32, fols. 84v-85r, Senate to cardinals, 19 August.
84. Pastor, V, pp.235-6.
85. *ibid.*, p.235.  
A biography of Arlotti (1422-1508) may be found in DBI,4, pp.215-16. Marco Barbo made mention of him as "Maestro Bonfrancesco da Reggio" in a letter to Ercole d' Este, dated 5 November 1471 : ASMo, Carteggio principi esteri, Roma, b. 1329/41. Of the three names mentioned by

Arlotti, Costa was obviously the Cardinal of Lisbon and Piccolomini the future Pius III, while Juan Moles was too short-lived a cardinal to have made any enemies - promoted 15 November 1483, d. 21 November 1484.

86. Political considerations effectively outweigh Gualdo's piety argument : DBI,6, p.250.
87. ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancellaria Estero, Carteggio degli ambasciatori, Italia-Roma, b.4, 1 September.
88. ASVen, SS,32, fol. 91 r-v, Senate to Cardinal da Costa, 16 September; to the Venetian cardinals, Giuliano della Rovere and Stefano Teleazio, all 17 September.
89. During the Winter of 1486-7, Marco Barbo played an active part in negotiating the Cibò-Medici nuptials. Il carteggio, p.141.
90. The ambassadors received their commission on 9 May 1485 : ASVen, SS,32, fols. 146r-147v. Loredan had previously been a conspicuously undiplomatic ambassador to the French court, where he incurred the wrath of Cardinal Elias de Bourdeille, Archbishop of Tours, as Lorenzi related to Barbo on 3 September 1483 : "Ex Francia sunt littere ad d.num Matiscon. (Philibert Hugonet, Bishop of Macon) quod orator noster ab episcopo Thuronen. de ecclesia, etiam per vim, cum exire nollet, pulsus fuerat, quodque a rege mundum auditus fuerat; et ne civitas esset interdicta, data fuit ei domuncula parva extra muros Thuronen." Il carteggio, p. 95.
91. ASVen, SS,32, fol. 98v, Francesco Foscari to Pietro Foscari, 5 October.
92. Ascanio Maria Sforza to Lodovico Sforza : ASMi, SPE,96, 13 October.
93. ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancellaria Estero, Carteggio degli ambasciatori, Italia-Roma, b.4, 8 October.
94. P. Litta, Famiglie celebre d'Italia, vol. V., Pico della Mirandola.
95. ASMi, SPE,96, 14 October.
96. G. Zippel, ed., "La morte di Marco Barbo cardinale", p.203.
97. Il carteggio, p.9.
98. Bertolà, op.cit.
99. ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancellaria Estero, Carteggio degli ambasciatori, Italia-Roma, b.4, 27 November.
100. ASVen, SS,32, fol. 115r-v, Senate to the cardinals, 10 December.
101. ibid., Senate to Innocent, 11 January 1485.
102. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti,22, fol. 137r.
103. ASMi, SPE,97, 14 and 30 January.

104. Predelli, op.cit., p.296, no.84, 28 February. For his pains, Colleoni became Bishop of Cervia the following December.
105. Commission to Bragadin, Diedo, Bembo and Loredan : ASVen, SS, 32, fols. 146r-147v, 9 May.
106. Cenci, op. cit., pp. 417-19.
107. Two series of published documents chart these two threads in Innocent's policy : E. Carusi, Dispacci e lettere di Giacomo Gherardi, Studi e Testi 21 (Rome, 1909); F. Gaeta, "Origine e sviluppo della rappresentanza stabile pontificia a Venezia (1485-1533)", Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea, ix-x (1957-58).
108. Pastor, V, Book 1, chapter II.
109. Michiel's appointment, 5 June 1486 : Burchard, op.cit., p.155. See also below, chapter four, n.78.
110. Il carteggio, pp. 101-41.
111. To be developed in chapters four and five.
112. Cenci, op.cit., pp.421-2. With regard to the Signoria's ambitions for Girolamo Lando, numerous sources might be cited. Let one appeal stand for many; the commission of the ambassadors Sebastiano Badoer and Bernardo Bembo : ASVen, SS, 33, fols. 125v-127r, 2 November 1487.
113. ASVen, SS, 32, fols. 174v-175r, 29 September; SS, 33, fols. 50v-51r, 29 October. Both Senate to Loredan.
114. See below, chapter six, n.41.
115. Vinceguerra's commission : ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 23, fol. 89r-v, 7 November.
116. Pastor, V, pp. 334-5.
117. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 23, fols. 99r-100r, 20 December. Michiel was given fifteen days in which to renounce the bishopric before the penalties came into force.
118. The text of this agreement may be found in Predelli, op.cit., pp. 303-4, no.115.
119. ASVen, SS, 33, fol. 66r, 6 February 1487 records the concessions over Marco Barbo at Pontida and Giuliano della Rovere at Crema, while also dealing with appointments to the bishoprics of Parenzo and Chioggia. Barozzi's transfer from Belluno to Padua : ASV, Reg. Lat., 854, fols. 325v-326v, 14 March. Michiel's agreement to terms relating to the Paduan and Veronese bishoprics is recorded in ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 23, fol. 121v, 21 March.

120. See Appendix A, below.
121. Eubel, II, p.21
122. Niccolò Franco's dispatches and Innocent's instructions to the nuncio also contain periodic references to the Venetian cardinals, whose activities were evidently known in Venice, even if they were not required to assume diplomatic functions. For examples see F. Gaeta, *op.cit.*, pp.67-8 (Innocent to Franco, 11 January 1486), 72-3 (Innocent to Franco, 7 March 1486), 93 (Innocent to Franco, 3 November 1489). Among many letters which might be considered worthy of note is that to Franco, dated 8 June 1490 : "Rev.me domine, questo risponde el N. S. a le lettere del tre del presente, videntet et ch'el Turco era exito a dì 8 del passato cum vele 150, et questo ge havea dicto l'orator; et più, che S. Marco havea prestatato 30 milia ducati a la Signoria et dicease ch'el andava in Mar Mazor verso Capha ..." (Gaeta, p.113). Barbo's allegiance to Venice could hardly have been more clearly stated.
123. ASVen, SS, 33, fol. 133r, 19 January 1488.
124. *ibid.*, fols. 142v-143r, Senate to Badoer and Bembo, 28 April.
125. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 24, fol. 60r, 23 September.
126. Senate to Badoer and Bembo : ASVen, SS, 33, fol. 166r-v, 28 September.
127. King, *op.cit.*, pp. 409-10.
128. Senate to Trevisan : ASVen, SS, 34, fol. 59v, 18 December 1489.
129. Ten to Barbaro : ASVen, Cons.X, Misti, 24, fol. 207v, 20 August 1490. At least a portion of Djem's story is covered by L. Balletto, "Sisto IV e Gem Sultano", Atti e Memorie della Società Savonese di Storia Patria, n.s. XXV (1989), pp.153-70 (L'età dei Della Rovere, vol.2).
130. Pastor V, pp. 297 seq.
131. For Chiericati as a familiar, see chapter five, below.
132. Ten to Barbaro : ASVen, Cons. X, Misti, 24, fol. 221r-v, 23 September 1490.
133. ASVen, SS, 34, fols. 94v-95r, 23 December 1490; fol. 96r-v, 22 January 1491. Both to Barbaro. Senate to Barbo : fol. 96v.
134. The theory that Innocent was acting in accordance with Marco Barbo's will is advanced by Paschini, "Tre illustri prelati del Rinascimento : Ermolao Barbaro, Adriano Castellesi, Giovanni Grimani", Lateranum, n.s. XXIII (1957), pp.18 seq. While there is no decisive evidence to prove Paschini wrong, would Barbo really have subordinated the position to the man in such a fashion or consciously have caused further disharmony between Venice and Rome? Picotti's theory, cited by Paschini, rests upon a letter of Barbaro to Poliziano, dated 31 March 1491 : "Every day I am in greater debt to Lorenzo, my prince no less than yours, for his great and numerous benefits. He knows it. I am in

danger of appearing ungrateful and barbarous at such an accumulation of his favours towards me'.

135. All of which is charted by Paschini in "Tre illustri prelati". For the proba, see Cenci, op.cit., pp.425-7. The other candidates were : Leonardo Contarini, Girolamo Trevisan, Benedetto Soranzo, Alvise Diedo. Bernardo de' Rossi, Santo Venier, Lorenzo Gabriel, Andrea Pisani, Francesco de Molin, Sebastiano de' Priuli, Pietro Dandolo, Girolamo Lando, Niccolò Lippomano, Pietro Dolfin, Francesco Marcello, Girolamo Loredan, Luca Viaro, Giovanni Barbo, Andrea Mocenigo and Paolo Zane.
136. Il carteggio, p.213, Lorenzi to Barbo, 3 October 1490.
137. Pastor, V, pp.375 seq. provide one account of the complex manoeuvres and counter-manoevres which preceded and characterised the conclave; quite another is that of F. La Torre, Del conclave di Alessandro VI Papa Borgia (Florence, 1933).
138. With regard to voting patterns, more will be said of this conclave in chapter five.

#### 4. RESPONSIBILITY AND REMUNERATION

From Venetians who happened to be cardinals, the emphasis shifts to cardinals who happened to be Venetians. In this chapter, the Roman careers of Cardinals Barbo, Foscarelli, Michiel and Zeno will be assessed in terms of curial involvement and the undertaking of extraordinary responsibilities - legations, service on commissions, protectorships of religious orders - paralleled by a tentative consideration of their financial circumstances. Higher duties demanded greater privileges, the cardinalatial dignity justifying the accumulation of worldly treasures through the holding of multiple benefices. This combination of major and minor benefices, any ecclesiastic's principal source of income, with extraordinary responsibilities, acts as a barometer of a cardinal's proximity to and favour with the reigning pontiff. Equally, the available information may be assessed to determine the four cardinals' differing personal circumstances and how their fortunes changed in response to wider events in the course of the two pontificates.

The sources of income available to and exploited by quattrocento cardinals were numerous, the most lucrative being from their assortment of major and minor benefices, ranging from title churches, patriarchates, archbishoprics and bishoprics to abbeys and parishes, all of which could be held "in administration" or "in commendam" when not held outright - an easily circumvented abuse inherently contradicted in the titles perpetual administrator or commendatory.<sup>1</sup> Beyond benefices, curial cardinals valued highly those portions of papal revenue to which they were entitled, particularly the common-service taxes ("servitiae") exacted from senior clerics on the occasion of their provision, confirmation or translation to a benefice by pope and cardinals in consistory, and assessed at one-third of the benefice's annual income.

The same cardinals were themselves exempt from the first year's common and petty services required of all others. Consistories also offered the possibility of receiving "gifts" in return for proposing candidates to vacant benefices, a practice to be viewed from different angles in this and the following chapter. Legates and commissioners received expenses appropriate to their needs. As far as income is concerned, the picture must remain incomplete without knowledge of private means, pensions from secular powers interested in maintaining eyes, ears and a voice in the Senate of the Church and, above all, the "precarious structure of credit" upon which most cardinals relied to support their increasingly luxurious lifestyles and often extensive patronage responsibilities. The identity of extracurial paymasters can only be inferred. As indications of favour and political significance, half the evidence is better than none.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter concludes with a section on wills and testaments. The varied material fortunes of the Venetian contingent may be glimpsed in the contrast between the reduced circumstances discovered by Marco Barbo's executors in 1491 and the near fabulous wealth left by Battista Zeno a decade later. Chapters five and six will address matters of expenditure in terms of household and cultural patronage. As with political profiles in chapters two and three, so here with curial involvement and its rewards, this study offers an opportunity to assess the relative fortunes of four contemporaries of similar origins. Circumstances varied considerably within the Sacred College : a particular cardinal might spend his entire career at Rome, yet rarely merit a mention in high-profile diaries or ambassadorial dispatches; another, such as Giuliano della Rovere, might spend substantial periods away from the Curia with no loss to his reputation. What bearing did a Venetian

cardinal's relationship with the Republic have on his position at the Curia and with the benefice-dispensing pontiffs? Did the pope judge him primarily as a Venetian or as a cardinal?

Marco Barbo owed his successive promotions to Treviso, Vicenza and Aquileia directly or indirectly to the patronage of Pietro Barbo/Paul II. Each was more lucrative than the last, Treviso worth 450 Cameral gold florins in common-service tax (one third of the bishopric's annual income), Vicenza 1,000 florins and Aquileia 10,000 florins.<sup>3</sup> The full amount due to him from Aquileia may not have reached the cardinal's coffers, the "usurping" Venetians possibly diverting legitimate income.<sup>4</sup> To Paul, Barbo also owed his titular church of S.Marco which, like all titular churches, yielded further income, albeit not remarkably substantial. To this list, Sixtus added only the suburbicarian bishopric of Palestrina on 6 November 1478, following the death of Cardinal Angelo Capranica (3 July 1478) and held concurrently with Aquileia until Barbo's death. A second titular church, S.Balbina, was granted by Innocent, 30 December 1485, that title having been vacant since 1479.<sup>5</sup> No further major benefices were granted to Barbo after Palestrina. Was this a conscious effort to avoid the worst excesses of pluralism and its inevitable obverse non-residence, or an effective break deliberately placed on the career of a man for whom there could be but one further distinction on earth, the papal tiara? A simpler and more practical explanation is that there was a limited number of benefices available for an ever increasing number of cardinals and those of the Della Rovere, Riario and Cibò families naturally had first refusal, and refused nothing.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, a survey of Cardinal Zeno's career reveals that the majority of his appointments to bishoprics and titular churches took place before

Paul II's death. Thus, his first appearance in the Sacred College was as Cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Porticu, the title by which he continued to be known even after becoming Cardinal-priest of S. Anastasia in 1470 (by 1480, this title had passed to Paolo Campofregoso of Genoa). The bishopric of Vicenza was, of course, a third major gift from Pope Paul (18 March 1471). Zeno succeeded Jacopo Ammannati as Cardinal-Bishop of Tusculum on 8 October 1479 and became Bishop of Frascati in 1483, but received no significant preferments from either Innocent or Alexander.<sup>7</sup>

The pattern varies considerably with Giovanni Michiel, Cardinal-deacon of S. Lucia in Septemsoliis and Bishop of Verona (worth 1,200 Cameral gold florins in common services) before his uncle's death. Sixtus transferred him first to the title church of S. Angelo, thus providing him with the title by which he was best known, and to S. Marcello in 1479, again due to Ammannati's decease.<sup>8</sup> Michiel also administered the bishopric of Dol during the vacancy which followed the death of Cardinal Alain de Coëtivy on 3 May 1474, the French diocese being worth 4,000 florins.<sup>9</sup> The contrast with Zeno was most apparent under Innocent, who vigorously maintained Michiel's claim to the see of Padua for eighteen months, in the face of tenacious Venetian opposition, and subsequently promoted him to Albano and Palestrina. One of Alexander VI's first appointments was the transfer of Michiel yet again, to the bishopric of Porto, previously held by the Borgia cardinal himself (31 August 1492). Finally, in 1497, Michiel was granted the patriarchate of Constantinople in partibus, then yielding but a fraction of the income which Bessarion had gleaned from it in the 1460s. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that Cardinal Michiel was in a position to amass a considerable fortune from these benefices alone though, as in all the cases reviewed

here, there is no means of gauging the proportion of the total actually at his disposal.

Though at their deaths Zeno and Michiel were among the richest members of the Sacred College, they ranked among the "cardinales pauperes" in the early 1470s. As much speculation exists about the income of a poor cardinal as of a rich one or, indeed, a hypothetical one of average means. In the early cinquecento, Paolo Cortesi considered 12,000 ducats per annum a reasonable maximum, though reform commissions in 1493 and 1523 recommended 6,000 ducats, while Cardinal Costa suggested between 3,000 and 4,000 ducats in 1497.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the most pertinent figure is that presented in the election capitulation of 1471: "... quod providebit de centum florenis Camerae Apostolicae omni mense cuilibet Cardinali non habenti integre de beneficiis et capello quatuor millia florenorum quousque ei provisum sit de dicta summa in reditione et quod Cardinales omnes habentes quaecumque beneficia etiam incompatibilia in titulum, vel in commendam manutenebit, et defendet in possessione eorum"<sup>11</sup>

From September 1471 Zeno and Michiel appear to have fallen into this category, as the Apostolic Camera made the stipulated monthly payments to them from that point until December 1476 (Zeno) and June 1477 (Michiel), the last two being backdated to August 1476. As a rule, these payments were for exactly 100 florins in accordance with the capitulation, though the figure rose to 104 florins and 12 baiocchi during 1472 and again from July 1475 onwards. This must surely have been compensation for their loss of income from Vicenza and Verona. The Council of Ten's decision to withhold Zeno's entire Veneto income was passed on 5 September 1471. The first Cameral payment to him took place eleven days later, three days after that to his presumed accomplice, Michiel. The Camera was frequently tardy in keeping to this monthly commitment and over the sixty month period

Zeno lost as much as 300 florins to which he was entitled, and Michiel perhaps 600. Alternatively, their total income may have risen over the 4,000 florin threshold on occasions. Although this source officially dried up in 1476 and the restoration of their Vicentine and Veronese income was not finally granted by the Ten until February 1477, the coincidence is sufficient to be interpreted as a case of cause and effect.<sup>12</sup>

As related in the previous chapter, Cardinal Michiel's entire Veneto income, including that from Verona and Padua, was threatened with confiscation in December 1486. If this measure was put into effect, it cannot have applied for more than a few weeks, until Michiel's renunciation of Padua early in 1487. The cardinal's circumstances were not so far reduced as to make him eligible for Cameral compensation.<sup>13</sup>

In comparison with Barbo, Michiel and Zeno, the relevant sources contain few references to Pietro Foscari as a recipient of benefices or other forms of income, even allowing for the fact that he was a member of the College of Cardinals for less than eight years, while the others enjoyed that distinction for at least twenty-four years and at most thirty-six. Owing to the large number of Sistine creations, the little known and since demolished church of S. Niccolò inter imagines was employed as a title church for the first time, the only one to which Foscari was assigned.<sup>14</sup> Apart from his short-lived and problematic tenure at Treviso in 1455, Foscari's episcopal debut did not occur until 1478, when he was permitted to administer the relatively poor diocese of Spalato (Split) in Dalmatia, between Zanetto da Udine's transfer to Treviso and the arrival of the Benedictine Bartolomeo Averoldi in September 1479. Even so, it seems that Spalato was not conceded in recognition of Foscari's talents or to enable him to live in the manner appropriate to a cardinal, but as a response to straightened circumstances. Sixtus acknowledged the need to

sustain the cardinal's honour and dignity, as was conventional, but also stressed that Foscari's "many and great expenses" had put him in debt to his brother, friends and other unnamed persons to the tune of seven thousand florins.<sup>15</sup> While favoured Sistine nipoti could wallow in scandalous luxury at the expense of the Church, the Venetian protégé reluctantly accepted into the Sacred College was granted inadequate resources at the eleventh hour. Foscari's only other bishopric was Padua, held from April 1481 until his death, though again only as a temporary administrator.<sup>16</sup> The vacancy there occurring only a year after the negotiation and signing of the Papal-Venetian league, Sixtus was no longer in a position to disregard the Signoria's appeals for benefices on the cardinal's behalf.

Pietro Foscari's meagre number of benefices, whether major or minor, distinguished him not only from the other Venetians but also from the well-beneficed majority of his contemporaries in the Sacred College. A couple of possible explanations present themselves, both intimately connected with Foscari's universally acknowledged rôle as the Cardinal of Venice. Most obviously, he complied with strict Signorial preferences on the matter of pluralism; a consideration which the Senate itself appeared to overlook when making applications on the cardinal's behalf in August 1480.<sup>17</sup> The other three Venetians, perhaps particularly Giovanni Michiel, had no qualms of conscience on this account. More subtly, it was in Venice's interest - and therefore Foscari's - to maintain a low public profile at Rome, the better to procure information and to sustain the crucial connection with Riario. Had the nipote persuaded Sixtus to show an overt display of favour in terms of lucrative benefices, this might have provoked resentment on the part of cardinals representing the other Italian powers, suspicious as they were of Venice,

and, ultimately, have proved counter-productive.

Table VII is an attempt to list the minor benefices and benefice-linked pensions held by the four Venetians, the dates on which they were received and resigned, and their value to the commendatory. His value to them was one of prestige, curial connections and perhaps, depending on the cardinal in question, an impetus to reform. The incomplete appearance of Table VII serves to illustrate the futility of setting oneself the task of calculating the income of a cardinal with any hope or pretence of precision. What it can do is to make suggestions and inferences based on the quantity of benefices recorded, their chronological and geographical distribution. Inevitably, these tend to follow the patterns charted above with regard to major benefices as reflections of pontifical favour.

Prior to 1471, Marco Barbo's fortunes were again perceptibly bound up with those of Pietro Barbo, receipt of his first benefice more or less coinciding with his appearance in the cardinal's household.<sup>18</sup> A cluster of others followed in close succession when Marco entered Pope Paul's close confidence after Teodoro Lelli's death.<sup>19</sup> Paschini notes that Sixtus exhibited "una certa freddezza" towards Barbo from the beginning of his pontificate, a feeling which found expression in the fact that the cardinal did not become a regular recipient of minor benefices until 1475.<sup>20</sup> The rise of the Ligurians and the central European legation also played their parts in the early 1470s. Thereafter, grants were sporadic and determined by location and the identity of the previous beneficiary rather than by genuine favour on the part of the Della Rovere pontiff. A spate of minor benefices augmented Barbo's income during the first year or so of Innocent's pontificate, reflecting

TABLE VII : Minor Benefices

<u>Benefice (with diocese)</u>	<u>Acquired</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Value p.a. in florins</u>
Benedictine monastery, S. Pietro (Ossero)	17.11.52	18. 6.54	up to 200
Monastery, SS. Sergio e Bacco (Scutari)	April 1453		100
" " "	18. 8.69		"
Abbey, S. Pietro, Rosazzo (Aquileia)	31.10.53		
Canonry (Padua)	26. 7.54		
Monastery, SS. Severo e Martino (Orvieto)	22.10.67		
Benedictine monastery, S. Giovanni Battista (Traù)	16. 7.68		
Cistercian monastery, S. Spirito (Palermo)	7.11.68		up to 600
Archdeaconry and canonry (Langres)	27.12.73		
Archdeaconry and canonry (Béziers)	8. 1.74		
Benedictine monastery, S. Lorenzo, Chianisolis (Ossero)	13. 4.75		up to 210
Canonry (Trento)	27.10.75		} 100 ducats
Canonry (Zara)	27.10.75		
Canonry (Cividale)	27.10.75		
Benedictine monastery, S. Spirito (Ravenna)	2. 5.76	6. 3.91	300
Augustinian priory, S. Michele, Comolo (Brescia)	2. 5.76	25.11.77	250
Benedictine monastery, S. Croce, Sassovivo (Foligno)	24. 7.76		
Abbey, S. Niccolò (Osimo)	30.11.78	1488	
Archdeaconry, Piove di Sacco (Padua)	25. 6.79		60
Canonry (Treviso)	25. 6.79	11. 4.80	30
Canonry, S. Martino d'Este (Padua)	25. 6.79		26

TABLE VII cont.

Parish, Vigodarzere (Padua)	25. 6.79		18
Parish, S. Bonifacio (Vicenza)	25. 6.79		6
Parish, Zero (Treviso)	25. 6.79		8
Pension (Dol)	pre-1481		500
Canonry, (Foligno)	22.11.82		
Canonry, S. Salvatore (Foligno)	22.11.82		
S. Marino (Foligno)	22.11.82		
S. Apollinare di Carpello (Foligno)	22.11.82		
Provostship, S. Croce (Padua)	27. 3.84	4.1.86	300
Benedictine monastery, S. Angelo, Rosario, (Foligno)	1.10.84		
Cluniac priory, S. Giacomo, Pontida (Brescia)	15. 2.85	1490	1,200
Cistercian monastery, S. Maria, Sanavalle (Ceneda)		18. 7.85	
Benedictine monastery, SS. Cosma e Damiano (Zara)	21. 8.85		200
Cistercian monastery, S. Maria, Summaga (Concordia)	18.10.85		
Parish, S. Giacomo, Odera ( ? )		14. 3.86	
Perpetual vicariate, St. Martin, Heilingenstadt (Mainz)		14. 3.86	

b. Foscari

<u>Benefice (with diocese)</u>	<u>Acquired</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Value p.a. in florins</u>
Primicerio of S. Marco (Venice)	1.7.48	? 1477	
Benedictine monastery, Leno (Brescia)	4.11.80	Aug. 1485	
Cistercian monastery, S. Maria, Summaga (Concordia)		Aug. 1485	
Benedictine monastery, SS. Cosma e Damiano (Zara)		Aug. 1485	200

TABLE VII cont.

c. Michiel

<u>Benefice (with diocese)</u>	<u>Acquired</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Value p.a. in florins</u>
Canonry (Padua)	1458		
Archdeaconry (Constance)	1466		
Abbey, Altamura (Benevento)	30.10.72		150
Benedictine monastery, S. Giovanni, Tyano (Drivasto)	26.11.73		
Benedictine monastery (Geneva)	5.12.73		300
Abbey, S. Giovanni, Stialio (Drivasto)	5. 9.76		
Canonry and prebendry, S. Michele, Trino (Casale)	20.11.76		
Pension (Quimper)	9. 4.79		1,000
Archdeaconry, Piove di Sacco (Padua)		25. 6.79	60
Canonry, (Treviso)		25. 6.79	30
Canonry, S. Martino d'Este (Padua)		25. 6.79	26
Parish, Vigodarzere (Padua)		25. 6.79	18
Parish, S. Bonifacio (Vicenza)		25. 6.79	6
Parish, Zero (Treviso)		25. 6.79	8
S. Felice (Ragusa)	4. 7.82		
Benedictine monastery, S. Trinità (Verona)	24. 9.84		500
Monastery, St. Pierre (Besançon)	15. 9.85		
Augustinian priory, S. Giovanni (Vicenza)	17.11.85		
various (Padua)	1.12.85		180
S. Giuliano (Venice)	11. 9.87		600
Priory, S. Spirito (? Pistoia)	15. 8.88		40
S. Marco de Bysantino, Montechiaro (Asti)	7.12.89		100

TABLE VII cont.

d. Zeno

<u>Benefice (with diocese)</u>	<u>Acquired</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Value p.a. in florins</u>
Camaldolese abbey, Urano (Bertinoro)	at least 1461	1501	
S. Stefano, Carrara (Padua)			
S. Eustachio, Nervesa (Treviso)			
Cistercian monastery (Geneva)	8. 6.72		
Pension (Pamplona)	7.12.72		1,000
Benedictine monastery, St. Martin, Vertou (Nantes)	3.10.74		
Pension (Nona)	30.10.81		
Benedictine monastery, S. Zeno (Verona)	29. 8.84		2,000 + ducats
Benedictine monastery, S. Giovanni (Palermo)	9.11.84		
Priory, S. Trinità, Ladelis (Mazzara)	21.11.84		500
Vicar, St. Peter's basilica (Rome)	21.11.84		
Benedictine monastery ("Butturiam dioc.")	22.12.84		
Benedictine monastery (Rouen)	26.12.84		
Priory, S. Lorenzo, Rabatta (Perugia)	16.10.85		
Pension, Benedictine monastery (Nantes)	21. 3.86		100
Camaldolese monastery (Crema)	1488	1496	
Canonry (Florence)	30. 4.89		
Canonry (Le Puy)	27. 3.90		100
Benedictine monastery, S. Spirito (Ravenna)	6. 3.91	? 2. 2.92	
Camaldolese monastery, S. Maria delle Carceri (Padua)	1. 9.92		
Canonry (Padua)	26. 6.93	1499	

the trust placed in him by the new pope and contrasting with the comparatively - and perhaps predictably - lean period of the early 1480s. With this phase, acquisitions ceased and Barbo's concern rested increasingly on maintaining his authority over these scattered domains, endeavouring to extract from them all the revenue to which he was entitled. It can be no coincidence that this policy was applied with particular vigour with regard to the Cistercian monastery of S. Spirito near Palermo, the Dol pension, the canonry at Langres and, above, all, to the Cluniac priory of S. Giacomo at Pontida, diocese of Bergamo, the most lucrative of the cardinal's minor benefices for which monetary information survives. Was this concern compatible with the image of a saintly prelate preferring to be untrammelled by worldly preoccupations? Perhaps rather one should see the said prelate championing ecclesiastical liberty in the face of secular encroachment, a phenomenon most apparent at Pontida.

Again following the pattern set by major benefices, more than half of Barbo's lesser benefices were located in Venetian-held territories, whether in the Veneto, Friuli or along the Dalmatian coast. The choice of Barbo as a commendatory evidently met with Signorial approval. Equally, despite his widespread interests, Sixtus and Innocent continued to identify Cardinal Barbo primarily with Venice. Thereafter, the largest geographical grouping of his benefices was in the States of the Church, with a handful of others scattered throughout other regions of Italy. In contrast to the likes of Giuliano della Rovere, Barbo received comparatively little ultramontane income, the only such sources being the archdeaconries and canonries at Langres and Béziers, the 500 florin Dol pension and the perpetual vicariate at Heilingenstadt.<sup>21</sup> It would appear that the cardinal preferred to concentrate his interests in areas where

he maintained regular contacts, such as Angelo Fasolo at Aquileia or Andreolo di S. Vito, papal collector in the Veneto.<sup>22</sup> Another nucleus of benefices became established in the diocese of Foligno. To the Benedictine monastery of S. Croce at Sassovivo were added the four benefices previously held by the late Giovanni Lazari, Barbo's "familiaris continuus commensalis". This concentration expanded yet further in 1484 when Innocent provided Barbo to the Benedictine foundation of S. Angelo de Rosario.<sup>23</sup>

Paolo Cortesi would later emphasise the importance of keeping one's familiars supplied with good benefices, to retain their loyalty and augment one's own prestige. There were additional benefits to be gained by the patron, in that the benefices of a deceased familiar frequently reverted to him. The otherwise unknown Giovanni Lazari of Foligno provides a case in point. Other examples of this procedure occurred at Langres and Béziers, Barbo's receipt of the benefices there being occasioned by the death of "Pietro Warnerio", scriptor in the Apostolic Penitentiary and a former member of Paul II's household, who probably transferred his service and allegiance to Cardinal Barbo on that pope's death.

The practice of renunciation to friends, kinsmen or clients can be well observed in the case of the Augustinian priory of S. Michele di Comolo, diocese of Brescia, made vacant by the death of Cardinal Bartolomeo Roverella, that friend of Venice, and which was subsequently renounced by Barbo in favour of his fellow Venetian Andrea Mocenigo, after only eighteen months' tenure.<sup>24</sup> An exclusively Venetian line of succession laid claim to the provostship of S. Croce, diocese of Padua. Granted to Marco Barbo in March 1484 following the death of Vittore Marcello, Archbishop of Nicosia, the appointment was disputed by Lorenzo Gabriel, then

Bishop-elect of Bergamo, who claimed the post and its pension of 300 Cameral gold florins for his own. Innocent duly upheld Barbo's claim, permitting the cardinal to retain the income from the day of his appointment until that of his resignation of the provostship to Cristoforo Marcello, with whose family the Barbo had long and close ties of friendship.<sup>25</sup> Direct or indirect acquisitions from other cardinals also exhibited a predominantly Venetian strain. The six decidedly minor benefices (all in the Veneto) which Barbo received on 25 July 1479 had all been renounced by Giovanni Michiel, while the monasteries of SS. Cosma e Damiano (diocese of Zara, where Barbo's friend Maffeo Valleresso was bishop from 1450 to 1496) and Summaga (Concordia) came to him following Foscari's death.<sup>26</sup> The Trevisan canonry which formed part of the Michiel inheritance was passed on to Barbo's familiar Francesco Sartori, as early as 11 April 1480.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, the commendata of the Benedictine foundation of S. Spirito at Ravenna was held successively by Cardinals Roverella, Barbo and Zeno; while the monastery of S. Croce at Sassovivo, diocese of Foligno, the scene of much reforming activity instigated by Barbo, came to him from Cardinal Filippo Calandrini.<sup>28</sup> This horsetrading in minor benefices being so fluid, any convenient calculations of income are yet further confused.<sup>29</sup>

The geographical distribution of Barbo's benefices between Venetian and non-Venetian territories more or less mirrored his semi-detached relationship with the Republic. Nevertheless, in defending his interests and those of the Church (surely one and the same) his sense of the rights of a cardinal-commendatory were untempered by any Venetian sentiment and, in the case of Pontida, aroused positive antagonism towards his patria. Paschini's collection of letters and bulls graphically charts the entire

saga, permitting the merest sketch here.<sup>30</sup> At issue was far more than the 1,200 Cameral gold florins per annum to which the commendatory was entitled, though that in itself was not insignificant. Access to these fruits was hotly disputed by the Signoria, on the basis that Pontida had been "without doubt united to our church of S. Marco" following the death on 15th February 1485 of Sixtus's appointee, Zanetto da Udine, Bishop of Treviso. The Senate had informed the Venetian cardinals of its intention to effect that union, but Innocent ignored such arguments and appointed Barbo to the vacancy on the very day that the bishop breathed his last. As with Padua later that year and Aquileia in 1491, Innocent's decision must be regarded as precipitate, more or less coinciding as it did with the lifting of the Interdict and a general thaw in relations along the Rome-Venice axis. In the confusion which followed, it is impossible to say how much of that income found its way into the cardinal's exchequer; perhaps only as much as he could claim in person during his residence at Pontida in August and September 1487.<sup>32</sup> Although Innocent published a bull on 11 October that year (after summoning Barbo to Rome on 7 September) which conceded a union with the basilica on the occasion of the cardinal's death or cession of the priory, the dilemma was eventually resolved by a compromise suggested by Barbo in 1490; that his renunciation should be in favour of the Congregation of S. Giustina, with the Republic receiving compensation in the form of an annual payment of 500 ducats from the benefice and the presentation of a candle to S. Marco.<sup>33</sup> Herein, the influence of Lodovico Barbo might be said to be at work.

Meanwhile, the sizeable pensions from Dol and Langres provided cause for concern throughout the period covered by the Barbo-Lorenzi letters. In 1481, Barbo expressed a wish to exchange the Dol pension for an unnamed

benefice, but was still nominally in receipt of it in September 1490.<sup>34</sup>

In October 1485, Lorenzi related to the cardinal an encounter with Pierre de Chaffault, Bishop of Nantes, concerning payment from Langres.<sup>35</sup> Chaffault's successor, Robert de Spiney, inherited the cardinal's concerns. In October 1489, Barbo requested Lorenzi to enlist the support of Cardinal Balue of Angers : "Pro Deo pensionem gallicam posteaquam cum magna iustificatione importune etiam sollicitari potest, sollicita; precipue cum R.mo communi domino Andegaven. ad cuius R.me dominationis instantiam illi donavi ultra ducatos ducentos, de quinquaginta remissis ut nosti, belli tempore et immoderata sollicitudo nunc Nanetenis (Spiney) potissima causa fuit; modo nihil vel parum curat rem meam cum tamen habuerit me non alienum in rebus suis; quod a bono et grato prelato alienum est."<sup>36</sup>

Epistolary references to S. Spirito at Palermo might serve equally well as a case study of Barbo's constant preoccupation with the difficulties he experienced in extracting legitimate income and the need to impose his authority by means of a network of contacts and representatives.<sup>37</sup>

All suggest that nominal and actual income were clean separate things.

A geographical survey of Cardinal Zeno's minor benefices reveals a decided bias against Venice and the Veneto, at least until the 1480s. In addition to Cameral compensation between 1471 and 1477, Sixtus provided the cardinal with pensions and benefices at a diplomatic distance from Venice, one of the first of which was an annual pension of 1,000 florins from the diocese of Pamplona (7 December 1472).<sup>38</sup> Another was the commenda of a Benedictine monastery in the diocese of Nantes, formerly held by Cardinal Alain de Coëtivy.<sup>39</sup> Innocent confirmed the cardinal in possession of all his benefices within a month of the 1484 conclave and augmented the list with a steady stream of minor benefices between then and 1492, the majority of which were conferred in 1484 and '85, which

period also witnessed his most prestigious appointment, as "vicar" of St. Peter's basilica.<sup>40</sup> The French connection endured at Rouen, Nantes and Le Puy, though the majority of Zeno's benefices were Italian, albeit subject to no particular regional pattern beyond a well-founded wariness of Venice.<sup>41</sup> Nor have any patterns emerged with regard to renunciations either to or by Zeno, though the Camaldolese abbey at Crema was renounced in favour of S. Giustina in 1496, after the cardinal's retreat to the Veneto.<sup>42</sup> Otherwise, the absence of such information prompts unfounded speculation about the neglect of familiars and reasons for the disparity between the fortunes of Cardinals Zeno and Barbo.

From 1484, Zeno's fortune was notably augmented by income from the immensely wealthy, unreformed abbey of S. Zeno at Verona.<sup>43</sup> The cardinal's sights were firmly set on this commenda from at least 1481, an ambition which brought him into yet further conflict with the Republic. In August of that year, Francesco Diedo, recently installed as Venetian ambassador to the Holy See, negotiated with Sixtus for the reservation of S. Zeno for Doge Giovanni Mocenigo's nephew.<sup>44</sup> Speculation about the identity of Giacomo Surian's successor as abbot provided a constant theme in Giovanni Lorenzi's correspondence that month, 20 August bringing news of Girolamo Riario acting on Zeno's behalf: "Heri d.us Bartholomeus d.ni Sancti Vitalis (probably Domenico della Rovere's man and frequently cited by Lorenzi at this time) fuit mecum, dixitque: Comitum Hieronymum scripsisse commendatitias litteras pro d.no Sancte Marie in Porticu ad pontificem super Abbatia Veronen.", adding "que tamen erant frigidissime et videbatur comes illis innuere quod potius ad cardinalis importunitatem scripserat quam sponte sua et misit introclusas litteras ipsius ad pontificem ..."<sup>45</sup> Surian, abbot since 1464, finally died on 3 December 1482, nine days before the pope's defection to the Neapolitan League. Writing on the 16th,

Lorenzi made the error of assuming that S. Zeno had already been conferred in commendam to Battista Zeno, by means of Riario's intervention.<sup>46</sup> Lorenzi was surely accurate when he continued, with reference to Diedo, that "noster vero orator qui Cardinali est inimicus apertus", for the Senate had instructed him on 10 December to promote the cause of the apostolic protonotary Guido Torelli to the said vacancy.<sup>47</sup> Following the death of his brother, the condottiere Amurat Torelli, and to keep his company loyal to Venice, Amurat's condotta had been transferred to Guido, whom the Senate briefly considered proposing for the cardinalate.<sup>48</sup> The name of Benedetto Soranzo was also mentioned in connection with S.Zeno. Either way, the cardinal's position was unenviable, particularly in view of the political climate then current : "Cardinalis igitur qui inter Syllam Charibdim se se coniecit et pecuniae tantum in re ambigua exposuit, nec saltem lupum, ut est in proverbio, auribus tenet, maxime dolore affligitur et moerore quodammodo tabescit."<sup>49</sup> No less ambiguous was Riario's part in these proceedings, symptomatic of his overall position in that transitional phase. A genuine expression of loyalty to Venice, regardless of papal policy, would have been to support first Mocenigo's and then Torelli's candidature. Even at the best of times, a preference for Zeno would have been a curious, if not entirely misjudged, statement of partiality for Venice. Not surprisingly, Diedo reported a negative conclusion to Senatorial claims and the matter apparently lapsed for the remainder of the pontificate.<sup>50</sup> Cardinal Zeno's ambition was eventually realised within days of Innocent's election, part of the widespread revival of Venetian fortunes at the Curia.

When surveyed chronologically, the pattern of distribution of Cardinal Michiel's benefices again reveals greater generosity on the part of Pope

Innocent during the eight years of his pontificate than was exhibited by Sixtus in his thirteen. However, in Michiel's case, the distortion was somewhat less pronounced, being the recipient of perhaps twice as many pensions and minor benefices during the years of his exclusion from Verona, as his cousin was during the same period : a reflection of Sixtus's attempts to have the two cases negotiated separately? This fount of munificence dried up between 1476 and 1482, paralleling Zeno's position. Innocent's patronage, on the other hand, was evenly spread throughout his pontificate, the first grant to Michiel coming within weeks of the conclave and, indeed, of the Peace of Bagnolo, the benefice in question being the Benedictine monastery of S. Trinità in the cardinal's own diocese of Verona.<sup>51</sup>

S. Trinità, together with other benefices located in the dioceses of Padua, Treviso, Verona and Vicenza, and other Venetian territories, serves to highlight a significant contrast between Michiel and Zeno; that the former, though still non-resident, was a more acceptable figure to the Republic.<sup>52</sup> This connection obviously waned during the Paduan controversy, though no objection was made to his receipt of S. Giuliano/S. Zulian and its 600 florins in September 1487.<sup>53</sup> One inference which might be drawn from this, and which will be explored in the following chapter with regard to familiars, is that Michiel retained more contacts with Venetians, whether in Venice itself or in Rome, thereby cushioning him from attack by the secular authorities. The vast majority of Michiel's minor benefices were located South of the Alps, with only occasional forays into France.<sup>54</sup> His limited political interests and involvements were exclusively Italian. The canonry and prebendry at S. Michele, Trino, in the diocese of Casale, were previously held by the cardinal's close associate, Baldassare de Biandrate, a native of Trino. The addition of

benefices at Montechiaro d'Asti in 1489 suggests a nucleus of interest in Piemonte, prompted by the familiar.<sup>55</sup>

Having constructed a picture, however impressionistic, of Barbo, Michiel and Zeno in receipt of income from a variety of Italian and extra-Italian benefices, the contrast with Pietro Foscari's fortunes is all too apparent. As with Spalato, what minor benefices he did hold were granted to help stave off financial ruin. Not surprisingly, the few which have been identified were all within Venetian territory. From August to October 1485, Giovanni Lorenzi kept a close eye on the monasteries at Leno, Summaga and Zara, the first of which Barbo had promised to his loyal secretary. Instead, it passed to Francesco Vittori, a canon of Padua for thirty years who had witnessed Foscari's donation of Jacopo Zen's library and was a candidate for the bishoprics of Bergamo in 1484, Treviso, Torcello and Padua in 1485. Summaga and SS. Cosma e Damiano became the preserve of Marco Barbo as Foscari's executor.<sup>56</sup>

That Cardinals Foscari and Michiel shared Barbo's difficulty in extracting or obtaining income from benefices is supported by an altercation between Giovanni Michiel and Cardinal Raffaele Sansoni-Riaro in his capacity as Camerlengo in August, 1483, as reported by Giovanni Lorenzi. The episode is unique in the carteggio for uniting the names of three of the four Venetian cardinals to a common purpose : "D.us Sancti Angeli nundum neque mandatum neque provisionem habuit, quamquam diligentissime cum d.no Camerario sollicitaverit; et, ut ipse retulit mihi, cum heri idem ageret cum ipso Camerario, respondit non esse nunc ullas pecunias ex aluminibus (i.e. Tolfa alum) nec aliunde modum esse; subiuxitque quod pontifex saepe numero dixerat se non posse adduci ut crederet quod d.ni S. Marci et Foscarus ac d.us S. Angeli non haberent introitus ex beneficiis. Cui ipse respondit : si beneficiorum redditus

haberet, nec ipse nec alii domini tanta cum indignitate eam pecuniam ab eo mendicarent, et pleraque alia in eam sententiam".<sup>57</sup> Strained communications between Rome and the Veneto presumably took their toll on the cardinals' regular income at precisely that period. Indeed, taking the careers of those three as a whole, it was their Venetian identity which determined the majority of their benefices and the very same which may well have limited their actual income.

Besides making decisions of an essentially political nature, the pope and cardinals in consistory collectively provided to vacant major benefices. Cardinals officially proposed candidates, voicing the causes of their protégés in consistory, the first stage of the complex process by which provisions took place, before abbreviators and scriptors took charge of the necessary cedulae and issued bulls of appointment. The cardinal-proposer or sponsor received a fee or propria for his pains. More will be said of individual proposals by the Venetian cardinals and the political implications thereof in chapter five. Here it is sufficient to consider this practice as a reflection of their income, relative to one another and to their contemporaries.<sup>58</sup>

According to material to be presented in the following chapter, Marco Barbo acted as a sponsor on thirty occasions between the election of Sixtus and the death of Innocent, Foscari twice, Michiel thirteen times and Zeno on eleven occasions.<sup>59</sup> While the actual instances may well have been in excess of these figures, there is no reason to doubt the relative proportions involved. During the periods of his actual residence in Rome, Barbo probably appeared in such a capacity fractionally more often than the average cardinal, though it is with more certainty that one can claim below average participation by the other three Venetians, regardless of absence on legations or, in Foscari's case, residence at Padua. The

phenomenon of papal provision replaced or reinforced election by a cathedral or monastic chapter but, by the later fifteenth century, it had become an integral part of the power politicisation of the Sacred College, with cardinals in the pay of the relevant secular powers. Obviously, Cardinal Barbo stood to gain most from this process, while Pietro Foscari was again conspicuous by his almost total lack of involvement. Were it not for the theory that he avoided public displays of favour with either Riario and the Papacy or Venice, regardless of the loss to his personal material fortune, this might be regarded as an inconsistency on Foscari's part, considering his rôle as the most politically active of the Venetian cardinals.

