

© Helen Hyde 2009

*All Rights Reserved.* Except as permitted under current legislation no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded or reproduced in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the copyright owner

The right of Helen Hyde to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988

First published 2009

A Royal Historical Society publication  
Published by The Boydell Press  
an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd  
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK  
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.  
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA  
website: [www.boydellandbrewer.com](http://www.boydellandbrewer.com)

ISBN 978-0-86193-301-3

ISSN 0269-2244

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available  
from the British Library

The publisher has no responsibility for the continued existence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Great Britain by  
CPI Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham and Eastbourne

# Contents

List of illustrations	x
Acknowledgements	xi
Abbreviations	xii
Family trees	xiii
Introduction	1
PART I: THE SAULI AS MEN OF THE CHURCH	
1 Politics and money: the career of Cardinal Sauli	17
2 Cardinal Sauli: 'gubernator utilis et ydoneus'?	32
3 The Sauli and early <i>cinquecento</i> reform	48
PART II: THE PATRONAGE OF CARDINAL SAULI	
4 'He surpassed all in splendour and pomp'?	71
5 Cardinal Sauli and humanist patronage	89
6 Portraits of Cardinal Sauli	111
PART III: THE PLOT TO KILL THE POPE	
7 The plot to kill Leo x	131
8 'Vir bonus et innocens'?	149
Conclusion	173
Bibliography	181
Index	197

## *Politics and Money: The Career of Cardinal Sauli*

Remarkably few documents concerning the early life of Bendinello Sauli have survived. The first member of the second branch of the family to be dedicated to a career in the Church, he was probably born in about 1481, the eldest of the five sons of Pasquale Sauli *quondam* Bendinelli and Mariola Giustiniani Longhi *quondam* Giacomini, a member of the largest Genoese *popolare* family (see Fig. 2).<sup>1</sup> As the eldest son, he would normally have been expected to carry on the family business and there is evidence that his early years were spent in learning to do just that. On 14 July 1492 a very young Bendinello was in Rome to help deliver cloths to the *camera apostolica* on behalf of Paolo Sauli for the *appalto degli spirituali* and on 1 December 1499, having availed himself of the *venia aetatis* and thus declaring himself to be legally competent and an adult over the age of fourteen, he acted on behalf of himself and his brothers to arrange the rental of a property below their house near the Porta Sant'Andrea in Genoa.<sup>2</sup>

Bendinello's expertise in trade and finance was apparently valued by the Genoese Republic: in 1498 he was a member of the *ufficio della moneta*, an *anziano* in 1499 and in 1500 a member of the *ufficio mercanzie* (the body which controlled mercantile activities and arbitrated in business disputes) and of the *ufficio clavigeri* (holders of the keys to the chest containing Genoa's most holy relic, the *sacro catino*, but also responsible for the comune's treasure chests).<sup>3</sup> This involvement in trade seemingly continued throughout his life: in a letter of 1515 the humanist Raffaele Brandolini linked the cardinal and Sauli banking activities and noted Bendinello's success in the Curia in the

<sup>1</sup> 'Cardinal de Sauli, zenoese, ... anni 32': C. Marcello to A. Marcello, 7 Mar. 1513, in M. Sanuto, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto (1496–1533)*, ed. M. Allegri, N. Barozzi, G. Berchet, R. Fulin and F. Stefani, Bologna 1879–1902, xvi. 32. On 19 May 1517 the contemporary diarist Sebastiano di Branca Tedallini described Sauli as 'de anni 30': *Il diario romano 3 Maggio 1485 al 6 Giugno 1524*, ed. P. Piccolomini, RIS xxxiii/3, Città di Castello 1907, 370. See the will of Pasquale Sauli, Notai Antichi, 950, no. 96, 21 June 1493, in which frequent reference is made to 'Bendinello filio suo primogenito', and Notai Antichi, 1284, no. 532, 27 Aug. 1515, where Bendinello's mother is named as 'Mariola filia quondam domini Jacobi Justiniani uxor quondam domini pasqualis Sauli'.

<sup>2</sup> Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex. 522, fo. 92v; Notai Antichi, 1004.

<sup>3</sup> ASG, MS 10, fos 86, 165, 198; Biblioteca Civica Berio, Genoa, sezione conservazione, raccolta locale, MS m.r. IX, 2, 25, fo. 446v; MS m.r.i.c. 2.25, ii, fo. 446. I am grateful to Dr Enrico Basso for his help with the *venia aetatis* and the *clavigeri*.

early years, writing that ‘you offered people your name and faith regardless of inconvenience, and thus became universally popular’ and praising his good ‘reputation as a businessman’.<sup>4</sup> On 17 March 1517 Marino Giorgi, the Venetian ambassador, described him as ‘Sauli from Genoa, who practises trade like his relatives, and is a good merchant’.<sup>5</sup> It thus seems likely that Bendinello lent money when necessary, or perhaps arranged loans via other members of his family. This should come as no surprise: creating a good impression in the Curia could prove expensive if one wanted the right dress, entertainment or place to live and other cardinals also benefitted from outside financial investments, whether in property or other areas of commerce.<sup>6</sup>

Yet Bendinello also attended university in some form or another – in the earliest surviving Vatican documents in which he is mentioned he is given the title of ‘magister’ – and this would seem to indicate that at some point it was decided that the Church or at least the Curia, rather than trade, was to be his career.<sup>7</sup> This may have occurred as a result of the election of Julius and the appointment of Paolo Sauli as *depositario generale* when it would have been clear to the Sauli that the chances for promotion for a family member within the Church were now high, but it is equally conceivable that this change of direction evolved naturally and was related to deteriorating physical health. There is evidence that in later life Sauli was lame: the 1516 ‘will’ of Hanno, the elephant sent to Leo X by the king of Portugal in 1514, leaves various parts of the elephant’s anatomy to different cardinals and Sauli is bequeathed ‘the bone marrow of my legs ... to extend his shorter leg’. In the *pasquinata* ‘In Leonem et cardinales’ of early 1517, in which the cardinals are given attributes which are the opposite of reality, Sauli is described as being able to walk quickly.<sup>8</sup> There is a chronic condition known as Perthes which is a malformation of the femoral head, often leading to stiffness and reduced movement in the hip and affected leg which then manifests a limp or can be wasted in appearance. It develops in childhood or adolescence and increases in severity the later it strikes.<sup>9</sup> Either scenario may explain why an eldest son entered the Church.

