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The Rise and Fall of Goritz's Feasts*

by JULIA HAIG GAISSER

AT HIS FESTIVAL IN 1513 the talking statue Pasquino took the character of Apollo to celebrate the election of Leo X and to predict a golden age of patronage and poetry.¹ "I used to be an exile," Pasquino/Apollo remarks, "But I'm back in Leo's reign. / So burn your midnight oil, boys, / And follow in my train, / For no one leaves my Leo / Without a handsome gain. / Bards will sing for prizes, / And they'll not sing in vain."² The new era lived up to Pasquino's expectations, for the Roman humanists were rewarded and entertained not only in the papal court but also, less formally, in the *vigne* of numerous Maecenases and fellow poets, where they came together in literary groups, or sodalities, to dine, exchange their poetry, and celebrate the shared ideals of the humanist community.³

The literary and convivial spirit of the age seemed to find its perfect expression in the hospitality of Johannes Goritz. Goritz had arrived in Rome from his native Luxembourg sometime during the reign of Alexander VI and soon became well established in the Curia, first as a registrar of supplications and later as a papal protonotary. Each year he celebrated the feast of Saint Anne (July 26) at the altar he had commissioned in her honor in the church of S. Agostino and fêted the humanists with a poetry contest and an elaborate banquet in his *vigna*. The humanists called him Coricius or Coritius, in allusion both to the Corician cave of the Muses on Mount Parnassus and to the wonderful old gardener in the *Fourth*

*A version of this paper was read at the meeting of the Renaissance Society of America at Stanford in April 1992. I wish to thank Phyllis Bober, Ingrid Rowland, and Kenneth Gouwens for many valuable comments and suggestions.

¹On Pasquino, see the important study of Reynolds. See also Silenzi; and Gnoli, 1938, 164–84, 300–29.

²"Exul eram: redii tandem, regnante Leone. / Nunc iuvenes studiis vigilate meis. / Namque Leone meo nemo indonatus abibit. / Carminibus vates munera magna ferent." The verses, from *Carmina apposita Pasquillo anno MDXIII* (Rome, 1513), are quoted from Gnoli, 1938, 178. Gnoli reproduces the frontispiece showing Apollo from the collection of 1513 (179). The translation, like the other translations in this paper, is my own.

³For the sodalities see Gnoli, 1938, 136–63; D'Amico, 89–114. The *locus classicus* for the tone and character of the Roman sodalities is the nostalgic letter of Jacopo Sadoletto to Angelo Colocci in 1529. Sadoletto, 117–22.

Georgic who “was first to pluck the rose of spring and the fruit of autumn” and, though tilling but a poor plot, “in his contentment equalled the wealth of kings.”⁴ Goritz’s garden was magnificent (and his friends claimed that he worked in it himself), but he was not poor and obscure like the old man in Vergil.⁵ He had grown wealthy in the Curia, and the fame of his celebration attracted poets from all over Europe.

For many years Goritz enjoyed extravagant popularity among the humanists of his adopted city, as Pierio Valeriano recalls in his notice in *De litteratorum infelicitate*:

He consecrated his delightful gardens at Trajan’s forum to the whole academy and to all who were distinguished for letters. In addition, he established a celebration and a kind of literary contest every year on the feast of Saint Anne and celebrated it in a long succession of years. This won him so much good will that there was no one in our age of princes more celebrated in the poetry of all learned men than Coritius alone, and he was truly called the “father of all festivity and charm.”⁶

All this generosity and “the piety of Corycius, attested by the witness of so many poets and rehearsed in the pages of so many scholars,”⁷ as Valeriano tells us, were lost with Goritz himself in the sack of Rome in 1527.

Even before the sack, however, Goritz’s feasts had lost much of their convivial savor, and Goritz himself was under attack by some of his former friends. Goritz’s celebrations, as we shall argue, were founded on the idea of Rome as the *patria communis* of the nations;

⁴“Primus vere rosam atque autumnu carpere poma”; “regum aequabat opes animis,” Vergil, *Georgic* 4. 134 and 132. For the whole description see *Georgic* 4. 125–38. On Goritz, see Geiger, 145–61; Gnoli, 1938, 151–60; Simar, 194–203; Bober, 223–39; de Vócht, 397–99.

⁵Goritz’s gardening is celebrated by Hieronymus Vida in *Carmen: Genius Falconis Villae*: “Traianique foro, et Tarpeiae proximus arci, / Excipit et vates, et egregios heroas, / Quos mensis epulisque omnes dignatur opimis, / Auricomas inter citros, quas ordine sevit / Ipse labore suo, putealique irrigat unda, / Praecipue cum Sol referens Annalia vertit, / Et fervet rediens insano Iulius aestu.” *Coryciana*, HH 4v.