The cardinal-proctor or the candidate himself, if he happened to be in Rome, agreed under oath to pay common and petty services for the newly-provided benefice, within a given period, under pain of ecclesiastical censure. This applied to all benefices worth more than 100 Cameral gold florins. Common services, the larger exaction, were divided between the papal Camera and that of the College, the latter being divided again among the curial cardinals. Servitiae minutae were shared among those papal and collegiate officials involved in the production of the bull. Cardinal legates absent from Rome forfeited this income. Non-curial cardinals, such as Bouchier of Canterbury, who consistently resided "extra Curiam Romanam", and Jean de Balue during the fourteen years of his imprisonment in France prior to 1481, failed to benefit. That this system was lucrative for those cardinals who resided at Rome can be seen in the relative fortunes of, on the one hand, Cardinals d'Estouteville or Borgia and, on the other, that of Bessarion in the 1460s, the Frenchman and the Spaniard frequently present at general divisions, while the Greek was on legations to Germany and Venice. Thus, to select an

admittedly unrepresentative year, in 1461 Bessarion received only 50 florins from general divisions, while the others boasted 1,078 florins each.<sup>60</sup>

Lacking division registers for the period beyond 1470, it is impossible to reach any conclusions about the income which the Venetians derived from this source, or the dependence they may have placed upon it. For the period from November 1467 (Barbo) or December 1468 (Michiel and Zeno) until January 1470, Antonovics has calculated that all three received 598 florins p.a. from general divisions.<sup>61</sup> Further investigation reveals that, while all attended consistories and the periodic general divisions with sufficient regularity to suggest that they were consistently based in Rome throughout that period, nevertheless Barbo's name appears slightly more often than the other two, whose absences invariably occurred on the same days.<sup>62</sup>

This assessment of income, in one form or another, is unavoidably impressionistic. Even extraordinary payments to cardinals as legates or governors of cities frequently covered little more than expenses incurred in the service of the Church. Precise figures have survived in any recognisable or meaningful form in only a handful of cases, leaving the quantity and duration of lucrative posts as imperfect gauges of income, but as safer guides to a cardinal's standing at the Curia and favour with the pope.

Broadly speaking, the longer a cardinal spent in Rome, the more he would be entitled to receive in terms of propriae and general divisions, and the firmer would be his finger on the curial pulse. Appendix A - "A cardinal away from the Curia is like a fish out of water" - presents a distillation of accumulated information relating to the four Venetian cardinals' travels beyond Rome between 1471 and 1492. The effects of

prolonged absence from Rome could be offset by two means : good personal reputation when resident in the city and an effective system of communication when away. Marco Barbo possessed both. Unfortunately, the surviving documentary evidence is weighted heavily in his favour, to the detriment of his fellow Venetians, who suffered from either too close an association with Venice or antagonism towards the same. The theme of effective communications will be picked up in chapter five.

On the basis of extraordinary responsibilities, Barbo was, on balance, the most acceptable Venetian cardinal in Rome and Pietro Foscarelli the least. Barbo's legation to Germany, Hungary, Bohemia and Poland was by far the longest and most diplomatically demanding of any undertaken by the four Venetians. Indeed, his was the most difficult mission allotted to those legates dispatched in the Winter of 1471/72 for, with regard to the Turkish War, "nothing was more indispensable than the aid of Hungary, Poland and Bohemia - and these were involved in almost hopeless discord."<sup>63</sup> Besides the expenses of the journey, travelling with an appropriate entourage, Barbo's establishment at the Palazzo di S. Marco had to be maintained, albeit with necessarily reduced personnel, and the pensions of familiars paid. Financially, as well as politically, a long legation could be a disservice to a cardinal. Barbo, for instance, would have received no propriae between Pietro Barozzi's appointment to the see of Belluno, 4 September 1471, and that of Michele Orsini to Pola on 8 March 1475.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, the legation did spark off an abiding interest in transalpine affairs, resulting in at least six proposals to benefices in Germany, Poland and Hungary, strengthening the cardinal's political position in the long run, whatever damage it may have done to Venetian representation in Rome.<sup>65</sup>

The repercussions of this legation echo through the registers of the Apostolic Camera until 1479. Initially, on 15 February 1472, Barbo was granted 2,083 florins and 24 baiocchi for the journey. This was evidently insufficient, for in August 1474 a further 2,000 florins were sent across the Alps. On 18 April that year, the Camera paid out 541 florins, 48 baiocchi "In deductionem sue pensionis", followed by 1,000 florins on 24 December and a further 100 on 23 January 1474, again "In deductionem provisionis sue legationes Germanice". The Camerlengo Latino Orsini wrote to Barbo on 7 March 1475 concerning the total of 4825 florins, 61 baiocchi still outstanding to cover the cost of the legation. "Et deinde d. v. R. me receperit a depositariis eiu(s)dem camere in dicte summe ei debite deductionem, solum et dumtaxat flor .... mille", the remainder to come from a source in the March of Ancona over a period of time. In December 1476, 572 florins were subtracted from "assignamenti sibi facti super redditu Com. tis Suriani". Soriano, due East of Viterbo, was a papal fief, the income from which may have been assigned to pay off the debt to Barbo for the legation. The same figure from the same source also appears on 9 December 1477.<sup>66</sup>

After the legation, Barbo's only other known mission beyond Rome was to inspect the Adriatic coastal defences of the Patrimony in August and September 1480, an expedition remarkable for little beyond the survival of the cardinal's report on it.<sup>67</sup> If anything, Barbo was more active in papal service under Sixtus than under Innocent, though that may well have been determined by encroaching old age and incapacity. His service in the annually rotating post of camerlengo of the Sacred College in 1478 was somewhat inglorious, being punctuated by a four-month retreat from Rome in the face of the plague, during which time he entrusted his seal of office to Cardinal Pietro Ferriz, who died a month before Barbo's

return.<sup>68</sup> As a cardinal-deputy, Barbo was mentioned on three separate occasions before the War of Ferrara. In January 1475, three months after the cardinal's return from Germany, Arrivabene listed him among the deputies responsible for negotiations with the Venetian-Florentine-Milanese alliance, the others being d'Estouteville, Angelo Capranica, Eroli, Latino Orsini, Roverella, Zeno, Michiel and Gonzaga. Four years later, the Milanese ambassadors at Florence named Sixtus's peace commissioners during the Pazzi War as d'Estouteville, Nardini, Barbo, Borgia, Giuliano della Rovere, Eroli, Ammannati, Todeschini-Piccolomini, Carafa and Arcimboldi, all the senior men in the College, representing a wide spectrum of opinion. D'Estouteville, Borgia, Carafa and Barbo appear as deputies in another Milanese dispatch in June 1481.<sup>69</sup> The Venetian's next appearance in that capacity was in November 1484, along with Borgia, Carafa, Costa, Piccolomini and Savelli, though Vespucci notes Barbo's absence from their company the following 23 February. Mantuan and Ferrarese sources testify to his inclusion as a deputy in November and December 1485, responding to the Barons' War.<sup>70</sup> Although the balance of political missions was heavily weighted in favour of the Sistine pontificate, it was Innocent who selected Barbo, Michiel and Balue, all highly favoured after 1484, with the sensitive task of determining the legitimacy of the papal kinsman Nicola Bucciardo (d.1499), whom Innocent hoped to raise to the Sacred College. Bucciardo was also sponsored by Henry VII of England in 1488, but did not appear in the promotion of 9 March 1489. Nevertheless, this brief episode alone speaks volumes for the personal relationships between two of the Venetian cardinals and the Cibò pope.<sup>71</sup>

Although not Cardinal Protector of the Knights of St. John (that position was occupied successively by d'Estouteville and Borgia ...

inherent proof of its profitability?), Paul II created his Barbo nipote "gubernatorem et administratorem in spiritualibus et temporalibus" of the Hospitallers' Roman priory at S. Basilio/Forum of Augustus, on 2 March 1466. Presumably it was income derived from this source which Barbo was able to plough back into the Order through the rebuilding of the Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi at S. Basilio (see chapter six), and which dried up when the cardinal renounced his post on 13 November 1471, following his patron's death. This Sixtus conceded to Cinzio Orsini, Prior of Capua, though Barbo was permitted to retain a pension of 1,000 gold florins from the Hospitallers' Roman properties, and from S. Sigismondo, diocese of Todi, and S. Maria Rossa, diocese of Perugia, which Orsini and his successors were obliged to pay. Besides these, Barbo was entitled to the use of their house at S. Martinello, close to the Vatican, and could claim a tax from fishing on a certain stretch of the Tiber.<sup>72</sup>

Apart from the Hospitallers and the Congregation of S. Giustina, the only religious Order with which Barbo had a particular association was the Canons Regular of the Lateran, to whom he acted as protector. In this capacity he received correspondence from Matteo Bosso, the congregation's Veronese procurator at Rome from 1486 to '91. Addressing the cardinal as "plenus pietatis et fidei ac sacrorum praelatorum prudentissimus atque sanctissimus", Bosso pleaded with Barbo to intercede with the Roman Curia on the matter of annates, which were being inflicted on all the religious orders, even those which lacked the means to pay. Given that the appeal was sent from Florence on 27 October 1490, when the cardinal was already in physical decline, it is not known whether he succeeded in redressing the grievance.<sup>73</sup> This contrasts markedly with Bosso's experiences of Cardinals Michiel and Zeno, Barbo's successor as protector, who opposed Bosso's plans for the basilica of S. Apollinare

in Classe, Ravenna, c. 1494-5, thereby earning the enmity of an influential man of letters.<sup>74</sup> Cardinals Barbo and Foscari also had positive relationships with the Venetian general of the Camaldolese Order, Pietro Dolfin (1444-1525), whom they would have known in his capacity as Abbot of S. Michele di Murano, 1478-80. Although Dolfin's correspondence with the cardinals was generally of a business nature, his letter to Foscari, dated 22 June 1475, curiously congratulates him on being made a cardinal, when there was not even a whisper of a promotion that year.<sup>75</sup> Announcing Marco Barbo's death to the head of the hermitage at Camaldoli, Dolfin praised the late cardinal for the "singular goodness which he demonstrated" : "Scis ipse quantae integritatis et sanctimoniae vir fuerit, quanta morum gravitate praeditus, quam iustitiae tenax. Decus nimirum extimabatur Romanae Curiae, ac splendidissimum ecclesiae lumen."<sup>76</sup> From these various sources, there is nothing to suggest that Barbo and Foscari did not live up to the intercessional functions expected of a cardinal, while the implication from the S. Apollinare episode is that, by stonewalling, Michiel and Zeno fell short of this ideal. It can have been no coincidence that Venetian religious chose to present their appeals to Venetian cardinals.

Fragmented and imperfect though the evidence relating to Marco Barbo may be, it is nevertheless more comprehensive than that concerning the responsibilities and remunerations of his fellow Venetians. Apart from the regular monthly payments made in lieu of income from benefices, Cameral registers yield precious little information on the subject. Among the few references worthy of mention is one of June 1472 in which the Camerlengo Latino Orsini gave permission for Giovanni Michiel to be excused repayment of 225 gold florins to the Camera. In another favour to the penurious cardinal, Orsini wrote to the papal bankers Lorenzo and

Giuliano de' Medici in January 1474, concerning the sum of 60 florins which Michiel owed to the Camera.<sup>77</sup>

Under Sixtus, Michiel rendered service only as a cardinal deputy in 1475, the transformation of his fortunes following hard on the heels of the 1484 conclave. Cardinal Cibò had been camerlengo of the Sacred College and appointed Michiel to succeed him in that post on 15 September 1484, one of the many favours showered upon the Venetians by the new pontiff. The fact that Michiel was not succeeded by Cardinal Costa until January 1486, an uncommonly lengthy tenure, served further to identify the Venetian cardinal with the new régime. On 29 May 1486 he was appointed legate to the Patrimony and, by extension, to the armies of the Church, during the Barons' War. As Arrivabene noted, the appointment was kept secret "per quatt~~o~~ o cinque di" until 5 June. Arrivabene's detailed reports on the peace process and the cardinal's part therein evidently reflected its consequences for Michiel's prestige.<sup>78</sup> Despite the climb-down over Padua earlier that year, the years 1484 to '86 were probably the key period in which he was transformed from the mendicant exile from Verona of the 1470s to the papal contender of 1492 and the Croesus of 1503.

Apart from serving with Barbo and Michiel as a cardinal deputy in 1475, and succeeding Barbo as protector of the Canons Regular of the Lateran, Battista Zeno deserves mention in three separate capacities; as legate to Perugia, Umbria and Venice in 1477, camerlengo of the Sacred College throughout 1480, and as archpriest and vicar of St. Peter's basilica.<sup>79</sup> Zeno's association with the basilica was by far the most significant in a purely Roman context. Innocent VIII created him "vicar" on 21 November 1484, again part of the post-conclave distribution of largesse, with responsibility for divine worship, regulation and

government of the clergy and care of relics and other treasures. The pope also granted him "amplissima facultas" to confer benefices and canonries of the basilica, a unique honour paralleled neither before nor since. Apart from those special distinctions, it would appear that Innocent was actually confirming Zeno in the post of archpriest and augmenting his status. The previous archpriest, Cardinal Longueil, died in 1470 after building an official dwelling for himself from the shell of the unoccupied monastery of S. Caterina next to the basilica. This structure may have provided at least the site for the palace built by Battista Zeno, described by Moroni as standing to the left of the portico of the basilica and in front of the Palazzo dell' Inquisizione. According to that same authority, Zeno was not succeeded as archpriest by Juan Lopez di Valenza d'Aragona until after the Venetian's death in 1501, although the cardinal had not been resident in Rome for nearly a decade. Circumstantial evidence in favour of Zeno's having held the post throughout our period may also be drawn from a list of priests and acolytes officiating and serving in the basilica, from which it can be seen that the archpriest was directly responsible for divine worship on alternate Sundays. This source reveals that the anonymous cardinal archpriest was on duty for Pentecost on 18 May 1483, but did not reappear until 15 June, leaving two clear Sundays, during which time Sixtus published the Interdict against Venice. Did Zeno temporarily withdraw his services as a protest?<sup>80</sup>

Our principal sources relating to the cardinals' observance of their priestly functions, Johannes Burchard's Liber Notarum and Jacopo Gherardi's Diary, cover only the 1480s. In addition to his regular responsibilities, Cardinal Zeno celebrated or was present at Mass in the basilica on 23 April 1481, 19 April 1484, Christmas Day 1487, 28 January, 13 November

and 12 December 1488, 3 and 4 January 1490, 6 December 1491 and 8 March 1492. After the third Mass of Christmas 1487, Zeno and Barbo took issue with both the pope, who had celebrated, and with Burchard as Master of Ceremonies, concerning certain points of ceremonial details which they maintained broke with precedence : a rare recorded instance of the two Venetians sharing common interests and concerns. In addition, Zeno's presence was noted at the Epiphany vigil in 1483, and a Mass for Aquinas on 7 November 1486, though he was absent from Sixtus's funeral on 17 August 1484 and from Lorenzo Zane's two months later. All the cardinals attended Mass in the "Sistine" church of S. Maria del Popolo in May 1480, while the Venetians observed the anniversary of Paul II's death in July each year, with the notable exception of 1483.<sup>81</sup> Of those Venetians, Barbo, as the most senior of their number, officiated on important occasions and his presence noted almost <sup>was</sup> as often as those of the other three put together. Thus it was Barbo, the man of peace during the violent interregnum of 1484, who celebrated the Mass of the Holy Spirit before the electors entered the conclave, performing a similar rôle on each day of the conclave itself. On 21 May 1485, he led pontifical vespers in the Papal Chapel and celebrated Mass the next day for the feast of Pentecost. Prior to Sixtus's death, we learn only of his participation at St. Peter's for Epiphany 1482. Two years later, poor health prevented him from taking part on the same occasion. In addition to events already accounted for in the second pontificate, Barbo's presence was noted at the funerals of Cardinals Nardini and d'Aragona in November 1484 and November 1485 respectively. He assisted at Mass at S. Niccolò in carcere on the church's feast of title and took part in other patronal festivals at S. Vitus in 1489 and S. Marco in 1490, the last of which was presumably a regular commitment. Further to these,

Burchard makes mention of Cardinal Barbo in the procession for the octave of Corpus Domini in June 1488 and at S. Marco again on Christmas Day 1489.<sup>82</sup> Giovanni Michiel's few noteworthy liturgical appearances included the Mass for Ognissanti in the basilica in 1482, though it was also he who delivered the Jubilee plenary absolution in Italian on 5 May 1475.<sup>83</sup> Pietro Foscari's contribution was apparently minimal, once more distancing himself from the outward manifestations of the papal régime, in contrast to Zeno the archpriest and Barbo the conscientious cardinal.<sup>84</sup>

Indeed, Foscari presents something of a recurring dilemma. If he did not receive much income from benefices and perhaps nothing at all from other curial sources, for there were no governorships, legations or protectorates, how did he live up to the level befitting a cardinal? The only alternative sources would have been a pension from the Republic or from his family, though there is no evidence to support either notion. If cardinals as proctors or quasi-ambassadors received pensions from the appropriate secular powers, might not Venice have emulated that example? It was, by way of illustration, widely believed in Rome that the Gonzaga were so wealthy that they could easily provide Cardinal Francesco with a palazzo.<sup>85</sup> In Foscari's case, no evidence of a pension has come to light, making such a comparison fruitless. On the basis of information to be presented in chapters five and six, Foscari's expenditure was quite as strictly limited as his income.

From considerations of responsibility and remuneration it is but a small step to those of testaments and testators, benefices and other forms of worldly wealth being as significant after the deaths of cardinals as in their lives. How apt is Pietro Barozzi's description of the undignified deaths of bishops, their familiars and other interested parties ravenously

clustered around the bed, waiting for their benefactor to breathe his last so that the spoils could be divided between them. Ironic, too, in that Barozzi's De modo bene moriendi was dedicated to Marco Barbo and supplemented by consolatory letters to Pietro Foscari on the death of his brother and to Giovanni Michiel in similar circumstances.<sup>86</sup> The undignified scrambles occasioned by the deaths of Zeno and Michiel are well known and well documented, but no less fraught were the passings of Foscari and Barbo. The circumstances surrounding a cardinal's death reveal valuable information concerning the late prelate's reputation, his curial friends and enemies, together with the most reliable record of his material wealth.

Eubel places Pietro Foscari's death at Viterbo between 11 and 15 August 1485, though this is somewhat premature. Barbo wrote to Lorenzi on the 16th from the Abbazia di S. Severo, c. fifteen miles from Viterbo : "Quievit hac nocte d.us cardinalis noster (Foscari), bene et melius se habet; et si firmare nos non possumus propter qualitatem febris et diminutionem virtutis, addito tempore ad autunnum vergente et estate pur delictanatiore (!) in vesperum. Avide prestolor reditum nostri nuntii propter consilium et auxilium nostri patris Caputaquentis" (Lodovico Podocataro, Bishop of Capaccio).<sup>87</sup> Lorenzi also expressed concern for the ailing Foscari in his letter of 18 August : "... speramus omnes R.um d.um Foscarum melius habere, quod sua ineffabili misericordia ut faciat", adding that Giovanni Michiel already aspired to the bishopric of Padua and was not unlikely to receive it.<sup>88</sup> On the same date, Niccolò Dolci at Rome conveyed the same rumours to Benedetto Soranzo : "aviso v.ra R.S. chome el cardinale Foschari se ritrova al abatia di Orvieto amalato in extremis per modo non pol campar et ha fato testamento et ordinato tuti i fati soi et el Cardinale de San Marcho e andato li gran presa el qual

se trovava ala torre de Orvieto : per modo che per diverse vie se tien per zerto che non posit evadere, et tanto puy che el cardinale de Balua eri, et questa matina chavalchò a palazzo cum misser Zuane de Venexia (Lorenzi); iudicho sia per questo et altre pratiche intendo per diverse via : cioè del cardinale de Sancto Angelo el qual pretenda haver Padoa."<sup>89</sup>

Burchard reports Foscari's death on Saturday 20 August "circa horam secundam noctis, in civitate Urbeveta vel prope", continuing with an account of the body's translation to Rome and burial in the chapel prepared by the cardinal himself in S. Maria del Popolo. According to Niccolò Ddci, the news arrived in Rome on the Sunday evening.<sup>90</sup> Lorenzi's words to Barbo on 25 August serve as an obituary : "Amisimus quidem virum prudentem, justum et sanctum, amicum omni ex parte singularem, d.ni v.re deditissimum, religionis quoddam exemplar, ut ita loquar".<sup>91</sup> Material concerns, the division of the spoils, were meanwhile uppermost in the minds of Foscari's now redundant familiars : " ... multi ex familia d.ni bo: me: Foscari rogaverant eum quod supplicaret pontifici ut breve scriberet quo mandaret fructus ecclesie paduane pro familia ipsa detineri...". In response, Innocent set aside an 800 florin pension from the diocese of Verona for their use.<sup>92</sup> As executor and coadjutor respectively of the late cardinal's will, Barbo and Lorenzi obviously took a close interest in any developments. Writing to Barbo on 15 September, for example, Lorenzi dealt with an inventory of Foscari's goods and possibly referred to Domenico Can, Foscari's maestro di casa : "... hodie data fuit extrema inventario manus, et argentum omne apud mensarios depositum est per d.um Dominicum et me. Mule iuvenes ducte fuerunt ad stabulum nostrum rogante familia omni, cetera nundum movi". A copy would be sent to Barbo.<sup>93</sup> An inventory of goods was also found in the episcopal palace

at Padua when the impasse over Foscari's successor was finally resolved. "In armadio d. Petri Foschari : quinterni 14 catastici in pergamenò; duo libri et unus fasciculus plurium scriptorum."<sup>94</sup>

Two references in May and June 1487 round off the account of Pietro Foscari's Roman career. According to Paschini, the first alludes to the liquidation of his estate. "Factum illius domus vel alterius apte, pro Deo, expedire studeas, ut Foscaris rem conclusam pro debito utriusque nostrum, non concludendam scribamus." The second concerns a house which provided the means to finance the building of his sepulchral chapel or, perhaps more likely since that was under construction during his lifetime, the making of his tomb (for which, see chapter six). "De domo pro capella Foscari vel illa vel alia, placet quod tibi sit cordi. Foscaris scripsi quod depositum fecimus pro ea ducatorum quingentorum, et ita nos obligavimus conventui S. Marie de Populo."<sup>95</sup>

A similar series of reports survive from Marco Barbo's own last days in 1491. In addition to the account by "messer Cosimo", Niccolò Dolci reported to Soranzo on 25 February that the cardinal "continua cum el malgrado cioè di la febre et hogi sono giorni undici et del mal di punta se dubitava non è successo altro benché sputi sangue et heri hebe grande mal ..."<sup>96</sup> Three days later the fever still raged and the Gonzaga ambassador in Rome described Barbo as in extremis. Innocent had been to visit the sick bed at S. Martinello.<sup>97</sup> According to "messer Cosimo" it was the same day that Barbo called his executors, Carafa, Todeschini-Piccolomini and Balue, to his side. The testament itself has not survived, but there is no reason to doubt the comments which conclude the account of Barbo's holy death. "Non li ànno trovato danari, altro che sexanta ducati; gioie, tantum le pontificali; roba, cioè libri, per octo milia ducati. Ha circha cinquecento volumi di libri, e anchor non si sa che

se ne abbi ordinate: sono boni e belli libri".<sup>98</sup> With that one exception, all Marco Barbo's treasures were in Heaven. The executors, discovering that the late cardinal's estate lacked the means to meet his debts, funeral expenses, payments to familiars and other outstanding commitments, applied for papal assistance. On 3 March, Innocent conceded that a year's income from Palestrina and Aquileia should be granted to meet the deficiency, a generous decision specifically made in the light of the late cardinal's innumerable pious works.<sup>99</sup>

Finally, moving beyond the chronological limits of this study, the Zenos will cannot be underestimated as a record of that cardinal's immense wealth, close contacts and interests towards the end of his life. It also stands as an object lesson in the bequest of Church property. Having turned his back on Borgia Rome, Zeno became so positively identified with Venice and the Veneto as to decisively counterbalance the prevailing trend of his earlier career. The architectural implications of the will are well beyond our limits here, both geographically and chronologically, while the various witnesses assembled to testify to it are the preserve of the next chapter. Benefices naturally belonged to the Church and could not be alienated from it, though income from benefices, in the form of pensions and reservations, came to be incorporated among the belongings of cardinals and could be bequeathed to lay or clerical heirs, providing that prior permission had been granted. Battista Zeno clearly received such permission from Sixtus on 9 December 1480.<sup>100</sup> Wills could not be reversed, much as Alexander VI might have wished in 1501. In the event of a prelate dying intestate, the prevailing view tended to honour the rights and claims of the lay or clerical heirs.<sup>101</sup>

Among other personal bequests, Cardinal Zeno made over 12,000 ducats

to the parish of S. Fantin, Venice, for the rebuilding of that church; 500 ducats to the abbey of S. Stefano, Carrara (diocese of Padua) for the same; identical sums to the abbeys of S. Eustachio de Nervesa (Treviso), S. Gall (Aquileia), S. Spirito (Ravenna) and the priory of S. Benedetto (Cremona). Besides setting aside an adequate sum for his own funerary chapel at S. Marco, with minutely detailed arrangements for the ceremonies by which he hoped to be commemorated, there were 5,000 ducats for S. Antonio, Padua, 10,000 to be distributed among the poor of Venice, with further sums for S. Benedetto, Venice, and various pious causes. Among specific bequests to members of the Zen family, Girolamo di Pietro Zen's portion was to be 6,000 ducats, Pietro di Caterino and Vincenzo di Tommaso 3,000 each, while Alvise and Silvestro, described as poor nobles, received 1,000 apiece. That 26,123 ducats remained in the Signoria's control after all these legacies and bequests were paid provides an accurate enough impression of the total sum.<sup>102</sup>

Thus three of the four cardinals died as they had lived : Barbo virtuously but beyond his means; Foscarei unostentatiously, alone but mourned by a few loyal friends; and Michiel, in his wealth and its attractiveness to the Papacy, if not in other respects, in the shadow of his cousin. Battista Zeno, on the other hand, effected a remarkable transformation from Roman cardinal to benefactor of Venice.

NOTES ON CHAPTER FOUR

1. Hallman, op.cit., pp.18-19, where pluralism is defined as the simultaneous holding of two or more "incompatible" benefices, as defined in canon law if (i) the duties of one benefice require the full attention of the beneficiary and (ii) the income from one benefice sufficiently serves his needs. Archbishops, bishops and parishes all have cure of souls and therefore require full attention. Strictly speaking, the granting of benefices "in administration" or "in commendam" was a temporary measure until a worthy person could be provided. In practice, the commenda system provided an abbey, for instance, with the powerful patronage of a senior cleric and effective daily administration by the vicar.
2. A comprehensive account of cardinals' sources of income : D.S. Chambers, "The economic predicament of Renaissance cardinals", Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, 3 (1966), pp.287-313.
3. Eubel II, pp.248, 267, 92. Discussion of Barbo's benefices inevitably relies heavily on P. Paschini, "I benefici ecclesiastici del cardinale Marco Barbo", Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia, 13 (1959), pp.335-54.
4. Il carteggio, p.104.
5. Eubel II : S. Marco, p.63; Palestrina, p.60; S. Balbina, p.61. Of the half dozen suburbicarian bishoprics reserved for senior cardinals Palestrina was the third most illustrious behind Ostia (with Velletri - held successively by d' Estouteville and Giuliano della Rovere in this period) and Porto (Calandrini and Borgia). The others were : Tusculum (Latino Orsini, Ammannati and Zeno), Sabina (Bessarion, Eroli and Giuliano della Rovere) and Albano (Calandrini, Borgia, Coetivy, Balue and Michiel). Besides Eubel, see D. Hay, op.cit., p.110.
6. Broderick, op.cit., p.15 : In the fifteenth century, the average number of cardinals ranged from 25 to 35. The maximum of 36 was reached in 1478 with the promotion of Domenico della Rovere.
7. Eubel, II : S. Maria in Porticu, p.67; S. Anastasia, p.61. Soranzi "Giovanni Battista Zeno", p.256.
8. *ibid* : S. Lucia in Septemsoliis, p.66; S. Angelo, p.61; S. Marcello, p.63. According to Paschini - Il carteggio, p.15 - the move to S. Angelo took place in 1470, during Paul's lifetime, whereas the translation is recorded on 16 October 1471 in ASV, Reg. Vat. 551, fols. 182v - 183v.
9. Michiel's appointment commenced during the Summer of 1474 and was never more than a temporary arrangement : ASV, Reg. Vat. 563, fols. 186r-188v. It is difficult to say for precisely how long Michiel was entitled to any income from Dôle, which was resigned by De Coëtivy a few months before his death and actually held by Christophorus de Penmarch from 7 February 1474 to 14 January 1478. Eubel, II, p.145.

10. Antonovics, *op.cit.*, p.96.
11. Quoted by U. Mannucci, "Le capitolazioni del conclave di Sisto IV, 1471", Römische Quartalschrift, 29 (1915), pp.73-90.
12. ASV, Introit, et Exit. 487, fols. 102r-v, 112v, 113v, 120r-v, 135r, 142r, 150r, 153v, 157r-v, 164r, 165r, 171r, 177r, 186r, 187r, 195r-v, 198r; 488, fols. 106r, 110r, 111r, 117r, 122v, 128v, 133r, 134r, 136r, 139v, 140r, 148r, 155r, 157r, 162r, 164r, 177r, 180v, 185r; reg. 489 is a duplicate of 488; 490, fols. 90v, 92r, 95r-v, 102v, 107r, 112v, 113r, 119r, 128r-v, 137r-v; 491 is a duplicate of 490; 492, fols. 152v, 153r, 158v, 160r, 176v, 179r, 182v, 187v, 189r, 190v, 196r-v, 204r-v, 210v, 213v, 216r, 217r, 224r, 225v, 237v; 493, fols. 133v, 134r, 137v, 138r, 156v; 495, fol. 168r.
13. See above, chapter three, n. 117.
14. C. Hvelson, Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo (Florence, 1927), p.394 for S. Niccolò inter imagines or S. Niccolò de Colosseo. The church stood to the North-East of the Colosseum and was used as a titular church from 1477 to 1587, Domenico Grimani being the next to bear the title after Foscari.
15. ASV, Reg. Vat. 587, fols. 205v-207, 1 April 1478. Foscari's resignation of Spalato : Oblig. et Solut. 82, fol. 119v, 17 September 1479. For Foscari and Treviso, see above, chapter one, n. 106.
16. ASV, Reg. Vat. 608, fols. 230r-232v, 25 April 1481. See also : Reg. Vat. 612, fols. 124r-125v, 25 May; Oblig. et Solut. 84a, fol. 95v, 19 April, but referring to a bull of 15 April concerning the 2,000 Cameral gold florins payable in common-service tax on the see of Padua; Div.Cam.40, fol. 166v, 25 June 1481.
17. ASVen, SS 29, fol. 137v, 22 and 27 August 1480.
18. Barbo's resignation of S. Pietro di Ossero : ASV, Introit. et Exit. 421, fol. 51v; Reg. Vat. 401, fol. 396v. SS. Sergio e Bacco : Oblig. et Solut. 76, fol.107, April 1453; Oblig. et. Solut. 79, 108, April 1465, assigned to Urbano, Bishop of Sebenico. Paschini, "I benefici ecclesiastici", p.336, cites a letter of Calixtus III, dated 7 November 1455, which relates how Barbo had restored the abbey in a short space of time and resold alienated goods at great expense. Paduan canony : Reg. Vat. 430, fol. 127v; Introit. et Exit. 427, fol.19v.
19. SS. Severo e Martino, Orvieto : ASV Reg. Vat. 527, fol.129. S. Giovanni Battista, Traù : Reg. Vat. 529, fol. 111. Leonello Chiericati, Barbo's familiar, was Bishop of Traù from 1484. S. Spirito, Palermo : Reg. Vat. 529, fol. 316. Although Marco Barbo's association with the Hospitallers dates from this period, it will be dealt with separately, below.
20. Paschini, "I benefici ecclesiastici". p.343.

21. Langres : ASV, Reg. Vat., 562, fols. 25r-27r, 27 December 1473. Béziers : Reg. Vat., 562, fols. 27r-29r, 8 January 1474. In view of the expenses of the cardinal's legation, these canonries were granted "ut graviorum expensarum onera que te in dies perferre oportet, commodius supportare valeas". The Béziers benefices were usurped by Pietro Godofredi and others, against whom legal action was authorised by Sixtus on 4 August 1474 : Reg. Vat., 663, fol.271. See also Paschini, "Leonello Chiericati Nuncio d' Innocenzo VIII e di Alessandro VI", Lateranum, n.s., an. 1., no.3 (Rome, 1935), pp.29-34 for a letter of 24 February 1474 on this subject. Curiously, a Jacopo Gottifredi of Rome had been Paul II's favourite doctor. The Dol pension is first mentioned by Barbo on 2 August 1481 : Il carteggio, p.23. I am not sure about the location of "Sancti Jacobi in Odera", but that and the perpetual vicariate at Heilingenstadt came to Barbo upon the death of his familiar Pietro Pimperera (when?) and was subsequently transferred to another familiar, Theodoric Kyndeman of the diocese of Zurich. Paschini cites as his source for 14 March 1486 : BAV, Vat. lat., 5641, fol. 168 (a copy).
  
22. See above, chapter one, n.96 and below, chapter five, n. 79.
  
23. For the Foligno benefices granted on 22 November 1482 : ASV, Reg.Vat., 625, fol. 25v-27v. S. Croce in Sassovivo : Reg.Vat. 757, fols. 65v - 66v. S. Angelo de Rosario : Reg. Vat. 698, fols. 177r-178v.
  
24. ASV, Reg. Vat., 576, fol. 25, 2 May 1476; Reg. Vat., 580, fol. 26r-v. Andrea Mocenigo was subsequently a candidate for the bishopric of Concordia in 1488, but was beaten by Leonello Chiericati, and for Aquileia in 1491 and 1497. Cenci, op.cit., pp.423, 425, 430.
  
25. ASV, Reg. Vat., 646, fols. 280v-282r, 27 March 1484. Innocent confirmed the appointment on 21 October that year : Reg. Vat., 699, fols.193v-194r. Barbo bracketed together S. Croce and Pontida as sources of friction in his relations with Venice : Il carteggio, p.108, 16 August 1485. The renunciation to Cristoforo Marcello : Reg. Vat., 712, fol.149. See also Reg. Vat., 682, fol.149. Lorenzo Gabriel (d.1512) had been a canon of Padua from 1462. As a candidate for that bishopric in 1481, he was described as a doctor of both laws and a canon there and at Verona. The Veronese connection linked him to Giovanni Michiel, who proposed him to Bergamo in October 1484. He stood again for Padua in 1485 and Aquileia in 1491 : Cenci, op.cit., pp.410-11, 421-2, 425-7. Of Gabriel and the cardinals, more will be said in chapter five.
  
26. ASV, Reg. Vat., 591, fol.187, 25 June 1479. SS. Cosma e Damiano : Reg. Vat. 710, fols.111v-113r. Summaga : Reg. Vat., 709, fols.33v-34v.
  
27. Reg. Vat., 606, fol. 243. Paschini, Il carteggio, p.30, identifies Sartori as "Presbitero Francesco" of Treviso.
  
28. S. Spirito : Reg. Vat., 576, fol.27. Sassovivo : Reg.Vat., 717, fol.218, 28 October. Innocent gave the cardinal permission to institute reforms at Sassovivo, including the introduction of Olivetines to inspire the reluctant Benedictine residents, and a division of the abbey's wealth between the community and the commendatory : Paschini,

"I benefici ecclesiastici", p.344. Papal approval of the initiative followed on 6 December : Reg. Vat.723, fol.218.

29. Barbo's other benefices included : S. Lorenzo de Chianisolis, previously held by Johann Rastenich : ASV, Reg. Vat.567, fol.173; Canonries at Trento, Zara and Cividale, previously held by Fantino della Valle, papal chaplain and auditor of the Rota : Reg. Vat.571, fols.129r-130v; S. Niccolò di Osimo, on the death of his secretary Francesco Guarnario : Reg. Vat. 589, fols.112r-114r: Sanavalle, previously held by Pietro Barbo and transferred to Marco at an unknown date. Upon Marco Barbo's renunciation of Sanavalle, 18 July 1485, Innocent conferred it on Pietro Dandolo, primicerio of S. Marco : Reg. Vat.710, fol. 228. On S. Niccolò, Osimo, see Il carteggio, p.161, Barbo at Pontida to Lorenzi, 16 September 1487 : "Commendabis per tuas litteras R.mo d.mo Andegavensi (Balue) ruinas abbacie Auximane, saltem pauperes illos Murlaccos colonos ipsius cum possessionibus, ut tristitia super tristitiam eorum paupertati non addatur. Si potero, in redditu ad eam civitatem me conferram ...". Paschini (Il carteggio, p.161, n.2) relates the circumstances surrounding Barbo's renunciation of the commenda in 1488, information repeated in "I benefici ecclesiastici", p.354.
30. P. Paschini, "Il priorato cluniacense di Pontida nella seconda metà del quattrocento secondo : documenti vaticani", Archivio Veneto, 5th series, 5 (1929), pp.134-50. The same material appears in a more condensed fashion in his "I benefici ecclesiastici", pp.347-51.
31. ASVen, SS.32, fol.149, 23 May 1485.
32. Il carteggio : the cardinal's letters were dated at Pontida on 25 August, 10, 16, 23 September (pp.156, 157, 158, 159, 167, 168).
33. Paschini, "Il priorato cluniacense", pp.147-50.
34. Il carteggio, p.23, 2 August 1481; p.211, 19 September 1490. Also mentioned by Barbo : pp.77, 143, 146, 151.
35. *ibid.*, p.130, 27 October 1485 : "Pecunias a pensionario vel potius a Nanetan. quantum in me erit, exigere conabor cras; d.um episcopus Amerin. (Cesare de' Nacci, Bishop of Amelia), donec Rome fuit, eas habere voluit ab episcopo; et postea nocte illa qua postridie mane discessit, per unum ex famulis suis significavit quod pecunias non exegerat et causam non adiecit quare; curabo tamen omnia scire ab Naneten, et pecunias quam primum mittam".
36. *ibid.*, p.201, 4 October 1489. See also, pp.75,77,183-5.
37. In August 1481, Barbo and Lorenzi expressed concern about disturbances at S. Spirito : Il carteggio, pp.32, 34. The last word on the subject was written by Barbo, 2 February 1483 : "Quoad abbatiam panormitanam itidem sentimus omnes; si crederem habere ducatus mille, non stat sententia locandi, cum omnino decreverim illam reintegrare, et ita meo nomine admonebis abbatem nostrum; et roga ut ingenue petat quantum de provisione anno singulo a me velit; ultra quam si adhibuerit studium in optandis et reficiendis veneis etc. non ero illo ingratus" (pp.68-9). See also pp.75, 87.

38. ASV, Reg. Vat., 556, fol. 1r-v. For S. Stefano di Carrara and S. Eustachio di Nervesa, see Soranzo, "Giovanni Battista Zeno", pp. 256-7.
39. ASV, Reg. Vat., 565, fols. 11r-13v.
40. Innocent's confirmation : ASV, Reg. Vat., 698, fols. 85r-87r, 19 September 1484. Among the Cibò pope's conferrals : Palermo : Reg. Vat., 699, fols. 81v-83v; Perugia : Reg. Vat., 711, fols. 285v-287r; Ravenna : Reg. Vat., 760, fols. 291r-292r (contained after Barbo's death); Mazzara : Reg. Vat., 702, fols. 115r-116; St Peter's : Reg. Vat., 699, fols. 210v-213r; Florence : Reg. Vat., 745, fols. 256r-259v.
41. Rouen : ASV, Reg. Vat., 700, fols. 118r-119r. Nantes : Reg. Vat., 713, fols. 6r-7v. Le Puy : Reg. Vat., 749, fols. 53-56v.
42. Soranzo, "Giovanni Battista Zeno", p. 267. The same author covers Zeno and the monastery of S. Maria della Carceri near Este in the diocese of Padua, p. 262.
43. Various dates have been suggested for the beginning of Zeno's tenure at S. Zeno. In the absence of a definitive history of the abbey which supplies this information, and on the basis of ASV, Div. Cam., 44, fols. 83v-84v, I settle for 29 August 1484, but see also Reg. Vat., 701, fols. 213v-215r, 19 February 1485.
44. Il carteggio, p. 26, 3 August 1481.
45. *ibid.*, p. 38.
46. *ibid.*, pp. 58-9 : "Rev. me domine pridie (the previous letter) scripsi per familiarem d. ni. gubernatoris abbatiam S. Zenonis collatam d. no Sancte Marie, ita volente d. no Comite; pro qua ultra annatam ordinariam solverat duo millia ducatorum, cum derogatione omnium reservationum et precipue nepotis principis. Ipse vero d. nus Cardinalis audito nuncio ad urbem appropinquavit, divertitque apud oppidum Campagnani; interea vero temporis venerunt ex Venetiis littere, quibus nunciatum est primicerium habuisse possessionem; noster vero orator qui Cardinali est inimicus apertus, dimissis publicis negotiis ad aliquid tempus, nihil aliud diu noctuque egit quam procurare ut d. no Benedicto Superantio (Benedetto Soranzo) fieret reservatio cum antidata ...".
47. ASVen, SS., 30, fols. 148v-149r.
48. *ibid.*, fol. 122r-v, 28 August 1482. See also Litta, VIII on the Torelli family.
49. Il carteggio, p. 59.
50. ASVen, SS., 30, fol. 164v, 27 December 1482; fol. 171r-v, 20 January 1483. Ironically, Diedo's efforts would have been futile in the long run, since Guido Torelli relinquished his vows in order to marry the daughter of Giovanni II Bentivoglio.
51. ASV, Reg. Vat., 698, fols. 217r-218v.

52. There is no indication of when Michiel acquired the six minor benefices which Barbo received upon the former's resignation of them in June 1479 : ASV, Reg. Vat., 591, fol. 187. Ragusa : Reg. Vat., 626, fols. 241r-243r. S. Giovanni, Vicenza : Reg. Vat., 709, fols. 262v-265r. Various benefices in the diocese of Padua : Reg. Vat., 714, fols. 31v-34v. S. Giovanni, Tyano, diocese of Drivasto (Dalmatia) : Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 81r. Might not the last mentioned be one and the same as the benefice of which Cenci describes Michiel as commendatory from 5 September 1476, though not without opposition? : "L'abbazia di S. Giovanni di Stialio, diocese drivastense, è stata data in commenda al Michiel; la comunità di Drivasto, secondo i patti di dedizione, vi ha eletto Bernardino, figlio di Francesco Quirino nobile veneziano, che raccomanderanno al Papa". Cenci, op.cit., p.406.
53. ASV, Reg. Vat., 735, fols. 175r-176v. Previously held by Giovanni de' Rossi.
54. Constance : Zippel, Vite di Paolo II, p.54, n.5. Quimper : ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 84a, fol. 53r. Besançon : Reg. Vat., 734, fols. 133v-135v; previously held by the Burgundian Cardinal Philibert Hugonet (d. 11 September 1484). Geneva : Reg. Vat., 559, fols. 264v-266r. Michiel also had connections with a Spanish archdeaconry : Div. Cam., 40, fol. 224, 8 October 1480; and the diocese of Cordoba : Reg. Vat., 745, fols. 113-115, 27 January 1489; Reg. Vat., 760, fols. 309-12, 23 March 1487.
55. Casale : ASV, Reg. Vat., 578, fol. 72. Asti : Reg. Vat., 747, fol. 48; 744, fols. 135-6. Also post - 1484 : (?) Pistoia : Reg. Vat., 734, fols. 175r-177v.
56. Summaga : ASV, Reg. Vat., 709, fols. 33v-34v. SS. Cosma e Damiano : Reg. Vat., 710, fols. 111v-113r. See especially Il carteggio, pp. 112, 114, 116, 119, 123, 125, 128.
57. Il carteggio, pp. 91-2, 26 August 1483.
58. The procedure by which benefices were filled and bulls published is fully explained by Leonard E. Boyle O.P., "The Papal Chancery at the end of the Fifteenth Century", pp. xv-xvii in Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Papal Letters vol. XV. Innocent VIII : Lateran Registers, 1484-1492. Ed. Michiel E. Haren (1978).
59. See Table VIII.
60. Antonovics, op.cit., p. 101, table 3 - Individual receipts from general divisions. Annual totals.
61. Ibid.
62. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 80. Between 3 November 1467 and 30 December 1469 there were 124 consistories at which service taxes were received. Barbo was present at 111 out of that total, while Michiel and Zeno are listed for fifty-three out of the sixty-five which they were eligible to attend.