Others were also keen that Bendinello should dedicate himself to the

<sup>4</sup> ‘nemini tuum nomen, tuam fidem vel magno cum incommodo non benignissime praestitisti unde perfectum est: ut unicuique charus gratusque tuo merito putareris’ and ‘inter mercatores fidem’: BCIS, MS K VI 73, fos 24v, 23r respectively.

<sup>5</sup> *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato*, ed. E. Alberi, ser. ii, volume iii, Florence 1846, iii. 58.

<sup>6</sup> For Cardinal Francesco Soderini see Lowe, *Church and politics*, 192–225, and for Cardinal Francesco Armellini, ‘Questions of income’, 185.

<sup>7</sup> ASV, Registra Lateranensi 1129A, fo. 238r, 19 Dec. 1503.

<sup>8</sup> V. Rossi, ‘Testamento dell’elefante’, in *Scritti di critica letteraria: dal Rinascimento al Risorgimento*, Florence 1930, iii. 223–4, 236, 238; G. A. Cesareo, ‘Pasquino e pasquinate nella Roma di Leone X’, *Miscellanea della R. Deputazione romana di storia patria* xi (1938), 94.

<sup>9</sup> I am grateful to Roy Hyde and D. Green for their suggestions on this point.

Church, recognising, as Kate Lowe notes, that Rome was ‘one of the major centres of the European political system’ and important influence could thereby be gained.<sup>10</sup> From the beginning of the pontificate of Julius II the Genoese government assiduously, and with increasing urgency, promoted Bendinello’s elevation to the cardinalate. On 20 November 1506 the Genoese *anziani* and the *ufficio di balia* instructed the republic’s orators to ‘especially recommend the Reverend messer bandinello [sic] sauli for the honour of his family which is devoted to His Holiness and for the good social standing and virtue of the aforesaid messer bandinello. And you will use your greatest skill in this as you see fit and will do everything possible to help messer bandinello’.<sup>11</sup> His talents, position and potential influence both as a cleric and as a relative of the *depositario generale* were clearly recognised by the Genoese government, but almost five years were to pass before their hopes were realised. Bendinello Sauli’s cardinalate then lasted seven short years.

### The wait for the cardinalate

On the election of Julius II, Bendinello travelled to Rome and soon began to receive signs of the pope’s favour.<sup>12</sup> On 19 December of that year he was given his first known benefice when he was appointed commendatory abbot of the prestigious abbey of San Siro in Genoa.<sup>13</sup> On 29 October 1504 he received the Genoese church of San Giacomo di Carignano *in commenda*.<sup>14</sup> In 1505 he was given a number of smaller benefices in the dioceses of Genoa and of Seville and Palencia in Spain, the latter, according to Peter Partner, indicating a position of some influence.<sup>15</sup> The end of that year saw the clearest sign thus far of Julius’ preferment: on 1 December 1505, in a long and stormy

<sup>10</sup> Lowe, *Church and politics*, 1.

<sup>11</sup> ‘ricomandereti specialmento el Reverendo messer bandinello sauli sia per le bone condicione e virtu del detto messer bandinello. E in questo con quella maior destrezza che a voi parira/ fareti aldetto messer bandinello ogni favore possibile’: Genoese *anziani* and *balia* to the Genoese orators to Julius II, 20 Nov. 1506, ASG, Archivio Segreto 2707/C, no. 51. The first recorded instance is that of Philippe de Cleves and the *anziani* to the Genoese orators, 5 Feb. 1504, *ibid.* no. 16.

<sup>12</sup> ‘Ad urbem primo Julij secundi invictissimi pontificis anno profectus es’: BCIS, MS K VI 73, fo. 24r.

<sup>13</sup> Reg. Lat. 1129A fos 238r–240r; L. Staffetti, ‘Il “Libro di ricordi” della famiglia Cybo pubblicato con introduzione, appendice di documenti inediti, note illustrative e indice analitico da Luigi Staffetti’, *ASLSP* o.s. xxxviii (1908), pp. vii–615 at pp. 390, 496. Not all volumes of the *registri lateranensi* have survived for the early *cinquecento* and twelve benefices given to Bendinello are in lost volumes. Of these seven are in the first three years of Julius’ reign. Some of these can be reconstructed by consulting the Vatican *resignationes* series, but the exact dates of the conferral of the benefices still remain unclear.

<sup>14</sup> *Notai Antichi*, 1158, nos 164, 217; ASG, MS 839, fo. 71.

<sup>15</sup> Reg. Lat. 1158, fos 93r–v; 1161, fos 195r–199r; 1186A, fos 325r–327v; P. Partner, *The pope’s men: the papal civil service in the Renaissance*, Oxford 1990, 13.

secret consistory, the pope tried, and failed, to make him one of ten new cardinals, all of whom have been described as having close dealings with Julius. Whilst the appointment of candidates such as Antonio Ferreri, Julius' *maestro di casa*, was accepted, that of Sauli was rejected by the existing cardinals.<sup>16</sup> The reason for this remains unclear, but Raffaele Brandolini noted in 1515 that Bendinello had eventually achieved the cardinalate despite 'no little jealousy and disparagement'.<sup>17</sup> This episode constitutes an interesting, if somewhat rare, example of the college of cardinals managing to thwart, at least in part, the pope's wishes. Julius was forced to compromise on the number of new cardinals. The sacrifice of Bendinello indicates that he was of less importance to the pope than candidates such as Leonardo Grosso della Rovere (a papal relative), Sigismondo Gonzaga (from the ruling family of Mantua) and personal favourites such as Francesco Alidosi.

However, the fact that Julius had attempted to elevate Bendinello to the purple after a mere two years in the Curia demonstrates that the Sauli and Bendinello himself did possess a certain amount of clout. Of course he came from the pope's *patria*, Liguria, with which the pope strongly identified and furthermore was a member of a family which Julius knew intimately: he owned a palace in Genoa; Julius' money was held with two Sauli banks while he was a cardinal; and he had encouraged the Sauli and other Genoese to finance the Italian expedition of Charles VIII of France.<sup>18</sup> The Sauli were also pro-French (perhaps, like many Genoese merchants, as a result of their business interests in France) and in that period Julius enjoyed good relations with Louis XII (1498–1512).<sup>19</sup> Indeed the creation of 1505 was viewed by Julius himself as promoting cardinals favourable to France. He had already elevated one French cardinal (François Guillaume de Clermont, d. 1541) at the beginning of his reign, another (Robert de Challand) in the December elevation and would soon include more.<sup>20</sup> But perhaps most important, Paolo Sauli was the papal *depositario generale* and confirmation of the importance of Paolo's influence, certainly at the beginning of Bendinello's ecclesiastical career, comes from the advance of large sums of money by Paolo at the same time as the conferral of a benefice on Bendinello. His appointment to the *commenda* of San Siro had been preceded on 4 December by the loan of 8,000 ducats on the *salaria urbis* held by Paolo and the Grimaldi and on 31 October 1504, two days after Bendinello received San Giacomo di

<sup>16</sup> J. Burckhard, *Liber notarum ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. E. Celani, RIS xxxii/1, Città di Castello 1906, 498; C. Shaw, *Julius II: the warrior pope*, Oxford 1993, 173.

<sup>17</sup> 'nec minima invidorum obtreactione': BCIS, MS K VI 73, fo. 12r.

<sup>18</sup> Shaw, *Julius II*, 194, 206–7.

<sup>19</sup> Senaregae, *De rebus*, 149–50 n. 6; D. Goiffrière, *Gènes et les foires de change: de Lyon à Besançon*, Paris 1960, 33, 127, 133, 187–91.

<sup>20</sup> Lowe, *Church and politics*, 176; C. Eubel and G. Van Gulik (eds), *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi sive summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series*, 2nd edn, Munster 1913–2001, iii. 10.

Carignano, Paolo and the Grimaldi lent the pope 2,000 ducats in cloth on the same *salaria*.<sup>21</sup> In December 1505 Paolo Sauli was owed 15,656 florins by the *camera* and the cardinalate could certainly have been viewed as more than adequate compensation for this. In fact Paolo was repaid on the very day that Bendinello failed to become cardinal.<sup>22</sup> Certainly some consolation for Julius' failure to elevate Bendinello was needed, and was given: on 25 December 1505 he received a parcel of benefices in the diocese of Toledo which brought a very healthy income of 700 florins, and in January 1506 he was granted a further benefice in Spain.<sup>23</sup>

The year 1506 saw the consolidation of Bendinello's position with the award of an expectancy (a benefice, already occupied, which would come to the awardee on the holder's death); the acquisition of benefices in the dioceses of Seville, Cordoba and Mondovi; and his appointment to the see of Malta on 5 October, when Julius attempted to impose Bendinello as his own nominee over that of the king of Spain.<sup>24</sup> During this time the *popolare* revolt, in which the Sauli were important players, was underway in Genoa. This rebellion was initially against the *nobili* and eventually against the French (although at that point not necessarily with the full consent of the Sauli); the promotion of Bendinello may be viewed as a sign of Julius' support for the rebels (Giustiniani, indeed, stated that some believed that Julius himself had instigated the revolt).<sup>25</sup>

At the end of that year Bendinello was given a number of parish churches in the diocese of Seville with an income totalling 230 ducats.<sup>26</sup> The next two years witnessed the resolution of a quarrel over a benefice in Toledo and Bendinello either resigned benefices to benefit his *famigliari* and others, or helped the same people to gain new benefices.<sup>27</sup> A further, more concrete, promotion was certainly in the wind: a Genoese notarial document of 5 August 1508 describes Bendinello as bishop of Gerace, although he was only actually promoted to this bishopric (which was joined with that of Oppido) on 23 February 1509. The total income of the joint benefice was a mere 400 ducats per year but Bendinello made the most of this.<sup>28</sup> In this

<sup>21</sup> Cam Ap., Intr et Ex. 535, fos 5v, 90r.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 538, fo. 166r.

<sup>23</sup> Reg. Lat. 1172, fos 289v–291r; 1195, fos 137v–139r.

<sup>24</sup> ASV, Registra Vaticana 889, fos 355r–357r; 917, fos 103v–105r; 'Le due spedizioni militari di Giulio II tratte dal diario di Paride Grassi bolognese', ed. L. Frati, *R. deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna* i (1886), pp. xxxiii–363 at p. 58; R. Pirri, *Sicilia sacra*, Palermo 1733, ii. 911; Shaw, *Julius II*, 221–2; Arm. xxxix, 24, fos 475v–476v, 506v–507r; 25, fo. 352r.

<sup>25</sup> Giustiniani, *Castigatissimi annali*, c. 258v; Taviani, 'Franza popolo', 75–6, 85, 88.

<sup>26</sup> Reg. Vat. 913, fos 50r–52v.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 971, fos 303v–306r; ASV, Camera Apostolica, Resignationes, 11, fos 121v, 163r, 166v; Reg. Lat. 1200, fos 139r–140v.

<sup>28</sup> Eubel, *Hierarchia*, iii. 243. For this premature promotion, however, see Notai Antichi, 1160, no. 198. Later documents in the same *filza* revert to his correct title as bishop *electus* of Malta: Reg. Vat. 943, fos 63r–68r.