63. Pastor, IV, pp.223-4.
64. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fols. 64v, 90r.
65. See chapter five.
66. ASV, Introit, et Exit., 487, fol. 152r, 15 February 1472; 489, fol.158r, 18 April 1474; 490, fol.83v, 16 August 1474; fol.106r, 24 December 1474; fol.111v, 23 January 1475; Div. Cam.38, fol.217v, 7 March 1475; Introit. et Exit., 493, fol.157r, 21 December 1476; 495, fol.220r, 9 December 1477, 497, fol.147r, 21 June 1479.
67. Cod. Marc. lat., X, 174 (3621), n.110; published by Paschini as an appendix to Il carteggio, pp.215-18.
68. Barbo's appointment as camerlengo of the Sacred College, 9 January 1478 : Eubel, II, p.45. His retreat, 25 June : p.46; and return, 15 October, shortly before being promoted to Palestrina : p.47. The unfortunate Ferriz died on 25 September, having been a cardinal for less than two years.
69. ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, EXXV3, b.845, no.434, 27 January 1475. G.A. Talenti and F. Sacramoro at Florence : ASMi, SPE, 297, 9 February 1479. Castiglione and Trivulzio at Rome : ASMi, SPE, 89, 15 June 1481.
70. Guidantonio Vespucci at Rome : ASF, Dieci di Balìa, Responsive 32, no.318, 26 November 1484. Arrivabene : ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, EXXV3, b.847, no.398, 12 November 1485. ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria Estero, Roma, b.3, 18 November and 3 December 1485.
71. Bucciardo : DBI, 14, pp.771-3. G.B. Picotti, *La giovinezza di Leone X* (Milan, 1927), p.222.
72. G. Zippel, "Ricordi Romani dei Cavalieri di Rodi" ASRSP, 44 (1921), pp.192-4. Paschini, "I benefici ecclesiastici", pp.338-9. Barbo's renunciation of the governorship : ASV, Reg. Vat., 552, fols. 93r-94v.
73. G. Soranzo, L'Umanista Canonico Regolare Lateranense, Matteo Bosso di Verona (1427-1502) : I suoi scritti e il suo Epistolario, (Padua, 1965) pp.24 + n.8, 135 n.95 247 + n.95.
74. *ibid.*, pp.24, 136, 153. Bosso and Zeno were adversaries as early as 1492, when the former described the cardinal as a violent man of war : p.25.
75. P. Dolfìn, Epistolae : Marc. lat., XI, 92 (3828). Dolfìn to Barbo : pars. 1, lib. 1, p.45, 1 October 1483; p.51, 22 December 1483; lib.3, p.107, 16 August 1486; lib 5, p.200, 18 March 1488; lib 6, p.235, 28 September 1488; p.242, imperfectly dated; lib. 7, p.250, 18 February 1489; p.277, 16 September 1489; lib. 8, p.281, 28 October 1489. To Foscarì : fragment, pp.32-3, 22 June 1475. On a number of occasions, more or less identical appeals were directed to all four Venetian cardinals, as well as to Venetian ambassadors to the Holy Sea.

76. *ibid.*, pars. 1, lib. 9, p.343. After Barbo's death, Dolfino appears to have turned for help to Battista Zeno : pars 1, lib. 10, p.366, 22nd July 1491; p.387, 15 December 1491; pars.2, lib.1, p.414, 4 July 1492. Dolfino himself is profiled by King, *op.cit.*, pp.362-3. A candidate for Padua, 1485, Aquileia, 1491, and Venice, 1492 : Cenci, *op.cit.*, pp.421-2, 425-7, 428-9.
77. ASV, Div. Cam., 38, fol. 308r, undated, but probably June 1482; fol. 132r, 19 January 1474. For an isolated item of financial ephemera see BAV, Vat. lat. 5641, fol.157, 7 January 1489 : Michiel and Giuliano della Rovere to the Florentine merchant and Treasurer of the Patrimony, Onofrio Tornabuoni, concerning the sum of 3,000 Cameral gold ducats.
78. Michiel as camerlengo of the Sacred College from 15 September 1484 to 9 January 1485 : Eubel, II, pp.53, 55. Arrivabene's dispatches : ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, EXXV3, b.847, no.551, 29 May 1486; nos.557, 9 June; 559, 23 June; 560, 27 June; 561, 4 July; 564, 11 August; 572, 31 August, 591, 14 September. These include the conclusion of peace on 11 August, the summoning of Michiel and Ascanio Sforza to the Vatican for the reading of peace terms on 31 August, and the Venetian's reappearance there for a meeting with the Genoese ambassador, 14 September.
79. Eubel, II, pp.45, 48-9. According to a report in the Calendar of State Papers ... Milan, vol. 1, p.381, no.630, 13 November 1499. the Cardinal of S. Maria in Porticu had been appointed as a legate to the Emperor two days previously.
80. Zeno's appointment as vicar : ASV, Reg.Vat.,699, fols.210v-213r. The business of the basilica is contained in BAV, Archivio Capitolo di S. Pietro, Turni,1 (1480-1497), the contents of which are described as follows : "Contiene rigistrate tutte le domeniche (e anche qualche altro giorno) in ordine di date, con l'indicazione, domenica per domenica, dei nomi delle persone che prestano servizio all'ufficio sacro, raggruppati secondo la qualità sotto i titoli di canonici, beneficiati, cantori, accoliti, ad versus." The folios are unnumbered. Certain canons and acolytes will be identified in the next chapter. Information concerning Longueil (archpriest from 1465) and S. Catarina is to be found in Moroni, Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica XII, pp.315, 323 an occasionally less than accurate source. On Zeno's palazzo : *ibid.*, CIII, p.469.
81. G. Gherardi, Diario Romano, ed. E. Carusi, RIS, XXIII, 3 (Città di Castello, 1904-11), pp.50-1, 113, 131-2. J. Burchard, Liber Notarum ed. E. Celani, vol. 1, RIS XXXII, 1 (Città di Castello, 1907-42), pp.17, 86, 167, 215, 219, 243, 248, 290-1, 331, 339.
82. Gherardi, *op.cit.*, pp.85, 106, 129, 137. Burchard, *op.cit.*, pp.21, 24, 29, 89, 114, 125, 172, 237, 268, 286, 305. Gaspare Pontano, Diario Romano, ed. Diomede Toni, RIS, III, 2 (Città di Castello, 1908), p.41. Further to these chronicles, Giovanni Andrea Boccaccio, Bishop of Modena, reported on 10 May 1480 (?) that Barbo had celebrated Mass : ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense; Cancelleria Estero; Ambasciatori,

- agenti e corrispondenti all'estero; Italia - Roma, b.1, 20. In 1486, Burchard noted that Barbo and Balue were present in St. Peter's for Paul II's memorial Mass, on that occasion celebrated by Marco Barbo's familiar Cesare de Nacci, Bishop of Amelia : Burchard, op.cit., p.157.
83. Gherardi, op.cit., pp.110-111. ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, EXXV3, b.845, no.413, from Arrivabene, 5 May 1475. Obviously Michiel's name appears among lists of cardinals in attendance at various functions, q.v. inter alia Burchard, op.cit., pp.119, 172, 339.
  84. Foscari is mentioned by Gherardi, op.cit., p.36, with reference to the purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1481.
  85. D.S. Chambers, "The Housing Problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga", JCWI, 39 (1976), pp.21-58.
  86. P. Barozzi, De modo bene moriendi (Venice, 1531), pp.2 seq. to Barbo, 118 to Michiel and 163 to Foscari. cf. chapter six, below.
  87. Eubel, II, p.55. Il carteggio, p.109. Chapter five will feature Podocataro at fractionally greater length.
  88. Il carteggio, p.110.
  89. ASVen, Cons. X, Carte di Benedetto Soranzo, Arcivescovo di Cipro, serie II, b.1, no.323.
  90. Burchard, op.cit., p.119. ASVen, Cons. X, Carte di Benedetto Soranzo, serie II, b.1, no.324.
  91. Il carteggio, p.113.
  92. *ibid.*, pp.114-115.
  93. *ibid.*, p.125.
  94. Quoted by P. Gios, L'attività pastorale del vescovo Pietro Barozzi a Padova (1487-1507), p.374.
  95. Il carteggio, p.143, Barbo to Lorenzi, 20 May 1487; p.151, Barbo to Lorenzi, 12 June 1487.
  96. ASVen, Cons.X., Carte di Benedetto Soranzo, serie II, b.1, no.342.
  97. *ibid.*, no.343. ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, EXXV3, b.848, no.412.
  98. G. Zippel, "La morte di Marco Barbo cardinale", p.201
  99. ASV Reg. Vat., 754, fol.27 : "... tam in reparationibus ecclesiarum, monasteriorum et bonorum ecclesiasticorum sibi commissorum, quam aliis piis operibus que continue faciebat, diversas nec parvas quidem pecuniarum summas ex pia sua devotione semper exposuerit, prout fabricae ipse per eum sumptuoso opere facte clare demonstrant, et propterea

habuit de necessitate grandia impensarum onera subire ac varia debitorum onera contrahere, quibus etiam remunerationi eorum qui sibi servierunt morte preventus satisfacere nequivit ..."

100. ASV, Reg.Vat.604, fols. 309r-310r.
101. Examined by Hallman, op,cit., pp.80-1.
102. ASVen, Notarile Testamenti, Atti Pietro Bon, b.131, no.78.  
Dated 27 April 1501. A veritable treasure-house of information.

5. CURIA ROMANA : POLITICAL AND  
ECCLESIASTICAL PATRONAGE.

As pilgrimage centre, administrative and spiritual heart of Western Christendom, seat of learning inspired by remnants of past splendour, focus of secular power and home to a perennially factious nobility, cosmopolitan Rome presents an extremely complex ambience in which to set the activities of the four Venetian cardinals and their households. Attempting to bring some form of order from the curial chaos, the main concern of this chapter is to identify individuals, of whatever ecclesiastical or secular rank or status, who had some definite association with the four Venetian cardinals during their Roman careers. That association may have been primarily of a political or perhaps a social nature. With the exception of their peers in the Sacred College of Cardinals, the vast majority of those individuals connected with Barbo, Foscari, Michiel and Zeno may be seen as links in some of the many interlocking patronage chains of which quattrocento society was composed.

In studies of patronage or, perhaps more accurately in the non-cultural realm, of clientage, it has become a convention to treat of the hero or great man surrounded by concentric circles of close associates, retainers, sympathisers and vague well-wishers. Such an arrangement is more suited to the secular environment, its strict two-dimensional representation offering insufficient scope for cardinals with secular and ecclesiastical, political and social commitments. Within the Curia, a pyramidal concept would probably suffice, with cardinals situated immediately below the papal apex, in turn cultivating those clerics destined for high office, fuelling the curial machine

with literate personnel and heading households which occasionally assumed the air of national hospices and colleges for the cardinals' co-nationals. Mindful of cardinals' increasingly politicised rôles and not wishing to stretch the geometrical metaphor beyond credibility, it is perhaps more accurate to divide their patronage into various spheres of activity. Though not strictly in the nature of clientage, the most obvious such sphere was the Sacred College in which parties or factions tended to form around the more powerful or ambitious figures. Beyond that, our four cardinals acted as natural foci for Venetians in Rome, a category which may or may not have overlapped with that of their households or familiae. To Venetians and non-Venetians, familiars and non-familiars, the cardinals exercised their patronage as sponsors of candidates to benefices. Given Rome's peculiar mix of the sacred and the secular, any attempts to distinguish ecclesiastical from political interests are generally frustrated. Accordingly, discussion of patterns of ecclesiastical patronage will lead into accounts of the cardinals' relationships with Italian and extra-Italian princes, who used cardinals to promote their own causes and candidates at Rome : two sides of the same coin. In each of these various "spheres", one guiding principle and unifying idea will be to determine the extent to which the patronage choices of Barbo, Foscari, Michiel and Zeno were conditioned by their Venetian inheritance.

In theory a seamless garment, acting as a single entity, in practice corrupted by ties of blood and nationality and the individual ambitions of its components, the Sacred College of Cardinals presents a fascinating forum for factional infighting. Between 1471 and 1492, membership

changed, parties and policies fluctuated. It has been observed in chapters two and three that, over a number of years, the Venetian cardinals expressed solidarity with one another in a succession of crises, even to the extent of isolating themselves from the rest of the Sacred College. Between the Interdict episode and crises of lesser magnitude, how did they relate to their fellow cardinals and to each other?

The conclave of 1471 was contested by two distinct parties, the Piischi and the Paoleschi, to whom were added the veterans Bessarion and d'Estouteville (promoted by Eugenius IV), Calandrini and Latino Orsini (by Nicholas V) and Borgia (nephew and protégé of Calixtus III). The Piischi numbered six, the Paoleschi one more, the latter group obviously including Barbo, Michiel and Zeno.<sup>1</sup> As nipoti of the previous pontiff, none of them were considered papabile, as was duly reflected by the fact that they received but a single vote between them, Amico Agnifilio's preference for Barbo. A former associate of Domenico Capranica, then of Pope Paul II, to whom he had also been a tutor, Agnifilio (or Amico della Rocca; d. 1476) had been created a cardinal on the same occasion as Marco Barbo and, although he carried little weight in the Sacred College, provided a link between Barbo, for whom he voted, and the other Venetians, who voted for him. Agnifilio's other support came from the Paoleschi Teodoro de Monferrato (d. 1484) and Francesco della Rovere (both promoted 18 September 1467). That Michiel and Zeno opted for Della Rovere is probably best explained in terms of Pauline party bias. Barbo acceded to him at the last moment as a means of resolving the electoral dilemma, not from any motive which can be identified as a factional or even a personal preference. Indeed, as has been charted in chapter two, no co-ordinated Venetian strategy was at

work, either among the cardinals or masterminded by the Signoria. Michiel and Zeno did not even share Barbo's inevitable enthusiasm for Bessarion, a man whose cross-party support came equally from Piischi, Paoleschi and from his fellow veterans<sup>2</sup>. Otherwise, Barbo's choice fell on Bernardo Eroli (d. 1479), a safe but unexciting candidate, one of the Piccolomini pope's initial promotions. Michiel selected Latino Orsini (1416-1477), who subsequently rose to such favour under Sixtus that it was suspected he might inherit Pietro Riario's mantle as omnipotent papal favourite in 1474.<sup>3</sup> Zeno's preference for Bartolomeo Roverella, Archbishop of Ravenna, put him among the Piischi but equally provided an association with a reliable friend of Venice.<sup>4</sup>

Any party groupings did not last beyond the conclave for, although the Pauline faction won the election on paper, it was soon apparent that the Papacy itself was lost to them. In terms of power and responsibility, the Venetians were consigned to the wilderness ... or Germany (arguably amounting to the same thing!). Sixtus swamped the Sacred College with his own creatures, papal nipoti, Ligurians and representatives of the Roman families with whom the Riario allied themselves, Cosimo and Giovanni Battista Orsini and Giovanni Conti.<sup>5</sup> This new party, even if it did not enjoy a monopoly of power and influence, at least had a decisive advantage over any potential rivals.

As already related at length, the Venetians united in defence of their patria when prompted by a crisis, most notably of course in response to Sixtus's defection to the League in December 1482 and to the Interdict, but also in opposition to Lorenzo Zanes being made a cardinal in December 1476 and on other no less significant occasions. Otherwise, as the conclaves bear witness, visible unity between them was rarely accomplished. If a Venetian party existed in the College, it was created by force of

circumstances. Moreover, beyond Barbo, Michiel, Zeno and, later, Foscari, it had few adherents. The Paduan-educated Roverella, who served on the Hospitaller commission with Barbo in 1466 and whose benefices of S. Michele di Comolo and S. Spirito, Ravenna, passed to the Venetian, died on 3 May 1476, so could never have joined forces with another "friend of Venice", Gabriele Rangoni, promoted with Foscari on 10 December 1477.<sup>6</sup> That Rangoni's absence from the Corpus Domini celebration in 1483 caused him to be identified as a Venetian must, nevertheless, be balanced against the fact that he was never addressed as such by the Signoria. A third "friend of Venice" to emerge in the early 1480s was Cardinal Giorgio da Costa of Lisbon, though his involvement in Venetian affairs was more or less confined to the peace negotiations during the latter phases of the Ferrarese War.<sup>7</sup> Those three apart, the only other cardinal of the Sistine years who definitely gravitated towards his Venetian colleagues, though not noticeably towards Venice, was Jacopo Ammannati, Bishop of Pavia (d. 1479). A friend of Bessarion and Barbo, whom he kept informed of events at the Curia during Barbo's German legation in the early 1470s, the attraction was largely based on cultural sympathy.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, as Pastor states, Ammannati was no partisan of the Della Rovere and accused Sixtus of being corrupted by supreme power.<sup>9</sup> It was also Ammannati who made public the Venetian cardinals' unanimous opposition to Lorenzo Zane's candidature for a coveted red hat.

Relations between Foscari, Michiel, Zeno and non-Venetian cardinals during the Sistine pontificate are largely set in shadow. The same applies to Marco Barbo prior to the commencement in 1481 of his extant correspondence with his secretary Giovanni Lorenzi. That epistolary series reveals that, between July 1481 and at least March 1483, Lorenzi

was in almost daily contact with Domenico della Rovere, successively cardinal of S. Vitale and S. Clemente. Accounts of consistories were based on information provided by Della Rovere himself or by his secretary, Bartolomeo Manfredi. Thus, for example, Lorenzi wrote to Barbo on 31 July 1481 : "Orator Ungarus heri XXIIII hora auditus fuit, nec, ut dixit mihi d. Sancti Clementi, responsum habebit, nisi post consistorium quod erit die veneris, et placet pontifici consillium r.de d.nis v.re".<sup>10</sup> This source of information ceased when Della Rovere was sent as legate to Piemonte, from 21 June 1483 to 3 May 1484, after which he was no longer at the hub of curial affairs and, accordingly, makes highly infrequent and incidental appearances in the Barbo-Lorenzi carteggio.<sup>11</sup> Domenico della Rovere's association with Marco Barbo dated back at least as far as 10 November 1480, when they jointly proposed a candidate to the bishopric of Constance.<sup>12</sup> He was particularly prominent at the Papal Court at precisely the time of his cultivation by Lorenzi. Gherardi wrote of him : "excellens ... sanitate consili et ingenii boni; sola tamen principis gratia illum extulit et bonum apud omnes nomen".<sup>13</sup> Not that Della Rovere ever attained the stature of Pietro Riario, whose brief, dazzling career Marco Barbo witnessed from a convenient distance, but he was closer to Sixtus than any Venetian could ever hope to be.<sup>14</sup> An alternative explanation for this apparent association between two cardinals may well lie with the two secretaries, Lorenzi and Manfredi, both distinguished by membership of the élite group of Platina's successors as papal librarian.

Besides the sympathetic Rangoni, other cardinals of whom Barbo and Lorenzi took particular note in the early 1480s were Giovanni Colonna (created 15 May 1480, d. 26 September 1508) and Giovanni Battista Savelli (created 15 May 1480, d. 18 September 1489) who, together with Marino

Savelli, were incarcerated in Castel S. Angelo between June 1482 and November 1483. Sixtus held them on suspicion of being in communication with his enemies. In the wake of Sixtus's volte-face in December 1482, the Venetian Signoria consistently sought to make political capital out of the cardinals' plight, calling upon the Venetians in Rome to expose this scandal and work for the release of Colonna and Savelli. Writing to Barbo, Lorenzi discussed the matter on 16 December 1482, 26 and 29 August, and 30 September 1483, generally dealing with supplications made to Sixtus for their release.<sup>15</sup> The last of these was made by Girolamo Porcari (d. 1503), an auditor of the Rota since 1471, who went on to become a referendarius under Innocent, a canon of St. Peter's and, from 26 April 1495, Bishop of Andria. A person with such a record of service would have been well known to an experienced secretary like Lorenzi. Indeed, Marco Barbo's path had already crossed that of a member of the Porcari family, when the cardinal testified that Cornelio, son of Battista Porcari, was a cleric, a prosecution against him being abandoned forthwith.<sup>16</sup>

Much less certainty surrounds the precise pattern of voting in the conclave which elected Innocent VIII than in those of 1471 and 1492. However, it is true to say that similarities can be traced between those of 1484 and 1492, with sixteen cardinals participating in both (out of a total of twenty-five in the former and twenty-three in the latter).<sup>17</sup> In each case, the main forces at work were the Vice-chancellor, Rodrigo Borgia, and the Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincula; the titanic struggle of 1492 seems to have been to some extent rehearsed in 1484. The Orsini-Conti alignment was already in alliance with Borgia, while the other Roman faction naturally veered towards Giuliano. Cardinals d'Aragona and Sansoni-Riaric supported Borgia, while Giuliano could count on Cibò,

Girolamo Basso della Rovere and Domenico della Rovere (who became a Borgia man in 1492). All of which was, in the circumstances of 1484, largely determined by the strong preferences of the League and non-League powers.<sup>18</sup> Marco Barbo would have been an ideal compromise candidate, even enjoying the confidence of Giuliano, had it not been for his Venetian birth, which made him unacceptable to the League. Sources claim that he received between ten and twelve votes in the first scrutiny, without identifying the voters themselves. There is no reason to believe that Foscari, Michiel and Zeno did not vote for Barbo, on the basis that all were anathema to the League, as were the Genoese and Ultramontanes. This would account for the support of the Della Rovere grouping : Cibò, Basso della Rovere, Domenico della Rovere, Savelli and Colonna, while also prompting speculation about Philibert Hugonet. Costa and Rangoni would not have been unsympathetic to a Venetian pope. According to the Sienese ambassador, Barbo was supported by Milan, which may have brought him the votes of Nardini and Arcimboldi. "All the courtiers", the envoy wrote on 22 August, "and those who are not blinded by passion, are anxious for the election of Barbo or (the Sienese) Piccolomini in the interests of the Church. Piccolomini is supported by Naples, Barbo by Milan; Cardinal Borgia is zealously canvassing for himself".<sup>19</sup> Once the seriousness of Barbo's chance was established, the prospect of a candidate as good as neutral being elected was too much for Giuliano to swallow. In the second scrutiny, it seems likely that most of the Venetian's supporters transferred their allegiance to Della Rovere's protégé, Cardinal Cibò, bribery also winning over Orsini, Sansoni-Riario, Sforza, Borgia and d'Aragona to give Cibò an overwhelming majority. No serious votes, if any at all, would have been cast for Foscari, Michiel and Zeno.

Innocent's pontificate was considerably more congenial to the Venetian cardinals in that the Riario-Orsini grouping was displaced from its dominant position, to be replaced by men with whom Marco Barbo at least enjoyed genuine friendship and mutual respect. His most intimate contact in the College at this time was the Frenchman Jean de Balue, Bishop of Angers from 1467 to 1491, whom Paul II created a cardinal after he persuaded the Paris Parlement to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. Balue's curial career began in earnest in 1482, after the legate Giuliano della Rovere had secured his release from prison, whence Louis XI had cast him on a charge of conspiring with Charles the Bold. In Rome, Balue shared Barbo's ultramontane interests as protector of the French nation from February 1485 and of Scottish affairs. The Scottish ambassador, Andrew Forman, resided in the cardinal's household. As legate to Germany in 1489 and cardinal protector of the Hospitallers, obvious parallels can be drawn with his Venetian counterpart. In a letter of 27 August 1489, Giovanni Lanfredini, then Florentine ambassador to the Curia, described Balue as such a "gran praticone" that, by means of his missions to the Emperor, the King of the Romans and the King of Spain, and his new-found friendship with the King of France, he had made himself so powerful as to frighten the pope.<sup>20</sup> For signs of friendship between the two cardinals, one may cite Barbo's invitation to Balue to join him at Orvieto in September 1485, as the latter journeyed North on an unspecified mission. Four years later, Balue and Lorenzi paid a joint visit to Barbo at Palestrina.<sup>21</sup> The secretary was repeatedly enjoined to convey his master's greetings, occasionally supplemented by gifts of wine, to the Cardinals of Angers and Naples (i.e. Balue and the pious Carafa), both of whom went on to be executors of Barbo's will.<sup>22</sup> The same sources offer no hint of the French

cardinal being particularly connected with any of the other Venetians, though the period of his greatest significance at Rome coincided with that of Giovanni Michiel and the general revival of Venetian fortunes.

In addition to being paired with Balue in the letters of Barbo and Lorenzi, Oliviero Carafa (1430-1511), Archbishop of Naples, was, like Domenico della Rovere, frequently a direct source of information for the secretary: "R. mus d. Neapolitanus dixit mihi secretissime se intellexisse quod inter filium d. ni Rothomagen. (i.e. Girolamo, son of Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville, Archbishop of Rouen) et nep(o)tem d. ni Sabelli conclusum erat matrimonium et quod pontifex ambobus presentibus et de hoc referentibus, nuptias benedixerat". On this occasion in August 1481, however, Carafa conveyed nothing more than a rumour about Girolamo d'Estouteville, Count of Sarno, who went on to marry the daughter of Napoleone Orsini in 1483.<sup>23</sup> Only a year after acting together (with Todeschini-Piccolomini) as Barbo's executors, Carafa and Balue became staunch supporters of Borgia and Della Rovere in the 1492 conclave. Evidently the categories "friend of Venice" and "friend of Venetian cardinals" were not quite one and the same!

For the sake of an aphorism, there were three ways to succeed at the Curia: to feed people, to flatter people or to increase their material income. The last of these could be performed only by a greater for a lesser curialist, the second will be treated of at some length in the following chapter, while the first formed the basis of households or familiae, but was a no less useful device among equals. Accordingly, a meal which took place in the palazzetto at S. Marco in August 1485 illustrates Marco Barbo's hospitality towards the leading figures of the Curia, even though they were entertained by Lorenzi in the cardinal's absence. Among those present were Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere, Balue

and Colonna, together with Enea Lopez de Mendoza, Count of Tendilla and Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, Niccolò Franco, Bishop of Treviso, the protonotary Obietto Fieschi and Domenico Doria, a relative by marriage of the Genoese pope.<sup>24</sup> As great as Barbo's friendship was with Balue, so was the Frenchman's with Giuliano, the power behind the papal throne during the eight years of Innocent's pontificate. Barbo was thus close to the nucleus of the predominant faction, one by no means averse to Venice or, on the evidence of the previous chapter, to Venetian cardinals in general. Giovanni Lorenzi employed these connections within days of the S. Marco meal, appealing to Giuliano and Balue for a favourable division of the late Cardinal Foscari's benefices. In turn, the Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vinculi and Angers invited Lorenzi to dine with them at the end of August, the secretary clearly representing his master and having to make excuses to the assembled company for Barbo's disinclination to socialise.<sup>25</sup>

By 1492, and after the usual vicissitudes of peninsular politics, the two parties of 1484 had basically expanded and become entrenched. Of the veterans of 1484, seven have been identified with Giuliano and his Neapolitan backers, a further seven looked to Borgia, Carafa, Ascanio Sforza and Milan, while Sclafenati remained ambiguous. At the risk of oversimplifying the 1492 conclave by speaking in terms of two solid blocs, each faction obtained three more supporters and the independents another two. Giovanni Michiel, a non-controversial figure, proved easily the most popular of the anti-Borgia grouping, receiving seven votes in each of the first and second scrutinies and ten in the third, including that of Antoniotto Palavicini, who acceded to him. Although the Venetians had lost Barbo and Foscari since 1484, they had gained Maffeo Gherardo, whose Venetian credentials were more than proved in the conclave when

he voted consistently for Zeno, Michiel and Costa in all three scrutinies. This unswerving loyalty to Venice and, by implication, to Giuliano was rewarded by three token votes in the third scrutiny, those of Fregoso, Michiel and Lorenzo Cibò. This pattern contrasted markedly with the votes given and received by Battista Zeno, conspicuously breaking the partisan mould. In each scrutiny he voted for Borgia, who reciprocated. In the second and third, he also selected Cardinal Giovanni Conti, a supporter of Borgia and Carafa. According to the information presented by La Torre, Zeno was the only member of the anti-Borgia faction persuaded to break ranks. The singularity of his position was reinforced by the fact that in the second scrutiny he received five votes, of which two were from what is perceived to have been the opposing side (those of Borgia and Conti), two from independents (Sclafenati and Giovanni de' Medici), and only one from the faction of which he was nominally a member - that of Maffeo Gherardo, of course!<sup>26</sup> All of which supersedes Pastor's fundamentally contradictory account, in which Borgia secured Michiel's vote by promising him the bishopric of Porto (actually granted to the Venetian, 31 August 1492), Zeno was among those cardinals who resisted all bribes and Gherardo's last-minute vote was crucial in securing Borgia's victory.<sup>27</sup> In the light of events prior to the conclave, both long and short-term, La Torre's scenario is the more persuasive, though Pastor's accords better with Michiel's receipt of the Porto bishopric and Zeno's later departure from Rome.

Contemporary observers were more inclined to view the three or four Venetian cardinals as a group than did the Signoria or, indeed, the cardinals themselves. The divergence of their political profiles and enthusiasms, their reputations and responsibilities has been established in preceding chapters. On a personal level, Zeno and Michiel would

appear to have had the closest links among the four, particularly earlier in their careers. They even signed the Liber Fraternitatis of the newly refounded Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia on the same day, 1 April 1478. Barbo and Foscari had both signed in the last week or so of March, even before Sixtus and Giuliano, protector of the hospital. As all the cardinals then resident in Rome did the same, patronage of that popular and high-profile institution cannot be used as a means of distinguishing factions : the Liber witnesses to unity rather than diversity.<sup>28</sup>

Giovanni Lorenzi's reports on Zeno and Michiel at or beyond the Curia tend to separate the two in the period after Innocent's election, just as their fortunes in the receipt of papal patronage had a tendency to diverge. Zeno, in fact, practically disappears from view, meriting a total of three references by Barbo and Lorenzi after July 1483, compared with seventeen for Michiel.<sup>29</sup> A fair proportion of the latter relate to the Paduan controversy of 1485-7, itself a potential source of dissension among the Venetian cardinals on account of Barbo's preference for Pietro Barozzi.

As the circumstances of Pietro Foscari's death bear witness, there was a strong personal bond between him and Cardinal Barbo, whose contacts with his own kinsmen Zeno and Michiel were probably minimal. Thus, with the exception of episodes isolated in chapters two and three, the existence of a united Venetian party in the Sacred College was more apparent than real. In the light of this, what kind of leadership did the quartet offer to the Venetian community in Rome, their second obvious sphere of activity?

The term "Venetian" may be subjected to a variety of interpretations or grades of meaning, from genuine Venetians, whether of patrician or

lesser birth, to persons originating in territories subject to Venetian rule, particularly the Veneto. By extension, one might include clerics of non-Venetian origin who became associated with foundations such as S. Giorgio in Alga : sufficiently Venetian in Roman eyes. Of those Venetians in Rome between 1471 and 1492, who can be positively identified from Vatican, Venetian and other archival sources, three-fifths were in holy orders, while the number of patricians approximately equalled non-patricians, whether from Venice itself or the terraferma. A large proportion of the laymen can be accounted for in terms of ambassadors, secretaries and merchants, in Rome on a temporary basis, as were any pilgrims, whether lay or clerical. If there existed a resident, lay Venetian community in Rome, it must have been minimal. Was Gabriele Capodilista, a Roman senator in 1476, in a minority of one?<sup>30</sup>

Among non-curial Venetians, two ambassadors may be singled out as having known the cardinals in other than purely professional capacities. Antonio Donato's mother was Doge Francesco Foscari's daughter Camilla, making him possibly the only Venetian in Rome who could claim kinship with Cardinal Foscari.<sup>31</sup> Secondly, the ever-flexible term nipote was used to describe Alvise Diedo's relationship to Cardinal Barbo, when the former stood as a candidate for the patriarchate of Aquileia in 1491.<sup>32</sup> An apostolic protonotary, Alvise was the son of the former Venetian orator at Rome, Francesco Diedo. The precise nature of their kinship with Barbo is far from clear. Additional evidence of this connection appears in an inscription at the Cistercian monastery of S. Maria, Sanavalle, diocese of Ceneda, of which Barbo was commendatory until 18 July 1485: "M. Barbi patriarchae Aquileiensis sancti Marci cardinalis et huiusce abbatiæ commendatarii auctoritate, iussu, impensaque Angelus

Fasolus Feltrensis episcopus tamquam commissarius incepit; Aloysius Diedo apostolicae sedis protonotarius nec non Vidorensis abbatiae commendatarius perpetuus ipsiusque cardinalis Marci nepos absolvit anno Domini MCCCCLXXXIII."<sup>33</sup> Although the monastery was renounced in favour of the primicerio Pietro Dandolo in 1485, might there not be a hint of something approaching nepotism at work here?

Besides the cardinals, eleven other Venetians signed the Liber Fraternitatis of S. Spirito before Innocent's death. Only one of them had a definite association with a Venetian cardinal. Four belonged to the Congregation of S. Giorgio in Alga: Agostino de Carariis (signed 20 December 1490), Doroteo and Giornata di Spalato (17 October 1491) and Modesto Trevisan (22 August 1482). None of these have emerged in another Roman context. The same can be said of Girolamo Corner (16 June 1485), Felice Feliciano of Verona (24 January 1479), Girolamo di Martino di Venezia (12 August 1479), Tommaso "Meuerli" a priest of Aquileia (2 June 1478) and Girolamo Paiari of Vicenza (8 June 1491). Alessandro Bon, the canon of Padua who witnessed Pietro Foscari's donation of the library in 1482, added his name on 31 September 1490, as did the humanist Ilarione da Verona (Niccolò Fontanelli) on 9 May 1478. The small number of Venetian signatories may be partially accounted for by the fact that Venice opened its own church and monastery of S. Spirito along the Zattere in 1483, a foundation approved by both the patriarch and the secular government.<sup>34</sup>

Nor was Venetian representation high in the Roman Curia itself. Peter Partner's figures reveal that, between 1417 and 1527 there were six Veneto Chamber clerks out of 138 (4.3%) and twenty secretaries out of a total of 231 (10.5%). Taking these two figures together, only the Regno and Piemonte, of the Italian regions, supplied less, most posts

being filled by residents of the Papal States, Tuscans and Spaniards.<sup>35</sup> Narrowing the chronological focus, the Chamber clerk Antonio Capodilista (d. 1489) had been a canon of Padua from 10 April 1461, but it is not known when he took up his curial appointment. Innocent appointed four Venetian apostolic secretaries: Domenico Grimani (1 October 1491, until he became a cardinal two years later), Giovanni Lorenzi (12 September 1484), Sebastiano Priuli (20 October 1489, resigned 1496, d. 1502) and Benedetto Soranzo (1487). Cardinal Michiel's close associate Antonio Orso joined their number in 1502. Sixtus did not appoint any Venetian secretaries; a fact which does not prompt any undue surprise.<sup>36</sup>

A handful of other "Venetians" made names for themselves in papal service in this period, in one capacity or another, but few, if any, boast any documentary connection with one or more of the cardinals. Francesco Brevio (d. 1508) was a Paduan doctor of laws and a renowned canonist, becoming an auditor of the Rota in 1482. He was proposed for various bishoprics, including Concordia in 1488, but was consistently opposed by Venice.<sup>37</sup> The protonotary Agostino Ciera (d. 1476) may also have fallen foul of the Republic, being called to Rome by Sixtus, from whom he also received benefices. It has been suggested that he returned to Venice as papal legate but, if that was the case, it must have been an exceptionally brief appointment.<sup>38</sup> Gabriele Condulmer established himself in Rome thanks to the patronage of his kinsman Paul II, and may have survived there until at least 1481, albeit without any definite connection with the cardinals.<sup>39</sup> Another distant kinsman was the apostolic abbreviator Antonio Zen, but again there is a complete absence of documentary evidence to delineate his relationship with either Battista Zeno or the other three cardinals.<sup>40</sup> These cases are paralleled by that of Paolo Giustiniani, who replaced the Neapolitan Dominican Marco Maroldi

as Master of the Sacred Palace on 6 June 1489. Yet was he related to the distinguished Venetian Bernardo Giustiniani or to the firm of "Paulo Justiniano et compagni" of Genoa?<sup>41</sup> Continuing this list, there is no doubt of Matteo Bosso's Veronese origins. Though independent of the Curia itself, Bosso was based in Rome between 1486 and 1488 as procurator of the Canons Regular of the Lateran, as related in the previous chapter.<sup>42</sup> Unlike Bosso, the name of the preacher Bernardino da Feltre cannot be associated with any of the Venetian cardinals, though a connection cannot be entirely ruled out since his Lenten sermons in Rome in 1482 are said to have attracted "prelates and cardinals and to have merited the praises of Sixtus IV".<sup>43</sup>

Inevitably, the cardinals would have been on better terms with Venetian bishops in Rome, whether non-residents based in the Eternal City or there merely for periodic ad limina visits. Bishops in cardinalitial households will be dealt with below. Otherwise, the only Venetian bishop in Rome to be distinguished by association with the cardinals was Pietro Barozzi, a guest of Marco Barbo in 1471 when the latter was responsible for his appointment to the see of Belluno. Barozzi's harmonious relations with Pietro Foscari and, particularly, with Giovanni Michiel found expression in literary form and have been stressed by Gios.<sup>44</sup> Arguably the only comparable friendship between two later quattrocento Venetian bishops was that of Lorenzo Zane and his kinsman-protégé Girolamo Lando. At the opposite end of the spectrum, there is no traceable connection between the cardinals and Silvestro Daziari, Bishop of Chioggia from 1480, though his path may have crossed Barbo's on at least one occasion. Daziari is known to have been in Rome in January 1483, December 1484, November 1485 (at Leonardo Grifo's funeral ... Cardinals Barbo and Costa were Grifo's executors) and January 1487, the last date we have for him. He must have

died before 24 January 1487, on which date Giovanni Michiel proposed his episcopal successor. Little, if anything, is known of his whereabouts before or between those various dates, though a "Silvestro de datariis de Venetiis" had been a Chamber clerk and was certainly in Rome in August 1474.<sup>45</sup>

Assuming an intermediate position between intimates of the cardinals and those bishops with no documented association was Benedetto Soranzo, Archbishop of Nicosia from 1484, in succession to Vittore Marcello. The cardinals would have been well aware of Soranzo on account of his negotiations with Girolamo Riario in 1483 and his candidature for the commenda of S. Zeno, Verona, the previous year.<sup>46</sup> Though dividing his time between Rome and Venice, the archbishop received reports on the four cardinals from a number of Roman correspondents, including Giovanni de Caranelli, Niccolò Dolci and Niccolò da Bologna.<sup>47</sup> Their information was gleaned from members of the cardinals' households. Moreover, Soranzo was certainly in direct contact with Angelo Fasolo and Giovanni Lorenzi.<sup>48</sup> Herein lies the key to the existence or otherwise of a Venetian community within the Curia and the cardinals' relationship with the same. It is probably more accurate to think in terms of individuals in Rome for specific purposes and as a result of personal connections rather than a genuine Venetian community. The cardinals themselves may or may not have had direct contact with those individuals, but their secretaries and other familiars doubtless made up the deficiency, particularly if they were themselves Venetian. A cardinal's household was at once the most visible and active expression of his patronage and an invaluable means of communication with all branches of the world beyond Rome.

J.F. D'Amico summarises the mutually beneficial rôles of patron and

client, and the nature of households or familiae in papal Rome, with enviable succinctness : "The curial familia consisted of those men, called familiars or familiars, lay or cleric, Italian or non-Italian, who were employed to assist the lord in his religious, ceremonial, cultural, and personal duties. This familia was an accurate reflection and extension of the Curia and of Roman society. Its members were exclusively male and at its higher levels celebrate .... The familia was arranged in strictly hierarchical order. The lord was the apex of power and he handed down authority to his subordinates .... Further, the familia organised and integrated cultural, domestic, religious, and administrative needs into a unity that served the good of its lord."<sup>49</sup> If familiars served their lord well, the more likely was he to reciprocate by obtaining for them benefices or curial positions. In turn, cardinals and other senior figures who were close to that supreme fount of patronage, the pope, were more likely to attract into their service men of ability, promise or ambition. Moreover, to individuals originating beyond Rome, the curial household acted as a substitute family, a source of companionship and focus of allegiance akin to a college within a university.

Debate surrounds the size and composition of cardinals' households. In his twenty-five months as a cardinal, Pietro Riario is said to have accumulated a five-hundred strong familia at SS. Apostoli, at a cost of 150,000 scudi per annum, though this must be regarded as an exceptionally large figure. In 1493, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este planned to head a household of 136 familiars and servants. Chambers gives an average of 154 servants in a cardinal's household in 1509, while Lucinda Byatt cites a figure of 140-180 persons in the household of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi between 1535 and 1550.<sup>50</sup> By and large, the cinquecento saw a reduction

in the scale of households, as national hospices and colleges expanded and took on functions of hospitality which had, hitherto, formed the basis of a familia. "For the house of a cardinal should be a hospitable one, a harbour and shelter for learned and upright men, for impoverished nobles and persons of high repute and esteem."<sup>51</sup>

During the decade covered by the Barbo-Lorenzi carteggio, the two writers refer to persons of almost every rank within the cardinal's household or extra-Roman entourage, including as many as ten grooms and couriers, up to twenty-seven familiars of indeterminate status, two priests described as "nostri", a dozen otherwise anonymous domini or magistri (who may or may not have owed their first allegiance to Barbo), besides the secretaries, treasurers and so forth who made up the cardinal's inner circle of associates. Our concern is not with those at the base of the domestic pyramid, however vital their functions, but rather with those individuals designated familiaries continui commensales, whose status reflected the concept of hospitality in which the familia had its origins. Familiaries of the four cardinals are listed alphabetically in Appendix B. In his manual for the complete cardinal, Paolo Cortesi suggested that sixty familiaries and eighty lesser servants formed a household appropriate to a cardinal.<sup>52</sup> According to a source cited by Johannes Burchard's DBI biographer, on 1 January 1472, the future Master of Ceremonies appeared as the penultimate name in a list of eighty familiars belonging to Cardinal Barbo's household: the only precise figure attributed to any of the four Venetians at any time.<sup>53</sup> The only truly comprehensive list of such persons is one made on the death of Battista Zeno and now surviving in a seriously fragmented form. Originally, it probably listed approximately ninety individuals belonging to the late cardinal's Veneto entourage.<sup>54</sup>

Of the cardinals' Roman households, at least twenty individuals origina-

ting in Venice, the Veneto or the patriarchate of Aquileia, or at least known only in relation to benefices in those regions, can be identified. Ten of those were familiars of Marco Barbo, six of Pietro Foscari and three of Giovanni Michiel, while only Donato della Torre belonged to Battista Zeno's household.<sup>55</sup> Even in terms of these relative numbers, a parallel can be drawn between patronage and political identification or sympathy with Venice. As Barbo and Foscari proved to be of greater value to the Republic, so were they also to Venetians seeking their fortune in Rome.

Having drawn this parallel, does the rule about Paul II's death bringing about a significant reversal of fortune in the lives of his nipoti apply as equally to households and personnel as it did to political and material circumstances? Surviving lists of Paul's familiars reveal a fair proportion of Venetians, their numbers increasing slightly as the pontificate progressed.<sup>56</sup> Gaspare da Verona recorded contacts between a "ser Nicolò Abraam" and Cardinal Pietro Barbo from 12 June 1453. In Paschini's opinion, he was one and the same as Marco Barbo's familiar Niccolò Abrami.<sup>57</sup> Angelo Fasolo certainly transferred his service from Paul to the second Barbo cardinal in 1471.<sup>58</sup> Andreolo di S. Vito was noted as a papal familiar in August 1470, but had been Marco Barbo's secretary from at least 1465.<sup>59</sup> These three were, however, exceptions to the rule. A number of Venetians in receipt of regular monthly payments from the Apostolic Camera disappear from the records at precisely the time of their benefactor's death. Such was Luca Vitturi, whose last six florin payment was registered on 17 July 1471, nine days before Paul's death. Chiereghino Chiericati, Vittorio Dolfin, an apostolic protonotary, and Antonio Fasolo found themselves in identical circumstances, but none sought the patronage of a Venetian cardinal.<sup>60</sup> Chiericati's career as "Revisore

Generale delle Gente d'arme" to Paul, as Commissioner of the College of Cardinals (briefly, from 29 July 1471) and as the author of a military treatise, brought him into contact with Marco Barbo, to whom he addressed numerous letters and reports in the prosecution of his duties in the Patrimony. Nevertheless, the said treatise, dated 16 August 1471, was dedicated to Cardinal Latino Orsini, as Chiericati sought to ingratiate himself with the new régime. Even before Paul's death, he offered his services to Doge Cristoforo Moro, Antonio Dandolo and the Procuratori di S. Marco Andrea Vendramin and Lodovico Foscari, and ultimately returned to his native Vicenza, while his nephew Leonello remained in Rome as one of Marco Barbo's closest associates.<sup>61</sup> In a parallel fashion, although payments from the Camera to Antonio Fasolo (for mercantile services?) ceased abruptly on 8 July 1471, his brother Angelo continued to enjoy Cardinal Barbo's most intimate confidence.