# Index

- Acciapacci, Cardinal Niccolò d', 73  
Accolti, Cardinal Pietro, 89, 136–7, 161  
Adorno, family, 2, 33  
Adorno, Hieronimo, 37  
Adrian VI, pope, 57, 140, 147–8, 164–5, 167, 170. *See also* Utrecht, Cardinal Adrian of  
Agostini, Paolo, 137  
Aladio, Petro de, 81  
Albenga, bishopric of, 26, 27, 41, 59, 61, 81, 119, 144, 146, 166  
Alciato, Andrea, 66  
Alessi, Galeazzo, 5, 55  
Alexander VI, pope, 8–9, 24, 78, 175  
Alfanetis, Theramo de, 62  
Alidosi, Cardinal Francesco, 20, 26, 91, 125  
Altoviti, family, 10  
Ancona, Domenico Andrea de, 80, 138–9, 155, 166  
Anselmo, Giacomo, 34–5, 81  
Aragona, Cardinal Luigi d', 24, 27, 125, 158  
Ariosto, Ludovico, 102–3  
Armellini, Cardinal Francesco, 18 n. 6, 41, 82–7, 140, 146  
Auton, Jean d', 5  
  
Bainbridge, Cardinal Christopher, 23, 79, 82  
Balanchiis, Giovanni Battista de', 34, 81  
Bandello, Matteo, 67, 108  
Barbo, Cardinal Pietro, *see* Paul II, pope  
Barozzi, Pietro, 59, 61  
Bassiano, Ulisse, 58  
Bembo, Pietro, 53 n. 27, 55 n. 41, 56, 90, 93, 109, 136 n. 26, 141  
Bene, del, family, 10  
benefices, *see* Sauli, Cardinal Bendinello  
Benigno, Cornelio, 106–7  
Bibbiena, Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da, 23 n. 41, 26, 28, 37, 90, 112  
Birtono, Giovanni, 87  
Bonaventura, Giovanni Battista, 73  
Bonaventura, Sebastiano de, 74  
Borgia, Cesare, 122–4  
Borgia, Cardinal Pierluigi, 122–3  
Borgia, Rodrigo, *see* Alexander VI  
Botonti, Giovanni, 114, 126–7  
Brandolini, Raffaele, 17, 20, 25, 91, 100–1, 110, 115, 179  
Brenta, Andrea, 90  
Brescia, Jacopo da, 134  
Buonamico, Lazzaro, 55–6, 109, 153, 170  
Buonarrotti, Michelangelo, 126 n. 96, 127  
  
Caffis, Domenico de', 77–9, 87, 116, 146  
Calliergis, Zacharias, 106–7, 109  
Calvo, Francesco, 107–8  
Cambrai, league of, 22  
*Camera apostolica*, 8, 10, 17, 21, 71; papal banking, 7, 9–11. *See also* Alexander VI, Innocent VIII, Julius II, Leo X  
Camillo, Giulio, 56–8, 108  
Campana, Claudio, 78  
Campanarius, Benedictus, 34  
Capitaneis, Petrus Franciscus de, *see* Cathaneis, Petrus Francus  
Carafa, Gian Pietro, 67  
Carafa, Cardinal Oliviero, 39, 45–6, 90, 111, 176  
*Cardinal Bendinello Sauli and three companions*, *see* del Piombo; copy, 113, 122–5, 127, 128  
cardinals: administration of benefices, 31–3, 47; allegiances, 12, 26, 174; college of, 12, 20, 24, 26, 89, 143, 157, 160–2, 164, 171, 174; creation of, 20, 24, 140, 160; dedication of literary works to, 89–90; duties of, 29–31; education of, 89–90; links with foreign powers, 13, 20, 22–4, 28, 132, 160, 173; loyalty of, 24, 174; political influence of, 19, 23, 173–5; relations with pope, 12, 20, 22, 24, 41, 164, 173–5. *See also* famiglia, Sauli, Cardinal Bendinello  
Carosino, Giovanni Battista, 74  
Carpi, Alberto Pio da, 139, 153  
Carteromachus, *see* Forteguerra, Scipione  
Carvajal, Cardinal Bernardino, 28 n. 62, 45–6, 89, 90  
Casa, della, family, 10