A comparable case might have been that of Michele Contrario, whom Barbo described in 1482 as his "sometime chancellor". No more is heard of him, though Gaspare da Verona listed Andrea Contrario (d. 1473), Venetian by birth but of Ferrarese stock, among Pope Paul's favourite men of letters.<sup>62</sup> One further candidate for this category was Bartolomeo della Casa, Pietro Foscari's conclavist in 1484. Again, the Vite di Paolo II include a number of Della Casas, but not a Bartolomeo. While family names may have been thus perpetuated, the year 1471 nevertheless marked something of a watershed in patronage terms as it did in political and material fortunes. Those familiars who stayed loyal to Cardinal Barbo throughout the Sistine and Innocentian pontificates - Leonello Chiericati, Angelo Fasolo, Giovanni Lorenzi - did so for personal rather than any discernible dynastic motives. It is far more difficult to trace similar longevity of service among the familiars of the other cardinals.

A handful of individuals flourished at the Curia under both Paul and Sixtus. The Venetian philosopher and theologian Pietro Balbi, for example, had been called to Rome by Paul, and survived the Sistine régime long enough to receive burial in St. Peter's in 1479. Sixtus apparently valued highly this modest man of learning. Needless to say, Balbi had no known connections with any of the Venetian cardinals. Parallel cases will appear in the following chapter.<sup>63</sup>

With a few possible exceptions, all the Venetian familiars of the four cardinals were in holy orders. Three were of episcopal rank : Leonello Chiericati was successively Bishop of Arbe (from 1472), Traù (1484) and Concordia (1489); Angelo Fasolo of Cattaro (1457), Modone (1459) and Feltre (1464); while Antonio Orso was Bishop of Canea in Crete from 1481.<sup>64</sup> In that cardinals had, by tradition, at least one bishop in their household at any time, this information is unexceptional. At the same time, it highlights one of the multiple inadequacies of our data. Who were Foscari's and Zeno's household bishops? The posthumous list of Cardinal Zeno's 1501 familia is headed by Filippo Gaio, Archbishop of Antivari between 1485 and 1509, Giovanni Chiericati, Bishop of Cattaro from 1493, and Bartolomeo Bonino, Bishop of Sebenico in Dalmatia for seventeen years from 1495.<sup>65</sup> There is no evidence that any of these three belonged to the cardinal's Roman household. By way of a balance, the names of Foscari's and Zeno's personal chaplains are known and included in this survey, as is Barbo's chaplain, the Spaniard Giovanni Bosca, but not that of Cardinal Michiel. The Vicentine Francesco de' Malaffis, Foscari's chaplain, received the Benedictine monastery of S. Andrea de Busto, diocese of Ceneda, in commendam in 1479, thanks to the intercession of his patron.<sup>66</sup> The only notice of Zeno's chaplain, Donato della Torre, another Vicentine, to have come to light is contained in a

letter from one of Benedetto Soranzo's Roman contacts in 1484.<sup>67</sup> A number of these clerical familiars held canonries in their native regions. Matteo Alibrandi, Marco Barbo's conclavist in 1484, was a canon of Padua from 1486, as was Renaldo de' Premoli, a familiar of Cardinal Foscari, from 1481.<sup>68</sup> Premoli also witnessed the donation of Jacopo Zen's library in 1482, when the majority of Foscari's household would have transferred to the Veneto. Francesco Sartori is known to us only in his capacity as a canon of Treviso, in succession to his patron, Barbo, and Cardinal Michiel, whose own secretary and conclavist, Francesco Candi of Padua, was a canon of Feltre by 1486.<sup>69</sup> Andreolo di S. Vito was a canon at both Padua and Aquileia. Another patriarchal canon was Michele Lorenzi, of indeterminate kinship to the secretary Giovanni.<sup>70</sup>

At least ten of the twenty Venetian familiars held doctorates in civil or canon law, or in both disciplines. Even when not stated, it seems likely that the majority of them were products of the University of Padua. Among Barbo's familiars Andreolo di S. Vito, Giovanni Lorenzi and Lodovico Luvisini were doctors of law, Leonello Chiericati certainly studied that subject at Padua, while Angelo Fasolo left the university with unspecified qualifications. Three of Foscari's associates held doctorates, in all probability of Paduan provenance: Domenico Can, Bianco Ceruto and Niccolò Trevisan. Antonio Orso and Francesco Candi were also doctors of laws, but no specific qualifications are attributed to Cardinal Zeno's "Venetian" adherent, Donato della Torre. Among the non-Venetian familiars listed in Appendix B, only Pietro Bosca and Bartolomeo Caresino are known to have held doctorates, underlining the cardinals' preference for Paduan scholars. Indeed, it would be most surprising if Pietro Foscari's household had not contained a large proportion of Paduan graduates, considering his position as Chancellor of the University.

Venetians loomed proportionately large among the "inner circles" of the cardinals' familiae as conclavists, secretaries, treasurers and others in daily contact with their lords in person or by letter. Burchard lists the Venetian cardinals' conclavists in August 1484 as follows : Barbo - Matteo de Alibrandi and Giovanni Lorenzi; Foscari - Bartolomeo della Casa and Jacobus de Faustionibus; Michiel - Baldassare Biandrate and Thomas Probst; Zeno - Baldassare de Cantagallo and Cristoforo dal Pozzo. In addition, one may note that Francesco Candi was one of Michiel's conclavists in 1492. Bearing in mind that one of Cardinal Giovanni Arcimboldi's conclavists in 1484 was Giovan Pietro Arrivabene and that the conclavist Pietro Riario is said to have secured victory for Francesco della Rovere, the significance of the post can be appreciated. This responsibility called for a thorough understanding of the Curia and, more particularly, of the machinations of the Sacred College. Indeed, as Burchard relates, Lorenzi and Biandrate were among a select group of conclavists deputed to draw up the election capitulation and to make other arrangements. "Congregatis, ut supra, rr.mis dd. cardinalibus, omnes conclaviste supradicti convenerunt in capella majore prope altare majus, ubi concorditer deputaverunt et ordinaverunt venerandos viros dd. Sinulphum de Castro Otherio, camere apostolice clericum, Joannem Petrum de Arivabenis, secretarium apostolicum, Phillipum de Luca, Joannem Laurentium de Venetiis, scriptorem apostolicum, Balthazarrem de Blandrate, Franciscum Barthellai et me Joannem Burckardum ad recipiendum omnia bona in conclave existentia futuri summi pontificis illaque fideliter distribuendum inter conclavistas predictos".

No less responsible and probably more significant in a cardinal's career was his choice of secretaries. For Marco Barbo, the names of five secretaries survive : Matteo de Alibrandi, Andreolo di S. Vito (from 1465),

Antonio Calderini (from 1484 to 1491), Francesco Guarnerio (d. 1478) and Giovanni Lorenzi (from 1476). Pietro Foscari's only known secretary was the Veronese notary Bianco Ceruto. The two Venetians Antonio Orso and Francesco Candi served Cardinal Michiel in that capacity, as di Antonio de Bellocello. Neither of Battista Zeno's secretaries, Baldassare de Cantagallo and Ottavio Cleofilo were Venetian in even the most liberal sense of the word. Other household offices were held by Michele Contrario and Lodovico Luvisini, Barbo's chancellor and treasurer (from 1481) respectively; Domenico Can as Foscari's maestro di casa; Niccolò Piacentino as Michiel's treasurer and Piero Matteo Calzavacca, treasurer to Cardinal Zeno.

Taking these various categories together, Barbo and Foscari favoured only one or two non-Venetians each, while only half of Giovanni Michiel's close associates were Venetian.<sup>72</sup> Zeno's list was exclusively non-Venetian. His conclavist Cristoforo dal Pozzo (or "de Puteo") is a highly problematic figure, who might be considered "Venetian" if it could be proved that he was closely related to Marco Barbo's familiar Francesco dal Pozzo (d.1482), known only as a prebendary of Treviso cathedral. Otherwise, one must assume kinship with the Dal Pozzo of Parma, from whose number another Francesco went to Milan in 1477, was sent as an ambassador to Pope Innocent and died at Milan in 1490.<sup>73</sup> By employing and promoting Venetians at the Curia, a cardinal could maintain a Venetian reputation if not a Venetian mentality. This accords well with Pietro Foscari's image and experience, if not with Marco Barbo's more overtly partisan forays. The contrast with Battista Zeno cannot be over-emphasised, at least for the 1471-92 period, when few if any of his most intimate associates were Venetians, providing an obvious parallel to his generally testy relationship with the Republic. However,

if he observed the maxim and lived in Rome as Romans do, no less did he comply with some unwritten rule about being a scrupulously loyal Venetian when he moved to the Veneto. The 1501 list of his familiars contains numerous Venetians, Vicentines and Veronese at every level of the domestic hierarchy.<sup>74</sup>

Giovanni Lorenzi, whose relationship with his patron can be charted through their copious correspondence, joined Marco Barbo's entourage in 1472 for the central European legation.<sup>75</sup> The cardinal placed great trust in his secretary who, in turn, kept Barbo consistently well informed. Presumably they worked no less closely when the cardinal was resident in Rome. In many senses, Lorenzi sat at the hub of an efficient machine, while a number of Barbo's other familiars divided their time between Rome, the Veneto or elsewhere, supplying the cardinal and his secretary with a steady stream of information. Most of the carteggio references to Matteo de Alibrandi, for instance, stress the function rather than the man: "Acceptis litteris Mattei fui apud d.num Neapolitanum (i.e. Oliviero Carafa) ..."; "Omnino cum d.no episcopo potentino (Lodovico Caracciolo) aliquid boni agite in facto abbacie panormitane et si placent scripta per Matheum ..."; "Item sollicitabis Rubinum ut ea que meo (Barbo) mandato sibi Matheus noster scribit."<sup>76</sup> No information has come to light concerning Alibrandi's career prior to entering Barbo's service, though a Giovan Filippo Aliprandi acted as an agent of Lodovico il Moro and a Bonifazio Aliprando was secretary to the same in 1479.<sup>77</sup> Leonello Chiericati and Angelo Fasolo were no less vital links in this widely spread network of communication. Chiericati was with Barbo in Germany, but had returned to Rome by 25 October 1473, to look after the cardinal's affairs there.<sup>78</sup> Again, most of the carteggio references to him concern correspondence. Fasolo as governor and vicar-general of Aquileia

in the 1470s was a further source of information. Of all Barbo's familiars, Fasolo was probably his greatest friend. The two received burial close to each other in S. Marco at Rome. The carteggio also reflects this friendship : "Res illa d.ni An(geli) nostri reposita est a me in abditissimim et altissimis recessibus .... Credo quod amicus ille d.ni Angeli de alio amico verissimam dixerit sententiam, cum eius amicitia semper fuerit mecenaria, ut ab origine ex fructibus apparuit, crescatque in dies magis".<sup>79</sup>

Pietro Foscari's closest associates were no less vital to him in terms of service even if, like their lord, they tended to keep a lower public profile than Barbo and his familiars. The secretary Bianco Ceruto doubled up in a notarial capacity on a couple of significant occasions. The signing of the Veneto-Papal league on 16 April 1480 at the residence of Cardinal Raffaele Sansoni-Riario, to which Lorenzo Gabriel, Domenico Can and Pietro Mantovano bore witness, was recorded by "Cesare di Cherubino da Montalboddo not. apost. ed imp. e Bianca Ceruti veronese dottore, not. imp. e segretario del Foscari".<sup>80</sup> Six months later Ceruto, again described as Foscari's secretary, was granted 41 florins and 56 baiocchi by the Apostolic Camera for his part in bringing the league into being.<sup>81</sup> In 1482, the act by which Foscari donated Jacopo Zen's library to the Paduan chapter was specifically the work of "Notaio Bianco Ceruto di Verona".<sup>82</sup> Domenico Can was also a man of many parts, Foscari's vicar-general at Padua and maestro di casa there and in Rome. By contrast, there survive few signs of Francesco Candi's service for his master Giovanni Michiel prior to the 1492 conclave, though one, in the records of the papal librarians, also provides a direct connection between Candi and Giovanni Lorenzi : "Ego Franciscus de Candis de Padua, reverendissimi domini cardinalis Sancti Angeli secretarius, habui a domino Ioanne de

Venetiis beatum Thomam super libros priorum, posteriorum et Elenchorum Aristotelis in membranis cum tabulis albis, di xxx mensis ianuarii 1490. - Restitu(i)t die 12 februarii."<sup>83</sup>

In return for these services, what favour did the cardinals bestow on their Venetian familiars? Through Marco Barbo's influence, Giovanni Lorenzi obtained the posts of apostolic scriptor in 1479, papal secretary in 1484 and, of course, papal librarian the following year. The last two were part of the Innocentian windfall from which the Venetian cardinals benefitted at the beginning of the new pontificate. Barbo set his seal of approval on the 1485 appointment by presenting to the library a MS of Jerome's letters "propter ingressum prefati domini Johannis domestici et dilecti familiaris sui" on the day that Lorenzi took up the post of librarian. On Alexander VI's election, Lorenzi was replaced as librarian according to custom, but retained the secretaryship and other distinctions until death. The assumption that he fell into disgrace in 1492 or 1501 has been effectively scotched.<sup>84</sup> Among benefices received as a result of his illustrious connections was the church of S. Angelo de Sacco, diocese of Padua, for the commenda of which he was granted a dispensation on 1 October 1488.<sup>85</sup> That Leonello Chiericati was proposed to the bishopric of Arbe and Traù by Bessarion and Barbo respectively is unequivocal evidence that he owed his promotion directly or indirectly to his cardinal-patron.<sup>86</sup> It is unclear whether Chiericati's important French legation can be attributed to the same mechanism but, as will be explored below, the bishop and the cardinal were in regular contact since the scope of the legation overlapped with Barbo's own ultramontane interests. Significantly, the Vicentine also accompanied Cardinal Costa to Cesena in 1484 for the negotiation of peace with Venice. Presumably he kept Barbo apprised of developments there.<sup>87</sup> Whether among Venetians

or non-Venetians, the familiae of Cardinals Foscari, Michiel and Zeno offer no parallel of curial service, a revealing barometer of the cardinals' individual standing with the pope, casting severe doubts on their effectiveness as patrons.

It has been observed that only one among the Venetian familiars of Foscari, Michiel and Zeno - Antonio Orso - rose to episcopal dignity. None of his non-Venetian colleagues acquired that distinction. Adding this to their negative record of curial service, to whom, then, were those three cardinals attractive as patrons? Foscari's men were probably held by loyalty to the man and to the Republic, while one sub-category of Venetian omitted above was that of nipoti, attracted to the households of Giovanni Michiel and Battista Zeno on a temporary basis. Gios relates how Bartolomeo Trevisan (d.1509), a canon of Padua from 10 April 1490, joined his "uncle" Cardinal Michiel in Rome for an unspecified length of time. The relationship (whatever it was precisely) did Trevisan no harm, for he went on to become Bishop of Belluno in 1499.<sup>88</sup> In 1483 a Girolamo Michiel was among the candidates for the bishopric of Traù, the benefice eventually granted to Leonello Chiericati. In the proba Michiel was described as a "doctor, archipresbiter et canonicus traguriensis ac spalatensis" who had spent "pluries annos in curia romana". Though nothing links him specifically to the Michiel cardinal, the coincidence is sufficient to merit inclusion at this point. Another Girolamo Michiel, canon and archpriest of Padua between 1447 and 1472, and a doctor of both laws, stood for the patriarchate of Venice twice in 1464 and again two years later, as well as for Treviso in 1466. Whether or not these were two separate individuals depends on Dondi dell'Orologio's assertion that the latter died in 1478.<sup>89</sup>

The 1501 list of Cardinal Zeno's familiars includes two kinsmen : "D. Hieronius Zeno eius nepos" and "D. Petrus Zeno Commissarius". Girolamo and Pietro were also among beneficiaries of the will.<sup>90</sup> However, it seems that, between 1471 and 1492, only one male representative of the clan beat the path to Rome to seek his fortune through the cardinal. Between February 1489 and December 1492, Giovanni Battista, son of Tommaso Zen, addressed five letters to Benedetto Soranzo, who was at Rome throughout that period. Young Zen hoped that Soranzo and the cardinal's secretary Baldassare Cantagallo could persuade the cardinal to look favourably upon him. The last missive in the series, written at Camerino, indicates that a visit to Rome had just been completed.<sup>91</sup> Additionally, it may be noted that, in his capacity as archpriest of the basilica, Battista Zeno would certainly have come into contact with two acolytes named Giovanni Donato and Giovanni Michele or Michiel. The latter had joined the staff of the basilica by 29 December 1482. Were they also beneficiaries in the nepotistic scheme of things?<sup>92</sup>

Nepotism notwithstanding, Foscari, Michiel and Zeno offered dismal prospects for genuinely ambitious Venetians at the Curia. To whom did such individuals turn, few in number though they were? Girolamo Bollani, son of the highly respected and experienced politician Candiano (d.1478) who counted Marco Barbo among his correspondents, belonged to the household of Cardinal Rangoni, that all but fully-fledged Venetian. In Zaccaria Barbaro's commission of 3 June 1480, the ambassador was instructed to recommend the younger Bollani to the Venetian cardinals and to Girolamo Riario. By 1481 he held a doctorate in theology; two years later he was an apostolic protonotary and legate to Friuli. Bollani was also a candidate for a succession of Venetian bishoprics : Padua in 1481, Traù

in 1483, Nicosia in 1484, Treviso, Torcello and Padua all in 1485, Concordia in 1488 and Venice in 1492.<sup>93</sup> Girolamo Bologni of Treviso followed Lorenzo Zane from Belluno to Venice and, ultimately, to Rome. In 1474, he accompanied his bishop to the siege of Città di Castello, but had returned to Treviso by 1475/6.<sup>94</sup>

Zane's other secretary, the Veronese Leonardo Montagna, is better known as a poet and, as such, features in the following chapter. Among other figures of cultural significance, Andrea Brenta of Padua became Cardinal Carafa's secretary, while Giovanni Lorenzi's humanist friend Niccolò Lelio Cosmico returned to Rome from Padua in 1476 in the entourage of Cardinal Gonzaga.<sup>95</sup>

The second category of familiar to be scrutinised is that of non-Venetian Italians, individuals of known or unknown origin and lineage. Cardinals Barbo and Foscari patronised fewer non-Venetian Italians than they did Venetians, while Giovanni Michiel's favours were equally distributed between the two groups. At least seven names may be associated with Barbo, those of Giovanni Andrea de Bricariis (Andrea de Vaccariis or Baccariis), Antonio Calderini, Bartolomeo Caresino, Francesco Guarnerio, Giovanni Lazari, Giorgio de Marinelli and Cesare de' Nacci. Foscari's familiars were Galeazzo Barison and Lodovico Cantarelli, while those linked with Michiel were Antonio de Bellocello, Baldassare de Biandrate and Sebastiano Regrano. In contrast to both these numbers and to his single positively identified Venetian familiar, Cardinal Zeno can be associated with at least nine non-Venetian Italians in the period up to 1492 : Piero Matteo de Calzavacca, Baldassare Cantagallo, Ottavio Cleofilo, Cristoforo dal Pozzo, Bartolomeo della Fonte, Filippo Fanagrossa, Giovanni Monelli, Michelangelo de' Sassi and Niccolò Tasingho. Even by 1501, the comprehensive list of the cardinal's familiars contained a high proportion

of non-Venetians.

Fewer than half of this total can be identified in terms of geography. Caresino came from Massa, Guarnerio from Osimo, while Cesare de' Nacci belonged to the leading family of Amelia and was bishop of the same. Baldassare de Biandrate retained a life-long association with his native Trino (Casale), as already noted in its implications for Cardinal Michiel's minor benefices. Zeno's familiars boasted a wide geographical spread, with Calzavacca from Parma, Cantagallo from Foligno and Cleofilo from Fano. Different sources convincingly assert that Michelangelo de' Sassi originated in Bergamo or Bertinoro. If the latter, it coincided with the location of one of Zeno's minor benefices.<sup>96</sup>

Applying the same criteria to non-Venetians as to Venetians, only Biandrate and Giovanni Monelli were inherited by the cardinals from Paul II, Monelli's name appearing in a list of papal familiars dated April 1465, and Biandrate's in 1465, 1467(?) and March 1471.<sup>97</sup> The Nacci of Amelia produced at least five papal servants in the 1460s: Alessandro, chancellor of Aquapendente; Antonio, papal commissioner at Civitavecchia; Ippolito, knight of St. John and familiar of Paul II; Piramo, papal commissioner at the Tolfa alum mine, castellan of Ceprano and vicar at Civitavecchia; and Tito, chancellor of Orvieto.<sup>98</sup> All of which suggests another incidence of indirect inheritance, as in the case of the Chiericati, uncle and nephew. Among the cardinals' non-Venetian familiars, only Cesare de' Nacci attained episcopal dignity, succeeding Leonello Chiericati as Barbo's household bishop in c.1484. Of the others, only Biandrate, Monelli and de'Sassi were certainly in holy orders. As mentioned above, only a small proportion of the group are known to have possessed doctorates. Nevertheless, before jumping to the conclusion that, on average, the

cardinals were closer to and more dependent on their Venetian familiars, one must attempt some kind of assessment of the services performed by these non-Venetian familiars and of the cardinals' expressions of thanks.

Calderini, Caresino and Guarnerio occupied important positions in Barbo's household, though Paschini offers only a single reference to a Cameral act of 8 November 1475 in support of Caresino's relationship to the cardinal.<sup>99</sup> Calderini (1445-1494) served the city of Florence in a number of official capacities before entering Barbo's service in 1484. He had an opportunity to acquire Roman contacts in 1473, when part of a Florentine embassy to Pope Sixtus, led by Matteo Palmieri, but 1479-80 saw him in France, probably in connection with the Lyons branch of the Medici bank.<sup>100</sup> While Calderini doubtless performed all the functions of a secretary during the seven years he spent in Barbo's service, he receives no mention in the carteggio, being associated exclusively with the cardinal's humanist contacts, most especially those of the Medicean circle. Even so, V.R. Giustiniani refers to correspondence between Calderini and his friend Bartolomeo della Fonte, who was subsequently protected by Cardinal Zeno : one of many inter-household connections?<sup>101</sup> A number of the secretary Francesco Guarnerio's documentary appearances are similarly the preserve of the following chapter, acting as a filter of appeals to Barbo by men of letters. Otherwise, Guarnerio may be noted for the responsibility of conveying a Cameral grant of 1,000 florins to Barbo in Germany, a task shared with Andreolo di S. Vito; and for being commendatory abbot of S. Niccolò in his native Osimo, the position inherited by Barbo upon Guarnerio's decease in 1478.<sup>102</sup>

Among Marco Barbo's non-Venetian Italian familiars, only Cesare de' Nacci offered service comparable to that of Lorenzi, Chiericati or Fasolo. With Chiericati he was present on 21 February 1470, when the podestà of

Perugia appeared before the cardinal.<sup>103</sup> Twenty-one years later he was also present at S. Martinello during Barbo's last hours : "Partiti e' chardinali, ita sedens presa la extrema unctione, e lui respuose ad ogni chosa; dipoi, genuflexus adoravit crucem et iterum rogavit pro omnibus etc. Dipoi, dixit 'ponetemi nel lecto, ut reddam spiritum', e domandato che ora fussi, inmo chome lui senti' le 18 hore, chomandò al veschovo d'Amelia che si partissi e che li dessi il chomandamento dell' anima".<sup>104</sup> As with the Venetians, many of the carteggio references to Nacci share a theme of communication : "R.mo domino meo Neapolitano significabis me (i.e. Barbo) in crastinum Zagarolum iturum, triduoque immorabor ut omnia cognoscam; de quibus bene informatum mittam d.um Cesarem ad suam R.am d.nem ut ipsius consilio et mandato singula dirigenda exequi possim etc."; "Dum hec scriberem venit d.us Cesareus, accepique litteras d.ni v.re r.de et d. Cesaris et Mathei (Alibrandi) de eius mandato".<sup>105</sup> Barbo and Balue were both present at Nacci's Mass to mark the anniversary of Paul II's death in 1486, itself indicative of the debt owed by the Bishop of Amelia to the Barbo pope. He was also present with his lord at Pontida in September 1487.<sup>106</sup> Before moving on to the other households, mention ought to be made of a Cameral record dated 10 April 1472 and concerning a "Foriano de Naccis de Amelia familiare del Car.le di San Marco". An extension of Barbo's Pauline inheritance?<sup>107</sup> Whatever the precise nature of the relationship between Barbo and this second Nacci familiar, the cardinal was, of course, absent from Rome in the Spring of 1472.

Neither Galeazzo Barison nor Lodovico Cantarelli are known to have performed any remarkable or extraordinary services for their patron, Pietro Foscari, nor did Sebastiano Regrano for Giovanni Michiel.<sup>108</sup> Antonio de Bellocello, on the other hand, Michiel's secretary, joined Baldassare de

Biandrate and Antonio Orso to witness the cardinal's formal truce with Venice in February 1477.<sup>109</sup> Biandrate (d.1499), as already noted, was Michiel's conclavist in 1484, being distinguished by special duties on that occasion. By 1486 he was described as Michiel's "cubicularius".<sup>110</sup> Information concerning the precise duties and services of Cardinal Zeno's familiars is similarly sparse. Giovanni Monelli and Michelangelo de' Sassi are known primarily as witnesses to the act of 18 February 1477 by which Zeno made his peace with Venice, an act recorded by Baldassare Cantagallo, doubling up as notary, familiar and secretary ... to which he added the rôle of conclavist seven years later.<sup>111</sup> It was also Cantagallo who was in contact with his opposite number Giovanni Lorenzi in December 1482 : "D.us S. Marie in Porticu est Narnie; venit pridie Baldassar eius secretarius, dixitque mihi quod putat eum non venturum ita cito; de d.no S. Angeli nihil auditur ..."<sup>112</sup> There is nothing to indicate that Zeno's familiars offered anything like life-long service, featuring in the extant records for perhaps an average of three years each. Cantagallo is again something of an exception, our first documentary reference to him as the cardinal's familiar and secretary being dated 12 January 1476 and the last as a conclavist in 1484.<sup>113</sup> At the other end of the scale, the humanist Ottavio Cleofilo of Fano went to Rome in 1473 to become Zeno's secretary, but transferred to the service of Pietro Riario. The speed with which that change of allegiance took place is illustrated graphically enough by the fact that Riario died as early as January 1474. Thereafter, instead of returning to Zeno, Cleofilo passed into the household of Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, a much more attractive patron. Cleofilo's unconcealed enthusiasm for Riario as a patron cannot do other than set Zeno in an even poorer light : "Erat ea domus plena excellentium hominum, videre licebat architectos, pictores, sculptores cytaredos, prestigiatores,

schenobatas, phrygiones, medicos, geometras, arithmeticos, astrologos, philosophos, oratores, poetas, omnes sua arte celeberrimos ... prae ceteris tamen mirum in modum diligebat poetas ac prope venerabatur, quippe cui sempiterni nominis cura erat, cupiebat magnanimus princeps suas laudes etiam posteris notas fieri".<sup>114</sup> How fared the other familiars in terms of rewards for services rendered?

That Marco Barbo obtained benefices on the deaths of Francesco Guarnerio, Giovanni Lazari and Giorgio de Marinelli may suggest that he had played a part in the previous distribution of the said benefices.<sup>115</sup> Appeals for benefices and other favours on behalf of familiars present the most common type of "reward" bestowed by the four cardinals. Thus did Giovanni Michiel seek the assistance of Ercole d'Este in securing a benefice for his familiar Sebastiano Regrano, as Bonfrancesco Arlotti, Ferrarese ambassador to the Holy See, reported on 23 March 1485 : "Ulterius el R.mo Car.le Sto. Angelo me dice havere a questi di scripto a. V. ex.tia in Raccomandation de un suo famigliare d. Sebastiano Regrano nel facto de certi beneficij da baisio, el qual ha havuto la sententia per se, et que transiuit in rem iudicata, et lo adversario è stato condemnato et excommunicato. Per tanto el p.to R.mo Car.le non havendo risposto, me rechiede, et stringe, che lo ricorda a quella che media justicia de servitore suo et subdito vostro, sia favorito alla possessione de la beneficij in executione de la bolla ..."<sup>116</sup>

In like manner, the individuals known as "Nicolò Tosingho" and "Phylippo Fanagrossa" have been identified only in terms of an appeal made by their patron, Battista Zeno, to the Marquis of Mantua, dated 22 October 1484. "La paterna affection che a la digna memoria del Ill. S.re Marchese avo de V. Ex.tia portava la fe. Re. de papa Paulo avunculo nostro. Simul cum la mutua ben volentia nostra havuta con la Bo. me.

del R.mo Mon.re Cardinal de Mantua zio de quella, che fa pigliare fiducia de la Ex.tia v. et pregarla che a Requisitione de Messer Nicolò Tosingho, et Phylippo Fanagrossa nostri antiqui et intimi familiari, che de lì mandamo per farze condurre qui a Roma quatro casse nostre che de lì havemo, voglia concedere una sua lettera de passo, per la quale se commandi che per tutte le terre sue non seli farà pagare gabelle, et dicte casse non siano aperte né lese ..."<sup>117</sup>

Of the four cardinals, surviving correspondence gives the impression that Battista Zeno was the most solicitous for the welfare of his familiars, at least when it came to dealing with secular rulers on their behalf. Thus he wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici on two occasions concerning Michelangelo de' Sassi, "nostro Camerer antiquissimo ... per consequir la pacificha possessione" of the benefice of S. Maria de Montecastello.<sup>118</sup> Zeno's persistence was most apparent in the case of his treasurer Piero Matteo Calzavacca and the latter's brother "nostro spetialissimo, et carissimo Amico el spectabil Cavalier et Doctor Messer Johanni Calzavacha da Parma". Possession of the church of S. Eulalia, described variously as located in the diocese of Reggio or of Parma, was disputed by Piero Matteo and a Giorgio della Rovere. Zeno appealed to Ercole d'Este three times between November 1472 and May 1473, supplemented by a letter from Pietro Foscari in the same cause, dated 16 June 1473.<sup>119</sup> Giovanni Calzavacca, meanwhile, was of greater consequence on the political stage. Although he is not known to have had any formal, clearly defined association with the Cardinal, his service as podestà of Perugia from 1472 occasioned a series of letters from Zeno to Lorenzo de' Medici, between January 1473 and June 1476.<sup>120</sup>

Marco Barbo also seems to have expressed concern for the families of his familiars. Let one example suffice to illustrate this point.

Writing five years after the death of Francesco Guarnerio, Barbo mentions a certain Pietro Guarnerio, presumably not too distantly related to the secretary: "Alias ad R.mum d.um Matis(conen.) et te scripsi de illis frisiis etc. pro puella d.ni Petri Guarnerii olim..."<sup>121</sup> It may have been that Francesco himself owed his position as a Chamber clerk to Barbo's patronage. Whether or not that was the case, all the cardinals supported the causes of their chosen familiars, though some were more vocal than others.

All of which leaves the third category of familiars, those of non-Italian origin. Cardinal Barbo had at least eleven such familiars, making this the largest identifiable division of his household. These men were the Spaniards Giovanni and Pietro Bosca and Michele de Pastrana, the "Germans" Johannes Burchard, Theodoric Kyndeman and Pietro Pimperera, the Greeks Demetrio and Manilio Ralli (on whom the focus will be turned in chapter six) and the lone Scot Thomas Ross. In addition to these, "Pietro Warnerio" is associated with the benefices at Langres and Béziers which passed to Barbo in 1474, as "Erveo Guillino" is known only as a clerk of Quimper, the Gallic source of Giovanni Michiel's 1,000 florin pension.<sup>122</sup> The conclavists Jacobus de Faustinonibus and Thomas Probst, serving Foscari and Michiel respectively, both have a distinctly ultramontane ring, the only recorded members of those two households to be so distinguished. Cardinal Zeno is not known to have entertained any non-Italian familiars. This pattern accords well with the distribution of the cardinals' respective benefices, as explored geographically in the previous chapter, and with their extra-Italian political interests, to be dealt with below. Only one member of this group was "bequeathed" by Pope Paul, the said apostolic scriptor Pietro Warnerio. All but Demetrio Ralli were certainly or at least probably in holy

orders, while only Pietro Bosca held a doctorate, which was without a shadow of doubt in theology.

Numerous though Marco Barbo's non-Italian familiars may have been, with the exception of Giovanni Bosca, the cardinal's chaplain, mentioned by Burchard in the capacity of papal preacher on the feast of All Saints' in 1486, none of them belonged to his innermost circle of associates.<sup>123</sup> Indeed some, such as Burchard himself, hardly merit the title of "familiaris continuus commensalis", belonging to Barbo's household in 1472 but in the service of the Milanese Cardinal Giovanni Arcimboldi by the following year, a defection probably occasioned by Barbo's absence from the Curia.<sup>124</sup> Pietro Bosca, noted by Gherardi as a preacher on Palm and Trinity Sundays in 1483, featured in the Barbo-Lorenzi correspondence throughout the 1480s and was one of Messer Cosimo's three first-hand witnesses to the cardinal's death, but was perhaps more of an intellectual embellishment to the familia than a source of practical assistance to his patron.<sup>125</sup>

Benefices again featured highly on the other side of the patronage equation. Kyndeman, a native of Zurich who may have been based in Rome in the mid-1480s, received two minor benefices in March 1486, formerly held by Pimperera and then by the cardinal himself.<sup>126</sup> Thomas Ross, a clerk from the diocese of Moray, receives inclusion in this survey entirely on account of his dispensation from illegitimacy in 1483 and subsequent possession of a canonry at Caithness and of a prebend in the same diocese. The second of Ross's three appearances in the Papal Registers reads as follows in the translation of J.A. Twemlow : "To Thomas Ross(e), clerk, of the diocese of Moray (Moravien.). Dispensation for him, who was formerly dispensed by authority of the ordinary on account of illegitimacy,

as the son of a priest and an unmarried woman, to be promoted to minor orders and hold a benefice without cure, after which he was made a clerk, so that he, who is a continuous commensal member of the household of Mark, (cardinal) bishop of Palestrina, may be promoted to all, (even) holy orders and hold any compatible benefices with or without cure ..."<sup>127</sup>

No explanation is given for the presence of a rogue Scotsman at the Palazzo di S. Marco. One possibility would be to see Barbo's friend and ally, Cardinal Balue, protector of Scottish interests at the Curia, as some vital missing link.

As in spheres dealt with in previous chapters, our overall impression of the cardinals and their familiae is distorted on account of the nature and quantity of the sources relating to Cardinal Barbo, sources unparalleled in the cases of Foscari, Michiel and Zeno. Accordingly, it would seem that Barbo had the heaviest patronage commitments in household terms, doubtless contributing to his ultimate penury. It follows that less attractive patrons, such as Michiel and Zeno, were not obliged to divide the spoils of their office into so many parts and, inevitably, grew rich in the process. Wealth could buy friends and familiars, but wealth alone could not necessarily keep them. If a cardinal's success or failure is measured by the breadth of his patronage, his ability to attract and retain familiars, then Marco Barbo was clearly the most successful of the four Venetians, documentary bias notwithstanding. Appealing to Venetians and non-Venetians alike, his reputation was established under Paul, was eclipsed in the 1470s but flourished under Innocent, in direct measure to his own proximity to and favour with successive pontiffs. That the other three cardinals were comparatively unattractive in this respect may be attributed to a series of limitations and narrowness of vision on their part, including Foscari's blatant political identification with Venice,

Michiel's nepotism and the marked tendency of all three to distance themselves from ultramontane issues. All these limitations derived ultimately from their Venetian roots and identity, whether consciously cultivated or otherwise.

If households and familiae were the very lifeblood of a cardinal's curial career, bolstering his prestige, keeping him in contact with other households and with events beyond Rome, and altogether reflecting his glory, one may argue that it would be unnecessary, not to say presumptuous, to attempt a similarly detailed survey of the cardinals' non-household associates. Obviously, such networks were extremely widespread, whether in extra-Roman or curial terms, so that definite patronage relationships become harder to distinguish. Cardinal Zeno, for example, as Archpriest of the Basilica, came into daily contact with all the canons and other officials under his authority, but precise relationships in that context can be rapidly passed over as not coming within the terms of our remit, unless they had a direct bearing on the central Venice-Rome dichotomy. Inevitably, more of Cardinal Barbo's non-household associates can be identified than those of Foscari, Michiel and Zeno put together. In one capacity or another they included some of the leading men of their day. Let the names of Lodovico Podocataro and Leonardo Grifo be taken as cases in point. Podocataro, of noble Cypriot birth, a celebrated doctor, Bishop of Capaccio from 14 November 1483 and created a cardinal by his patron Alexander VI, was present in his medical capacity at Barbo's deathbed at S. Martinello, following numerous consultations in the latter half of 1490.<sup>128</sup> Previously, the Venetian had called upon Podocataro's experience in the course of Pietro Foscari's fatal illness in the Summer of 1485. In terms of political and patronage patterns, Podocataro was perhaps an unlikely Barbo associate, notable for having

given private information to Cardinal Borgia when his patient, Pope Innocent, was seriously ill in 1490.<sup>129</sup> It may well have been the Greek's literary talents which forged the bond between them.

Leonardo Grifo (1437-1485), Bishop of Gubbio from 1474 and Archbishop of Benevento from 1482, owes his posthumous reputation as much to his literary output as to his position as Sixtus's secretary. Again, the cultural dimension was probably instrumental in creating a link between him and Marco Barbo, much as it might have benefited the latter to befriend the pope's secretary. Cardinals Barbo and Costa were executors of the will by which Grifo left 6,990 gold florins to many Roman churches and congregations in November 1485, while there was a suspicion that Innocent might have created him a cardinal had he lived longer. Herein we may perceive the seeds of a potentially fruitful patronage relationship between pope, cardinal and humanist secretary.<sup>130</sup>

Possibly the largest grouping of Marco Barbo's non-household Roman contacts were united by association with the Knights Hospitallers, a body which itself suggests the existence of another patronage network. As explained in chapter four, Barbo's Hospitaller connections tended to lapse with the advent of the Sistine pontificate. Circumstantial evidence prompts the theory that this association thrived once more under Innocent, as yet another aspect of the Venetians' general revival of fortunes after the 1484 conclave. Firstly, Cardinal Balue had become protector of the Order, reflecting its strong Gallic bias; a preference nevertheless by no means shared in Venice. Secondly, Leonello Chiericati and Antonio Flores, during their French mission, played an important part in the transfer of Djem to Rome. Thirdly, Barbo's earlier Hospitaller experiences brought him into contact with successive Priors of the Order's Roman house, Battista and Cosimo Orsini. According to Zippel, the half-anonymous author

of the account of Barbo's death may well have been another Cosimo Orsini, son of Napoleone Orsini of Bracciano and nephew of Cardinal Latino.<sup>131</sup> By way of a balance, though, it ought to be pointed out that no extraordinary connection has emerged between Marco Barbo and the most noted Hospitaller of his day, Pierre d'Aubusson, (d.1503) Grand Master of the Knights of St. John and himself a cardinal from 1489.<sup>132</sup>

From miscellaneous suppositions and coincidences, the next sphere of the Venetian cardinals' curial careers to be treated to a post mortem, presents an overall impression of cast-iron certainty. The patronage chain may be observed at its most blatant in the part played by cardinals in sponsoring candidates to vacant benefices, whether those candidates were their own protégés or those of secular rulers involved in that mutually beneficial process of courting Senators of the Church. By isolating the quest for benefices, it is hoped to clarify at least one portion of the cardinals' involvement in the complex patronage process, once more distinguishing between the activities of each of the Venetians. Their actions as sponsors or promoters of benefice-hunting clerics requiring support through the complex curial process, reveal chronological, geographical and personality patterns which, at the same time, help to determine the cardinals' relative positions within the Curia. By extension, this information also has a direct bearing on their political profiles, thereby uniting the two sides of their double natures.

Incomplete and inadequate though the information may be, Table VIII shows that, between 1471 and 1492, Marco Barbo was actively involved in at least twenty-nine promotions, compared with thirteen for Giovanni Michiel and nine for Battista Zeno. Foscari's two protégés, contrasting in both quantity and status, did not aspire to episcopal heights, unlike

TABLE VIIIBENEFACTORS AND BENEFICIARIES.a. Barbo

<u>Beneficiary</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Position/benefice</u>
(Thomas Rotherham	11. 1.68	Bishop of Rochester)
Pietro Barozzi	4. 9.71	Bishop of Belluno
Michele Orsini	8. 3.75	Bishop of Pola
Florentius Wolley	20.11.75	Bishop of Clogher and Armagh
Ladislav Geréb	25. 9.76	Bishop of Transilvania
Claudio Monassi	19. 3.79	Monastery, Giovinazzo
Petrus — ?	21. 2.80	Monastery, Amiens
Johannes Kazimirski	21. 2.80	Bishop of Chelm
Francesco Sartori	11. 4.80	Canon of Treviso
Johannes Diugosz	6. 6.80	Bishop of Lvov/Lemberg
Thomas Rotherham	7. 7.80	Archbishop of York
Otto de Sannenberg ("Henry")	10.11.80	Bishop of Constance
Giovanni de Corva	8. 5.81	Monastery, S. Agata dei Goti
Launcelot de Dufay	8. 5.81	Monastery, Le Mans
Lionel Woodville	7. 1.82	Bishop of Salisbury
— ?	18. 3.82	Monastery, Mainz
Thomas Langton	4. 7.83	Bishop of Menevia/St.David's
Leonello Chiericati	19. 1.84	Bishop of Traù, Dalmatia
John Shirwood	8. 3.84	Bishop of Durham
William Joyce	16. 5.85	Bishop of Tuam
Johannes de Beersel	27. 6.85	Bishop of Cyrene (titular)
Theodoricus Hake	18. 7.85	Bishop of Dorpat/Tartu
Simon Ripley	27. 2.86	Abbot of S. Werburgh, Chester

TABLE VIII cont.

Ottaviano Bentivoglio	10. 5.86	Bishop of Salerno
Peter Courtenay	29. 1.87	Bishop of Winchester
Richard Fox	29. 1.87	Bishop of Exeter
— ?	27. 4.87	Monastery, Cambrai
"Marco de Francesco"	16. 3.88	Bishop of Cefalonia
John Foyle	13. 5.89	Bishop of Limerick
— ?	29. 3.90	— ?

b. Foscari

<u>Beneficiary</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Position/benefice</u>
Francesco de Malaffis de Vicenza	17.11.79	Monastery, Ceneda
Renaldo de Premolis	25. 2.80	Canon of Padua

c. Michiel

<u>Beneficiary</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Position/benefice</u>
Niccolò de Breta	24. 2.72	Bishop of Stephanen, Dalmatia
Gabriele Rangoni	16.12.72	Bishop of Transilvania
Baldassare Biandrate	20. 8.76	Monastery (Melos, Mileto, Modena?)
Arnaldo Raymundi	23. 9.76	Monastery, Carcasonne
Niccolò Donato	7. 6.79	Bishop of Limassol
Antonio Orso	10. 7.79	Bishop of Canea, Crete
Niccolò de Guiduccionibus	17. 9.79	Bishop of Nicotera
Lorenzo Gabriel	13.10.84	Bishop of Bergamo
Bernardo Venier	24. 1.87	Bishop of Chioggia
Lorenzo de Logrognno	4. 7.87	Monastery, Calahora

TABLE VIII cont.

Giorgio Alexander	12. 2.89	Bishop of Arkedi, Crete
Bartolomeo de Lazaris	24. 2.91	S. Pietro Sinigaglia
Andrea Falco	12.12.91	Bishop of Modone

d. Zeno

<u>Beneficiary</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Position/benefice</u>
Lorenzo Michiel	26.11.73	Bishop of Hvar/Lesina, Dalmatia
Andreas Zamometič	10. 1.76	Bishop of Krania, Dalmatia
Vittore Marcello	6. 2.77	Bishop of Nicosia
Girolamo de Bavua?	12. 2.77	Monastery, Brescia
Gabriel — O. Min	10. 3.79	Bishop of Sappae, Dalmatia
Georgius Diphnichi	24. 3.79	Bishop of Nona, Dalmatia
Georgius —	14. 4.80	Bishop of Ario, Crete
Andrea Campano	1.12.86	Bishop of Senj, Croatia
Ugolino de' Rossi	11. 2.92	S. Spirito, Ravenna

half of Michiel's candidates and over two-thirds of Barbo's and Zeno's. In chronological terms, the cardinals' respective degrees of involvement also varied perceptibly. Even after Barbo's return from the Central European legation, he did not appear as a sponsor with any great regularity until the 1480s, the first year of that decade being a time of remarkably intense activity. Speculation arises at this point about a direct connection between this revived participation and the Veneto-Papal alliance of April 1480, Barbo being perceived as an effective advocate with Sixtus in those circumstances. This theory becomes increasingly attractive when one considers that, during the twenty-eight months between the outbreak of the Ferrarese War and the Peace of Bagnolo, Barbo sponsored only three episcopal candidates; a pattern which obviously correlates with the cardinal's known periods of residence in Rome. As his travels took on a more or less regular rhythm in the second pontificate, so did his involvement with benefices and beneficiaries, avoiding both of the extremes of the early 1480s.