- Castellesi, Cardinal Adriano, 24, 51, 89; friendship with Cardinal Petrucci, 154, 163; implication in the plot, 131, 133, 135, 138, 140, 151, 153, 162, 165–7, 169; level of guilt, 157, 159, 162, 171; literary works, 90; prophecy naming him pope, 153–4, 163; punishment, 138, 140, 156
- Cathaneis, Petrus Francus, 79
- Cattaneis, Baptista de, 60
- Cattaneo, Giovanni Maria, 78, 91–4, 99, 102–3, 105, 110, 113; *Genua*, 93, 113–14, 116–17, 177; portrayed in *Cardinal Bendinello Sauli and three companions*, 116–18, 123–5
- Cattaneo, Guglielmo, 61
- Cattaneo, Tommaso, 139, 141–3, 149–50, 166, 177
- Celexie, Secundino, 36, 80
- Centurione, family, 7, 33
- Challand, Cardinal Robert de, 20
- Charles v, Holy Roman Emperor, 28, 105
- Charles VIII, king of France, 9, 20
- Chigi, Agostino, 9–10, 106–7, 114, 127, 142
- Chigi, Sigismondo, 10
- Cibo, Franceschetto, 8, 139, 142, 176
- Cibo, Cardinal Giovanni Battista, *see* Innocent VIII
- Cibo, Cardinal Innocenzo, 28, 29, 30, 36, 141, 154, 176
- Cibo, family, 33–4, 36
- Cibo Mari, Cardinal Lorenzo, 33, 37, 43, 78
- Cicero, Andrea, 7–8
- Clement VII, pope, 64, 126, 127, 148, 170. *See also* Medici, Cardinal Giulio de' clergy: education and morals, 48, 60, 61, 63; reform of, 48, 63
- Clermont, Cardinal François Guillaume de, 20
- Cocchio, Antonio, 78–9, 80
- Coletta, Domenico, 132, 137, 165, 169
- Colocci, Angelo, 106, 109
- Conchilles, Giacomo, 42
- Contarini, Gaspare, 59, 64 n.100
- Cornaro, Cardinal Marco, 132, 133, 158
- Cortese, Gregorio, 52–4, 57, 66, 67, 103, 104
- Cortesi, Alessandro, 90
- Cortesi, Paolo, 71, 75–6, 83, 89, 90, 103, 106
- Crescenzo, family, 10
- Crispoliti, Tullio, 65
- curia, 6, 8, 10, 17; allegiances in, 12, 174; ambience, 11–12, 18; curial offices, 22
- custom duties, *see dogane*
- David, Gerard, 5
- Delio, Sebastiano, 56
- depositario generale*, 7, 13, 26, 101; removal of Sauli family from post, 11, 12, 75, 113, 154, 173; role in promotion of Bendinello Sauli, 20–2, 173. *See also* Sauli, Paolo *quondam* Bartholomei, Sauli, Vincenzo *quondam* Bendinelli, Strozzi, Filippo
- Di Branca Tedallini, Sebastiano, 17 n. 1, 138 n. 35, 149, 152, 158, 163, 169
- dignitas*, 71, 176
- Divino Amore, Compagnia del, 48, 50–2, 53, 54, 57, 64, 66, 98, 179
- dogane*, 9, 10, 11
- Dominican Lombard Congregation, 46, 49, 96
- Doria, Bartolomeo, 37, 38
- Doria, Filippo, 37
- Doria Pamphili, Palazzo, Rome, 73–4
- famiglia*, 54, 71, 74, 75–82, 87; organisation of, 76; size of, 75–6, 87
- famigliari*, 57, 77, 78–82. *See also* Sauli, Cardinal Bendinello
- Farnese, Cardinal Alessandro, 27, 78, 90, 91, 136, 137, 161
- Fasolo, Lorenzo, 5
- Fausto da Longiano, Sebastiano, 57
- Faventia, Antonio de, 84, 85
- Ferri, Cardinal Antonio, 20
- Fieschi, Battista, 54, 98
- Fieschi, Lorenzo, 34, 62
- Fieschi, Cardinal Nicolò, 24, 26, 39, 46, 51, 74, 90, 101; intervenes for Sauli with Leo, 139, 141, 176; pro-French sympathies, 23, 28, 29; review of trial, 147, 164; role of senior cardinal, 29–30
- Fieschi, Ottobono, 94
- Fieschi-Adorno, Caterina, saint, 50
- Flaminio, Marcantonio, 55–8, 64, 100, 108, 147, 170
- Florence, council of, 63, 64, 65
- Florino, Orazio, 73
- Foglietta, Umberto, 59, 91, 95, 110, 150, 173, 178
- Fornari, Carolo de', 39, 81

INDEX

- Fornari, Simone, 102, 103, 104  
 Forteguerri, Scipione, 90, 91  
 Franchi, Paolo Hieronimo de', 78, 81, 85  
   n. 93, 92  
 Francis I, king of France, 53, 98, 132, 155,  
   163, 175; intervenes for Sauli with  
   Leo, 23, 138, 139, 145, 176; meeting  
   at Bologna, 28, 85, 174; Milanese  
   benefices, 40  
 Fregoso, Battista, 6  
 Fregoso, family, 2  
 Fregoso, Federico, 48, 53, 67  
 Fregoso, Giano, 29, 30  
 Fregoso, Ottaviano, 53, 142, 145  
 Fregoso, Cardinal Paolo, 6
- Gaddi, bank, 83  
 Gallis, Lorenzo de, 47, 80, 81  
 Gambarana, Gian Giacomo, 132, 146  
   n. 92, 148, 161, 166, 170  
 Genoa, 1, 2–5, 11, 12; ambassadors, 19,  
   29, 30, 76; *Casa di San Giorgio*, 4, 5,  
   35, 36, 49, 58; doge, 2, 4, 6, 12, 176;  
   *nobili*, 3, 4, 5, 6, 21, 108; *parrocchie*  
   *gentilizie*, 3, 4, 5; political offices, 2–3,  
   4, 12; *popolari*, 3–4, 6, 21, 23, 34, 78,  
   81, 176, 177; reform process, 4  
   *See also* Cattaneo, Tomaso  
 Gerace, bishopric of, 40–3, 46–7, 119,  
   144, 146  
 Ghinucci, family, 10  
 Giberti, Franco, 64  
 Giberti, Gian Matteo, 57, 64–5, 170, 179  
 Giorgi, Marino, 18  
 Giovio, Paolo, 22, 27, 67, 87, 91, 92,  
   93, 102, 105; accompanies Sauli to  
   Bologna, 28 n. 64, 95; account of  
   plot, 134 n. 13, 149, 154, 156, 158,  
   160, 171; affected by Sauli's disgrace,  
   95; friend of Francesco Calvo, 107–8;  
   portrayed in *Cardinal Bendinello Sauli*  
   *and three companions*, 116–18, 119,  
   120, 123, 124–5; under suspicion in  
   plot, 153, 162  
 Giustiniani, Agostino, 3, 21, 23, 46, 54,  
   95–9, 116, 177, 179; account of plot,  
   150, 157; affected by Sauli's disgrace,  
   153; bishopric of Nebbio, 97, 98;  
   *Psalterium*, 97, 98, 105, 108  
 Giustiniani, Sebastiano, 81  
 Giustiniani Longhi, Luchinetta, 49  
 Giustiniani Longhi, Mariola, 17, 52, 81,  
   95
- Gometius, Giovanni Angelo, 77, 84–7  
 Gonzaga, Federico, 74, 158, 159  
 Gonzaga, Cardinal Sigismondo, 20, 27, 90  
 Goritz, Hans, 92, 100, 103, 109  
 Grassis, Cardinal Achille de', 89, 141  
 Grassis, Paris de', 45, 71, 82, 88, 119;  
   account of plot, 133, 143, 144, 149,  
   154, 158, 159, 161, 163, 177  
 Grimaldi, Ansaldo, 146  
 Grimaldi, family, 9, 20, 21  
 Grimani, Cardinal Domenico, 91, 140  
 Guicciardini, Francesco, 149, 154, 156,  
   158  
 Guischaridi, Sebastiano, *see* Viscardi,  
   Sebastiano  
 Gürk, Cardinal, *see* Lang, Cardinal  
   Mathias
- Henry VIII, king of England, 23, 136, 137,  
   138, 157, 176  
 humanism, 53–4, 55–8, 65, 79, 89–110
- image, 6, 13, 55, 71, 110, 111, 112, 176  
*Incurabili, Ospedale degli*, Genoa, 50, 51,  
   52, 58, 66, 98  
 Innocent VIII, pope, 6, 7, 8, 24, 33
- Julius II, pope, 9–10, 13, 19–22, 30, 35,  
   59, 73, 99, 118, 126, 174, 177–9;  
   creation of cardinals, 20, 23, 24;  
   promotion of Bendinello Sauli  
   *quondam* Pasquali, 10, 19–25, 33–4,  
   37, 126; relations with France, 20, 22,  
   23; relations with the Sauli, 22, 23,  
   25–6, 174
- Lang, Cardinal Mathias, 30  
 Lascaris, Janus, 106, 109  
 Lateran council, fifth, 13, 28, 31, 45, 48,  
   60, 62, 63, 64, 71, 74, 98  
 Leo X, pope, 9, 10, 18, 30, 39, 51, 94, 95,  
   109, 174–9; election of, 10, 27; plot  
   to poison, 1, 45, 102, 104, 131–48,  
   149–72; *posesso*, 74–5; promotion of  
   Greek, 106; relations with bankers, 9,  
   10–11; relations with Cardinal Sauli,  
   26–8, 40, 85  
 Lercario, Pietro fra, 35  
 Levanto, Jacobo Filippo de, 59  
 Lippi, Filippino, 6  
 Lomellini, family, 6, 33  
 Longueil, Christophe de, 53–4, 55, 56, 57,  
   58, 148, 170