Cardinal Michiel, by contrast, came fractionally more to the fore under Innocent, in this capacity as in others, but made little impact in the early 1470s, when doubt hung over his own principal benefice and he counted for little in terms of power, influence or useful contacts at Rome. Like Michiel, Cardinal Zeno appears to have flourished as a sponsor in the later 1470s and to have disappeared from the scene for the duration of the Ferrarese conflict but, unlike Michiel, was almost entirely rejected thereafter, not being among Pope Innocent's closest confidants. Pietro Foscarelli's two offerings fell within four months of each other in the Winter of 1479-80, coinciding exactly with one of his most intensive phases of diplomatic activity and before his attention turned to pastoral responsibilities at Padua.<sup>133</sup>

Foscari's involvement was exclusively Italian - indeed, as might be expected, exclusively Venetian, Ceneda as well as Padua being suffragan dioceses of Aquileia - while the interests of Zeno and Michiel were mostly confined to the peninsula, together with Venetian territories in Dalmatia, Crete and Cyprus. Any ultramontane forays were decidedly minority interests in comparison with the firmly Venetian focus which they either chose to adopt or which was forced upon them as yet another reminder of their inescapable heritage. It may also be noted that Lorenzo Zane, though never a cardinal, actively promoted the cause of one of the Veronese Maffei in March 1478, with regard to a Benedictine foundation in Zane's former Dalmatian archdiocese of Spalato : an alternative patron to the cardinals for Venetians in Rome, but not a terribly reliable one, his disgrace coming only four months after the said act of patronage.<sup>134</sup>

Despite the fact that assisting in the on-going hunt for vacant benefices had become one of a cardinal's central functions at the Curia, Pietro Foscari maintained his reluctance to be drawn into curial machinations, thereby diminishing his significance as a prince of the Roman Church, whatever the consequences for his standing as an unofficial Venetian orator. Moreover, his cultivation by other secular powers, in the interests of their subject clerics, would have been bizarre to say the least. That neither Michiel nor Zeno were so systematically cultivated is attributable to that same combination of circumstances which has been seen to have seriously limited their effectiveness or attractiveness as heads of familiae : their Venetian birth, their lack of exceptional standing or importance in the Sacred College and the Curia as a whole, together with their inexperience in terms of transalpine travel, with or without ~~legatine~~ responsibilities.

Marco Barbo's involvement on this account, meanwhile, spanned virtually the whole of Western Christendom with the exception of Iberia. Within Italy, his bias also tended towards Venetian territories. It is known that Barbo was the key to Pietro Barozzi's receiving the bishopric of Belluno. Gios speculates that the cardinal may also have been behind Barozzi's transfer to Padua in 1487, a move long advocated by the Signoria.<sup>135</sup> The see of Pola, to which Michele Orsini was promoted on 8 March 1475 was another suffragan diocese of Barbo's Aquileian patriarchate. Thereafter, the Venetian element was most apparent in Francesco Sartori's receipt of the cardinal's own Trevisan canonry and in Leonello Chiericati's translation to Traù in 1484.<sup>136</sup> The remainder of Italy is represented by only the monasteries at Giovinazzo, near Bari, and S. Agata dei Goti, suffragan diocese of Benevento, together with the bishopric of Salerno, granted to Ottaviano Bentivoglio in May 1486.<sup>137</sup> With Barbo there was, on the other hand, a very strong German and Polish element entirely missing from the careers of the other Venetian cardinals. This element doubtless had its origin in the German legation and can be traced from the appointment of Johannes Kazimirski to Chelm in 1480 through to that of Theodoricus Hake to Dorpat/Tartu in July 1485.<sup>138</sup> All but one of these North European benefices were bishoprics. The impression of regional specialisation is further enhanced when one notes that the only French - or, for that matter, Burgundian - benefices listed under Barbo's name in Table VIII were but monasteries.<sup>139</sup>

More pronounced still and surpassing even Italian and German benefices in quantity, wealth and political importance was Barbo's involvement in appointments to six English and Welsh bishoprics, besides the Abbey of St. Werburgh at Chester and the Irish sees of Clogher and Armagh (joint), Tuam and Limerick.<sup>140</sup> This decided regional interest on the cardinal's part

has hitherto played no part in our account of Barbo's political and ecclesiastical patronage or, indeed, in any other capacity, because it is only in the current context that it becomes so markedly apparent. Winchester was easily the richest of English bishoprics in the fifteenth century, worth even more than the patriarchate of Aquileia, and it was to that and to three of the other half dozen most lucrative sees in the kingdom - York, Durham and Exeter - that the cardinal had a hand in making appointments, in addition to backwoods Menevia (St. Davids). Table VIII also includes the exceptional, pre-1471 case of Thomas Rotherham's promotion to Rochester on 11 January 1468 by way of accentuating this English connection.<sup>141</sup> Within the 1471 to 1492 boundary, however, the seven English and Welsh promotions all fell within a concentrated eight year span, beginning with the Archbishopric of York in July 1480.

As revealing as chronological and geographical considerations, if not more so, are those of the personalities involved, the connections they formed between the four cardinals and between the cardinals and secular rulers. Allowing for the chronological licence which permits inclusion of the Rochester appointment, only two names appear more than once in Table VIII, those of Thomas Rotherham and Leonello Chiericati. Rotherham and Marco Barbo's other English associates will be dealt with below. Chiericati's first episcopal promotion had taken place in January 1472, when his eminent sponsor had been Cardinal Bessarion. This fact acts to reinforce the Vicentine familiar's identification with his patron, Barbo and Bessarion being then more closely linked in the Sacred College than at any other time in their careers.<sup>142</sup>

Having already dismissed notions of a genuine Venetian community in Rome, Table VIII nevertheless contributes to the theory that the cardinals

were actively involved in promoting the fortunes of individual Venetians; clients who, in turn, reinforced the cardinals' sense of Venetian identity and provided links between them, however tenuous. The case of Pietro Barozzi has already been cited on a number of occasions. Sponsored by Barbo in September 1471, Barozzi was also consecrated Bishop of Belluno by the cardinal, his patron, kinsman and metropolitan. Although the contention that Marco Barbo provided the momentum behind Barozzi's Paduan appointment in 1487 is not reflected in information gleaned from the appropriate Vatican series *Obligaciones et Solutiones*, Gios is at pains to point out that Barozzi remained on particularly good terms with Giovanni Michiel throughout the vicissitudes of the mid-1480s.<sup>143</sup> A second unifying figure is Michele Orsini (c. 1410/15-1497), whose association with Cardinal Barbo may or may not have been exclusively limited to his promotion to the Istrian bishopric of Pola in 1475. Of a "long-established" Venetian family, Orsini pursued legal studies at Padua, receiving his doctorate on 2 April 1444, making him an academic contemporary of Barbo, and went on to make a name for himself in the literary circles to which the future cardinals also had access with his *De summa venetorum origine* (1462), dedicated to Francesco Filelfo. Prior of S. Antonio di Castello from 1449, he held the see of Pola until his death, but also acted as Pietro Foscari's vicar and suffragan at Padua between 1483 and 1484, a fact recorded in the *proba* for the vacancy at Traù in 1483. Orsini was thus another of the candidates worsted by Leonello Chiericati.<sup>144</sup>

Among other Venetians favoured by the cardinals with regard to benefices, a Lorenzo Michiel received one of the Dalmatian bishoprics thanks to the intervention of Battista Zeno, who also sponsored Vittore

Marcello to the bishopric of Nicosia in 1477.<sup>145</sup> It was Marcello's death in March 1484 which occasioned the dispute between Marco Barbo and Lorenzo Gabriel over the provostship of S. Croce at Padua, a dispute in which Zeno, Marcello's erstwhile patron, played no apparent part.<sup>146</sup> Gabriel himself received the support of a third Venetian cardinal, Giovanni Michiel, in becoming Bishop of Bergamo in the closing months of 1484.<sup>147</sup> The previous year, as Giovanni Lorenzi related to Marco Barbo in a letter dated 23 July 1483, Lorenzo Gabriel's quest for a particular benefice gained him the rare distinction of exciting the involvement of Pietro Foscari and Battista Zeno in the same issue. Apart from confirming the whereabouts of one or both of the cardinals at that crucial juncture and stressing Lorenzi's personal proximity to Foscari rather than to Zeno, the passage in question suggests that, even in the wake of the Interdict's imposition, apparent unity of purpose between the Venetian cardinals did not permeate all their activities. On account of its rarity value, Lorenzi's letter deserves to be quoted at length :

"D.us Foscarus privatim dixi mihi quod supplicatio in qua signatus fuerat prioratus Creinen. pro d.no L. Gabriele, prius habebat omnia beneficia signata pro d.no Sancte Marie (in porticu), qui ante omnes tabellarium habuerat; cumque pontifex scedulam Foscari supplicantis pro domino L(aurentio) habuisset, non in supplicatione quam miserat ipse, sed in ea que d. Sancte Marie signata fuerat, apposuit : Fiat motu proprio prioratu etc. pro L. Gabriele; quam signaturam cum secretarius d.ni S. Marie in manibus datarii (the future cardinal Antoniotto Palavicino) vidisset, cepit clamare et celum terris, ut satyricus ait, miscere. Quod cum datarius pontifici retulisset, ipse ad levandam, ut existimat d.us Foscarus, omnem ambiguitatem, ut ego puto et ei dixi, ad maiorem zizanium

seminandam inter ambos cardinales cancellata illa clausula : d.no  
 L(aurentio), posuit : fiat etc. pro cardinali Foscaro; et ita expediet  
 bullas nomine suo d.us Foscarus, deinde d.no Laurentio resignabit.  
 Volui ut d.tio v.ra hoc non ignoraret ..."148

Connections and inter-connections between senior Venetian ecclesiastics, whether familiars of cardinals or independent of the household system, were doubtless too numerous to be adequately accounted for in a survey such as this. Nevertheless, one further name may be extracted from Table VIII as a potentially cohesive element at the Curia. Niccolò Donato (d.1497) received the bishopric of Limassol thanks to Giovanni Michiel's intervention on 7 June 1479. Significantly, the cardinal was thereby working to the same end as the Venetian Senate, which had written to Sixtus on 31 December 1477, commending Donato's "egregiam virtutem, doctrinam et optimos mores ac diuturnam moram eius in Curia Romana" and requesting that he be honoured with the next available episcopal vacancy.<sup>149</sup> Similar unity of purpose surrounded the notion that Donato might capitalise on his Cypriot experience and become primate of the island, a view shared by both the Signoria and by Ermolao Barbaro as ambassador to the Holy See. It was, however, Donato's destiny to be Patriarch of Aquileia, in succession to Barbo (as viewed from Venice) or to Barbaro himself (the Curial perspective). As an aside, one may note that, when Donato renounced Limassol in 1490, the temporalities of that see were assigned to Leonello Chiericati, prompting the suspicion that Marco Barbo may have had a hand in that episode.<sup>150</sup>

On 24 February 1491, Cardinal Michiel proposed one Bartolomeo de Lazaris to a benefice at Sinigaglia. There is no suggestion in the records that the said Bartolomeo was related to the Giovanni Lazari, "familiare e continuo commensale" of Cardinal Barbo, whose benefices reverted to his

patron upon his death in 1482 but, given the number of instances of what might be described as curial inbreeding, the possibility cannot be dismissed out of hand.<sup>151</sup> While the Venetian familiars or clients of the four cardinals were bound to one another by bonds of nationality if not kinship, a relatively small colony in an alien environment, there was no such unity or insularity among the cardinals' non-Venetian clients. Apart from vague speculation about the Lazari, Table VIII yields only one instance of the cardinals being linked to one another through the sponsorship of a non-Venetian. The personality in question was Andreas Zamometič OP, the turbulent priest who reconvened the Council of Basel in defiance of Sixtus on 25 March 1482.<sup>152</sup> Battista Zeno had proposed Zamometič to the Dalmatian bishopric of Krania on 10 January 1476, a rare intervention by Zeno at that time.<sup>153</sup> Five years later, after a spell as Frederick III's orator in Rome, Zamometič found himself imprisoned in Castel S. Angelo from 14 June 1481, for having spoken out against Sixtus and the papal favourites. Jacopo Gherardi relates how the bishop's release after a few days was brought about by the intercession of Giovanni Michiel.<sup>154</sup> The bishop thereupon retreated to Germany, reconstituted the Council of Basel the following Spring and, on 14 May 1482, summoned Sixtus to appear before that body. Nothing further is apparently recorded about Zamometič's relations with either Zeno or Michiel, the rebel selecting Marco Barbo as the focus of his appeals to Rome. When Zamometič's representative arrived in Italy for negotiations, he insisted on speaking first with Barbo at Torre S. Severo on 26 November 1482 before moving on to Rome.<sup>155</sup> This alone confirms Barbo's position as the cardinal most expert in German affairs. An interesting twist to this saga arose in the aftermath of the Interdict, which made Venice an ally of the Emperor and, by extension, of Zamometič.

The latter was extolled by the Senate in a commission to Sebastiano Badoer on 22 July 1483 : "Cum dexteritate favebis archiepiscopo Crainensi tanquam viro integro et cupido ac studioso honoris et gloriae ecclesiae Dei, curabisque honeste hortari et suadere eius liberationem".<sup>156</sup> It seems likely that Cardinal Barbo preferred to distance himself from any threat to papal primacy, regardless of the individual pontiff under attack, but this cannot deflect attention from the fact that Zeno and Michiel had previously chosen to champion the cause of a man who came to be regarded as a friend of Venice.

All of which presages further genetic experimentation, to cross the Venetian cardinals' extensive involvement with benefices and beneficiaries throughout Italy and beyond with their increasingly politicised rôle, as introduced in chapter two. Although none of the Venetian cardinals were in a position to act as proctors for any Italian state other than their own, not least as a result of widespread suspicion of Venice and its subjects, this did not prevent them being cultivated by secular rulers, regarded as cardinals first and Venetians second. No less were the cardinals eager to see their own clients or familiars prosper at the courts of Ferrara, Mantua or wherever : yet another two-way patronage process with the cardinals as pivotal figures.

Three State Archives have been explored for correspondence between the four cardinals and secular Italian rulers : those of Florence, Mantua and Modena. A number of such letters have already been cited, for example those of Cardinal Zeno petitioning the rulers of all three cities on behalf of Piero Matteo and Giovanni Calzavacca or writing to Lorenzo de' Medici on behalf of Michelangelo de' Sassi, whose income from the benefice of S. Maria di Monte Castello on Lorenzo's own estates, had been

denied him.<sup>157</sup> The greatest concentration of correspondence was from Pietro Foscari to Ercole d'Este, sixteen letters being sent between February 1472 and November 1473, plus others dating from 1478 and 1480.<sup>158</sup> The eighteen letters from Zeno to the lord of Ferrara cover a twenty year span from December 1471, though again the concentration was in the 1470s with an inevitable lapse in the early 1480s, when the pleas of Venetian cardinals were least likely to carry any weight. The same pattern holds true for Barbo's ten missives.<sup>160</sup> None appear to have survived from Giovanni Michiel.

On a number of occasions, the cardinals wrote in favour of Ferrarese clerics seeking redress of grievances or some form of recommendation to their secular overlord. Thus did Pietro Foscari write on behalf of a group of friars who wished to found a branch of their order in Ferrara.<sup>161</sup> To Ercole d'Este, Barbo wrote from Venice on 13 February 1472, recommending a Ferrarese subject who had been in the service of the late Pope Paul, but who was presumably superfluous under the new order.<sup>162</sup>

Turning to Florence, nine letters from Cardinal Zeno to Lorenzo de' Medici have been counted, all dating from the 1470s. Of the other cardinals, Barbo sent three in the same decade, with none from Foscari or Michiel.<sup>163</sup> The Gonzaga archives yield no more than four letters from any of the cardinals, none of them particularly exceptional. Marco Barbo, for example, wrote in January 1475 on behalf of Mantuan Dominicans who had appealed to him over a controversy with neighbouring Franciscans about an image of St. Catherine of Siena; and in December the same year to recommend one Francesco de Sangiunti, a learned and reliable knight who had given loyal service to the pope.<sup>164</sup> Until 1483, of course, the Gonzaga had their own representative in the Sacred College, limiting the

part which any non-Mantuan cardinal might play.

All of which is precisely the sort of patronage expected of a quattrocento cardinal, regardless of his nationality. At the same time, at least two qualifications should be made. Firstly, throughout this study much emphasis has been put on Pietro Foscari's apparent disinclination to become involved in many of the Curia's most fundamental benefice-related activities. Is it to be wondered at, then, that Foscari features more in this category of correspondence than does Giovanni Michiel? It must be borne in mind that the vast majority of the letters cited above were written by Foscari the protonotary rather than Foscari the cardinal. There seems to have been a clear distinction between the two. Secondly, it was one thing for the cardinals to make pleas and supplications to various princes on behalf of their chosen clients, but quite another to successfully petition rulers who were, it must be remembered, by and large suspicious of Venice and Venetians. The cardinals' success rate would be impossible to determine. Appeals to the Sforza dukes of Milan have not been included in the above survey, yet the Milanese archives furnish a number of statements by the dukes and their agents asserting that Cardinal Barbo had been aggressively promoting the cause of his own clients and familiars, at the expense of Milanese subjects. Here the cross between politics and patronage is particularly obvious. The Lombard duchy having suffered considerable territorial losses as a result of Venetian *terraferma* expansion earlier in the century, many benefices were thus claimed as legitimate property by both states. In such cases, the Milanese had absolutely no doubt in identifying Barbo as a Venetian seeking to promote his fellow Venetians at the expense of Milan.<sup>165</sup>

If Venetian cardinals were widely regarded with suspicion by non-

Venetian Italians, there was one notable exception to that rule, for the evidence suggests some sort of personal relationship between Cardinal Barbo and Lorenzo de' Medici. The cultural implications of this, which possibly account for the very existence of the relationship, will be explored in the following chapter. Throughout the two decades of this study, there was a certain consistency with which Lorenzo courted Barbo's favour, valuing his opinion above those of other cardinals. No less consistent was the gracious manner in which the cardinal rejected the Florentine's advances. As early as 1472, we find Lorenzo inviting Barbo to make a detour to Florence in the course of his journey from Rome to Venice and thence to Germany. Writing at Perugia on 27 February, Barbo regretted having to decline the invitation but dispatched Leonello Chiericati in his stead.<sup>166</sup>

Lorenzo continued to press him with requests and invitations. Thus, Barbo to Giovanni Lorenzi on his generous reception at Castel Fiorentino in early July 1487 : "Convenit post modum me magnificus Laurentius Medices apud Castellum Florentinum; et post munera publico nomine exhibita per proprios nuncios cum amplissimis oblationibus et honorificis verbis illius ill. civitatis, non dubito opera ipsius Laurentii ordinatis, per integras horas ultro citroque de pluribus sermonem fecimus et pro maiori parte de omnibus signis mire benivolentie, quam S.mus d.us n.er multipliciter declaravit et declarat erga ipsum et sua ac suos omnes, ut se supra quam dici possit, quicquid sit vel esse possit, totum dedicatum velit esse nutui et imperio sue Sanctitatis".<sup>167</sup> Lorenzo left a record of the same meeting, stating his hope that Barbo would intercede for him with Innocent : "Et andando io a' di passati ad visitare San Marco a Castelflorentino, parlai qualche cosa (a) questi effecti, che disse farebbe intendere il tucto a Nostro Signore".<sup>168</sup>

In the absence of a Florentine cardinal, Lorenzo looked to Barbo to act for him in a political capacity, yet it would appear that Lorenzo regarded Barbo primarily as a cardinal and only secondly as a Venetian, a distinction which merits the inclusion of further documentary references. In the course of the Barons' War Lorenzo consistently employed Barbo as a lever at the Curia, attempting to influence Innocent's attitude towards Naples. Thus, in December 1487, he discouraged the cardinal from putting any unnecessary strain on relations between Rome and Naples : "Veggio per la vostra ricevuta hoggi dubitate non si possa tenere, maxime se San Marcho va a questa via. Io non dubito puncto che non vi vadi, perché non vuole dire altro el fare intendere l'amore che a Vinegia portano al papa ..."<sup>169</sup> Together they urged the pope to exercise restraint : "Se 'l Papa li presta fede et San Marco sia come io credo temperato et ragionevole, doverremo quadrare insieme, et a me non parrebbe, come dico, pocho acquisto".<sup>170</sup> Less than three weeks later, Barbo was again Lorenzo's chosen intermediary, instructed to persuade Innocent not to encourage diplomatic ties between Aragon and Naples : "Parrebbe mi dovessi conferire questo discorso con Monsignore di San Marco, et approvando Sua Reverendissima Signoria questa opinione, potrebbe come da sé dissuadere a Nostro Signore questa cosa, ché harebbe più credito che noi".<sup>171</sup>

All of which was, in a sense, only a prelude to the zeal with which Lorenzo sought Barbo's support in his quest for Giovanni de' Medici's promotion to the cardinalate. On account of the personal respect in which he was widely held in Rome and his rare distinction of being reasonably intimate with both Lorenzo and Innocent, Barbo was perceived to be the linchpin upon which this campaign would succeed or fail. This resulted in Giovanni Lanfredini's mission to the cardinal at Palestrina on

31 August 1488, an attempt to persuade the Venetian to abandon his intractable opposition to the promotion of so youthful a candidate.<sup>172</sup> Neither that nor a series of letters from Lorenzo in the months preceding Giovanni's promotion on 9 March 1489 had the desired effect, as the ardent Florentine attained his much desired goal through the intervention of less scrupulous cardinals.<sup>173</sup> As in his relations with Venice, so this Florentine connection indicates that Marco Barbo was not totally averse to playing politics, but only when the spiritual authority of the Church was not called into question or threatened by secular motives, abuses or cancerous corruption.

Turning to the ultramontane sphere, neither Michiel nor Zeno boasted any significant non-Italian connections and were certainly never in a position to act as cardinal protectors of any particular nation. Foscarini's place in the politico-patronage scheme was, of course, exclusively peninsular, leaving Barbo alone as a figure of international reputation, cultivated by non-Italian princes and, in turn, actively interested in the affairs of their realms.

Although the 1472-4 legation resulted in no lasting concord among the princes of Central Europe, it did establish Marco Barbo as an authority on the affairs of that region. The Barbo-Lorenzi correspondence alone presents a sufficient quantity of material to suggest that the cardinal's involvement in German, Hungarian, Bohemian and Polish affairs was more intensive and enduring than in those of any other non-Italian region. Let two examples suffice by way of brief illustration. In December 1486, Raymond Perrault, Archdeacon of Saintes and an associate of Cardinal Baluzé, was appointed nuncio to the Emperor with the perennially thankless task of inspiring a crusade against the Turk and collecting a decima for the

same purpose. Barbo's understanding of Imperial affairs caused him to express the opinion that such a sensitive task would be better accomplished by one of the three ecclesiastical Electors and, indeed, the mission failed in the sense that exaction of clerical tenths was suspended as unworkable in 1487.<sup>174</sup> Writing from Pontida on 16 September that year, Barbo informed Lorenzi that the returning nuncio had sent a courier to him from Pavia with two letters from the Emperor; an indication of shared interests between Perrault and Barbo.<sup>175</sup> In August 1489 Barbo's attention again turned to Germany, prompted by Perrault's skilful negotiation of peace terms between Charles VIII of France and Maximilian, King of the Romans, part of a much wider peace process North of the Alps : "Neque ad complendam nostram leticiam pro tam felicissimo nuncio parva accessio fuit, quod nuncius noster dilectus fr. Raymundus Peraudi plene satisfecerit officio suo et desiderio nostro".<sup>176</sup> At the same time Casimir, King of Poland, sought to involve Barbo in a disputed episcopal appointment. The details of the case need not concern us for, as with Perrault, the point to note is that, in terms of Northern Europe, Barbo was accorded such honour and respect that his Venetian nationality was a matter of little or no importance. In the absence of a Polish cardinal, Casimir evidently regarded Barbo as the best substitute, particularly in view of his involvement in appointments to the bishoprics of Chelm and Lów in 1480 and Tartu in 1485.<sup>177</sup>

Which brings us full circle to the concept of national cardinals, generally recognised protectors of specific nations. A draft reform of 1464 interpreted the position of protector, as defined in chapter two, as inconsistent with a cardinal's curial responsibilities, except in so far as the protectorship served to influence nations in the acceptance of papal leadership in maintaining peace, Christian orthodoxy and the liberty of the

Church.<sup>178</sup> This definition accords well with Marco Barbo's dealings with non-Venetian secular rulers, while fulfilling the protector's acknowledged spiritual responsibilities in terms of nominations to benefices, he distanced himself from the advancement of purely secular objectives. In terms of benefices and beneficiaries, the closest he came to being a genuine cardinal protector was with regard to English and Irish affairs.

Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini has been recognised as England's first fully-fledged cardinal protector, from 1492 onwards.<sup>179</sup> Edward IV had employed the services of the Burgundian Cardinal Ferry de Cluny until the latter's death in 1483.<sup>180</sup> From 1485 and the change of dynasty Balue, despite doubling up as the French and Scottish protector, was the cardinal most often involved in referring nominations to English and Irish bishoprics, though Barbo was the only other member of the Sacred College regularly concerned with English affairs. Between 1485 and 1492, eighteen provisions to English and Irish sees were referred by one or another of seven cardinals, Barbo's four counting for rather more than the average. An example of this multiple protectorship, with Barbo taking the lead, was the occasion of Thomas Rotherham's promotion to York. On the same day, 7 July 1480, Balue referred John Russell to Lincoln from Rochester, as did Sansoni-Riaro Edmund Audley to Rochester from Kildare, while Giovanni Arcimboldi sponsored Edmund Lake to Kildare. Piccolomini did not corner the English market - thirty-four out of thirty-eight episcopal promotions between 8 February 1492 and 22 September 1503 - until after the deaths of both Barbo and Balue (5 October 1491).<sup>181</sup>

Regardless of the examples of Lorenzo de' Medici, Casimir of Poland or Louis XI (to whom he addressed an undated letter), there is no record of the cardinal dealing directly with the kings of England.<sup>182</sup> His English

connections and interests existed exclusively with the kings' representatives in Rome or with papal agents in England. It has been suggested in chapter three that Barbo may have been regarded as an authority on Prince Djem on account of the French nunciature of Leonello Chiericati and Antonio Flores.<sup>183</sup> A dispatch by the Milanese orator Giacomo Botta (d.1496), dated 4 April 1490, suggests that the two nuncios may even have visited England in the course of their mission, an eventuality which would have provided Barbo with a singularly reliable source of information. Botta hints at more than he reveals : " I happened recently to meet the Cardinal of St. Mark, and asked him how his pupil the Bishop of Concordia was faring in England. He said the bishop had written that he hoped for good results in inducing the King of England to withdraw the troops sent to Brittany. His Eminence thought this would be easy, since the King of England is not yet firmly established in his realm, and also to please the King of France who has deserved well of the King of England. He also hopes that three of the leading prelates of that realm, who are very friendly with him, will give their assistance to the bishop".<sup>184</sup>

The most likely "friendly prelate" was John Shirwood (or Sherwood), whom Barbo had sponsored to the prince-bishopric of Durham in March 1484.<sup>185</sup> The first of Shirwood's numerous visits to Rome took place in 1474, by which time he had served as Archdeacon of Richmond from 1465, the year that his patron George Neville was translated to the archbishopric of York.<sup>186</sup> Despite Richard III's request in 1484, Barbo was unable to induce either Sixtus or Innocent to make Shirwood a cardinal.<sup>187</sup> Thereafter, Henry VII recommissioned Shirwood as his orator at the Curia, but may well have hesitated to repeat Richard's request until he was quite certain that Shirwood's recent Yorkist loyalties had been permanently

discarded. By 1489 a William Shirwood was a minor penitentiary for the English nation at Rome. Both Shirwoods signed the Liber Fraternalitatis at S. Spirito in Sassia, as Barbo and his fellow cardinals had done.<sup>188</sup> Other English bishops whose Roman missions brought them into contact with the Venetian cardinal were Thomas Langton, whom Barbo sponsored to the vacancy at Menevia in 1483, and Thomas Milling, Bishop of Hereford from 1471 until his death in 1492, joint leader of the ten-man English embassy to Rome which was received in consistory on 13 May 1487.<sup>189</sup> It was this and the contemporary Bohemian embassy that Barbo expressed a wish to meet, writing to Lorenzi from Castelnuovo di Porto on 20 May.<sup>190</sup> Among Milling's fellow emissaries was Giovanni Gigli, apostolic collector in England since 1476. That appointment, combining a mission to preach a crusade against the Turk, he owed to Barbo, "Marco cardinale Sancti Marci cuius obsequio dominus Joannes tunc versabatur".<sup>191</sup> That the relationship endured is supported by the gift of horses which Gigli brought with him from England in 1487.<sup>192</sup>

English horses courtesy of a papal servant born in Bruges but of Iucchese origin! Neither the most obvious of gifts nor the most obvious of clients for a quattroceto Venetian cardinal, but excellent testimony to the extent of Marco Barbo's widespread network of effective communications which was, in turn, the key to his success as a curial cardinal. In the two-way process of patronage, Barbo was easily the most generous patron of the four Venetians and the one whose interests encompassed the widest geographical span. Discerning in his choice of familiars and other associates, they in turn served him well. This is not to say that Cardinals Foscari, Michiel and Zeno were unconscientious on behalf of their clients and familiars, though it was Barbo's patronage activities

which distinguished him from his fellows and raised him to a peak of truly international eminence. At the same time, while patronage highlighted distinctions between each of the four, they also remained united by the strong Venetian elements which it contained, elements which bore a direct relation to the cardinals' diplomatic profiles. Thus, it may be observed that diplomacy and patronage were two sides of the same coin.

NOTES ON CHAPTER FIVE

1. Piischi : Angelo Capranica, Ammannati, Gonzaga, Forteguerra, Roverella, Eroli. Paoleschi : Della Rovere, Carafa, Agnifilio, Barbo, Monferrato, Michiel, Zeno.
2. Votes received by Bessarion : Barbo, d' Estouteville, Calandrini, Capranica, Carafa, Ammannati. Votes given by Bessarion : d' Estouteville, Calandrini, Capranica, Della Rovere.
3. Pastor, IV, p.257.
4. This account of the conclave is based on the voting lists provided by Nicodemo de Pontremoli for his master, Galeazzo Maria Sforza. cf. chapter two, n.28, above. Pontremoli's inconsistencies are here given the benefit of the doubt.
5. In fairness, there was never more than one Orsini cardinal at a time : Latino, created 16 February 1448, d. 11 August 1477; Cosimo, created 15 May 1480, d. 21 November 1481; Giovanni Battista, created 15 November 1483, d. 22 February 1503.
6. For Roverella at Padua : Papadopoli, op.cit., t II, p.22, no. XXXII.
7. ASVen, SS, 29, fol. 133v - 134r, to Zaccaria Barbaro at Rome, 9 August 1480. Costa is referred to in glowing terms, as a good friend of Venice.
8. Card. J. Ammannati-Piccolomini, Epistolae et Commentarii Jacobi Piccolomini Cardinalis Papiensis (Milan, 1506), fols. 131 (30 July 1457), 137 (undated), 147 (13 July —), 227-8 (26 March 1472), 231-2 (29 May 1472), 235-6 (28 July 1472), 271 (14 March 1474).
9. Pastor, IV, p.270.
10. Il carteggio, p.21. pp. 26-7 contain Lorenzi's account of a consistory on 3 August 1481, beginning : "Hoc mane quoniam ita visum est mihi expedire, ante consistorium me contuli ad d.um Sancti Clementis ..."
11. *ibid.*, p. 174. 3 December 1487 marks the first reference to Domenico della Rovere since the death of Sixtus. That and Barbo's second reference to him three days later (p.177) relate to Della Rovere's villa at Tivoli, with no curial involvement whatsoever.
12. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 127r.
13. Gherardi, op. cit., p.50.
14. Leonello Chiericati sent a detailed account of the death, funeral and debts of the spectacular Riario to Angelo Fasolo, then travelling with Barbo in Germany, 18 January 1474 : ASV, Vat. lat., 5641, fol. 29.
15. Il carteggio, pp. 60, 88, 90, 92, 98.
16. *ibid.*, p.98 : "Porcarius auditor ad Comitum (i.e. Girolamo Riario) accessit pro tractatu liberationis Cardinalium de quibus mirum est

- scilentium". A fuller biography of Porcari can be found in A Modigliani, "La familia Porcari tra memorie repubblicane e curialismo", in Un pontificato ed una città, pp. 338-9. The Cornelio Porcari case is cited by Lee, Sixtus IV and Men of Letters, Temi e testi 26 (Rome, 1978), p.133, n.40.
17. The sixteen who took part in both conclaves : Borgia, Giuliano della Rovere, Carafa, Zeno, Michiel, Costa, Basso della Rovere, Domenico della Rovere, Conti, Sclafenati, Todeschini-Piccolomini, Sansoni-Riario, Savelli, Colonna, Orsini, Sforza.
  18. As covered in chapter three.
  19. Quoted by Pastor V, p.235.
  20. Il carteggio, p.189, n.4.
  21. *ibid.*, p.124, 14 September 1485; p.195, 12 September 1489.
  22. *ibid.*, p.120, 31 August 1485; p.147, 3 June 1487; p.174, 17 November 1487.
  23. *ibid.*, p.39, Lorenzi to Barbo, 23 August 1481.
  24. *ibid.*, pp.105-6, Lorenzi to Barbo, 14 August 1485.
  25. *ibid.*, p.114, 25 August; p.116, 27 August; p.119, 31 August. All Lorenzi to Barbo.
  26. F. La Torre, Del conclave di Alessandro VI Papa Borgia (Florence, 1933), provides full coverage of all the scrutines, exploring the motivations and machinations of the participants. From the voting patterns, he divides the factions as follows : Borgia, Carafa, Domenico della Rovere, Conti, Ardicino della Porta, Piccolomini, Giovanni Battista Orsini, Ascanio Sforza and Federico de Sanseverino on one side ; Giuliano della Rovere, Zeno, Michiel, Costa, Basso della Rovere, Paolo Campofregoso, Lorenzo Cibò, Gherardo, Savelli and Conti. This leaves Sclafenati, Palavicini and Medici as independents, dividing their favours between the above.
  27. Pastor V, pp. 375 seq.
  28. P. De Angelis, L'Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia, vol II, 1301 - 1500 (Rome, 1962). Barbo signed on 24 March and Foscari two days later.
  29. Il carteggio. Zeno : pp.142, 179, 184, Michiel : pp.88, 89, 91, 94, 98, 107, 110, 112, 115, 116, 117, 119, 127, 129, 130, 175, 201.
  30. DBI 18, pp.635-8.
  31. Cicogna, *op.cit.* VI, pp.42-3, where Donato's mother is called Francesca.
  32. Cenci, *op.cit.*, pp.425-7.
  33. P. Paschini, "I benefici ecclesiastici", p.352.
  34. P. De Angelis, *op.cit.*

35. Information conveyed privately, but recently published in The Pope's Men : The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance (Oxford, 1990).
36. *ibid.*, pp.223, 236, 239, 243, 245, 251.
37. DBI, 14, pp.205-7. Cenci, *op.cit.*, pp.423-4. Bertolà, *op.cit.*, p.70.
38. DBI, 25, pp.443-5. Cicogna, *op.cit.* VI, p.225, relates that Pietro Ciera, possibly Agostino's son, received a number of benefices on the latter's death and may have been created a cardinal in 1501, but without his name being published.
39. ASV, Oblig. et Solut. 81, fol. 8v, 8 August 1474. Introit. et Exit. 502, fol. 196v, 22 June 1481.
40. ASV, Reg. Vat. 573, fols. 261v - 262v, April 1474, with reference to benefices in the diocese of Verona.
41. Il carteggio, p.210 and n.5. On Maroldi (d.1495) : J.W. O'Malley, *op.cit.*, pp.116, 250. The Genoese Giustiniani receive mention in Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, vol.II, p.134.
42. See chapter four, nn. 74-5.
43. O'Malley, *op.cit.*, p.119.
44. Gios, *op.cit.*, pp.78 seq. See also below, chapter six, n.41.
45. DBI, 33. ASV, Oblig. et Solut. 83, fol. 133v, 24 January 1487 : Michiel proposes Bernardo Venier to succeed Daziari at Chioggia.
46. Material dealt with above in chapters three and four respectively. Soranzo was yet another of the twenty-one aspiring Patriarchs of Aquileia in March 1491 : Cenci, *op.cit.*, pp.425-7.
47. ASVen, Cons. X, Carte di Benedetto Soranzo, Arcivescovo di Cipro, Serie II, b.1, nos. 150, 187, 188, 323, 324, 325, 332, 333, 342, 343; b.2, nos. 614, 675, 677, 678, 679, 681, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693.
48. *ibid.* serie II, b.2, no. 377, from Angelo Fasolo at the abbey of S. Bona di Vidoro, 21 September 1484; no.511, from Giovanni Lorenzi at Parma, 29 May 1492. This letter collection contains only one missive from a Venetian cardinal to Soranzo, that of Giovanni Michiel at Vetralla, 19 July 1485.
49. J.F. D'Amico, Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome : Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation (Baltimore and London, 1983), p.39
50. Hallman, *op.cit.*, p.98. Chambers, "The Economic Predicament", p.293. Lucinda M.C. Byatt, "The Concept of Hospitality in a Cardinal's Household in Renaissance Rome", Renaissance Studies 2 (1988), p.313.

51. Quoted by Hallman, *op.cit.*, p.97.
52. P. Cortesi, De Cardinalatu, pp. lvi-vii.
53. DBI, 15, pp.405-8.
54. ASVen, Cons. X, Carte di Benedetto Soranzo, Arcivescovo di Cipro, serie V, b.6.
55. Barbo : Niccolò Abrami, Matteo de Alibrandi, Andreolo di S. Vito, Leonello Chiericati, Michele Contrario, Angelo Fasolo, Giovanni Lorenzi, Lodovico Luvisini, Francesco dal Pozzo, Francesco Sartori. Foscarini : Domenico Can, Bartolomeo della Casa, Bianco Ceruto, Francesco de' Malaffis, Renaldo de' Primoli, Niccolò Trevisan. Michiel : Francesco Candi, Antonio Orso, Niccolò Piacentino.
56. Zippel, ed., Vite di Paolo II, pp.211-15. The Venetian contingent includes : Jacopo Barbarigo, Angelo Fasolo, Francesco Barozzi, Giovanni Condulmer, Giovanni Barbo, Simone Contarini, Cristoforo da Verona, Francesco Piacentino da Verona and Gabriele Quirini.
57. Il carteggio, p.22
58. Zippel, ed., Vite di Paolo II, pp.14, 50-1, 63, 148, 176, 180, 182, 213-14.
59. Il carteggio, p.73.
60. ASV, Introit. et Exit., 486, fol. 125v : last payment to Luca Vitturi. To Chiericati : fol. 113v, 25 June 1471; to Antonio Fasolo : fol.121r, 8 July 1471.
61. G. Zorzi, "Un vicentino alla corte di Paolo Secondo (Chiereghino Chiericati e il suo Trattetello della Milizia)", NAV, n.s. XXX (1915), pp.369-434.
62. Il carteggio, p.57 and n.3, Barbo to Lorenzi, 14 December 1482. On Andrea Contrario : King, *op.cit.*, pp.352-4. Andrea's third Roman sojourn coincided almost exactly with Paul's pontificate. On the pope's death, he returned to Naples under the patronage of the Duke of Calabria. An exceptionally mobile humanist, he participated in the intellectual circles of Venice, Rome, Naples, Florence, Siena and Bologna.
63. On Pietro Balbi : Papadopoli, *op.cit.*, t. II, p.175, no. XXXV. Jacopo Balbi, a naval captain and shipper of grain, received Cameral payments between 1472 and 1476. ASV, Div. Cam., 37, fols. 89v, 156v, 162r; 38, fols. 206v, 260 r-v.
64. Eubel, II, pp.92, 253, 133 (Chiericati); 122, 197, 153, (Fasolo); 82 (Orso).
65. ASVen, Cons. X, Carte di Benedetto Soranzo, Arcivescovo di Cipro, serie V, b.6.
66. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 84a, fol. 66r, 17 November 1479.

67. ASVen, Cons. X, Carte di Benedetto Soranzo, Arcivescovo di Cipro, serie II, b.3, no. 1045, 18 December 1484.
68. Dondi Dell' Orologio, op.cit., pp.25, 157.
69. On Sartori, see above chapter four, n.27. In ASVen, Atti della Curia Romana : Collezione Podocataro, b.1, no.490, 1 November 1486, Candi is described as a canon of Feltre, doctor of laws and papal familiar.
70. The career of Andreolo di S. Vito is summarised by Paschini, Il carteggio, p.73, n.8. On Michele Lorenzi : Vale, op.cit.,p.18
71. Burchard, op.cit., pp.26-8, 30. Gios, L'attività pastorale del vescovo Pietro Barozzi, p.234, n.32 mentions Candi as a conclavist in 1492.
72. In view of the fact that the lists of Paul II's familiars include a Francesco Piacentino da Verona, the treasurer Niccolò Piacentino must also be regarded as "Venetian".
73. On Francesco dal Pozzo ("il Puteolano") : DBI 32, pp.213-16. The DBI also contains entries for Giovanni dal Pozzo, another Milan-based humanist, and Paride dal Pozzo, while a Paolo dal Pozzo borrowed a couple of volumes from Cristoforo Persona, the papal librarian, in 1485.
74. Examples being Girolamo de Verona, a protonotary, Jacopo de Verona, Giovanni Battista de Verona, Giovanni Francesco de Venezia and "Pompeus Vincentinus".
75. Biographical information is drawn from King, op.cit., and P. Paschini, "Un ellenista veneziano del quattrocento", Archivio Veneto, 5th series, vol. 32 (1943), pp.114-146, among other accounts.
76. Il carteggio, p.21, Lorenzi to Barbo, 31 July 1481; p.32, Barbo to Lorenzi, 10 August 1481; p.174, Barbo to Lorenzi, 3 December 1487.
77. Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere II, pp.321-2; IV, p.191.
78. By far the most substantial account of Chiericati's career is P. Paschini, "Leonello Chiericati nunzio d'Innocenzo VIII e di Alessandro VI", Lateranum n.s. anno 1, n.3 (1935).
79. Il carteggio, p.202, Barbo to Lorenzi, 15 October 1489.
80. Predelli, op.cit., pp.233-4, no. 148.
81. ASV, Introit. et Exit. 502, fol. 143r, 10 October 1480.
82. E. Govi, op.cit.
83. Bertolà, op.cit., p.65
84. Lorenzi's later years are the preserve of A.M. Albareda OSB, "Intorno alla fine del bibliotecario apostolico Giovanni Lorenzi", Miscellanea Pio Paschini : studi di storia ecclesiastica. Lateranum

- n.s. 14-15 (1948-9), II, pp.191-204. For the patristical presentation : P.de Nolhac, La Biblioth que de Fulvio Orsini (Paris, 1887), p.4.
85. ASV, Reg. Vat. 770, fol. 85.
  86. ASV, Oblig. et. Solut. 82, fol. 69r, 8 January 1472; fol. 144v 19 January 1484.
  87. DBI, 24, p.684.
  88. Gios, op.cit., p.304. Dondi Dell' Orologio, op.cit., p.185
  89. Cenci, op.cit., pp.395-6, 397-8, 398-400, 400-1, 412-14. Dondi Dell' Orologio, op.cit., p.83.
  90. See above, chapter four, n.102.
  91. ASVen, Cons. X, Carte di Benedetto Soranzo, Arcivescovo di Cipro, serie II, b. 3, nos. 1076-80, dated 6 February, 23 February, 22 December 1489, 6 March 1490, 11 December 1492.
  92. BAV, Archivio Capitolo di S. Pietro, Turni 1.
  93. ASVen, SS. 29, fols. 108-10, 3 June 1480, Cenci, op.cit., pp.410-11, 412-14, 415-16, 416-17, 417-19, 420, 421-2, 423-4, 428-9.
  94. DBI, 11, pp. 327-33.
  95. See below, chapter six, no. 34-5.
  96. Predelli, op.cit., pp. 22-3, no.103, 18 February 1477, includes among Zeno's witnesses "Michelangelo de' Sassi chierico di Bergamo, famigliar(e) del cardinale". ASF, MAP, filza XXI, no.287, Zeno to Lorenzo de' Medici, 28 December 1475 : "Licet altra volta vi habia(mo) scripto in commendatione de Michaelagnolo de Saxis da Bertenoro nostro Camerieri".
  97. Zippel ed., Le Vite di Paolo II, pp.212 (Biandrate), 211, 212, 214 (Monelli).
  98. *ibid.*, pp.218 (Alessandro de' Nacci), 205 (Antonio di Piramo), 218 (Arcangelo and Francesco), 212-14 (Ippolito), 218 (Piramo and Tito di Piramo). A Francesco Nacci was appointed director of the Neapolitan branch of the Medici bank in 1475 : Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, vol. IV, p.71, n.9.
  99. Il carteggio, p.143, n.1.
  100. DBI, 16, pp.592-4.
  101. *ibid.*, p.592.
  102. Il carteggio, pp.75, 77.
  103. ASV, Reg. Vat. 545, fol.94.