- Lorraine, Cardinal Jean de, 41  
 Louis XII, king of France, 20, 23, 103, 138
- magnificence, 5, 82, 89, 111  
 Malta, bishopric of, 21, 27 n. 57, 41  
 Manarijs, Marcantonio de, 80  
 Mantuanus, Baptista de, 90  
 Marcati, Paulo de, 80  
 Marchese, Leonardo, 59, 61  
 Marchesio, Secundo, 81  
 Marchionibus Ceve, frate Carolo de, 82  
 Mariano, Cristoforo, 79  
 Marostica, Giovanni Antonio, 108–9, 110, 114, 153, 177  
 Martelli and Capponi, bank, 83, 85  
 Maruffo, Filippo, 81  
 Maruffo, Luca, 41, 42, 81  
 Mateazzi, Giovanni Antonio, *see* Marostica, Giovanni Antonio  
 Mazzocchi, Iacomo, 106, 109, 179  
 Medici, Cardinal Giovanni de', 23 n. 41, 26 n. 53, 37, 53. *See also* Leo X  
 Medici, Giuliano de', 132  
 Medici, Cardinal Giulio de', 28, 94, 95, 121, 127, 174, 175; Council of Florence, 63–4; income and debts, 84; plot to poison Leo X, 133, 136 n. 23, 140 n. 46, 146, 149, 151, 160 n. 68, 165, arrest and confession of Riario, 137, 139, 165, dispute with Sauli over St Victoire, 154–5, 162. *See also* Clement VII  
 Medici, Lorenzo de', 132, 139, 157  
 Medici, Maddalena de', 8, 139  
 Merli, Antonio de', 66  
 Merli, Ippolito de', 61  
 Monachus Severus, *see* Varini, Severo  
 Monterotondo, 45, 86, 91, 146, 165
- nepotism, 12, 30, 39–40, 48, 59  
 Nini, Marc'antonio, 154, 157, 161, 164, 166, 170; arrest and interrogation, 132, 133–6; execution, 141; inconsistencies in testimony, 133–6, 151–2, 171; multiple plots, 155, 156; truthfulness of testimony, 152  
*nobili*, *see* Genoa  
 Noyon, Treaty of, 28
- Oppicinis, Pasqualino de, 59, 60, 61  
 Oppido, *see* Gerace, bishopric of  
 Pace, Andrea de, 79  
 Pace, Didaco de, 79  
 Pace, Sebastiano de, 79  
 palaces, 20, 71–4, 86–7  
 Palastrellis, Francesco de, 80  
 Pallavicino, Cardinal Antoniotto, 76  
 papal household, 25, 76  
 Paragrano, Alfonso, 147  
 Passano, Giovanni Gioacchino da, 138, 139 n. 39, 166  
*patria*, 13, 20, 24, 25, 26, 30 n. 74, 82, 139 n. 44, 145 n. 85, 174, 175, 176, 179  
 patronage, 2, 6, 13, 51, 78, 173–8; artistic, 4, 5, 43–5, 74–5, 111–30, 177, 178; cardinalial, 176–8; of household, 21, 27, 75–82; of humanists, 89–110; papal, 173–6. *See also* nepotism  
 Paul II, pope, 7  
 Paul III, pope, 54, 55. *See also* Farnese, Cardinal Alessandro  
 Pelitia, Sebastiano de, 81  
 pensions, 24, 27, 40, 60, 66, 78, 80, 84, 94, 142, 144, 170  
 Peracchia, Giovanpietro, 133, 147, 148, 165  
 Perugia, Bernardino da, 137, 152, 155  
 Peruschi, Mario, 133, 140, 144, 147, 164, 170; interrogation of Nini, 134, 135; manipulation of Nini, 151, 152, 158; rewards for his son, 142; trial of cardinals, 137  
 Petra Sancta Serravezza, Michele de, 90  
 Petrucci, Cardinal Alfonso, 23, 27, 28 n. 62, 103, 104, 105, 112, 131–72  
 Petrucci, Borghese, 132  
 Petrucci, Lattanzio, 133, 135, 170  
 Petrucci, Pandolfo, 103, 132  
 Petrucci, Scipione, 29, 132, 133, 136, 137, 152, 155, 171  
 Pico, Giovanni Francesco, 90  
 Piombo, Sebastiano del, 113–21, 122, 124, 174, 177; arrival in Rome, 114; *Cardinal Bendinello Sauli and three companions*, 93, 95, 113–21; early career, 114; *Ferry Carondelet and his secretary*, 114, 115, 116, 118; relations with patrons, 126–7; relations with Stefano Sauli, 126–8  
 Pisa, Council of, 24, 90  
 plot, to kill the pope, 1, 2, 64, 86, 95, 98, 102, 104, 105, 131–72, 174, 175, 178, 179; arrest of cardinals, 131, 136, 137, 164; cardinal-advisors, 136, 137, 138, 161, 164; case against the

INDEX

- existence of, 162–72; case for the  
existence of, 149–62; conception of,  
132, 134–6; discovery of, 131, 133–6;  
imprisonment of cardinals, 131, 137,  
146, 161, 167; intervention of foreign  
powers, 23, 137, 138, 139, 145, 157,  
176; morally ambiguous behaviour of  
pope, 160–1; multiple plots, 155–6;  
orators' oaths, 133; public opinion of,  
159, 163; punishment for involvement  
in, 138, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146;  
review of the trial, 57, 147–8, 170
- Pochintesti, Pochintesta de', 136, 152,  
155, 169
- Pole, Cardinal Reginald, 54, 56, 57, 58,  
67, 179
- popolari*, see Genoa
- Porta, Baptista de, 60
- Portrait of a cardinal*, see Raphael
- portraits: cardinalitial, 112; functions of,  
111; papal, 115, 118, 121
- Prie, Cardinal René de, 25
- Prierias, fra Silvestro de, 46, 82, 104, 165,  
167
- protonotario apostolico*, 25, 54, 78, 79, 101,  
113
- Provano, Michele de, 37, 38
- Ramberto, Benedetto, 58
- Raphael: *Disputa*, 126; *Pope Leo X with  
cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi de'  
Rossi*, 118, 121; *Portrait of a cardinal*,  
112, 113, 124 n. 88, 125–6; *Portrait of  
Julius II*, 115, 121; *School of Athens*, 118
- reform, church, 30, 33, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54,  
56, 58, 59, 64, 98, 179
- reform, of clergy, 48, 63. *See also* Sauli,  
Filippo
- Remolino, Cardinal Francisco, 136, 137,  
161
- Riario, Cesare, 137 n. 29, 138, 143 n. 74,  
157
- Riario, Cardinal Raffaele, 23, 26, 74, 78,  
79; implication in the plot, 131–72;  
patronage, 51, 82, 90, 111
- Riccio, Verano, 81
- Romena, Nicolò Masi da, 132, 161
- Rovere, Francesco Maria della, 73, 74,  
132, 136, 140, 144, 155, 160, 162, 169
- Rovere, Cardinal Galeotto Franciotti  
della, 90, 91, 100
- Rovere, Cardinal Girolamo Basso della,  
90, 99
- Rovere, Cardinal Giuliano della, 9. *See  
also* Julius II
- Rovere, Cardinal Leonardo Grosso della,  
20, 37, 108, 140
- Rovere, Cardinal Sisto Gara della, 27,  
99, 153
- Sadoletto, Jacopo, 153
- S. Adriano ai Fori, church of, Rome, 22,  
43, 51 n.15
- S. Agostino, church of, Rome, 72
- S. Annunziata, church of, Gerace, 42
- S. Dionigi, monastery, Milan, 27, 40, 74,  
145
- S. Domenico, church of, Genoa, 4, 49,  
67, 101
- S. Giacomo in Augusta, Ospedale di,  
Rome, 50, 64, 177
- S. Giacomo di Carignano, church of,  
Genoa, 19, 20
- S. Girolamo della Cervara, monastery,  
Genoa, 5, 49
- S. Giustina di Padova, monastery, Padua,  
53, 54, 57
- S. Marcellino, church of, Genoa, 36, 80
- S. Marco, priory, Asti, 27
- S. Maria Assunta di Carignano, church  
of, Genoa, 5, 55, 59 n. 63, 67, 170,  
176
- S. Maria di Castello, church of, Genoa,  
30, 46, 49, 50, 97 n. 54
- S. Maria della Palomba, monastery,  
Messignadi, 42
- S. Maria in Trastevere, church of, Rome,  
24, 27, 43, 45, 85, 141
- S. Maria in Via Lata, church of, Rome, 73
- S. Nicolò di Casale, church of, Otranto,  
145
- S. Sabina, church and convent, Rome,  
25, 43–6, 104, 111, 142, 170, 173
- S. Salvatore delle Coppelle, church of,  
Rome, 72
- S. Silvestro, abbey, Benevento, 54
- S. Simpliciano, abbey, Milan, 26, 41, 47,  
60, 72, 81, 108, 170; administration,  
37–40; award to Cardinal Sauli, 24;  
pension and resignation of abbey, 27,  
54, 84, 170
- S. Siro, abbey, Genoa, 19, 20, 25, 33–7,  
80, 141
- S. Stefano, deanery, Genoa, 35, 62
- S. Teodoro, church of, Genoa, 6