104. Zippel, "La morte di Marco Barbo", p.202.
105. Il carteggio, p.89, Barbo to Lorenzi, 20 August 1483; p.96, Lorenzi to Barbo, 3 September 1483.
106. *ibid.*, pp.140, 159.
107. ASV, Div. Cam. 37, fol. 33v, 10 April 1472.
108. For references to Barison, see Gios, L'attività pastorale, p.263, n.57.
109. Predelli, I Libri Commemorativi, p.223, no. 104.
110. ASV, Reg. Vat. 712, fols. 46v-48v, 2 March 1486.
111. Predelli, *op. cit.*, pp.222-3, no. 103.
112. Il carteggio, p.55, Lorenzi to Barbo, 2 December 1482
113. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 84, fol. 262r; Burchard, *op.cit.*, I, p.26
114. Quoted by P. Farenaga, "'Monumenta memoriae' : Pietro Riario fra mito e storia". In Miglio (ed.), Un pontificato ed una città, p.199, n.53.
115. See above, chapter four.
116. ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Carteggio degli ambasciatori, Roma, b.4, 23 March 1485
117. ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga EXXXV 3, b. 847, no. 88.
118. ASF, MAP, filza XXI, no. 287, 28 December 1475; filza XXXIV, no. 127, 7 October 1478.
119. ASMo, Carteggio Principi Esteri, Roma, b. 1435/189, 17 and 30 November 1472, 12 May 1473; b. 1366/99, 16 June 1473.
120. ASF, MAP, filza XLVI, no. 218, 24 March 1473; no. 259, 24 July 1473; no. 277, 16 October 1473; no. 346, 27 July 1474; no.375, 28 October 1474; no. 402, 23 June 1476; filza XXIV, no. 420, 20 January 1473. Zeno wrote to the Marquis of Mantua on behalf of Giovanni Calzavacca on 30 April 1470 : ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, EXXV 3, b.844, no. 104. Giovanni Calzavacca's biography : DBI 17, pp.52-4.
121. Il carteggio, p.75, Barbo to Lorenzi, 9 March 1483. The Cardinal of Macon was, of course, Philibert Hugonet. One further example of the cardinals assisting a familiar may be cited. Between 1471 and 1476 there is evidence of discord between the Camera and Angelo Fasolo's brother Lorenzo, a merchant. On a couple of occasions, Marco Barbo's name was drawn into the controversy on Fasolo's side, culminating in a personal appeal, presumably addressed to the cardinal by Angelo Fasolo, 29 October 1476, on

- the matter of "Laurentius germanus meus" and 500 ducats : BAV, Vat. lat. 5641, fol. 149 r-v. The outcome of this plea is not recorded. ASV, Div. Cam. 37, fols. 190 r-v; 192r, 12 April 1473; 199v, 27 May 1473; 209r-v, 12 July 1473; 39, fol. 263v, 27 March 1479; 42, fols. 5v-7r, 1 October 1471; 125r, 7 April 1475(?); 43, fol. 15r, 27 March 1474. A Paolo Fasolo was on the Camera's books in 1474 : ASV, Introit. et Exit, 40, fols. 84v, 31 August; 90r, 6 October; 95r, 7 November.
122. ASV, Reg. 684, fol. 515 lists Guillino, Giovanni Lorenzi and Michele de Pastrana among Innocent's "veros familiares continuos commensales immediatos et indubitatos", with the note that all three doubled up as Barbo's familiars.
123. Burchard, op.cit., I, p.166.
124. DBI, 15, p.405. In 1490 the association was renewed when the Master of Ceremonies visited Barbo to consult him about ceremonial connected with the formal entry of the Imperial ambassadors into Rome : Il carteggio, p.206; Burchard, op.cit., pp.309 seq.
125. Gherardi, op.cit., p.118, 25 May 1483.
126. ASV, Vat. lat. 5641, fol. 168; Il carteggio, p.115, Lorenzi to Barbo, 27 August 1485.
127. Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, 1471-1484, vol. XIII, ed. J.A. Twemlow, p.143, 7 August and 13 November 1483. See also Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers vol. XV, ed. Michael J. Haren, pp.139-40, no.291, 16 October 1487, when Ross was still distinguished by his membership of Barbo's household.
128. Il carteggio, pp.209-211, 17 and 19 September, 3 October 1490, Zippel, "La morte di Marco Barbo", p.200.
129. Il carteggio, pp.212-13, Lorenzi to Barbo, 3 October 1490.
130. Grifo's life is accounted for by E. Lee, Sixtus IV and Men of Letters, pp.62-6, and his death by Livia Martinoli Santini, "Leonardo Grifo e i manoscritti del 'Carmen Conflictus Bracciani'" in Scrittura, Biblioteche e Stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento vol.3. Grifo's funeral rites were performed in S. Maria del Popolo on 15 December 1485 in the presence of three cardinals, doubtless including Barbo, and many leading curialists. The funeral oration was delivered by Pomponio Leto "in veste sua quotidiana, quia cappa more Capellae nostrae uti noluit", at the express invitation of Cardinal Barbo and Falcone Sinibaldi, the papal secretary and treasurer. Grifo's testament, dated the previous 19 November, is now contained in the Roman Archivio di Stato, Coll. Not. Cap., 1228 fols. 114r-115v, 118r-119v.
131. Zippel, "La morte di Marco Barbo", p.198 Paschini, on the other hand, identifies the author as Cosimo de' Pazzi : Il carteggio, p.9.
132. Eubel II, p.21.

133. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 84A, fol. 66r, 17 November 1479. Div. Cam., 40, fol. 68r-v, 25 February 1480.
134. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 84A, fol. 33r, 16 March 1478.
135. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 84v, 4 September 1471. Gios, L'attività pastorale, p.35. For the relationship between Barbo and Barozzi, see also O. Logan, "The Ideal of the Bishop and the Venetian Patriariate : c.1430 - c.1630", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 29 no.4, pp.424-5.
136. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 90r, 8 March 1475; Reg. Vat., 600, fol. 243, 11 April 1480; Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 144v, 19 January 1484.
137. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 116r, 19 March 1479; fol. 129r, 8 May 1481; 83, fol. 129r 10 May 1486.
138. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 123r, 21 February 1480; fol. 124v, 6 June 1480; fol. 127r, 10 November 1480; fol. 133v, 18 March 1482 (monastery, Mainz); 83, fol. 124v, 18 July 1485.
139. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 123r, 21 February 1480; fol. 129r, 8 May 1481; 83, fol. 136r, 27 April 1487.
140. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 95r, 20 November 1475, fol. 125r, 7 July 1480; fol. 132v, 7 January 1482; fol. 141v, 4 July 1483; fol. 146v, 8 March 1484; 83, fol. 124r, 16 May 1485; fol. 127v, 27 February 1486; fol. 134r, 29 January 1487 (Winchester and Exeter); Fondo Concistoriale, Acta Camerarii, 1, fol. 2v, 13 May 1489. Fitting into none of these particular geographical categories were the promotions of Ladislav Geréb, Johannes de Beersel, "Marco de Francesco" and an anonymous individual to an equally anonymous benefice : Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 101v, 25 September 1476; 83, fol. 124r, 27 June 1485; Div. Cam., 46, fol. 188r, 16 March 1488; Fondo Concistoriale, Acta Camerarii, 1, fol. 8v, 29 March 1480.
141. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 42r, 11 January 1468.
142. *ibid.*, fol. 69r, 8 January 1472.
143. Gios, *op.cit.*, pp.35. 78 seq.
144. Orsini is profiled by King, *op.cit.*, pp.415-16.
145. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 81r, 26 November 1473; fol. 103v, 6 February 1477.
146. See chapter four, n. 25, above.
147. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 83, fol. 120r, —October 1484.
148. Il carteggio, p.86, Lorenzi to Barbo, 23 July 1483.
149. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 118r, 7 June 1479. ASVen, Senato Terra, 7, fol. 193, 31 December 1477, quoted by Dalla Santa, "Alcuni

- documenti per la storia della chiesa di Limasso in Cipro durante la seconda metà del sec. XV", NAV, 16 (1898), pp.150-87.
150. For Donato and Barbaro, see Paschini, "Tre illustri prelati", while the Chiericati connection is brought out by Dalla Santa, "Alcuni documenti".
151. ASV, Reg. Vat., 755, fols. 182v-184v, 24 February 1491. Giovanni Lazari : Reg. Vat., 625, fols. 25r-27v, 22 November 1482.
152. His story is related by H. Jedin, A History of the Council of Trent, trans. Dom Ernest Graf O.S.B. (London, 1957) Vol.1, pp.101-6.
153. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 96r, 10 January 1476.
154. Gherardi, op.cit., p.57 : "Andreas archiepiscopus Craianensis in Adriani molem est trusus, causam offerunt, quod nonnulla temere, tam de pontifice, quam de nonnullis, quorum gratia et auctoritas maxima est apud pontificem, loquutus esset. fuerat hic triennio continuo Romanorum imperatoris Friderici legatus; sed muneris depositi accepto nuntio, illico in carcerem est coniectus, tamen post aliquot dies, cardinale Sancti Angeli deprecante, libertati est redditus ac post paulo, indignato nimium animo, in Germaniam ragressus est".
155. Il carteggio, pp.50-1, Barbo to Lorenzi, 26 November 1482 : "D. Joannes carissime ex nostro preposito omnia cognosces, iudicio meo, si Crainensis haberi possit, non sit grave S.o d.no n.ro remittere cetera Basilien(sium) quos existimo, nimia inconsideratione motos, litteris imperialibus et salviconductus Crainensis, vel cupiditati lucri propter presentiam congregandorum, facillime adhesisse et fatuitatibus ipsius ..."
156. ASVen, SS, 31, fol. 47.
157. See above, nn. 118-20.
158. ASMo, Carteggio principi esteri, Roma, b.1366/99 : 15 February, 4 May, 6 June, 14 July 1472; 17, 25 April, 11, 16 June, 3 July, 1, 23 August, 4(?), 6, 22 September, 16 October, 30 November 1473; 9 May 1478; 10 September 1480.
159. *ibid.*, b.1435/189 : 19 December 1471; 3 January, 27 May, 17, 30 November 1472; 12 May, 17 December 1473; 1 September 1476; 14 July, 2, 3 December 1477; 9 July 1478; 30 January 147?; 13 May 1486; 20 July, 28 September 1488; 17 October, 19 December 1491. Others dated from 14 September 1498, 29 April and 18 December 1499.
160. *ibid.*, b.1329/41 : 5 November 1471; 13 February 1472; 19 January, 6 March, 21, 25 May, 30 June 1475; 22 June 1481; 23 October 1488; 16 March 1490.
161. *ibid.*, b.1366/99, 6 July 1472. " ... in favore de li frati del observantia de Sancto Hieronymo per un loco quale desyderano havere in la vostra Cita di ferrara ..."
162. *ibid.*, b.1329/41, 13 February 1472.

163. ASF, MAP, filza XLXI, no. 162, Barbo, 27 February 1472; no.218, Zeno, 24 March 1473; no.259, Zeno, 24 July 1473; no.364, Barbo, 5 October 1474; no.277, Zeno, 16 October 1473; no.346, Zeno, 27 July 1474; no.375, Zeno, 28 October 1474; no.402, Zeno, 23 June 1476; no.523, Zeno, 7 October 1478; filza XXIV, no.420, Zeno, 20 January 1473; filza XXI, no.287, Zeno, 28 December 1475; filza XXXIV, no.127, Barbo, 10 May 1476.
164. ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, EXXV 3, b.844, no.104, Zeno, 30 April 1470; b.845, nos. 557-8, Barbo, 29 January 1475; nos. 564-5, Barbo 25 December 1475; b.847, no.88, Zeno, 22 October 1484; no.440, Foscari, 15 March 1485; b.848, nos. 127-8, Zeno, 15-16 May 1492. That Francesco de Sangiunti also happened to be a doctor was a masterful touch with the hypochondriac Gonzaga!
165. ASMi, SPE, 87, 19 and 20 February 1480; 90, 2 and 17 November, 13 December 1481. These five references all deal with the case of Giovanni Palavicino, described as Barbo's familiar. SPE, 88 contains a letter to the Milanese ambassadors in Rome on the question of the cardinal, his familiars and vacant benefices, dated 28 February 1481. The fact that these disputes took place against the backdrop of Venice's alliance with the Papacy reinforces the view that Barbo was regarded primarily as a Venetian.
166. ASF, MAP, filza XLXI, no.162.
167. Il carteggio, p.155, Barbo to Lorenzi, 6 July 1487.
168. ASF, MAP, filza LVII, no.56, 7 July.
169. Veste Coburg, Kunstsammlungen, Bd. I, S. 587, 4, 22 December 1487. My thanks to Melissa M. Bullard for this and the following references.
170. Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer, 23 December 1487.
171. ASF, MAP, filza LVII, no.8, 10 January 1488.
172. Picotti, La giovinezza di Leone X (Milan, 1927), pp.179 seq. provides the most readily accessible account of Lanfredini's negotiations with Barbo on behalf of Lorenzo.
173. The collection from which the Barbo-Lorenzi carteggio is taken also contains a letter from Lorenzo to Barbo, dated 14 February 1489, presenting yet another appeal on behalf of his son : BAV, Vat. lat., 5641, fol. 38. Again, Picotti accounts for the support which Giovanni de' Medici's cause received from portions of the Sacred College.
174. Il carteggio, p.164, n.3.
175. *ibid.*, p.165 and n.1, Barbo to Lorenzi, 16 September 1487
176. *ibid.*, p.189 and n.4, Barbo to Lorenzi, 13 August 1489.
177. *ibid.*, p.196, Casimir of Poland to Barbo, 26 July 1489, Barbo replied to the king on 15 September, pp.196-9, though the king's dilemma

features a good deal in the cardinal's letters to his secretary at the season. For Barbo and the bishoprics, see Table VIII. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 123r, 21 February 1480 (Chelm); fol. 124v, 6 June 1480 (Lvov); 83, fol. 124v, 18 July 1485 (Tartu)

178. Wilkie, op.cit., p.8.
179. ibid., pp. 8-10.
180. ibid., p. 11.
181. ibid., p. 53.
182. Barbo to Louis XI : BAV, Fondo Borg. lat., 214, fol. 209r. Barbo commends Giovanni Lorenzi to the king.
183. See above, chapter three, n. 131.
184. The translation is that of Allen B. Hinds (ed), Calendar of State Papers ... Milan, vol. I, p.255, no.400. Unfortunately, the footnote identifies the Cardinal of St. Mark as "Pietro Foscari, Patriarch of St. Mark's, Venice, and Cardinal priest of St. Nicholas ad imagines". Such a combination would, indeed, have been a Venetian cardinal par excellence!
185. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 146v, 8 March 1484.
186. For Shirwood as ambassador, see B. Behrens, "Origins of the office of English Resident Ambassador in Rome", English Historical Review, XLIX (1934), pp. 640-56.
187. The text of Richard III's appeal, 15 October 1484, appears in Rawdon Brown (ed.), Calendar of State Papers ... Venice, I (London, 1864), pp. 147-8.
188. The theory about Henry VII and John Shirwood is Wilkie's, op.cit., p.17. Information from the Liber Fraternalitatis is presented by P. De Angelis, op.cit.
189. Il carteggio, p.143, n.4.
190. ibid., **Barbo** to Lorenzi, 20 May 1487 : "Memor sis suo tempore, motum et iter oratorum tam Anglie quam Bohemie mihi significare; quia si potero, volo eos alicubi comiter et frugaliter excipere".
191. R. Weiss, "Lineamenti di un biografia di Giovanni Gigli, collettore papale in Inghilterra e vescovo di Worcester (1434-1498)", Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia, I (1947), p.381.
192. Il carteggio, p. 146 and n.3.

6. CULTURAL PATRONAGE

Innumerable studies published in recent decades have suggested that the spectrum of cultural expression throughout the cities and courts of Renaissance Europe was in some measure determined by the purchasing power of individual and corporate patrons and that, in turn, cultural patronage was a carefully-calculated parallel of and buttress to political intentions. Those same studies illustrate how cultural patronage in various states took on certain forms according to the system of government and consequent availability of patrons. Thus, for instance, in Florence the Medici were acknowledged as unofficial arbiters of taste, as they were of policy.<sup>1</sup> In Venice, fascinating networks of patrician patrons have been scrupulously unearthed from the studied anonymity of the Signorial régime, suspicious as it was of the individual Mæcenas and preferring corporate commissions.<sup>2</sup> In despotic Naples, by contrast, the king dominated the patronage scene, though not to the exclusion of all others.<sup>3</sup> Turning to Rome, as the Papacy became ever more firmly entrenched on the banks of the Tiber and the number of curial cardinals expanded, so opportunities for writers, craftsmen-architects, practitioners of the major and minor arts multiplied, inspired by Rome's unique combination of Classical heritage and Christian tradition, and provided with steady employment in the curial administration and various lay and ecclesiastical households. Papal patronage tended to follow rather than lead fashion, in that the revivers of letters or embellishers of palazzi in papal employ frequently took root in Rome by means of the university or the households of senior ecclesiastics<sup>4</sup>. Giovanni Lorenzi is an excellent case in point, becoming established in the city by means of Cardinal Barbo's patronage, which also

acquired for him the post of papal librarian. As librarian, Lorenzi could not only indulge his passion for Greek studies, but also encounter virtually all the humanists resident in Rome, on a professional basis. Another example is that of Josquin des Pres, easily the most important musical figure in Rome in the eighth and ninth decades of the fifteenth century. Josquin joined the papal choir in 1486 as a consequence of the entry into the Sacred College of his patron Ascanio Sforza, a noted musical connoisseur who nevertheless paid his musicians poorly.<sup>5</sup>

Although it had yet to burst into its fullest splendour, a vigorous court culture was developing and becoming entrenched during the Sistine and Innocentian pontificates. Comprehensive guides to literary practitioners of the period up to 1484, to preaching or to a specifically Roman humanism notwithstanding, the study of cultural life in later quattrocento Rome, particularly with regard to its wider, political implications, is not as well developed as for Venice and Florence in the same period, the limelight tending to fall on later decades.<sup>6</sup> Opportunities exist for the exploration of patterns of patronage in the humane letters and visual arts, relating cultural to political and ecclesiastical patronage. As cardinals assumed increasing political and diplomatic significance, while surrounding themselves with the cultural trappings of their princely status, so they offer balance-redressing possibilities.

As outlined by J.R. Hale, cultural patronage in this period functioned on three levels. The first was necessitated by convention and, as far as cardinals were concerned, might consist of the building and decoration of a palace, church or chapel. Secondly, he could support and advance

the career of some individual scholar or artist, providing him with accommodation among the like-minded and employment opportunities within or beyond the household. This definition, based on personal relationships, bears a marked resemblance to the phenomenon of non-cultural clientage, just as some individuals isolated in the previous chapter in non-cultural capacities will figure again in this. Indeed, patterns of political and ecclesiastical patronage find a perfect parallel in the cultural patronage of curial cardinals, for just as the patron could further the career of the humanist, painter or architect in a city of increasingly conspicuous consumption, so also could those masters of pen, brush or chisel create and augment the patron's reputation for enlightened liberality among contemporaries and for posterity : a two-way process. Finally, the cardinal-patron could promote "some form of cultural expression because of a belief in its value for its own sake", the prime example in later quattrocento Rome being Bessarion's intense devotion to Greek culture.<sup>7</sup>

As cardinals, how seriously did the four Venetians take the patronage responsibilities demanded of them by convention? Were those responsibilities at all influenced by any lingering Venetian sentiment about avoiding praise of the individual patron? That peculiar hybrid creature, a Venetian cardinal, would have to observe Roman conventions but do so by patronising Venetian humanists and artists in the city and generally exercise his discretion in favour of the Republic. Can the parallels between types of patronage and clientage outlined above be substantiated in this case? Although Marco Barbo's cultural profile has been scrutinised by Margaret King and Anna Maria Torroncelli, among others, Pietro Foscari has been "profiled" by King, and Battista Zeno has received passing notice

as a literary connoisseur, the relevant material has never been accumulated for the purpose of assessing patterns of cultural patronage among the Venetian cardinals as a group, against the colourful and erudite backdrop of the Roman Renaissance.

In chapters one and two it was seen how Barbo, Michiel and Zeno owed their rise to eminence directly to Paul II and their subsequent reversal of fortune to the same source. Clear parallels are evident in the cultural sphere. Rescued by Weiss and Zippel from the morass of negative publicity stemming from his streamlining of the College of Abbreviators and suppression of Pomponio Leto's Roman Academy, Paul has emerged as a discerning cultural patron of conservative tastes, in literary matters distinguishing between morally suspect "poetry" and thoroughly sound "history".<sup>8</sup> This bias has been described as characteristically Venetian. Leto, Platina and their associates fell into the poetic category, their excessive devotion to ancient literature and practices attracting charges of irreligion and republicanism at variance with the pope's position as spiritual and temporal ruler. Upon the arrest of various Academicians accused of conspiracy against the pope (25-28 February 1468), Marco Barbo was appointed president of the investigating commission, his fellow commissioners being Lorenzo Zane, Vianesio Albergati and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, a staunch defender of papal privileges.<sup>9</sup> A second commission was appointed the following year and included various bishops, together with Fra Leonardo da Perugia O.P. and Fra Francesco d'Assisi O.F.M. Barbo was of their number but had been demoted from his presidential eminence.<sup>10</sup> No account of the proceedings of either commission appears to have survived, making an assessment of Barbo's involvement and personal response to the situation problematic.

Leto's biographer believes that Barbo incited Paul to take action against the Academy, the humanist's admission of guilt following his return from temporary sanctuary in Venice suggesting anti-clericalism rather than literary differences as the bone of contention : "Yes ... I confess that I did give myself up to one or two invectives against the clergy, albeit brief, and to have uttered certain disrespectful words under the pressure of circumstances, such as are not unknown to the Bishop of Feltre (Angelo Fasolo). I had not been paid, I was reduced to desperation, friends wrote to me that Cardinal Barbo was angry with me; I was greatly astonished, thinking that I had never done any harm to this illustrious man and had often received his praises ..." Platina, too, laid the blame on Barbo : "Inclamat tum M. Barbus Sancti Marci cardinalis, nos non academicos esse, sed foedatores Academiae." However revealing his account of the episode may be, objectivity is not its primary attribute.<sup>11</sup>

Might not the cardinal's anger have been motivated by frustration, his fortunes bound up with those of the Papacy, but his humanistic bias engendering sympathy with the Academicians? The delicacy of his position is reflected in his rôle as arbiter in the learned contest between Platina and Sánchez de Arévalo and their respective treatises on peace and war, the two men personifying opposite sides in the "conspiracy" and its aftermath. Arévalo dedicated various works to Cardinals d'Estouteville, Borgia, Barbo and Bessarion, and apparently enjoyed the friendship of the last two, on the basis of their joint composition of his epitaph, now in S. Maria de Monserrato : RHODERICO. SANCTIO. PRESUL. PALENTINO. HUMANI DIVINQUE. IURIS. CONSULTO. OPT. QUI. MOLEM. HADRIANI. FIDELISSIMA. PREFECTURA. CUSTODIT. SEDIS. APOSTOLICE. OBSERVANTISS. VIX. AN. LXVI. BESSARIO. CARD. SABIN. ET MARCUS CARD. DIVI MARTII. B.M. POSUERUNT.

OBIIT AN. VII. PAULI, PONT. MAX. IIII NON. OCTOBR."<sup>12</sup> More significant, though, was the overlapping membership of the Roman Academy and the domestic academy patronised by Bessarion. "On frequent occasions the most learned men of all the curia retired to the house of Bessarion..., there they disputed among themselves on things relating to the Latin tongue."<sup>13</sup> It was this paternalistic mantle which Barbo is generally regarded as inheriting from Bessarion in the 1470s. Leto himself, Lucillio and Rufo were common to both the Academy and Bessarion's circle, while the Academicians Petreus, Glaucus and Callimachus made their escape from Rome when the arrests began, forewarned by the Greek cardinal.<sup>14</sup> A conflict of loyalties may well account for Barbo's demotion in 1469, yet also for the relatively lenient punishments inflicted, short prison terms after which the humanists re-established their careers. From prison, Platina sent appeals to five individual cardinals : Gonzaga, the patron who had brought him to Rome and who actually secured his release; Bessarion, whose advice he had failed to heed; Borgia, Ammannati and Barbo, the not altogether unsympathetic gaoler.<sup>15</sup> On Platina's death in 1481, Tiraboschi included among the members of Leto's circle who contributed to the service of commemoration, Sigismondo de' Conti, to whom Paul and Barbo gave financial assistance in November 1469, and Manilio Ralli, the cardinal's devoted Greek copyist.<sup>16</sup>

Though no humanist himself, Paul II was well served by men of letters and they, in turn were well served by him. Antonio (Lotto) degli Agli (c.1400 - 1477), one of Pietro Barbo's early (humanist) tutors and the author of theological and hagiographic works, was raised to the episcopate by his former pupil. Benefits extended to other members of the family, Francesco and Oddone Agli transporting grain to Rome during the shortage

of 1468, while Pietro Agli held office in the Papal States and accompanied Leonoro Leonori when the latter was papal collector in Castile and Leon from October 1470.<sup>17</sup> Leonori (d.1478) himself combined papal service - particularly in Spain and Bologna and as a papal secretary from 1470 - with devotion to Greek poetry and historical studies. Perhaps the key to pontifical favour lay in the fact that, after 1459, letters were sacrificed to service. Similarly, the Pauline biographer Michele Canensi (d.1480), an admirer of Leonori, confined writing to leisure hours, holding curial posts under four popes from Nicholas V onwards.<sup>18</sup>

Canensi's De vita et pontificatu Pauli secundi was dedicated to Guillaume d'Estouteville rather than to one of Paul's nipoti. Nor did Leonardo Dati (c.1408-1472) or Giovanni Alvise Toscani (c.1450-1478), both Pauline protégés, transfer their allegiance to a Venetian cardinal in 1471. Toscani, an orator, Latin poet and jurist, had a brilliant Roman career and received a monthly pension of 6 florins until Paul's death; at which point he did not fall into obscurity like his fellow pensioners mentioned in the previous chapter, but secured ever greater success under Sixtus, until succumbing to the plague that also killed Domizio Calderini.<sup>19</sup> There could hardly be a clearer parallel between the cardinals' political fortunes and every facet of the patronage process : 1471 brought about a conspicuous lack of continuity between events before and after Paul's death and between his patronage and that of his nipoti.

By way of reinforcing this point, attention may be drawn to certain correspondence received by the cardinals prior to their patron's demise, appeals made by humanists and others who sought to cultivate them on

account of their relationship with the Supreme Pontiff. Those same humanists ceased to court Barbo, Michiel and Zeno after Paul's death and failed to dedicate any works to them. Between 1466 and 1470, for example, Francesco Filelfo plied both Marco Barbo and the cardinal's secretary Francesco Guarnerio with begging letters, which ceased as abruptly as the pontificate. An isolated missive survives from 1476, a few months before the irascible humanist left Rome and his post at the Sapienza. Guarnerio also received appeals from Niccolò Perotti in the 1460s, illustrating a secretary's pivotal rôle in the entire patronage process.<sup>20</sup>

A blatant example of one of the cardinals' being cultivated for his papal contacts may be found in an enthusiastic letter of Lodovico Foscarini to Battista Zeno, dated 18 August 1466 : "Tres epistolas tuas ornatissimas superioribus diebus jocundissimo animo suscepi, quarum una erat amore undique redundans altera laudem mearum refertissima, tertia commendationem insistoris tui continuebat. In prima persiste, et te quotidie superes rago, quoniam, cum avunculus tuus Paulus ille Barbus, vir integerrimus, urbis nostris decus fuerit alter ego ..."<sup>21</sup> No other letters survive from Foscarini to Zeno, either before or after 1471. Similarly, Cardinal Ammannati proffered advice to the young Cardinals Michiel and Zeno, but seems to have rejected the cousins at the onset of the Sistine pontificate. Perhaps the advice had not been heeded!<sup>22</sup>

Turning to the visual arts, by far the most conspicuous legacy bequeathed by Paul to Marco Barbo was the incomplete Palazzo di S. Marco. Although the names of architects and craftsmen employed by Paul are known, their number including Andrea Bregno and Giovannino dei Dolci, Aristotele Fioravanti da Bologna and Francesco da Borgo San Sepolcro, Marco's

unavoidable economies probably resulted in the termination of their contracts shortly after the pope's death, again possibly coinciding with the cardinal's departure for Germany. Nor is it likely that Paul's Mantuan jeweller, Cristoforo di Geremia, was retained in Barbo service. The deceased pope's taste for gems and medallions availed his nipoti naught, as those were rapidly sold off by Sixtus to raise revenue.<sup>23</sup> Although it cannot be proved, there is no indication that Barbo, Michiel or Zeno inherited any marked interest in archaeology, numismatics or antique art.<sup>24</sup> In the 1470s, at least, their means were not equal to their late benefactor's expensive tastes. Cardinal Zeno's partiality for luxurious display (particularly of the liturgical variety) at the expense of the subtleties of textual criticism does suggest a certain family resemblance but, beyond that, the pope's influence on the cardinals' cultural identities was surely minimal. It is true that Paul's "Venetian" disinclination towards "poetry" may have restrained or conditioned Marco Barbo's choice of personal cultural expression before 1471, but it was surely Bessarion's devotion to Hellenism and Lodovico Barbo's acceptance of the new learning which genuinely inspired him : culture as aid to faith, not a hindrance to it.

Of the four cardinals, only Barbo thoroughly deserves a "humanist" tag. A number of works have been attributed to him with varying degrees of conviction, most notably translations from Greek of Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople, Tractatus de fide catholica et responsiones ad questiones Mahumetis magni Turcarum Imperatoris together with verses, and the Opusculum quoddam of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. The choice of these works is in perfect accord with the Christian humanism of S. Giustina, as well as the cardinal's association with Greek émigrés in the Veneto and at Rome, along with Hellenists such as Giovanni Lorenzi.

Barbo's command of the second classical language is attested to not only by the carteggio and other correspondence, but also by the relazioni listed by Cicogna as Relatio suae legationis in partibus septentrionalibus and Oratio in consistorio habita cum ex Hungarica legatione remearet, and by the quality of works falsely attributed to him or of doubtful attribution. A sermon in praise of St. Romuald, now contained among the works of Moro Lapi, has been attributed to Niccolò Barbo by Cicogna and King, and to Marco Barbo by A. Segarizzi and F. Gaeta, while Cicogna assigns the treatise De coelibatu to the cardinal's oeuvre though actually the product of Ermolao Barbaro's genius.<sup>25</sup>

Beyond correspondence, the only other original literary composition attributed to one of the cardinals is an epigram by Battista Zeno, replying to a similar piece dedicated to him by Lorenzo Zane's Veronese secretary Leonardo Montagna (who celebrated Barbo and Michiel among many others). In style and sentiment it is a far cry from Barbo's pious scholarship :

"Redditus est nobis nuper, Leonarde, libellus,

quem decor et titulus denotat esse tuum.

Suscepi hunc placido vultu lectumque religi

saepius et quotiens perlego crescit amor :

non ob multa mei praeconia nominis illic

edita, nanque opus id magno ab amore venit,

sed quoniam, vates, tua sunt ea carmina, priscas

quae faciunt nostris cedere temporibus.

Inter delitias teneo semperque tenebo

carmen id, auctoris carminis ipse memor."<sup>26</sup>

Introducing this verse, Avesani ~~seconds~~ Zippel in describing Zeno as a "lover of letters", yet offers only one other connection between the cardinal and a Veronese man of letters. In 1477, Leonardo Nogarola, most notable of the brothers of Isotta and Ginevra, became an apostolic protonotary, received minor orders from Zeno as legate on 7 October and saw his Officium et missa Immaculatae Conceptionis B. Mariae Virginis printed at Rome with a dedication to Sixtus, who had approved the office two years previously. Of other Veronese humanists associated with Sixtus and/or the papal court, only Bianco Ceruti belonged to the household of a Venetian cardinal.<sup>27</sup> None had any association worth noting with their bishop, Giovanni Michiel.

"In regard to public affairs poets and orators are necessary under princes lest the deeds of ancient men be lost through lack of authors. Who would know of the virtuous example of Christ, the apostles, martyrs, emperors, kings and of princes, unless they who write of them are held of value."<sup>28</sup> Although of somewhat lesser importance than the patrons here envisaged by Platina in his appeal to Paul II from prison, the reputations of princes of the Church have been in large measure conditioned by the extent and significance of their patronage, literary and artistic. The relative fortunes of Marco Barbo and Giovanni Michiel are apposite cases in point. The mutual attraction of particular patrons and particular clients can be assessed according to the criteria of the previous chapter, to underline the close parallel between the various expressions of patronage. That is, the cardinals' literary associates will be considered in terms of their origins - Venetian, Italian or non-Italian - their

membership of the cardinals' households or other connections, and the means by which these various relationships related to the broader network of curial politics and employment.

All four cardinals enjoyed ample opportunities (some more ample than others on account of restrictions by the Senate and the Ten!) to associate and exchange ideas with a succession of highly cultivated Venetian ambassadors, though few definite cultural connections have survived. Paolo Morosini dedicated his intensely patriotic Defensio Venetorum ad Europae principes contra obtractores to Marco Barbo, exhorting the cardinal to champion the Venetian cause in Rome. Morosini's appeal reads admirably as a prologue to Barbo's renowned defence of the Republic at the height of the Interdict crisis: "Tuae igitur sapientiae et aequitati meritam Venetorum defensionem destinandam decrevi, ut qui in urbe moram trahis, in quam communis patriae gratia omnes conveniunt, et qui patriae haud immemor propriae judicaris, falsis suggestionibus quamquam Venetis improperantem audire contigerint, veri assertione, si non in Venetorum amorem adducere poteris, ab iniusto tamen odio discedere doceas; me animarum suarum detrimento falsis cavallationibus obisse Venetos eligant ..." 29

Besides Morosini, Marco Aurelio, Sebastiano Badoer, Ermolao and Zaccaria Barbaro, Bernardo Bembo, Francesco Diedo, Antonio and Girolamo Donato, Leonardo Sanudo and Antonio Vinceguerra were all respected humanists, some of them among the most distinguished of their time. As a ducal secretary, Aurelio was responsible for collecting Cardinal Bessarion's residual library from various locations in central Italy. When Leonardo Sanudo fell ill in the Autumn of 1474 and Aurelio

was sent to Rome as his replacement, it afforded him ample opportunity to negotiate with the Sacred College and other interested parties about the implementation of Bessarion's will with regard to the library. In the same vein, Antonio Donato's commission of 6 May 1473 contained an instruction to visit Lorenzo de' Medici to collect some volumes of Augustine, doubtless the ten volumes which the late cardinal had ordered from Vespasiano da Bisticci, Lorenzo acting as a middle-man.<sup>30</sup> In neither case was mention made of Barbo, Michiel or Zeno as potential sources of information. In chapter one, it was suggested that cardinals and ambassadors may have been acquainted since their days at Padua. Unfortunately, in cultural terms it is possible merely to talk of sharing the same contacts. Thus, like Barbo, three of the ambassadors - Barbaro, Bembo and Vinceguerra - maintained contact with Marsilio Ficino. In Bembo's case this amounted to singular friendship and respect. As Ficino wrote in the letter entitled "He is fortunately loved who is loved by a man most worthy of love" : "Indeed, so highly do I esteem Bernardo, that I value myself as highly as I feel I am valued by him ..." <sup>31</sup>

The Barbo-Lorenzi carteggio deals exclusively with Bembo the diplomat to the exclusion of Bembo the humanist, any cultural connection resting on nothing more than circumstantial evidence. Likewise, no record survives of cultural sympathies between the cardinal and his eventual successor at Aquileia during the latter's tenure as Venetian "orator" in Rome, yet they must have existed, if only on account of Barbaro's dedication to Barbo of his translation of Themistius' De divinatione secundum quietem, published at Treviso in 1481 and supervised by Angelo Poliziano.<sup>32</sup> Barbaro's prefatory letter suggests shared philosophical tastes, a comment which might apply equally well to the six letters with which Barbaro dedicated successive volumes of his translation

of Aristotle, Compendium Ethicorum (1474-5). This work was written in the Aristotelian stronghold of Padua, and Barbaro's choice of Foscari as dedicatee accords well with the latter's protracted Paduan association. It remains a matter of conjecture whether Barbaro and Foscari met there or at Rome in the early 1460s, when Zaccaria Barbaro was ambassador to the Holy See and Ermolao a student of Pomponio Leto and Theodore Gaza.<sup>33</sup>

Few humanists native to Venice and the Veneto settled in Rome or attached themselves to the Curia on a temporary or permanent basis in the 1470s and '80s. At least seven were exceptions to the general rule: Pietro Balbi, Girolamo Bologni, Andrea Brenta, Leonello Chiericati, Ilarione da Verona, Giovanni Lorenzi and Leonardo Montagna. Prevailing political circumstances under Sixtus made such a move unattractive, while patronage prospects were severely limited throughout the entire period. Foscari, Michiel and Zeno failed to patronise any Venetian men of letters in Rome, while the only ones associated with Barbo were, of course, Chiericati and Lorenzi. Of the others, Zane's patronage of Bologni and Montagna has been accounted for, as has Pietro Balbi's favour with Sixtus.<sup>34</sup> Curiously, Brenta and Ilarione both gravitated towards Oliviero Carafa, the former as his secretary, both with literary offerings. The Paduan Brenta also dedicated numerous works to Sixtus, while his printed edition of Hippocrates' De insomniis had a prefatory letter to Zaccaria Barbaro.<sup>35</sup>

The only work positively to link Marco Barbo with his long-standing familiar Leonello Chiericati is the oration delivered on the occasion of Barbo's formal entry into Chiericati's native Vicenza (1 October 1464). His humanist credentials were established the previous year with a work associating him with the future ambassador Francesco Diedo: Dialogus ...

in quo et consolatio magnifici Francisci Didi et consultatio de mittendis orationibus quas traduxit continetur. In 1476 he pronounced a funeral oration for Cardinal Filippo Calandrini. Continuing this condensed cultural biography, his French mission in the later 1480s brought him into contact with the fugitive Pico and the attempt to prevent the latter's works being circulated in that country. Upon his return to Italy, Chiericati entered into correspondence with Poliziano concerning certain points raised in the Miscellanea, reinforcing contacts between Marco Barbo's associates and the Laurentian humanists to be explored below.<sup>36</sup> Further evidence of the Bishop of Arbe's decided humanist bias can be drawn from the registers of the Vatican Library, from which he borrowed "unum volumen ex papyro coopertum corio rubeo in quo continentur V et VI Synodus .... duo volumina Suyde" and two volumes of Diodorus Siculus, most probably in April 1475. He availed himself of Platina's service again on 20 September 1480.<sup>37</sup> A couple of translations from Greek to Latin have been assigned to Chiericati with his "masterly ... but flowery style" : a short work by Nilus, Archbishop of Thessalonica, De causis divisionis et dissensionis Graecorum a Latinis, and an Idyll by Theocritus translated into Latin elegiacs.<sup>38</sup> All of which redounds to the credit of his patron, especially since the pressures of a diplomatic career relegated letters to a part-time activity.

Giovanni Lorenzi's literary reputation is greater than that of Chiericati, yet his interests were not dissimilar, particularly in the field of Greek translation, and they moved in the same circles. After studying Greek with Chalcondylas at Padua, he pursued advanced studies with Theodore Gaza in Rome. Besides these, friends and correspondents included Niccolò Lelio Cosmico (d.1500), who witnessed Lorenzi's Paduan

doctorate "in utroque iure" (28 August 1469) after fleeing from Rome to avoid arrest with his fellow Academicians; the future ambassador Girolamo Donato, a prolific writer in both classical languages; Poliziano, Lorenzo de' Medici and Angelo Cato, the polymath Bishop of Vienne. The relevant correspondence has been analysed by Paschini, de Nolhac and other scholars to determine Lorenzi's place in the first rank of later quattrocento Hellenists.<sup>39</sup> A letter from Poliziano at Rome to Alessandro Cortesi at Florence, 11 August 1489, puts him neatly into perspective: "Voi dite non essere a Roma una persona da stimare eccessivamente: et io in questo sono differente nel giudicio da voi, perchè non truovo un altro Pomponio (Leto), un altro messer Giovanni (Lorenzi) da Vinegia, nè un altro (Antonio Costanzo) Volsco, nè un altro Pietro Marso, nè anchora un altro Gasparre (da Verona), nè un altro mes. Alexandro Cortese (ut alios taceam), se none in Roma; e questi tutti ho per eccessivi".<sup>40</sup> Among his works were translations of Plutarch and of Sextus Empiricus, Contra grammaticos, rhetores, geometras, arithmeticos. As papal librarian from 1485 he obviously enjoyed unparalleled access to that collection and contacts with borrowers from the same. Although Lorenzi made his mark at Padua before becoming Marco Barbo's secretary, it is undeniable that association with the cardinal presented unrivalled possibilities, whether in terms of benefices and other forms of preferment or cultural contacts and opportunities to study.

In addition to the above, Pietro Barozzi was associated with Cardinal Barbo in a Roman context, albeit as a temporary visitor to the Palazzo di S. Marco. The dedication of his De modo bene moriendi to Marco Barbo provides a perfect complement to the cardinal's patronage and sponsorship of his distant kinsman. The accompanying consolatory

letters to Foscarini and Michiel form a unique literary bond between three of the four cardinals, a bond forged by their Venetian birth and kinship rather than cultural sympathies. The Bishop of Belluno's messages of consolation are personal, not formal, particularly to Michiel on the death of his uncle Vittore, contributing to the theory that the two claimants to the see of Padua remained on good terms throughout that difficult period.<sup>41</sup> A further "Venetian" dedication predates our period and was perhaps prompted by Barbo's widely-respected virtues as a reforming bishop. Moro Lapi, author of Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum (1465), was actually a Florentine by birth but is best known as a Camaldolese monk of S. Michele di Murano.<sup>42</sup> Into the same pre-1471 category fall every surviving epistolary communication between Barbo and the Venetian humanists Lodovico Foscarini (d.1480) and Maffeo Vallaresso (d.1496).<sup>43</sup>

The above survey reveals the severe limitations of the cardinals' patronage of Venetians and as Venetians. As it is more accurate to speak of a network of individual Venetians in Rome rather than a genuine Venetian community, so the cardinals' cultural patronage - and, indeed, that of Lorenzo Zane - was almost exclusively restricted to existing personal connections. The pattern varies considerably when one turns to their patronage of or association with non-Venetian Italian humanists, a pattern which may be said to reflect both their attitudes towards the cultural responsibilities of cardinals and personal interest in literary matters. Marco Barbo's name has been associated directly or indirectly with over a dozen such men of letters in the post - 1471 period, as well as others to be considered separately with regard to libraries and printing. Pietro Foscarini and Battista Zeno patronised two such individuals each; Giovanni Michiel may well have opted out

of having his name perpetuated in any dedicatory prefaces, as he does not feature at all in this category.

Barbo received dedications from at least four non-Venetian Italians : Matteo Palmieri's translation of Aristotle's Meteorologica, Aurelio Trebano, De felicitate libellus, Benedetto Maffei's De moribus nostrorum temporum and Cristoforo Persona's translation of St. John Chrysostom, Quinque et viginti sermones morales.<sup>44</sup> In addition, BAV Autografi Ferraioli 19.2 contains a copy of Alessandro Cortesi's sermon for Epiphany 1483, the printed version of which was dedicated to the pope, with a hand-written dedication to Barbo. Alessandro (c.1460-1490) used the imagery of Epiphany to declare implicit partisanship for the Medici, for which he had been imprisoned in Castel S. Angelo between 1480 and 1481. The sermon concluded with a call to imitate Christ's humility, a sentiment with which Barbo would have been in complete concurrence. Cortesi's cultural associates included Poliziano, Pontano, Manilio Ralli and Michele Marullo, making him a likely source of information for his brother Paolo's generous appraisal of the cardinal as a patron.<sup>45</sup> To the author of De cardinalatu, Barbo was a model patron: "Quis enim diutius cum quoquam quam aut Manilius Rallus cum Marco Barbo aut Bartholomeus Salicetus cum Ascanio Sfortia, sive Jo : B. Almadianus cum Oliviero Carapha vixit? Quorum duos nihil nunquam nisi mors herilis ab assectando avocavit, alter ita in famulando constantia continuata fidus, ut idem ei prope constitutus videatur vivendi et assectandi finis."<sup>46</sup>

Returning to the list of dedications, the Chrysostom was printed at Rome c.1471, at Bologna in 1475 and at Cologne at an unknown date, all editions bearing the dedicatory preface to Barbo, though the presentation MS went to Pope Sixtus.<sup>47</sup> Persona, Vatican librarian immediately

before Lorenzi, was Prior of S. Balbina, Barbo's subsidiary titular church, from December 1485, multiplying the connections between the two men. Personal connections between Barbo and Benedetto Maffei are less obvious, but the date of De moribus, 11 July 1483, offers a line of argument. Deploring the condition of the times, Maffei praises the Sacred College - "princes of Israel" - in working for peace. Unstinting in his admiration for Barbo's myriad virtues, he may even refer obliquely to the cardinal's famous defence of Venice, a recent event at the time of writing. Unless this was a calculated expression of support for an isolated Venetian cardinal, one can only wonder at Maffei's tactless timing. Barbo's reply is dated at Palestrina, 1 October of the same year : "Opusculum quod nobis misistis libenter eiusque nos et elegancia et materie series vehementer oblectavit. Sed maluis semus, veluti etiam coram vobiscum egimus : ut de nobis aut omnino nihil aut quod scriptum fuerat in totum abradi : et quod ille aiebat spongie succumbere passus fuissetis : tamen de eo vobis ingentes agimus gratias : Affirmantes libellum illum veluti quoddam benivolentiae depositum semper apud nos fore. bene valeat prestantia vestra."<sup>48</sup>

In terms of Barbo's literary associates, the Medicean Alessandro Cortesi was the tip of the Florentine iceberg. Matteo Palmieri was of their number as was Barbo's secretary Antonio Calderini, through whom the pattern of humanistic connections between the cardinal's household and eminent Florentines becomes most apparent. The publication of Ficino's De triplici vita (3 December 1489) resulted in charges of magic and necromancy against the philosopher, opposition to the work being particularly strong at Rome. Employing his friend Calderini as an intermediary, Ficino successfully enlisted Barbo's support to free himself from unsought ecclesiastical suspicion. The cardinal had

previously received a copy of the Platonic translations, though Ficino declined the offer of a meeting, pleading preoccupation with the Plotinus, in which Barbo also expressed interest. The philosopher's gratitude to "that holy man" is expressed in a letter of condolence to Calderini, nearly four months after Barbo's death. By way of further delineating Barbo's circle, Ermolao Barbaro, another of Calderini's correspondents, also proved supportive during the De triplici vita affair.<sup>49</sup>

Widening the geographical focus somewhat, Barbo was at least acquainted with Aurelio "Lippo" Brandolini and Gioviano Pontano, though no evidence exists of any direct literary patronage.<sup>50</sup> The same applies to Giovanni Pico, if he was the "S(ignor) Conte" addressed by messer Cosimo on 19 March 1491. Even if that account of the cardinal's death was directed to Antonio Maria Pico, it would not altogether preclude some sort of connection between the cardinal and another distinguished member of the Florentine Platonic circle.<sup>51</sup>

Pietro Foscari received the dedications of the Libellus de tabellionibus (printed at Bologna in 1482) and of Niccolò Perotti's Monodie in 1472.<sup>52</sup> The latter described Foscari as "optimum incorruptissimum" and stressed the cardinal's devotion to Bessarion, at the donation of whose library Foscari had acted as a witness. Perotti is a reliable source, having been in Bessarion's service since 1446. During the Greek cardinal's legation to Bologna (1450-55) and largely owing to his favour, Perotti was appointed professor of grammar, rhetoric and poetry there. He later responded by entering the dispute resulting from the publication of Bessarion's Adversus calumniatores Platonis (1469). Foscari's acceptance of the non-Venetian Archbishop of Siponto makes sense if interpreted

with Bessarion as the key. Additional interest would be possible if Vespasiano da Bisticci's claim that a quarrel between Perotti and Francesco della Rovere resulted in the former's ruin after Sixtus's election, could be substantiated. Actually, after Bessarion's death, Sixtus issued three bulls confirming Perotti's benefices and pensions. Not only did Barbo and Foscari share Bessarion's heritage, but Barbo and his associate in the 1471 conclave, Amico Agnifilio, were responsible for determining a civil suit involving the heirs of Emilia Perotti, Niccolò's mother.<sup>53</sup>

As related in chapter five, Cardinal Zeno's patronage of Ottavio Cleofilo da Fano was transitory, making insignificant encroachments on his income and adding nothing to his reputation. The case of Bartolomeo Fonzio (Della Fonte) was not altogether dissimilar. The Florentine Fonzio appears to have travelled to Rome in August 1483 to join Zeno's retinue and thereby find respite from the rivalry and slander with which Poliziano had pursued him since his appointment as professor of rhetoric at the Florentine Studium. Although appointed to its Roman counterpart in November that year, four months later he sent urgent petitions to Lorenzo and others imploring them to arrange his recall from Rome before he became infected with its "horrible epidemic" of avarice and luxury. Evidently Zeno's "protection" offered no mitigation.<sup>54</sup> Citing only protection of Cleofilo and Fonzio, Zippel conveys the impression of Zeno as a lover of letters : a case of being liberal with the truth?<sup>55</sup>

No evidence exists for Foscari, Michiel or Zeno patronising or being courted by non-Italian scholars. This is in accordance with their possession of few benefices beyond the peninsula and lack of definite

secular ultramontane interests. While Barbo's patronage of non-Italians did not precisely correspond to the spread of his benefices, there being no direct French connection nor any representative from the German nation, what there was can be explained in terms of the influence of "Bessarion Venetus" and the Shirwood-dominated English involvement.

The strength of the bond between Barbo and his Greek copyist Manilio Ralli is confirmed by Paolo Cortesi and by another early cinquecento source : "Lo episcopo (Marco) Mussuro morse sabato con gran dolo di tutti", wrote Sanudo on 21 October 1517. "Lo suo episcopato (Menomvasia) l'ha auto Manilio Rali, greco, omo doto e da bene, stete col cardinal San Marco, poi con papa Iulio essendo cardinal, poi con li dō Vincula, et adesso con Medici. Il papa ha fatto bona elezion."<sup>56</sup> Manilio and his father Demetrio, both copyists, sought refuge in Italy in 1466, having been previously associated with the circle of Gemistos Plethōn at Mistrā. In Rome, Manilio established relations with both the papal court and the Academy, dedicating to Leto his 1475 edition of *Festo Pompeo*, Collectanea priscorum verborum. Barbo made numerous epistolary references to Manilio throughout the 1480s, adding expressions of interest and concern about Demetrio who, the cardinal noted in October 1489, had waited in vain for his share of the Tolfa alum profits. According to Cicogna, the younger Ralli was also responsible for Barbo's sepulchral epigram.<sup>57</sup>

From the Greek community, Barbo received the dedication of George of Trebizond's Latin translation of his own treatise on the filioque and papal primacy, a subject close to the convert Bessarion's heart and which accorded well with Barbo's interests in Church history,

patristics and the defeat of conciliarism.<sup>58</sup> In addition to these known Greek contacts, it may be safely assumed that the cardinal was acquainted with Hellenists in Bessarion's household but whom he never patronised himself, and with others introduced to him by Lorenzi. Such was the case of the Cretan copyist Demetrio Damilas, a long-time associate of Chalcondylas, whose brother Antonio aspired to a particular office in Crete, but stood in opposition to the Council of Ten's own candidate. Chalcondylas wrote to Lorenzi some-time after September 1484, asking Barbo to intercede with the Ten in favour of the said Antonio. In the absence of a Greek cardinal, Barbo was the best substitute, as well as being thought to carry sufficient weight in the councils of the Republic.<sup>59</sup>

Barbo's political/ecclesiastical patronage of Englishmen was not only paralleled by a cultural counterpart, but intimately bound up with the same. John Shirwood's Liber de Ludo Arithmomachiae is dated in the postscript as 1 April 1482 and was printed by Stephan Planck (?) the same year, eight years after the author's first mission to the Curia and less than two before the cardinal proposed him to the prince-bishopric of Durham. In the preface, Shirwood explains how the work was written for the amusement of George Neville, Archbishop of York and his "very great benefactor".<sup>60</sup> Neville, let it be remembered, was a paternal uncle to Richard III's queen (among other inter-woven connections!), the king recommending Shirwood for the cardinalate in the warmest terms and emphasising his orator's Greek learning.<sup>61</sup> More significant still is a dispatch of the Milanese ambassador Pietro Alibrandi, dated at Gravelines, 25 November 1472 : "The King of England has had more than 20,000 ducats from the archbishop, Warwick's brother,

whom he keeps in prison three miles from here. He was a great friend of the Greek Cardinal. If he can succeed in escaping, he will yet accomplish something."<sup>62</sup> Shirwood continued to associate with Neville, even in exile. It follows that Shirwood was a natural ally in Rome of the cardinal who was, in so many senses, Bessarion's spiritual heir. According to the author of the *Arithmetical Game*, Barbo was not only "felix religiosissime atque piissime pater", but among the most learned and eloquent men in Italy and specifically described as "protector anglorum". Herein may well lie the root of all Marco Barbo's English preoccupations.<sup>63</sup>

"With the death of Bessarion in 1472 and of Jacopo Ammannati in 1479, the learned community ... lost the two cardinals who not only, like most of their colleagues, had been willing to employ men of letters as their private secretaries, but had taken a personal interest in the intellectual issues of the day. Their place was never filled by either Pietro Riario, whose concern for letters was very superficial, and whose early death cut short the growth of a court which had included intellectuals for reason of prestige, or by Marco Barbo, ... who became the protector of only a few men of letters."<sup>64</sup> Lee's assessment is perhaps a little harsh, in that Barbo did not return to Rome until two years after Bessarion's death, by which time the SS. Apostoli circle had naturally broken up. He also lacked the resources to be much more than a vaguely benevolent influence. Nevertheless, by combining Venetian, Florentine, Greek and English spheres of cultural interest in balance Barbo demonstrated a remarkable breadth of involvement. It has also become a commonplace to link his name with the infant art of printing, a distinction not

shared by Foscari, Michiel and Zeno.

In Gualdo's words, "Misi i codici della sua biblioteca con grande liberalità a disposizione di amici ed editori."<sup>65</sup> In the preparation of his 1469 edition of Livy, Giovanni Andrea Bussi was permitted to consult "libros excellentes omnis generis" by Barbo, but beyond that lies conjecture based on the dedication of texts mentioned above. In September 1475, Arnold Pannartz printed Aquinas, Summa contra gentiles, edited by one "J.Fr. Venetus" with a letter to Barbo, perhaps indicating that he had lent the MS. It was reprinted in January 1476. "J.Fr. Venetus" has been interpreted as Gian Francesco de Pavini (d.1484), a canon of Padua from 1446, doctor of laws and theology, Jacopo Zen's vicar-general at Padua and long-serving auditor of the Rota. The carteggio offers a single reference to him, in 1483, suggesting a sustained, if vague, connection.<sup>66</sup>

Circumstantial evidence offers two other Roman printers who may well have come to the cardinal's attention. Vitus Puecher, originally from Freising, is principally of interest on account of the location of his print shop - "apud Sanctum Marcum" - where he was active from c.1475 to 1478. It is not known whether the property belonged to the S.Marco complex and there is nothing in the shop's surviving output indicative of Barbo patronage.<sup>67</sup> Stephan Planck's appearance as a Roman printer more or less coincided with the demise of the S.Marco shop. It is the coincidence of a number of authors associated with Marco Barbo having their works printed by Planck that isolates him from his fellows, even Silber who, with Planck, virtually cornered the Roman market up to 1490. Besides Shirwood's illustrated Liber de Ludo Arithmomaticae (1482), one may mention Leonello Chiericati, Propositio Coram Carolo VIII (20 January 1488) and Oratio in funere Innocenti VIII (28 July 1492). Other works reflected

the cardinal's central European interests : Ladislaus Vetesius, Oratio ad Sistum IV pro praestanda obedientia Mathiae Hungarorum regis (c.1480); Ermolao Barbaro, Oratio ad Fridericum III et Maximilium I (13 August 1486).<sup>68</sup> Planck signed the confraternity book of S. Spirito in 1482, giving his profession as "stampatore di libri in Roma". By the same token membership of the confraternity of S. Maria dell' Anima probably brought Barbo into contact with Rome's German printers. Puecher certainly belonged to that confraternity from 1482.<sup>69</sup>

At the risk of yet further digression, some account must be given of Cardinal Barbo's almost mythical library. "Ha circha cinquecento volumi de libri, e anchor non si sa che se ne abbi ordinato : sono boni e belli libri" estimated to be worth 8,000 ducats. The collection was dispersed shortly after the cardinal's death, doubtless to meet his debts. The present cod. Chigi VIII 231 was promptly purchased by Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, Bishop of Pienza, and bears the manuscript note : "Huic librum ego Augustinus Patricius Ep(iscopus) emi tribus ducatis ex hereditate bo(nae) me (moriae) Car. lis S(an)c(t)i Marci, die XXIII Maii MCCCCLXXXI."<sup>70</sup>

At least thirty fifteenth-century MSS in the Vatican Library exhibit the Barbo stemma though, unless clarified by internal evidence, they could easily have belonged to either of the Barbo cardinals.<sup>71</sup> Among those thirty, works by Chrysostom, Jerome and Ambrose predominate, according with Marco Barbo's interest in patristics, while Vat. lat.173 contains a short work of Pseudo-Dionysius, linking to the cardinal's own translation. Vat. lat. 3319 - Giovanni Tortelli, De orthographia - bears the unambiguous message : "Theodericus Buckinck olim Io.

Toscanellae famulus, iussu domini Marci Barbo Veneti incliti et raptim scripsit". Marginal notes on fols. 93r, 98v, 248r, 255v, and 272v have been identified as the cardinal's own hand. Buckinck was the preferred copyist of George of Trebizond and this particular text, a study of Greek words that had entered the Latin tongue, has been dated between 1464 and 1467 when Buckinck was a familiar of Paul II.<sup>72</sup> From the collections of the other Venetian cardinals, the Vatican Library holds an MS of Jacopo Zen's history of the popes from St. Peter to Clement V, dedicated to Paul II. Vat. lat. 5942 belonged to Cardinal Zeno and was presented by the author in the early 1470s.

Barbo continued to collect books in the 1480s, as the carteggio bears witness on a number of occasions. A significant number of those acquisitions were of English provenance. On 25 August 1487, the cardinal requested Giacomo Passarella to acquire for him the works of Albertus Magnus in the course of his English mission.<sup>73</sup> The cultural dimension of his involvement with English affairs and his proximity to papal servants such as Giovanni Gigli, is further underlined by that same cod. Chigi G VIII 231, containing Ranulph Higden's Polychronicon and which apparently came to Barbo from one of the two Augustinian houses of St. Osyth (Essex) or Blythburgh (Suffolk).<sup>74</sup> Higden (d. 1364) was a monk at St. Werburgh's Chester, from 1299, to which abbacy Cardinal Barbo had proposed Simon Ripley only eighteen months before making the literary request.

The matter of libraries brings us full circle to the most revealing evidence of the political and cultural proximity between Cardinals Barbo and Bessarion. In her study of six early inventories of Bessarion's library and the Biblioteca Marciana, Lotte Labowsky traces the Greek

cardinal's preparations for his legation, early in 1472 : "He had strong presentiments that he would not survive the journey and, given his isolation within the College at the time, he could neither be confident that his most treasured possessions would be safe in Rome during his absence, nor that his wishes would be carried out faithfully after his death .... By entrusting his residual library to his friend Federigo (da Montefeltro), he could provide some check on the College and make sure that his promise to Venice would be carried out should he not return."<sup>75</sup> Vat. lat. 2099 is Labowsky's Inventory B of 1474, in which chest 48, item 846 is given as : "Diversi quinterniones involuti charta pecorina quos deposuit apud nos Cardinalis Sancti Marci sigillatos sigillo suo".<sup>76</sup> By this means, Barbo, similarly isolated, could ensure that his papers, whatever they were, did not fall into the hands of opponents at Rome during his own legation, but had a good chance of reaching Venice safely. They are not mentioned in any later inventory. The same chest contained unbound copies of Bessarion's and Plethon's works and papers relating to the former's rôle as a commissioner dealing with the Hussites. Doubtless Barbo's papers were of similar significance to the parties involved.

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Patronage of the visual arts (major or minor) can be safely attributed to each of the four Venetian cardinals with the exception of the presumably impoverished Foscari. Michiel built a palazzo near his titular church of S. Marcello (after 1479), demolished in 1912, though an engraved marble portal, bearing traces of polychrome and the cardinal's name, was incorporated into the building to the right of the church facade, by way of a memorial. Fire having destroyed the old church in 1519, any building accounts or household records have in all probability been lost.<sup>77</sup> Likewise,

the archive of St. Peter's starts with the construction of the new basilica, making it impossible to explore Burchard's statement about Cardinal Zeno building a sumptuous chapel of S. Maria in Portico in the vicinity of the new Sistine Chapel or Moroni's about a palazzo to the left of the basilica. Evidence of Cardinal Zeno's presence in the basilica itself, in the form of Elisabetta Barbo-Zen's tomb inscription in the Sacristy and another inscription in the Sacre Grotte, is presented by Forcella :

EUGENII. NEPTES. QUARTI. PAULIQ. SECUNDI  
 PONTIFICUM. SOROR. HIC. HELISABETHA  
 BAPTISTAE. ZENI MATER. PIA. CARDINIS. ILLI  
 BARBA. DOMUS. VENETA. PATRIA. CELSA. FUIT  
 MCCCC. LXXX.

BAPTISTA. ZENUS  
 VENETUS. CAR  
 DINALIS. S<sup>m</sup>. MARI  
 AE. IN PORTICU  
 MCCCCLXXXIIII 78

Information proliferates concerning architectural patronage during his later years in the Veneto, culminating in detailed plans for the construction and embellishment of his own funerary chapel, the church of S. Fantin and elsewhere. During his lifetime (1484), a loggia was added to the north side of the cortile of the bishop's palace at Vicenza, a work variously attributed to Bernardino da Maiano or Antonio Rizzo, then approaching the end of his tenure as superintendent of works at the fire-damaged ducal palace at Venice (1484-96).<sup>79</sup> In Rome, therefore, Marco Barbo was again the Venetian with the most conspicuous cultural

profile, his patronage of architecture and its attendant art forms being in evidence at three separate locations. The Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi predates our period, but deserves consideration on account of certain stylistic similarities to Barbo's principal work at S. Marco. Thirdly, he was responsible for the present portico and ceiling at his secondary titular church of S. Balbina : MARCVS BARBVS. VENETUS. EPI. PRENE. CAR. S. MARCI. PATRIARCA. AQVILE. AN. D.M. CCCC. LXXXVIII". Restoration also took place on the cathedral at Palestrina. From the outset, it must be emphasised that the relevant authority on Venetian artists in Rome offers the names of no Venetian architects/engineers, painters, sculptors, jewellers or woodcarvers in the city in the 1470s and '80s whom the cardinals could have patronised had they been so minded.<sup>80</sup> In contrast to their literary patronage, that of the visual arts presents them as cardinals, purely Roman figures.

The phases of construction of the Palazzo Venezia have been documented by Hermanin and others and sketched by P. Tomei, exercises facilitated by variations on the Barbo stemma appropriate to Pietro Barbo as cardinal, then as pope, followed by Marco Barbo as both cardinal and patriarch, incorporated into the structure.<sup>81</sup> Expanding in three directions from the "palazzo cardinalizio" of 1455, Paul added a portico to the basilica, extended the present Piazza Venezia façade and built the cloistered palazzetto onto the South-East corner of the complex between 1464 and 1468. Before 1471 he added a rectangular portion extending for two bays along the East side and from the North-East corner to the present Via del Plebiscito entrance, together with the only part to be completed of the loggia within the main cortile. To Marco's period of tenure (more precisely, 1471-81) is attributed the continuation along Via del Plebiscito to its

junction with Via Astalli, beyond which now stands the Gesù. His patriarchal stemma (distinguished by a small cross between the Barbo lion and the cardinal's hat) appears above three of the four doors within the atrium linking the Piazza with the basilica, at street level at the Via del Plebiscito entrance, paralleled by the papal arms, and on the nearby monumental staircase. Within the cortile it also appears on the columns of the loggia and above some ground floor doors on the same North side. The distinctive emblem is repeated four times on the church façade, supplemented by the inscriptions "MARCVS CAR. S. MARCI". and "M. CARDINAL SCI. MARCI" on two of the three portals. Although the exterior of the now removed palazzetto bears the motto "PAVLVS VENETVS PP.II", yet within the cloister many fragments containing the arms of both Barbo have been set into the walls, apparently at random. In the rooms now occupied by the Museo, Barbo arms mingle with those of later occupants - Cibò, Duodo, Pisani, Medici and others.<sup>82</sup> In its entirety, the palazzo conveys a truncated impression, the loggia far from complete and the Gesù side measuring only the width of a corridor. Construction apart, the younger Barbo is particularly associated with the palazzetto, a walled garden with a triangular suite of rooms appended, where he is thought to have lodged while Paul occupied the palazzo itself. The garden, still a tranquil oasis of foliage, was the scene of al fresco hospitality, as Giovanni Lorenzi reported on 14 August 1485 after he had entertained "ad prandium in horto nostro" the Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere, Balue and Colonna.<sup>83</sup>

At no great distance from the Palazzo Venezia, the Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi rises straight out of the ruined Forum of Augustus, its elevated, airy loggia facing towards the former edifice. The substantial rebuilding

programme of 1467-70, though begun by papal decree, is inextricably associated with the name of Marco Barbo, his stemma and that of the Hospitallers being incorporated into the decoration at various points. Cross-mullioned windows there and at S. Marco suggest that the same workmen were employed on both projects.<sup>84</sup> The combination of loggia and cross-mullioned windows is repeated in at least two other contemporaneous structures. From a drawing in the Uffizi, it is evident that the palazzo at S. Martinello in which Barbo died (destroyed under Alexander VII), another Hospitaller property, derived its exterior piano nobile scheme directly from the mother house at the Foro di Augusto.<sup>85</sup> Secondly, Bessarion's villa, a modest structure at the urban end of the Via Appia, is distinctly reminiscent of the Casa. Can one detect from this a further expression of sympathy between the Greek and Venetian cardinals? For all their attractions, notions of factionally-influenced architecture break down when one considers that the Palazzo Venezia stands at the centre of a certain tradition of Roman palace design, spanning Nicholas V's Vatican developments and the Palazzo Capranica with its tower and combination of cross-mullioned and tri-lobed windows; through to work undertaken by Giuliano della Rovere at SS. Apostoli and Domenico della Rovere's palazzo near Sixtus's Ospedale at S. Spirito, built from c.1478 and a near replica of the Palazzo Venezia.<sup>86</sup> Whatever the precise connections between these various Roman buildings, one clear link in Barbo's architectural patronage is provided by his conscientious protection of the Hospitallers for, in addition to the Casa dei Cavalieri (and S. Martinello?) an inscription in the wall of the "cortile porticato" at the Hospitaller fortress of Magione, on the Eastern shore of Lake Trasimeno, reads : "Marcus Barbus card. S. Marci. fi (eri) M(agnificentia) E(iusdem) fecit 1471."<sup>87</sup>

According to Hermanin, work on the Palazzo Venezia, or at least its internal decoration, was interrupted during the Sistine years, but was invigorated under Innocent, paralleling Cardinal Barbo's relations with the two popes, if not also his ~~humanist~~ connections. The Innocentian phase of decoration in the main suite of rooms incorporates the Labours of Hercules and Fountains of Love friezes, the attribution of which has aroused speculation on account of the eminent artists then in Rome, particularly Antonio Pollaiuolo and Andrea Mantegna. The latter's work in the Paduan church of the Eremitani prompted the theory that Barbo was familiar with the artist and persuaded him to go to Rome between 1488 and 1490 to paint Innocent's chapel in the Belvedere.<sup>88</sup> This can be discounted on the grounds that Mantegna's temporary release from Gonzaga service was permitted by Marchese Gianfrancesco with a view to his brother Sigismondo's replacing the late Cardinal Francesco in the Sacred College. While Innocent's patronage was less than generous - "I have nothing from our lord except expenses and housekeeping, so that I should be better off at home" - we hear no word of the situation being either alleviated or compounded by the Cardinal of S. Marco.<sup>89</sup> It is safer, therefore, to settle for Hermanin's vague assertion that the friezes are in the style of the Venetian or Mantagnesque schools, which he also detects at the Casa dei Cavalieri, their frieze with busts of Roman emperors decorating the loggia.

Considerably less doubt attends Barbo's patronage of the sculptors Mino da Fiesole (1430-84) and Giovanni Dalmata (1445-1509). Mino, "... an artist who exercised a very important influence on sepulchral decoration, and with whom began a new and brilliant epoch in monumental art", first worked in Rome in 1463-4, on the Ponte Milvio chapel of S. Andrea for the

celebrated reception of the saint's head, and the Pulpit of Benediction at S. Peter's, reminiscent of the loggia at S. Marco. Mino's second Roman sojourn, c.1473-80, is noted for the tombs of Cardinals Pietro Riario, Ammannati, Forteguerri, Ferriz and Cristoforo della Rovere (some in collaboration with Andrea Bregno), besides those of Giovanfrancesco and Francesca Tornabuoni in the Minerva, and the now fragmented tomb of Paul II, originally in the Cappella di S. Andrea but now in the Sacre Grotte, commissioned by Marco Barbo.<sup>90</sup> Whether it was the papal tomb or the Riario monument that attracted Mino back to Rome, Barbo was certainly one of his most important Roman patrons. In collaboration with Bregno, Giovanni Dalmata was responsible for the tombs of Cardinals Roverella and Domenico della Rovere. Between them (the precise division of labour is uncertain), Mino and Dalmata created the marble ciborium now housed in the sacristy of S. Marco, on which Barbo's stemma appears below the Trinity and between Old Testament scenes. The piece has been dated to 1474, again suggesting that the cardinal's patronage sparked off the above succession of commissions.<sup>91</sup> The carteggio includes a single reference believed to indicate Dalmata : "Quod pene ommisseram, ex Jo : Lapidice ad domesticos scriptis, divulgatum est per totam Urbem d,um Matheum (Alibrandi) desperatum de vita ..." (Lorenzi to Barbo, 25 August 1485).<sup>92</sup>

Mino died in the Spring of 1484, a few months before Sixtus, whose massive, free-standing bronze tomb by Antonio Pollaiuolo marked a radical departure from tradition. There exists only one comparable bronze tomb in Rome, that of Pietro Foscari at S. Maria del Popolo. Long assumed to be the tomb of the sixteenth-century Bishop of Torcello, Girolamo Foscari (d.1563), the work is undoubtedly quattrocento, Fabio Chigi's 1627 account swinging the argument in Pietro's favour. Alluding to the cardinal's

gaunt appearance, he describes "la testa del Vesc.o vecchia in estremo, grinza e rasa mi davano inditio esser vissuto q.to Mons.re avanti al tempi di papa Giulio II, il quale fu il primo a lassarsi la barbo fra' Pontefici, e ad introdurlo agli altri Prelati Italiani. (A distinction actually belonging to Bessarion!) Ma l'arme finalmente mi ha confermato il tutto dimostrativamen. di scudo antico in forma d'oliva col Capello Cardinalitio, col leon di S. Marco di Venetia opra a man dritta, a mano manca campo di argento tutto il resto campodi oro con certe traverse...<sup>93</sup>

The tomb was once attributed to Vecchiatta, but he died in 1480. The coincidence in date between the Sistine and Foscari monuments and the superlative quality of the craftsmanship do suggest some kind of connection between the two, perhaps owing something to the flourishing relationship between Pollaiuolo's patron, Giuliano della Rovere, and Foscari's executor, Barbo. Moreover, if Barbo, the man who had promoted Mino, the leading light of his day, was involved here, it is not surprising to find him again in touch with sculptural fashion.

If there is one image which evokes the politics and culture of later quattrocento Rome, its classical aspirations and interlocking patronage interests, it is Melozzo da Forlì's depiction of Sixtus appointing Platina as papal librarian, attended by Girolamo and Raffaele Riario, Giovanni and Giuliano della Rovere. Not surprisingly, the court painter's path did not cross those of the Venetian cardinals. Nevertheless, if there is a Venetian equivalent to the Melozzo, encapsulating the lives of Venetians in Rome, perhaps it is to be found in Carpaccio's St. Ursula Cycle, the arrival of the pilgrims in Rome and their meeting with the pope and his vast entourage beneath the walls of Castel S. Angelo containing portraits of such Venetians. Although the painting itself has been variously dated 1493 or 1495, Carpaccio's own visit to Rome took place in 1490 or even

earlier. This adds weight to the theory of Branca and Weiss that the central figure, clad in senatorial red, is Ermolao Barbaro, ambassador to the Holy See from June 1490. Behind him, making eye contact with the viewer, is Carpaccio himself. Linking the cycle closely to Barbaro and Loredan patronage, the artist may have chosen to portray centrally the recently deceased Ermolao to coincide with the republication in Venice of his magnum opus, Castigationes plinianae. "And ... around Ermolao Barbaro - as if in an ideal school not of Athens but of Venice - it is possible that some of the other champions of the native humanism are portrayed, Marco Barbo, perhaps, Girolamo Donato, Domenico Grimani and still others ...".<sup>94</sup> Piling speculation on speculation, I would venture to suggest that the bearded, earnest and intense figure jointly leading the procession of Cardinals is Barbo, a Venetian worthy against a Roman backdrop.

NOTES ON CHAPTER SIX

1. Sample studies : E.H. Gombrich, "The early Medici as patrons of art" in E.F. Jacob (ed.), Italian Renaissance Studies (London, 1960), pp. 279-311; A.D. Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence", JWCI, 33 (1970), pp. 162-70.
2. Inevitably, M.L. King, Venetian Humanism, and an earlier incarnation of the same : "The Patriciate and the Intellectuals : Power and Ideas in Quattrocento Venice", Soundings, 5 (1975), pp. 295-312. On various facets of Venetian culture, see inter alia : O.M.T. Logan, Culture and Society in Venice 1470-1790 (London, 1972); J.B. Ross, "Gasparo Contarini and his friends", Studies in the Renaissance, XVII (1970). pp. 192-232; V. Branca (ed.), Rinascimento europeo e rinascimento veneziano (Florence, 1967); R. Goffen, Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice : Bellini, Titian and the Franciscans (New Haven and London, 1986), unravels a history of patronage by the Pesaro family at S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari.
3. J.H. Bentley, Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples (Princeton, 1987). See pp. 47-8 for a general discussion of patronage studies published in the 1970s and '80s, the significance of patron-client relationships and the patterns of patronage to be found in various Italian states.
4. J.F. D'Amico, Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome : Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation (Baltimore and London, 1983). Chapters 1-4 cover the mutual attraction of humanists and households more than adequately and form the basis of any discussion of the subject here.
5. Josquin remained in Rome until at least 1494. G. Reese, Music in the Renaissance (New York, 1954), p. 229; H.M. Brown, Music in the Renaissance (New Jersey, 1976), p. 121.
6. C.L. Stinger, The Renaissance in Rome (Bloomington, 1985). E. Lee, Sixtus IV and Men of Letters, Temi e testi 26 (Rome, 1978). J.W. O'Malley S.J., Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome : Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521. (North Carolina, 1979). D'Amico, op.cit.
7. J.R. Hale (ed.) A Concise Encyclopaedia of the Italian Renaissance (London, 1981), p. 239. Wide-ranging discussions of patronage may be found in F.W. Kent and Patricia Simons with J.C. Eade (eds.) Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy (Oxford, 1987).
8. R. Weiss, Un umanista veneziano Papa Paolo II. Civiltà Veneziana, saggi 4, Fondazione Giorgio Cini (1958). G. Zippel, "Paolo II e l'arte", L'Arte, XIII (1910), pp. 241-58.
9. The most important source for this episode is B. Platina, Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum, ed. G. Gaida, RIS, III, 1 (Città di Castello, 1908), pp. 385 seq. Among secondary sources see : Pastor, IV, pp. 36-66;

- Weiss, Un umanista veneziano, chapter 1; R.J. Palermino, "The Roman Academy, the Catacombs and the Conspiracy of 1468", Archivum Historiae Pontificiae, 18 (1980), pp.117-155, which identifies the Academicians involved. Albergati served as vice-chancellor and papal treasurer. On 20 March 1465, the same combination of Barbo, Zane and Albergati were appointed with others to a commission dealing with alum (ASV, Div. Cam., 34, fol. 60). R.H. Trame S.J. Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, 1404-1470 : Spanish Diplomat and Champion of the Papacy, (Washington, 1958) - chapter 6 covers the congiura. Arévalo was Castellan of Castel S. Angelo, Bishop of Calahorra and Castilian procurator at Rome, 1460-70. See Pastor IV, p.55 for Arévalo and Paul II.
10. V. Zabughin, Giulio Pomponio Leto, vol. 1 (Rome, 1909), p.178. Assuming that the following information refers to the same person, Francesco d'Assisi O.F.M. borrowed Augustine's City of God from Platina as papal librarian in March 1479, returning it the next month : Bertola, op.cit., p.16. Head of the Roman province of his order, 1482-3, he was vicar "in spiritualibus et temperalibus" of the diocese of Rieti at the same period. His sermon Oratio pro defensione fidei Christianae was preached before Sixtus on the second Sunday of Advent and published at Rome after 10 December 1480: O'Malley, op.cit., p.249.
  11. Zabughin, op.cit., p.50. Platina, op.cit., p.389.
  12. Marc. lat., XI, 103 (4361) contains the texts of their disputations and joint letter inviting Barbo to choose between them. On Arévalo : Trame, op.cit., pp.191, 195.
  13. Cited by Palermino, op.cit., p.120.
  14. ibid., p.125.
  15. Zabughin, op.cit., p.127.
  16. G. Tiraboschi, Storia della letteratura italiana VII, p.475. Cited by Lee, Sixtus IV, p.113, n.120. For Sigismondo de' Conti : DBL, 28, pp. 470-5.
  17. Zippel (ed.) Le Vite di Paolo III, p.78, n.3. Weiss, Un umanista veneziano, pp. 14-15.
  18. Lee Sixtus IV, pp.54-6. Zippel (ed.) Le Vite di Paolo II, p.21, n.1; p.22, n. 1-3. ASV, Reg. Vat. 553, fols. 173r-175r - 27 August 1471 : From Sixtus to Leonori, concerning the archdiaconate of Madrid and including a reference to Cardinal Zeno. On Canensi : DBL, 18, pp.10-12.
  19. On Dati : P. Tacchi-Venturi, "La pietra tombale di Leonardo Dati al Gesù di Roma," ASRSP, 52 (1929, pp. 491-500. In 1470, Paul wished to promote Dati to the vacant archbishopric of Florence, but his candidature was rejected since he was considered an opponent of the Medici and of Bartolomeo della Scala. He died in January 1472 and was succeeded as Bishop of Massa Maritima by Domenico della Rovere. Relevant aspects of Toscani's career are covered by R. Weiss, "Un umanista e curiale del

- Quattrocento : Giovanni Alvisi Toscani", Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, XII, 3, (1958), pp. 322-33. The last Cameral payment to him was recorded on 18 July 1471, six days before his patron's sudden death - ASV, Introit. et Exit., 485, fol. 126v.
20. Francesco Filelfo, Epistolarum familiarium (Venice, 1502): to Barbo : fols. 187r (30 December 1466), 188v (29 July 1466), 210v (17 May 1469), 213r-v (1 August 1469), 236v (8 September 1471); to Guarnerio : fols. 161r (15 October 1464), 186r (18 February 1466), 188r (29 July 1466), 192v (22 July 1467), 204v (18 January 1469), 210r (9 May 1469), 211v (17 June 1469), 215v (6 November 1469), 222r (25 May 1470). The letter of 14 February 1476 appears in C. De Rosmini, Vita di Francesco Filelfo da Tolentino, vol. 2 (Milan, 1808), pp.408-9, no. LXXXVI. Perotti and Guarnerio : G. Mercati, Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti, arcivescovo di Siponto, Studi e testi, 44. (Vatican, 1925).
  21. Lodovico Foscarini, Epistolae : Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, cod. 85, fols 590-2, no. 270.
  22. Card. J. Ammanati-Piccolomini, Epistolae et Commentarii Jacobi Piccolomini Cardinalis Papiensis (Milan, 1506), fols. 129, to Zeno and Michiel; 136-7, to Michiel; 137, to Zeno (both 8 August —?); 151, to Zeno (10 July —?)
  23. Müntz, Les Arts a la Cour des Papes, part 2 (Paris, 1879) provides the most detailed and comprehensive account of works and commissions under Paul II, including (chapter 8) an inventory of the papal collection at S. Marco. With regard to architects' and craftsmen's contracts : F. Hermanin, Il Palazzo di Venezia (Rome, 1948). Also : Palazzo Venezia : Paolo II e le fabbriche di S. Marco, catalogue to an exhibition held at the Museo di Palazzo Venezia, May - September 1980.
  24. Citing Lanciani, Storia, I, pp. 85, 202, M.E. Cosenza states that Giovanni Michiel possessed a collection of inscriptions, the only unambiguous piece of information relating to that cardinal in Cosenza's Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800 (Boston, Massachusetts, 1962).
  25. Cicogna, op.cit., II, pp.255. In addition there is Barbo's report from Ancona, 10 September 1480; see above, chap. 3, n. 67. To my knowledge, there are no precise references to the delivery of relazioni by Barbo, Michiel or Zeno upon the termination of missions or legations. The St. Romuald sermon may be found in Marc. lat. XIV 295 (4348), fols. 43v-44v. Segarizzi is cited by King, op.cit., pp. 327, 329. F. Gaeta on Niccolò Barbo : DBI, 6, pp. 252-3.
  26. Bibl. Casanatense, cod. 276, fol. 56r. Quoted by R. Avesani, "Verona nel quattrocento : La civiltà delle lettere", Verona e il suo territorio, IV, 2 (Verona, 1984).
  27. Avesani, op.cit., pp. 160, 240, 210-11. Zippel (ed.), Le Vite di Paolo II, p. 54 n.6.
  28. Quoted by Palermino, op.cit., p.128.

29. Marc. lat., X, 145 (3533), fol. 50v.
30. L. Labowsky, Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana : Six Early Inventories, Sussidi eruditi, 31 (Rome, 1979), pp. 54-5.
31. The Letters of Marsilio Ficino. Translated from the Latin by members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science, London, vol. I (London, 1975), pp. 144-5, no. 94.
32. Ermolao Barbaro, Epistolae, Orationes et Carmina ed. Vittore Branca, vol. I, pp. 6-7, no. VII.
33. *ibid.*, pp. 4-5, nos. I-VI, 30 November 1474, 29 January, 15 March, 20, 22 May 1475. On Barbaro's education : King, *op.cit.*, p. 323.
34. See chapter five, above.
35. Ilarione, a former pupil of Ognibene Leonicensis, dedicated his translation of Dorotheos of Gaza, De vita recte et ore instituenda, to Carafa, and wrote an elegy for Pietro Riario, dated 5 February 1473, and printed by De Lignamine before Riario's death. Avesani, *op.cit.*, pp. 208-9. Bertolà, *op.cit.*, p. 15. On Andrea Brenta : DBI, 14, pp. 149-51; O'Malley, *op.cit.*, p. 220; Bertolà, *op.cit.*, pp. 11, 18.
36. DBI, 24, pp. 682-9. P. Paschini, "Leonello Chiericati", pp. 38-40. On Francesco Diedo as one of the protagonists in Chiericati's Dialogus, q.v. L. Gualdo Rosa, "Un documento inedito sull' ambiente culturale padovano della seconda metà del secolo XV : il Dialogus de Leonello Chiericati", Quaderni per la storia dell' Università di Padova 4 (1971), pp. 1-37.
37. Bertolà, *op.cit.*, pp. 1, 20, 60.
38. Paschini, "Leonello Chiericati", pp. 38-9.
39. King, *op.cit.*, pp. 390-2. Paschini, "Un ellenista veneziano del quattrocento", Archivio Veneto, 32 (1943), pp. 114-146. A letter from Angelo Cato to Lorenzi is contained in BAV, Vat. lat. 5641, fol. 142, 6 September 1491. The same codex contains Chiericati to Lorenzi, fol. 150, 11 October 1489, and an undated letter, from 1472 or earlier, which may have been sent by Theodore of Gaza to Barbo, referring to Bessarion and George of Trebizond. Other relevant secondary sources include : P. de Nolhac, La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini (Paris, 1887); A.M. Albareda O.S.B., "Intorno alla fine del bibliotecario apostolico Giovanni Lorenzi", Miscellanea Pio Paschini : studi di storia ecclesiastica, Lateranum, n.s. 14-15 (Rome, 1948-9), II, pp. 191-204.
40. Quoted by Paschini, "Un ellenista veneziano", p. 131.
41. P. Barozzi, De modo bene moriendi (Venice, 1531), fols. 1r seq., to Barbo; 118r seq., to Michiel; 163r seq., to Foscari.
42. M. Lapi, Opera : Marc. lat., XIV, 295 (4348), fols. 121r-185v. The collection also contains a letter from Foscari at Padua to Lapi, 28 September

1448, fols. 216v-217r; and one from Lapi to Foscari at Rome, fol. 1 r-v.

43. Lodovico Foscari, Epistolae, pp. 387-9 no. 172 (31 August 1461), 393-5, 177 (1 November 1461), 421, 189 (11 January 1462), 651-6, 290 (1 August 1469). Maffeo Vallaresso, Epistolae : ASV. Barb. lat., 1809, fols. 15 (20 August (1451?), from Vallaresso at Zara), 46 (25 September (1452), from Barbo at Rome), 62-3 (23 February 1454, from Barbo at Rome), 78 (20 December (1455), from Vallaresso at Zara, congratulating Barbo on his first episcopal appointment - cf. chapter one), 79 (3 February 1456. Barbo's reply), 137-8 (22 May 1458, from Barbo at Treviso), 142-4 (16 July 1458, Vallaresso to Barbo); 218-19 (20 January (?), Vallaresso to Barbo); others to Barbo - fols. 236 (14 March 1453?), 312-13 (21 December 1453), 345-6 (14 March 1456), 352-3 (21 April 1456), 372-3 (18 May 1458).
44. King, op.cit., p.328 includes Palmieri, Trebano and Maffei. An example of a pre-1471 dedication is a poem by the diplomat Angelo Geraldini, for whose 1482 mission to Basel q.v. above chapter three. B. Geraldini, Vita di Mons. Angelo Geraldini Vescovo di Sessa (Perugia, 1895), pp.33-7. Another pre-1471 dedication is contained in BAV, Vat. lat., 5139 : Nicholas of Modrus, Liber de consolatione foeliciter. Dated between 1464 and 1467. Strictly speaking, the Palmieri translation should also be included as a pre-1471 piece, as it was dedicated to Barbo as Bishop of Vicenza.
45. M. Miglio, "I cronisti della storia". Un pontificato ed una città pp.639-41 Cortesi's sermon accompanied Cardinal Zeno's Mass in the basilica. Gherardi, op.cit., p.113. c.f. chapter four, n. 81.
46. P. Cortesi, De cardinalatu, fol. LXI.
47. L. Martinoli Santini, "Le traduzioni dal Greco". Un pontificato ed una città, pp.81-101.
48. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, cod. Magliabechianus, VI, 191, fol. 36v.
49. Ficino's letters to Barbo : Opera Omnia, pp.874, 2; 875, 2; 883, 1; 892, 3; 911, 1. Letters to Calderini in which Ficino mentions Barbo : pp.882, 2; 910, 3; 912, 1; 928, 1. Covered by P.O. Kristeller, "Marsilio Ficino e Venezia", Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca vol. III 2 : Umanesimo e Rinascimento a Firenze e Venezia (Florence, 1983), pp. 475-92.
50. Il carteggio, p.161 (Barbo to Lorenzi, 16 September 1487) : "De Lipo et d.no Alfonso nostro nisi aliter rem intelligam, nescio quid scribam" p.203 (Lorenzi to Barbo, 19 October 1489) : "Gener est Pontani et cor, ut ita loquamur, ducis".
51. See chapter five, above.
52. Besides Barbaro's Compendium Ethicorum, the Cane dedication to Foscari is the only one acknowledged by Cosenza, Dictionary of the Italian Humanists. While not providing comprehensive lists of works dedicated

to the cardinals nor of their correspondents, Cosenza's accumulated references do reflect their relative cultural involvement. Zeno does not merit an entry. For Niccolò Perotti (1429-1490): G. Mercati, Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti, arcivescovo di Siponto, Studi e testi, 44 (Rome, 1925).