CARDIAL BENDINELLO SAULI

- SS Angeli de li Greci, church of, Otranto, 47
- SS Fabiano e Sebastiano, oratory, Genoa, 5, 50
- St Honorat, monastery, Lérins, 53
- salt tax (*salaria urbis*), 9, 10, 20, 21
- Salvago, Francesco, 82
- Salvago, Geronima, 59
- Salviati, Jacopo, 11
- San Giorgio, Casa di*, see Genoa
- Sanction, Pragmatic, 28
- Sanseverino, Cardinal Federico, 23, 84, 161
- Santacroce palace, Rome, 86–7, 146
- Santoro, Cardinal Fazio, 73
- Sauli, Agostino *quondam* Simoni, 34, 36, 77, 82
- Sauli, Agostino *quondam* Vincenzi, 10, 11, 51, 74–6, 80, 84, 107
- Sauli, Alessandro *quondam* Anfreoni, 7
- Sauli, Antonio *quondam* Bendinelli, 4, 9, 49, 50, 59, 108, 144, 146, 176
- Sauli, Cardinal Bendinello *quondam* Pasquali: administration of benefices, 32–47; benefices, 19–27, 71, 83–4, 153, 154–5, 173, disputes over, 27, 32–3, leasing of, 32, loss of, 140, 144–5, 146, 161, 178; birth and early life, 17–19; bishoprics, 21, 26, 27 n. 57, 40–3, 46–7, 81, 119, 144, 146; death, 1, 45, 48, 88, 123, 146, 165; elevation to cardinalate, 1, 6, 10, 19, 22, 23, 110, 125; exile, 45, 86, 91, 98, 146, 165; expenditure, 83–7; *famigliari*, 75–82, awarding of benefices to, 77–9, 89, 92–3, 97, chamberlains, 77–8, 81, grooms, 81, *maestro di casa*, 77, secretaries, 78, 80, *spenditori*, 84–5; guilt, 150, 155, 157, 159, 165, 171–2; health, 18, 86, 123, 145, 146; income, 83–4; innocence, 147–8, 166, 170, 173, 176; patronage of artists, 5, 43–6; patronage of humanists, 89–110; positions in papal household, 25; residences, 17, 71–4, 86–7; size of *famiglia*, 86; support for reform, 50–2, 67, 179; venal offices, 22. See also Brandolini, Cattaneo, da Vigo, del Piombo, Giovio, Giustiniani, plot, Raphael, Varini
- Sauli, Bendinello *quondam* Pasqualotti, 3, 5, 7
- Sauli, Domenico *quondam* Antonii, 39, 64, 107–8, 170
- Sauli, family, 2–3, 176; ambitions, 3–6; loans to papacy, 6–11; patronage, 4–5, 74–5; pro-French sympathies, 13, 20, 22, 23, 24, 174, 175
- Sauli, Filippo *quondam* Antonii, 12, 30, 41, 48, 59–67, 74, 78, 96, 98, 105, 179; Brugnato, bishopric of, 59–62; deanery of S. Stefano, 35, 62; early life, 59; friendship with Buonamico, 55; friendship with Cortese, 52, 66; friendship with Giberti, 57, 64–5, 170; humanistic studies, 65–6; *Opus noviter editum*, 59, 62–5, contents of, 63, influence of, 64–5, influences on, 63
- Sauli, Giovanni *quondam* Pasquali, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 107, 167; banker to Cardinal Sauli, 84, 152; collects pledges for the cardinal's release, 64, 78, 80; death, 55; *depositario generale*, 10; treasury of Romagna, 11
- Sauli, Giovanni Battista *quondam* Bendinelli, 146
- Sauli, Jacopo *quondam* Paoli, 138, 166
- Sauli, Paolo *quondam* Bartholomei, 8–9, 17, 18, 20, 21
- Sauli, Pasquale *quondam* Bendinelli, 17, 49, 83
- Sauli, Pasquale *quondam* Pasquali, 83, 101
- Sauli, Pietro *quondam* Bendinelli, 4, 49
- Sauli, Sebastiano *quondam* Pasquali, 9, 10, 38, 39, 40, 51, 52, 55, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 127, 162, 167, 176
- Sauli, Sebastiano, Giovanni and Agostino, bank of, 11, 74, 75, 76, 84
- Sauli, Stefano, 12, 30, 48, 64, 67, 78, 86, 93, 96, 101, 105, 113, 116, 146, 179; alternative account of plot, 164, 166–7; awarded San Simpliciano, 27, 39–40; ecclesiastical career, 54; friendship with Cortese, 52, 53; patronage of humanists, 52, 53, 55–8; relations with Sebastiano del Piombo, 127–8; review of the trial, 147–8, 170, 171
- Sauli, Vincenzo *quondam* Bendinelli, 4, 29, 35, 78, 79, 107, 120, 139; *depositario generale*, 9–10; lessor of S. Smpliciano, 38–9, 40; patron of S. Girolamo della Cervara, 5, 49
- Saxus, Pamphilus, 90
- Schinner, Cardinal Matthaeus, 23
- Soderini, Cardinal Francesco, 18 n. 6, 22, 39, 41, 81, 83; alternative account

## INDEX

- of the plot, 166–7; flight from Rome, 140, 165; implication in the plot, 131, 133, 135, 139, 153, 154, 157, 159, 160, 163, 169, 171; patronage, 43, 79, 100, 176, 177; punishment for plot, 138; review of the trial, 147–8, 151, 170
- Spannocchi, family, 9
- Strozzi, Filippo, 11, 154
- Suares, Lorenzo, 28 n. 62, 132, 151
- Tagliacarne, Aloysio, 79
- Tagliacarne, Benedetto, 53, 57, 79
- Torniello, Giorgio, 80
- Tosini, Evangelista, 106, 109
- treasuries, 10, 11
- Trent, Council of, 48
- trial, 133, 136–7, 138, 147, 150–1, 152, 158, 160, 161; loss of, 164; publication of, 163–4; review of, 147–8, 170
- Usudimare, Gerardo, 7
- Utrecht, Cardinal Adrian of, 140. *See also* Adrian VI
- Valerio, Frate, 82
- Varini, Severo, 52, 102–5, 149 n. 2, 179
- Vercelli, Giovanni Battista, 137, 144, 151, 152, 155–6, 157, 158, 164, 166, 169; arrest and execution, 136, 141; implicated by Nini, 134–5
- Vernatia, Hieronimo de, 35, 36, 60
- Vernazza, Battistina, 51
- Vernazza, Ettore, 50–2, 54, 57, 66, 74, 81, 104, 179
- Victorio, Francisco, 153
- Vigerio, Cardinal Marco, 25, 26, 45, 51, 85, 89
- Vigo, Giovanni da, 99–100, 110, 177
- Villa Brama, Monsignor, 139, 141, 143
- Vinci, Leonardo da, 118, 124
- Vio, Bernardo de, 90
- Viscardi, Sebastiano, 77
- Ximenes de Cisneros, Cardinal, 61, 63, 97