53. Mercati, op. cit., p.13.
54. Lee, Sixtus IV, pp.182-3.
55. Zippel (ed.), Le Vite di Paolo II, p54, n.6.
56. M. Sanudo, Diario, RIS, XXV, col.66.
57. Il carteggio, p.200, Barbo to Lorenzi, 4 October 1489: "Non possum non compati parenti Emanuelis nostri, precipue ferme desperata provisione tam diu expectata super alumine ..." Also pp.67, 69-70, 153, 154. Cicogna, op. cit., VI, p.864. Both father and son borrowed books from the papal collection, the latter on his protector's behalf: Bertolà, I due primi registri, pp.25, 35.
58. J. Monfasani, George of Trebizond, (Leiden, 1976) p.138.
59. Paschini, "Un ellenista veneziano", pp.123-4. Known variously as Demetrio da Milano, Demetrio da Candia or Demetrio greco, Damilas borrowed books from the papal library in 1490, 1492 and at later dates: Bertolà, op. cit., pp.60 seq., 84, 102.
60. J. Shirwood, Liber de Ludo Arithmomachiae, (Rome, 1482).
61. Brown (ed.), Calendar of State Papers ... Venice, Richard III to Innocent VIII, 15 October 1484, no.488, pp.147-8.
62. Hinds (ed.), Calendar of State Papers ... Milan, no.240, p.169. R. Weiss, Humanism in England in the Fifteenth Century, 2nd edition, (Oxford, 1957) accounts for those English humanists who studied Greek at Padua or ventured to Rome, thereby falling within Bessarion's orbit. The same material is also covered by Duke Humfrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century, Bodleian Library exhibition catalogue, 1970.
63. One of the leading figures in the transmission of humanism from Italy to England was Robert Flemmyng (c.1415-1483), Bishop of Lincoln, founder of Lincoln College, Oxford, King's proctor in Rome, 1458-61, student of Greek at Padua, c.1446-7, and friend of Platina. Flemmyng visited Rome again between 1473 and 1478 and, with Giovanni Michiel, was among the party which accompanied Sixtus to Tivoli in 1476 in flight from the plague. It was there that he wrote the standard eulogy of Sixtus, Lucubratiunculæ Tibertinae, printed "after 5 December 1477". Cardinal Gonzaga is thought to have introduced him to Roman society but, if there was a Barbo connection, it might have been through Thomas Rotherham, twice sponsored by the cardinal and, as Bishop of Lincoln (where Flemmyng was a canon at the time), recipient of a presentation copy of Flemmyng's magnum opus. For Flemmyng in Rome, see E.D. Howe, The Hospital of Santo Spirito and Pope Sixtus IV, (New York and London, 1978).

64. Lee, Sixtus IV, p.202. Cosenza, op.cit., gives the impression that, for the period between Bessarion's death and that of Innocent, only two cardinals had higher cultural profiles than Barbo: Ammannati and Todeschini - Piccolomini, nipoti of the humanist pope, Pius II.
65. DBI, 6, p.328
66. A potted biography of Pavini appears in Dondi Dell' Orologio, op.cit., p.157. See also Weiss, "Un umanista e curiale del quattrocento", p.327. His edition of Summa contra gentiles is included in "Indice delle edizioni romane a stampa (1467-1500)", Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel quattrocento, vol. 1,2 (Vatican, 1980), p.57, no.398. Il carteggio, p.91, Lorenzi to Barbo, 26 August 1483: "Reliqua que habebat beneficia collata surr d.no Jo: de Pavinis".
67. A Modigliani, "La tipografia 'apud Sanctum Marcum' e Vito Puecher", Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel quattrocento, vol.3 (Vatican, 1983), pp.111-133.
68. Like Puecher's, Planck's editions are listed in vol. 1, 2 of Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa.
69. P. De Angelis, op.cit. : Liber Fraternitatis, fol. 415r. Modigliani, op.cit.
70. A. Torroncelli, "Note per la biblioteca di Marco Barbo", Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel quattrocento vol. 1., p.345. Torroncelli has assembled an invaluable collection of information, that which appears here being but a fraction of the whole.
71. BAV, Vat. lat., 173, 235, 257, 283, 297, 332, 372, 373, 394, 395, 401, 403, 404, 412, 539, 542, 547, 593, 606, 648, 726, 733, 741, 1020, 1666, 1764, 1785, 1983, 11414; Vat. Gr., 446.
72. For a full discussion, see L. Capoduro, "L'edizione romana del De orthographia di Giovanni Tortelli (Hain 15563) e Adamo da Montalto", Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa vol.3, pp. 37-56.
73. Il carteggio, p.156. On 10 January 1481 Giovanni Lorenzi borrowed the second part of the Summa from the papal librarian on the cardinal's behalf. Bertolà, op.cit., p.19.
74. Torroncelli, op.cit., p.347.
75. L. Labowsky, op.cit., p.49.
76. ibid., p.51.
77. L. Muñoz Gasparini on S. Marcello, vol. 16 of Le chiese di Roma illustrata. The monument incorporating Michiel's tomb and that of Antonio Orso is attributed to Jacopo Sansovino. The guidebook describes Orso as Michiel's nipote and the cardinal himself as "di nobile e ricca famiglia di Chioggia", rather limiting its credibility!

78. Burchard, Liber notarum, II, p.175. Moroni, op.cit. vol. 103, p.469. V. Forcella, op.cit., VI, p.45, n.87; p.46, n.90.
79. Aspects of Zeno's Vicentine patronage appear in F. Barbieri, Pittori di Vicenza, 1480-1520 (Vicenza, 1981); J.S. Grubb, Firstborn of Venice: Vicenza in the Early Renaissance State (Baltimore and London, 1988), esp. p.133; A. Magrini and F. Castegnaro, "Maestro Rocco di Vicenza, architetto e sculture", Archivio Veneto, 6 (1873), pp.37-48.
80. A. Bertolotti, "Artisti veneti a Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII (Studi e ricerche negli archivi romani)", R. Deputazione veneta sopra gli studi di storia patria (Venice, 1865).
81. F. Hermanin, op.cit. Other relevant studies include: P. Dengel, "Sulla 'Mappa Mundi' di Palazzo Venezia", ASRSP, 52 (1929), pp.501-8; "Per la storia della fontana nel grande cortile di Palazzo Venezia a Roma", ASRSP, 58 (1935), pp.171-88.
82. The collection includes a maiolica plate bearing Marco Barbo's patriarchal arms, given the date c.1480.
83. Il carteggio, p.105. cf. chapter five, n.24, above. For other functions associated with the palazzo and palazzetto with its "sublimes hortos", D.R. Coffin, The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome (Princeton, 1979), pp.29-30. When the Venetian ambassadors dined there as the guests of Cardinal Domenico Grimani in 1523, they noted: "There were tables prepared in one part of an upper corridor, like a monastic cloister, which opened above a garden of fresh and most beautiful grass with a lovely fountain in the centre surrounded by orange trees, laurels and cypresses".
84. G. Fiorini, La casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi al Foro di Augusto (Rome, 1951), describes the building and its decoration in full.
85. *ibid.*, p.64.
86. This architectural tradition is conveniently summarised in the Palazzo Venezia exhibition catalogue, q.v. above, n.23.
87. R. Pardi, Il castello e l'ospedale di Magione (unpublished). I am indebted to Dr. Anthony Luttrell for introducing me to this article.
88. Hermanin, op.cit., pp.105 seq.
89. R. Lightbown, Mantegna (Oxford, 1986), pp.154-60 for the Roman sojourn.
90. G.C. Sciolla, La scultura di Mino da Fiesole (Turin, 1970).
91. *ibid.*, pp. 92-93, no. 43.
92. Il carteggio, p.115.
93. Quoted by E. Bentivoglio and S. Valtieri, Santa Maria del Popolo a Roma (Rome, 1976), p.97. The tomb is presently to be found in the first

chapel on the left as one enters the church, though Foscari's original apsidal funerary chapel stood immediately to the North of the high altar. That was acquired and extended by the Cerasi family, c.1600, and houses Caravaggio's Crucifixion of St. Peter and Conversion of St. Paul. Bentivoglio and Valtieri offer copious documentary evidence while charting its history. See chapter four, above. E.D. Ettliger "Pollaiuolo's Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV" JWCI, 16 (1953) pp.239-74, accounts for Giuliano's patronage of his uncle's monument.

94. V. Branca and R. Weiss, "Carpaccio e l'iconografia del più grande umanista veneziano (Ermolao Barbaro)", Arte Veneta, 17 (1963), pp. 35-40.

CONCLUSION

## Venetian cardinals : patriots for whom?

This assessment of the careers of four later quattrocento cardinals has been consciously blinkered, limited to two dimensions, with no attempt to present Barbo, Foscari, Michiel and Zeno as fully rounded characters. They have been viewed firstly as Venetian patricians, subject to the unique political, ecclesiastical and cultural inheritance of that city, and secondly as Roman princes, the pope's natural counsellors, again bound by particular obligations and responsibilities. In these two dimensions alone there appear sufficient contradictions and inconsistencies to make the question "patriots for whom?" well worth asking.

By virtue of their clerical status with its implicit obedience to the pope, none of the four cardinals could claim to be model Venetian patricians, participating in the government of the Republic. Compromise was inevitable. As resident Bishop of Treviso, Marco Barbo went a long way towards fulfilling the Venetian criteria of a conscientious prelate who did not seek to antagonise the secular authorities. That he did not go on to serve as a genuinely Venetian cardinal, an agent of the Signoria in the enemy camp, has been interpreted as no less a part of his personal Venetian inheritance, whether received from Pope Paul II or from the venerable Lodovico Barbo. In spite of shortcomings on the part of some of its leading representatives, Marco Barbo's devotion to the ideal of the Church was too great to prevent clashes with the Republic over such issues as the priory at Pontida. Nevertheless, when the interests of Venice failed to coincide

with those of the Papacy's secular arm, his name and his voice could still be an invaluable asset, supplementing or replacing the Venetian orators.

There can be no doubt that Pietro Foscari, a true "ornament" to his patria, came closest to fulfilling the exacting standards and narrow definition of a peculiarly Venetian cardinal, yet even he could not combine the qualities demanded of a Venetian bishop and a Venetian cardinal, the nature of his Roman career being thrown into relief when resident in Padua between 1481 and 1483. At the same time, a cardinal protector at the Curia would have been more actively involved in the promotion of Venetian candidates to vacant benefices, reinforcing the decisions of his political masters. That Foscari deliberately kept a low profile in order to deflect attention from his diplomatic functions has been offered by way of explanation for this apparent inconsistency, but it nevertheless limited his overall effectiveness as a specifically Venetian cardinal. By contrast, neither the nepotistic Giovanni Michiel nor the frequently controversial Battista Zeno were ever in danger of being mistaken for serious agents of the Signoria in the period up to 1492. Their Venetian credentials were severely impaired by too close an association with Paul II and nothing in their careers, least of all the revelations of 1471-2, could entirely exonerate them in Venetian eyes.

As cardinals, the four were expected to renounce worldly allegiance to the city of their birth. Barbo, Michiel and Zeno each undertook missions and responsibilities in the service of the pope, while Barbo's association with Germans, Poles and Englishmen made him a figure of international importance, at variance with the exclusivity expected of a Venetian prelate. While Pietro Foscari approximated the type of a Venetian who

happened to be a cardinal, Marco Barbo, whether as a patron, the head of a successful familia, a commendatory and a servant of the Papacy, came closest to the image of an ecclesiastic of indeterminate origin. "Closest", but only in relative terms!

The overriding trend of the later quattrocento was towards cardinals as adjuncts to the diplomatic policies of their patrie, and Venetian cardinals could not be immune to that, regarded as unambiguously Venetian by diarists, ambassadors, benefice-dispensing popes, the Curia in general and, above all, by the Venetian Signoria. Regardless of their own proximity or otherwise to that body, Venetian cardinals (or even potential cardinals) found their Roman careers frustrated by poor relations between Venice and the Papacy. Conversely, as was amply illustrated in the wake of the 1480 alliance or that of the 1484 conclave, sympathy, agreement or the convergence of political interests between the two powers had beneficial consequences for the cardinals.

Whether in terms of politics and diplomacy or clientage and patronage, Barbo, Foscari, Michiel and Zeno were inextricably identified with Venice. Just as Barbo's understanding of ecclesiastical independence from secular control ultimately stemmed from thoroughly Venetian concepts of the Church, so did Venice influence virtually every aspect of their lives, no matter how lengthy their Roman residence. In a political crisis, be it the Ferrarese War, the imposition of the Interdict or the lifting of the same, their instinct was to rally to the Venetian cause. If they were granted Venetian-controlled benefices, that was only natural, but even the granting of non-Venetian benefices was frequently prompted by Venice-centred motives. The same was true with regard to the choice of friends and familiars. Even Marco Barbo's English

associations contained a vaguely Venetian element if interpreted with Bessarion as the key. By way of reinforcing the point, not even Lorenzo Zane escaped from the city early enough and, as the 1478 espionage case illustrated, he could never escape from his nationality. Of the cardinals, though, perhaps Battista Zeno was the one most thoroughly haunted by Venice. From being an enemy of the Republic in the 1470s, a traitor who had cowardly hidden behind clerical immunity from prosecution, by stages he became a Venetian hero of truly remarkable proportions (for a prelate!), fêted in the basilica of S. Marco and immortalised for his generosity towards his compatriots.

Leo IX, it may be recalled, likened a cardinal to "the immoveable hinge which sends the door forth and back". If the cardinal is the hinge, then the solid jamb is the Roman Church, leaving the part of the door to be taken by the land of his birth, the hinge having allegiances to both sides. The hinge may be the only link between the door and the jamb but, of its own volition, it cannot initiate movement, only facilitate it. It would have defeated Leo's purpose to say so, but the hinge moves and its movements are entirely determined by the door. In like manner, it is possible to claim that virtually every aspect of our four cardinals' Roman careers was determined, whether directly or indirectly, by their Venetian birth and inheritance; the inescapability of being Venetian. However much they rebelled, it was ultimately futile. Whether they intended it or not, their joint motto might well have been : "Siamo veneziani, poi cardinali!".

APPENDIX A : "A CARDINAL AWAY FROM THE CURIA IS LIKE A FISH  
OUT OF WATER"

The longest recorded period of absence from the Curia by any of the four Venetian cardinals was that of Marco Barbo, occasioned by the central European legation, from 21 February 1472 to 26 October 1474. (Eubel II, p.42, no. 285 : Febr. 21 "die Veneris M. tit. s. Marci presb. card Aquilegiensis nuncup. recessit ab Urbe legatus in Alamanniam, associatus de palatio usque ad portam s. Mariae de Populo per omnes card., ubi ea nocte dormivit et die Sabbati sequenti discessit." p.43, no. 316 : Oct. 26 "die Mercurii M. tit. s. Marci presb. card. Aquilegiensis nuncup., rediens de sua legatione ex partibus Alamaniae, introivit in Urbem per portam s. Mariae de Populo, unde associatus fuit per omnes card. usque ad palatium s. Petri, ubi per S.P. receptus fuit in consistorio publico, ut moris est, et postea associatus ad domum suam apud s. Marcum, et continuat participare").

Thereafter, the clearest guide to Barbo's movements, at least in the 1480s, is his correspondence with Giovanni Lorenzi, which Paschini divides into eight sections, relating to the cardinal's journeys. The first of these, to Palestrina, from July 1481, may have lasted until early November, if Barbo ignored a papal summons to return to Rome in September. (Il carteggio, pp. 20-41. His return to Rome on 8 November : Gherardi, op.cit., p.79). The longest absence from Rome charted by the carteggio took place between October 1482 and 5 May 1483, the latter date recorded by Gherardi with commentary : "Ad v maii reversus est cardinalis Sancti Marci, qui preterita estate romanum aerem vitans, este et hieme et vere etiam abfuit. in diversam eius absentia existimata, prout etiam diverse sunt sententie hominum". (op.cit., pp.117-118.

Eubel II, p.52 no. 449 on the same : Maii 5 "die Lunae M. epus. Praenestin, card. Aquilegiensis nuncup. rediit in Urber de Urbeveteri (i.e. Orvieto) et ab isto die in ante continuavit participare".

Il carteggio, pp. 42-82). Two months later he repaired to Palestrina once more. Again, Gherardi pin-points his re-entry into Rome on 14 November that year, noting that the Cardinal of S. Marco, being "tired from the journey", took no part in that day's consistory, at which Cardinals Colonna and Savelli obtained their liberty. (Gherardi, op.cit., p.126. Il carteggio, pp.83-100).

No absences are documented for any of the Venetians in 1484. The latter portion of the year, like the corresponding period in 1471, would have been the time to carve out niches under the new régime. Barbo spent the months of August to November 1485 firstly at his abbey of S S. Severo e Martino, Orvieto, moving to Palestrina before 30 October (Il carteggio, pp. 101-40). In 1486 there was nothing more than a suspicion of a journey beyond Rome, a letter from Lorenzi to the cardinal at some unspecified destination bearing the date 3 November (Il carteggio, pp.140-1). Between May and December 1487, the cardinal's letters were written at Castelnuovo di Porto (just off the Via Flaminia), Bagnoregio (near Orvieto), Torre S. Severo (on the road between Bolsena and Orvieto), on the river Paglia in the same region and at Castelnuovo di Garfagnana on the outward journey to Pontida, and on the return at S. Maria del Monte at Cesena, Fabriano and Otricoli (South of Narni). (Il carteggio, pp.142-77). In late Summer/early Autumn 1488, Barbo went no further than Palestrina. (Il carteggio, pp.178-85), a pattern repeated the following year. (Il carteggio, pp. 186-205). His final visit to the suburbicarian see probably occupied the months of May to October 1490, by which time failing health limited his capacity for travel. (Il carteggio,

pp. 206-13).

As a rule, Cardinal Barbo went on his travels in late Summer and early Autumn, coinciding with Rome's unhealthiest season, when those who could do so took to the hills. This was certainly the case in 1478, when Barbo, then serving as camerlengo of the Sacred College, fled the city on 25 June, resuming office on 15 October. (Eubel II, pp. 46-7). The July 1481 departure more or less coincided with an outbreak of plague, during which the Milanese ambassadors reported a case in the cardinal's household (ASMi, SPE 89, 25 July 1481). On the other hand, Barbo probably stayed put in Rome during a severe outbreak in June 1485. On that occasion Ascanio Sforza related: "La pestilentia far prima qua qualche demonstratione non ben grata, perchè in casa del R.mo Car.le di Milano s'è amalato uno capellano ultra et scudere li morite ali giorni passato. Al R.me Car.le di sancto Marco sono circa sei giorni morte uno camarero el quale stasera ne la camera sua propria et cossì sono morti reti altri popolari, et homini abiecti in modo se cognosce che piutosto per contagione ..." (ASMi, SPE 97, 21 June 1485). One further documented journey took place in August and September 1480, the mission to survey the Church's Adriatic defences, the ensuing report being dated at Ancona on 10 September (Cod. Marc. lat. X 174 (3621)).

It seems likely that this seasonal pattern applied equally to the period from 1475 to 1480, for Barbo effectively disappears from view for several months at a time on a number of occasions. In 1475, for instance, there is no documented sign of him between 30 June, the date of a letter written at Rome to Ercole d'Este, and 20 November, when he proposed Florentius Woolly to the vacant see of Clogher and Armagh (ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense Carteggio di principi esteri, Italia, Roma, b.1329/41,

30 June 1475. ASV, Obligaciones et Solutiones 82, fol. 95r, 20 November 1475). Similar patterns occurred in 1476 and 1477, while Barbo made no definite appearance in consistory throughout 1479, and completely disappears from view between the end of June that year and the latter half of February 1480. Taking seasonal considerations into account, the cardinal's travels take on a less remarkable air.

This pattern was broken only by the period from October 1482 to May 1483, when Barbo was based successively at Torre S. Severo and the abbey of Monte Oliveto, South-East of Siena. The anti-Venetian alliance concluded between Sixtus, Milan, Naples and Florence having been negotiated during the Autumn of 1482 and published on 25 December, can this unseasonal retreat be interpreted as a conscious effort to avoid Rome, the eye of the storm? Certainly, his reappearance in Rome only eighteen days before the publication of the Interdict was directly linked to a political motive, his promise to the Signoria to defend Venetian interests at Rome. The retreat to Palestrina in July is equally explicable in the light of Venice's 7 June call for prelates to reside within their benefices. In short, when not determined by the weather, Barbo's travels (in 1483 and to Pontida in 1487) were motivated by different aspects of his inescapable Venetian inheritance.

Of the other three cardinals, Foscari's movements can be charted most comprehensively. Following his December 1477 promotion, he came to light in the Veneto on 11 January 1478, for the exchange of mutual thanks and congratulations, returning to the Eternal City on 12 March. (Marin Sanudo, Le Vite dei Dogi (1474-1494) I, ed. Angelo Caracciolo Aricò (Padua, 1989), p.96: "A dì xi zener, vene in questa Terra il cardinal domino Piero Foscari quondam sier Marco, Procurator - el qual stava a Padova, in l'arena

ch'è sua e la comprò — et da Papa Sisto fo in questi zorni prononciato Cardinal, et mandatoli il capello. Il Doxe Li andò contra col bucintoro, alozò in cha' Foscari sul Canal Grandò, a San Pantalon; montò in bucintoro a Santa Croce, et fo menato per Canal Grandò fino a cha' Foscari. Andò poi a la Signoria et disse messa in chiezia di San Marco, a dì dito; vi fu il Doxe con la Signoria. Poi partì a dì 22 ditto, e tornò a Padoa". Eubel II, p.49, no. 357 : Mart. 12 "die Jovis P. de Foscariis tit s. Nicolai inter imagines presb. card. intravit Urbem per portam b. Mariae de Populo, ubi ea nocte hospitatus fuerat, et inde associatus fuit per omnes card. usque ad palatium; et ibidem per S. P. in suo consistorio publico receptus fuit et postmodum receptus ad osculum manus et pacis per eundem S.P. et similites per omnes card., ut moris est; et post finitum consistoriur associatus fuit ad domum suae habitationis prope b. Mariam in via lata".) On 6 April his mouth was formally opened, permitting him to attend his first consistory the same day. (Eubel II, p. 49, no.358).

Two further definite absences are recorded for Foscari, the first from 18 June 1481 to 14 May 1483, when he took possession of Padua and resided in or near his diocese, a model Venetian bishop. (Eubel II, pp. 49, 52). The second ended with his death at Viterbo in August 1485. Nothing is heard of him for some months prior to his decease, indicating a protracted illness. His last surviving letter may be that written at Rome to the Marquis of Mantua on 15 March 1480. (ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga EXXXV 3, b. 847, no.440).

1480, Foscari's annus mirabilis, records the highest concentration of documentary references to the cardinal "of Venice", suggesting residence in Rome for all or most of that intense period. The most obvious

lacuna occurred between 20 June 1478, when all the cardinals apparently attended consistory, and 12 February 1479, in a communication from the Ten to Sebastiano Badoer. (Eubel II, p.46, no.360. ASVen, Cons. X, Misti 19, fols. 154v - 155r). Nor is there any information in the appropriate sources for the period between 19 April 1479, the occasion of Cardinal d'Aragona taking formal leave of his colleagues as he set off on his first Hungarian legation, and Foscari's resignation of Spalato five months later. (Eubel II, p.47, no.379. ASV, Reg.Vat.591, fols. 201r - 203r; Oblig. et Solut. 82, fol. 119v, 17 September 1479). There is no reason to believe that he too did not retreat to the hills at the appropriate season. Like Barbo, his return to Rome in May 1483 was clearly timed to meet the challenge of the Interdict.

On the basis of available evidence, Giovanni Michiel was the Venetian cardinal most consistently resident in Rome. Only two absences are recorded, the first being in Sixtus's retinue when the pope retired to Viterbo to escape the plague in Rome in June 1476. Marco Barbo may well have taken similar preventative measures. The cardinal wrote to Benedetto Soranzo from Vetralla, between Viterbo and Tarquinia, on 19 July 1485. (ASVen, Cons. X, Carte di Benedetto Soranzo, Arcivescovo di Cipro, ser.III, b.1, no.589). Shortly after Foscari's death, Lorenzi, writing to Barbo about the fate of the late cardinal's benefices, stated that Michiel was not "in Urbe" just then. (Il carteggio, p.119, 31 August 1485). The following October, the news was that the cardinal of S. Angelo "qui ... venit celeriter ex Vetralla", these three references together indicating that his period of villeggiatura had lasted at least three months. (Il carteggio, p.127, 20 October 1485). A chronology of Giovanni Michiel's career reveals blanks of up to nine months at a time, with information being particularly sparse in the 1470s, before the Interdict period and

Innocent's favour thrust him into the limelight. Between December 1472 and September 1476, he did not even propose anyone to benefices, though Michiel, Zeno, Barbo and Roverella were certainly on hand for the donation of the golden rose in March 1476. (ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga EXXV 3, b.845, no.806, 20 March 1476). Whatever the proportion of time spent in or beyond Rome, Michiel's travels might have been more fully documented had he been a figure of greater political significance, whether as a Venetian or as a cardinal.

In this as in other respects, Cardinal Zeno's activities complied with no regular arrangement, though reliable sources and inferences made from lack of information to the contrary suggest that he also had a tendency to avoid Rome in the Summer and early Autumn. His letter of 24 July 1473 to Lorenzo de' Medici was sent from Tivoli (?), there being no sign of his presence in Rome or elsewhere between May and October that year. (ASF, MAP, filza XLVI, no.259). The following July, he wrote to Lorenzo from Siena, this again providing the only sign of his existence between January and October. (ASF, MAP, filza XLXI, no. 346, 27 July 1474). June 1476 saw Zeno at Aquapendente, coinciding with the above-mentioned outbreak of plague. (ASF, MAP, filza XLXI, no.204, 23 June 1476). By 1 September he had reached Foligno and is unlikely to have returned to Rome in the intervening period. (ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Carteggio di principi **esteri**, Italia, Roma, b.1435/189, Zeno to Ercole d' Este). 1477 witnessed two known journeys beyond the city wall, both to the Veneto region. The bishop's formal entry into Vicenza took place on 28 April, just two months after his episcopal position was acknowledged by Venice and his income restored. Four months later, he set out from Rome as legate to Venice, Florence, Ferrara and Siena. (Eubel II, p.45, no.345, 22 August; no.348: Dec. 18 "die Jovis

Baptista tit. s. Anastasiae presb. card. Vicentinus nuncup. rediit ut Urbem de sua legatione in Venetias et intravit per portam s. Mariae de Populo, unde associatus fuit per omnes card. usque ad palatium s. Petri et ibidem receptus fuit per S.P. in consistorio publico, ut moris est".). That two journeys were made that year is evidenced by the fact that Zeno wrote to Ercole d' Este from Rome on 14 July. (ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Carteggio di principi esteri, Italia, Roma, b.1435/189). In 1478, he wrote to d'Este from Lucca on 9th July and to Lorenzo de' Medici from Bertinoro on 7 October, with his next recorded appearance in consistory being on 16 June 1479, after which references are once more few and far between. (ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Carteggio di principi esteri, Italia, Roma, B. 1435/189. ASF, MAP, filza XLVI, no. 523. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 82, fol. 118r, 16 June 1479). Letters to d'Este were also written at Various non-Roman locations in May 1486, July and September 1488. (ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Carteggio di principi esteri, Italia, Roma, b. 1435/189).

Fish out of water? Inevitably, by absenting themselves from Rome cardinals ceased to function in a number of capacities. As the above suggests, the Venetians were still able to maintain contacts with secular rulers, regardless of the sizeable proportion of time which they chose to spend out of what should have been their natural habitat. Consequently they were not entirely divorced from some of the wider implications of their office. Nevertheless, it seems accurate to say that length of absence from the Curia did not necessarily bear a direct correspondence to their effectiveness or otherwise in political or patronage terms. A similar survey of the travels of other cardinals would be required before any of the Venetians could be criticised for wanton neglect of duty.

APPENDIX B : FAMILIARES CONTINUUS COMMENSALES : LEADING MEMBERS

OF THE HOUSEHOLDS OF VENETIAN CARDINALS, 1471 - 1492.

1. ABRAMI, Niccolò (dates unknown). Barbo's familiar (?). Venetian.  
Il carteggio, pp. 22, 103-4.
2. ALBRANDI, Matteo (d.1493 or 1516!). Barbo's secretary and conclavist (1484). Canon of Padua (1486). Burchard, Liber notarum, I, p.26.  
Il carteggio, pp.21, 32, 36, 49, 69, 75, 79, 87, 94, 96, 115, 151, 174.
3. ANDREOLO di S.Vito (dates unknown). Barbo's secretary (26.5.65) and familiaris continuus commenalis (29.9.74). Doctor of laws. Canon of Aquileia (5.6.70) and of Padua. Papal collector in Venice under Paul II and Sixtus IV; again from 7.5.92. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 84, fol.271r. ASMo, Carteggio Principi Esteri, Roma, b.1329/41 (22.6.81).  
Il carteggio, pp. 73, 104, 107, 128, 167.
4. BARISON, Galeazzo (dates unknown). Foscari's familiar until 1481. ASV, Reg. Lat., 816, fols. 64r-65r; 962, fols.38v-40r. Reg. Vat., 777, fol. 50r -v.
5. BELLOCELLO, Antonio (dates unknown). Michiel's secretary. Predelli, I libri commemoriali, p.223, no. 104.
6. BIANDRATE, Baldassare (d.1499). Michiel's familiar and conclavist (1484). ASV, Reg. Vat. 578, fol.72r-v; 712, fols.46v-48v; 730, fols. 151r-153r; 732, fols. 275v-277v; 733, fols. 171r-172v. Oblig. et Solut., 84, fol. 280r. Burchard, Liber notarum, I, pp. 27-8. Eubel II, p.49. Predelli, I libri commemoriali, p.223, no. 104.

7. BOSCA, Giovanni (dates unknown). Barbo's chaplain. Spanish. ASV, Reg. Vat., 616, fol. 235; 623, fol. 299. Burchard, Liber notarum, I, p.166. Il carteggio, pp. 56, 67, 103, 113, 114, 132, 163, 209.
  
8. BOSCA, Pietro (dates unknown). Barbo's familiar. Spanish. Doctor of arts and theology. ASV, Div. Cam., 44, fol. 172 r-v. Il carteggio, pp. 63, 67, 69, 105, 162, 194, 210, 211, 213. Gaeta, Origine e sviluppo della rappresentanza stabile pontificia in Venezia, p.123.
  
9. BRICCARIIS (?), Johannes Andrea (dates unknown), Barbo's familiar. ASMo, Carleggio Principi Esteri, Roma, b. 1329/41 (23.10.88)
  
10. BURCHARD, Johannes (1450-1506). Barbo's familiar (1.1.72). Of Strassbourg. Papal Master of Ceremonies, 1483-1504.
  
11. CALDERINI, Antonio (1445-1494). Barbo's secretary, 1484-91. Florentine Bertolà, I due primi registri, p.11. Ficino, Opera Omnia, I, pp.874, 2; 875, 2; 883, 1; 892, 3; 911, 1.
  
12. CALZAVACCA, Piero Matteo (dates unknown). Zeno's treasurer. Of Parma. Brother of Giovanni. ASMi, SPE, 84 (25.9.77). ASMo, Carteggio Principi Esteri, Roma, b. 1435/189 (17.11.72).
  
13. CAN, Domenico (dates unknown) Foscari's maestro di casa and vicar-general at Padua. Doctor of canon law. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 84A, fols. 34r, 95v. Predelli, I libri commemoriali, pp. 233-4.
  
14. CANDI, Francesco (dates unknown). Michiel's secretary, familiaris continuus commensalis and conclavist (1492). Doctor of laws. Canon of Feltre and papal familiar by 1486. Abbreviator del Parco minore, 1493-1503. ASVen, Atti della Curia Romana : Collezione Podocataro,

- b.2, no. 490. Bertolà, I due primi registri, p.65.
15. CANTAGALLO, Baldassare (dates unknown). Zeno's familiar, secretary and conclavist (1484). Priest of Foligno. Apostolic notary. ASV, Oblig. et Solut., 84, fol. 262r. Burchard, Liber notarum, I, p.26. Il carteggio, p.55. Predelli, I libri commemoriali, pp.222-3.
16. CANTARELLI, Lodovico (dates unknown). Foscari's familiar. ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, carteggio degli ambasciatori, Roma, b.4 (23.2.85).
17. CARESINO, Bartolomeo (dates unknown). Barbo's familiar. Doctor of laws. Il carteggio, p.143, n.1.
18. CASA, Bartolomeo della (dates unknown). Foscari's conclavist (1484) Priest. Burchard, Liber notarum, I, p.27. Il carteggio, p.123. (?)
19. CERUTO, Bianco (dates unknown) Foscari's secretary. Veronese. Doctor of —? Notary. ASV, Introit. et Exit., 502, fol. 143r. Predelli, I libri commemoriali, pp.223-4. Govi, "La biblioteca di Jacopo Zeno".
20. CHIERICATI, Leonello (1443-1506). Barbo's familiar. Vicentine. Law at Padua. Bishop of Arbe (1472), Traù (1484), Concordia (1489). Legate to France, 1487-91. BAV, Vat. Lat., 5641, fol. 150. ASV, Reg. Vat., 554, fols. 117v-119r; 571, fol. 130r; 573, fol. 261v; 589, fols. 112r-114r. Oblig. et Solut., 82, fols. 69r, 144v; 84, fol. 165v; 84A, fol. 183v. ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Carteggio degli ambasciatori, Roma, b.1 (23.11.87). ASF, Atti della Curia Romana, Collezione Podocataro, b.1, nos. 270, 277; b.2, no 513. ASF, MAP, filza XLVI, no.162. Il carteggio, pp.20, 50, 51, 57, 66, 73, 75, 93, 97, 105,

- 190, Bertolà, I due primi registri, pp.20, 60. Hinds, Calendar of State Papers ... Milan, p.255, no.400. Brown, Calendar of State Papers ... Venice, nos. 556,558, 593.
21. CLEOFILO, Ottavio (d.1490). Of Fano. Zeno's secretary, 1473.  
Bertolà, I due primi registri, p.25.
22. CONTRARIO, Michele (dates unknown). Barbo's chancellor. Il carteggio,p.57.
23. DELLA FONTE (FONZIO), Bartolomeo (dates unknown). Zeno's familiar (1483) or at least protected by Zeno.
24. DELLA TORRE, Donato (dates unknown). Zeno's chaplain. Vicentine. ASVen, Cons. X, Carte di Benedetto Soranzo, II, 5, no.1045.
25. FANAGROSSA(?), Filippo (dates unknown). Zeno's familiar. ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, EXXXV, 3, b.847, no.88 (22.10.84).
26. FASOLO, Angelo (1426-1490). Barbo's familiar. Of Chioggia. Probably educated at Padua. Canon of Padua. Bishop of Cattaro (1457), Modone (1459), Feltre (1464). Patriarchal governor and vicar-general, Aquileia (1472-6). BAV, Vat. lat., 5641, fol. 149r-v. ASV, Reg. Vat., 556, fols. 83v-84r; Div. Cam., 36, fols. 98v-99r; 37, fol. 218r-v; Introit. et Exit., 487, fols. 154r, 198r. ASVen, Cons. X, Carte di Benedetto Soranzo, II, b.2, no.377. Il carteggio, pp.103, 133n, 129, 130, 172, 178, 179, 183, 188, 202, 203, 209, 210, 213.
27. FAUSTINONIBUS, Jacobus (dates unknown). Foscari's conclavist (1484). Burchard, Liber notarum, I, p.27.
28. GUARNERIO, Francesco (d.1478). Barbo's secretary. Of Osimo. Chamber clerk. ASV, Reg. Vat., 589, fols. 112r-114r. Div. Cam.,37, fols.215r,

- 218 r-v. Il carteggio, pp. 75,77.
29. GUILLINO, Erveo (dates unknown). Barbo's familiar. Of Quimper. Innocent VIII's familias. ASV, Reg.Vat., 684, fol.515. Il carteggio, p.187 n.2.
30. KYNDEMAN, Theodoric (dates unknown). Barbo's familiaris continuus commensalis. Of Zurich. ASV, Vat. Lat., 5641, fol. 168. Il carteggio, p.115.
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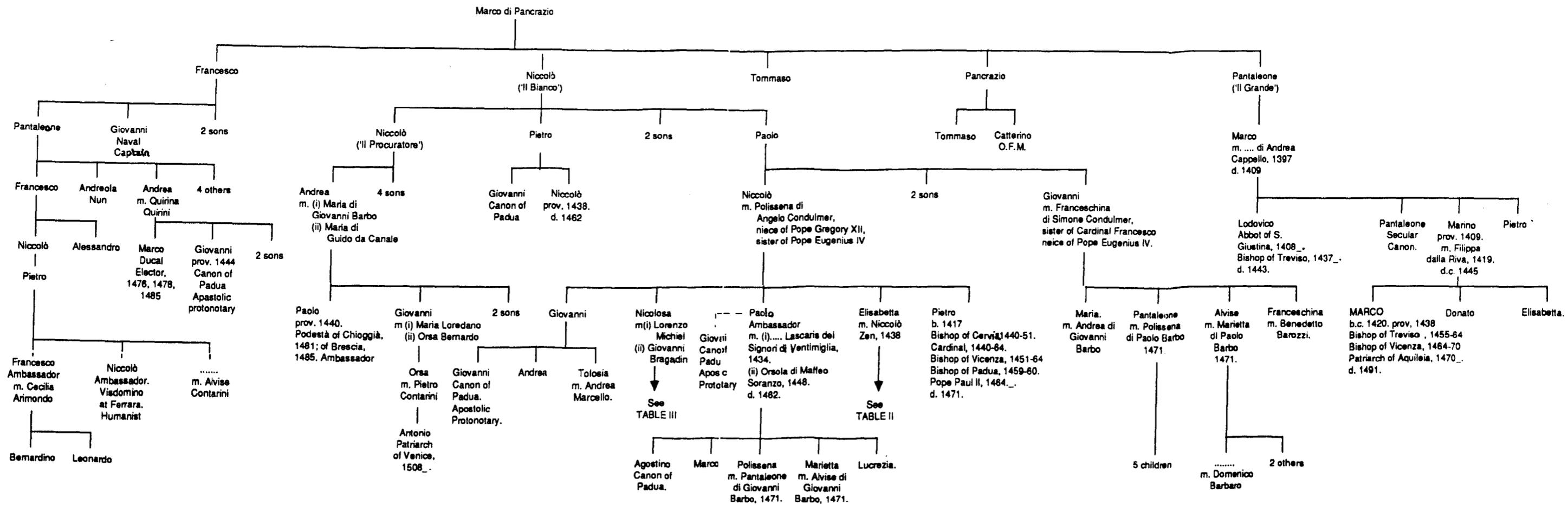
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# TABLE I BARBO GENEALOGY

Based on: P. Li, *Famiglie celebri d' Italia*, Vol. XII.

G. Zippel, ed., *Le Vite di Paolo di Gaspare da Verona e Michele Canensi*, p.216.

Additional information from wills.

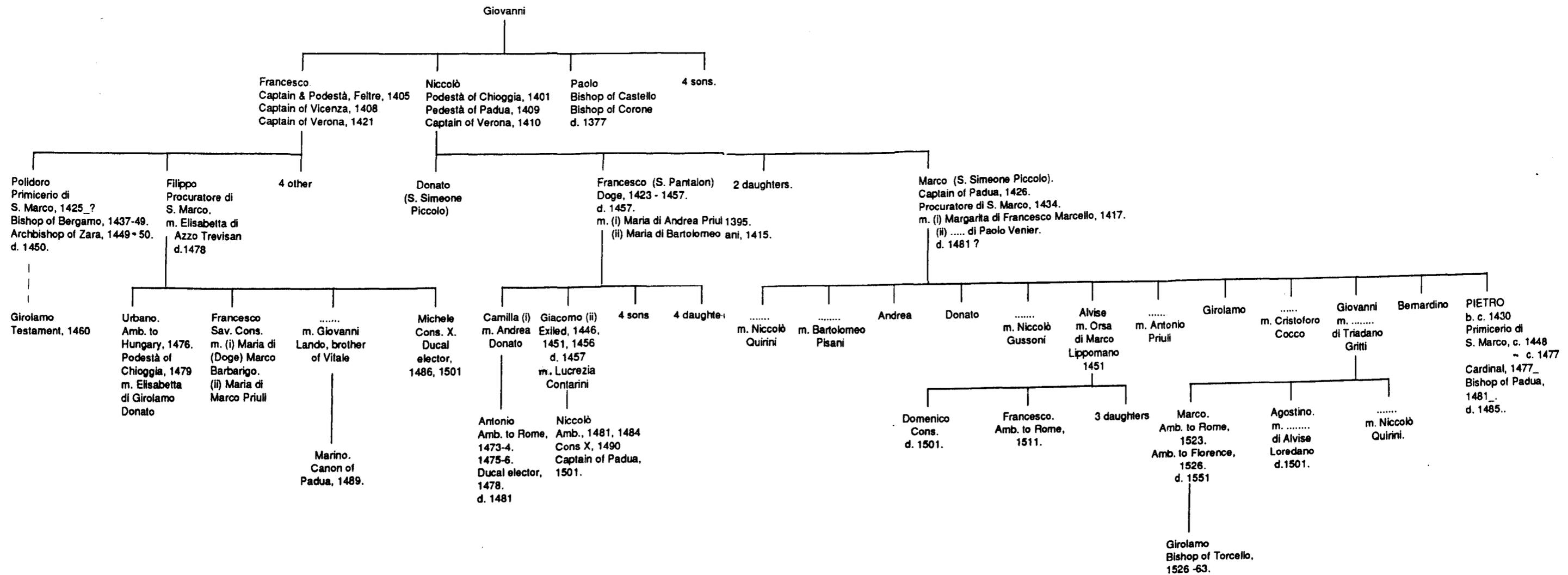


## TABLE II :FOSCARI GENEALOGY

Based on : P. Ita, Famiglie celebre d'Italia, Vol. IV.

M. Barbaro, Genealogie, Vol. III, pp 509 - 10, 513.

Additional information from wills



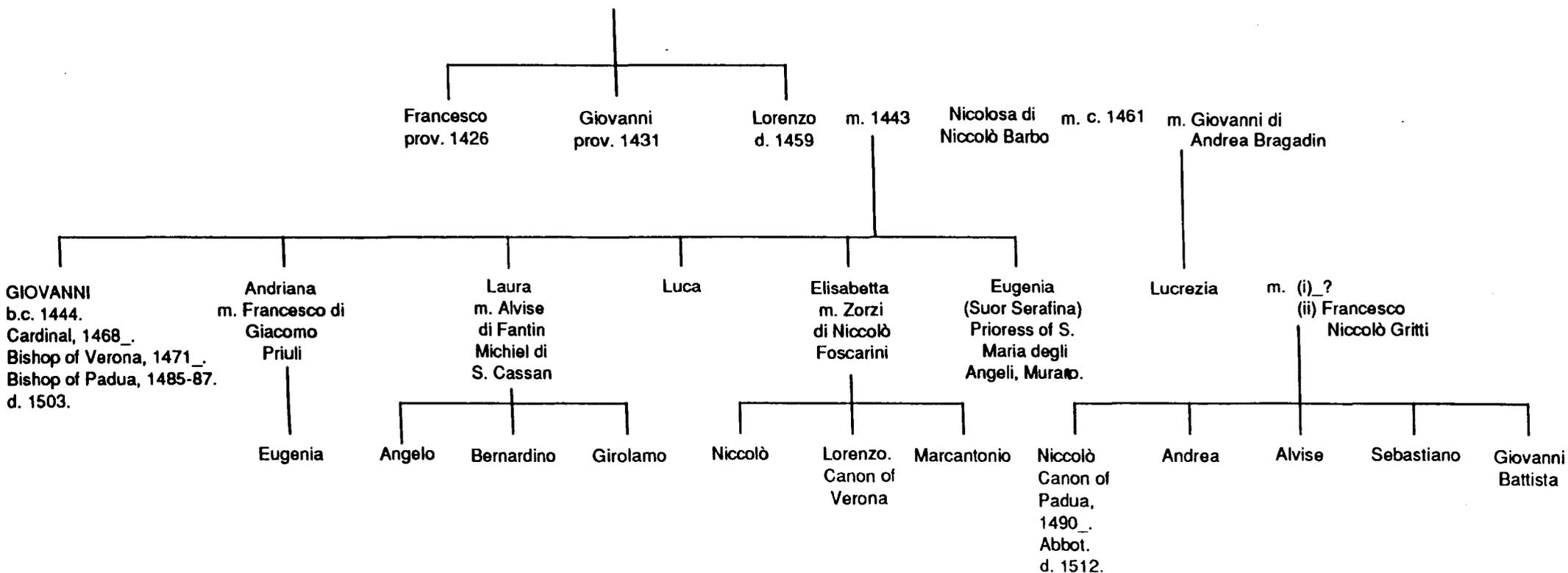
### TABLE III: MICHIEL GENEALOGY

Based on: M Barbaro, *Genealogie*, Vol. III, p. 192, Vol. V, pp 115, 127

G Zippel, ed., *Le Vite di Paolo II di Gaspare da Verona e Michele Canensi*, p.216

Additional information from wills

Tommaso (S Zeminian)



**TABLE IV: ZEN GENEALOGY**  
 Based on: M Barbaro, *Genealogie*, Vol. VII, pp 371, 373-4