⁶“Universae etiam academiae, et omnibus, qui litterarum nomine censerentur, geniales hortos suos ad Traianum consecraverat, conventumque insuper, et quoddam rei litterariae certamen quotannis Divae Annae festo instituerat, longaque annorum serie celebrarat, quod tantum illi gratiae conciliavit, ut nemo unquam Principum aetate nostra magis fuerit, quam unus Coritius litteratorum omnium carminibus celebratus, vereque leporum omnium pater appellatus.” Valeriano, 1822, 67.

⁷“[Sed quo tandem evasit tanta in bonos omnes liberalitas? Atque] illa Coricii pietas, poetarum tot testimonio comprobata, totque eruditorum paginis decantata?”, Valeriano, 1822, 67–68.

they foundered on the realities of anti-German prejudice brought into the open when the humanists confronted the northerners Christophe Longueil and Pope Adrian VI. The changing attitudes can be charted in the remarks of Pasquino, in various writings of Pierio Valeriano, who both observed and participated in the principal events of the Roman humanist world, and in contemporary poems, some hitherto unpublished.

* * * * *

The Roman humanists took their festivities seriously, for they saw them not only as promoting and embodying their friendships but also as the modern counterparts of the gatherings of the ancient poets whom they so admired. Thus, when Valeriano lectured on Catullus at the University of Rome in 1522, he took the occasion to pronounce a little digression on the word *sodalis* in Cat. 12 in order to draw a parallel between ancient and modern sodalities. (Catullus is inveighing against the man who had stolen his napkin at a dinner party: "Either expect an attack in 300 hendecasyllables, or give back my napkin. I don't care so much about its value, but it is a memento of my sodalis.")⁸ Here is Valeriano's comment: "No form of association produces a greater bond of friendship than dining together, than being nourished and fed together—whence the terms 'close friends' [*sodales*] and 'fellowship' [*sodalitium*] for a gathering of those friends who often dine together. You know this sort of fellowship at Rome, the *sodalitia* of Sadoletto, Giberti, Coricius, Colocci, Melinus, Cursius, Blossius, and the rest."⁹ The sodalities were loosely organized, and their memberships overlapped. Valeriano himself seems to have belonged to at least three sodalities (those of Goritz, Mellini, and Colocci), and several of those he lists as leaders of sodalities were members of other groups as well.

Two sodalities were particularly important. One was that of Johannes Goritz. The other was headed by Valeriano's great friend,

⁸"Quare aut hendecasyllabos trecentos / exspecta, aut mihi linteum remitte, / quod me non movet aestimatione, / verum est mnemosynum mei sodalis." Cat. 12. 10–13.

⁹"Nulla enim commercia maiorem conciliant amicitiae coniunctionem quam convictus, quam simul ali, et enutriti, unde sodales et sodalitium, pro amicorum eorum collegio qui saepe simul cenant. Cuiusmodi Romae habetis [f. 176/176v] Sadoletum, Gyberticum, Coritianum, Colotiacum, Melineum, Cursiacum, Blossianum, et alia." Vat. lat. 5215, f. 176r–v. For Valeriano's lectures, see Alpagò-Novello, 69–96; Gaisser, 1988, 45–53; idem, 1992, 255–59; idem, 1993, 108–45.

Angelo Colocci. Colocci was an astute man of affairs and a knowledgeable collector of benefices, antiquities, and manuscripts. He was also the heir of Pomponio Leto's house and Pomponio's successor as leader of the Roman Academy, which seems to have been less a regularized institution with rules and a program than a state of mind compounded of conviviality, Roman patriotism, love of poetry, and (in the tradition of Pomponio) enthusiasm for the tangible remains of antiquity—statuary, ruins, coins, inscriptions—that were still found almost daily in Renaissance Rome.¹⁰ Most of Colocci's sodality (including Colocci himself) belonged also to Goritz's, but the two groups were different in kind: Colocci's was patriotic and antiquarian, while Goritz's was religious and literary. In order to understand the most important differences that separated them, however, we must look more closely at Goritz's altar in S. Agostino and the events of Saint Anne's day.

Goritz's altar was attached to one of the piers in the nave of S. Agostino. Immediately above it was a fresco by Raphael depicting the prophet Isaiah holding a scroll. Below, in the pavement of the church, was Goritz's tomb, ready to receive him. On the altar itself was Andreas Sansovino's sculpture of Saint Anne, the Virgin, and the infant Christ.¹¹

On Saint Anne's day Goritz's friends wrote poems musing on the statues, on the piety of Goritz, and (less often) on the powerful fresco that is so much better known today than Sansovino's sculpture—as well as on their own commemoration of the occasion. They attached their poems to boards or frames fastened to the pier, expanding and sometimes interpreting the artistic ensemble.¹² Here, for example, is Blosio Palladio in his ode *On Goritz's Column* (he is certainly thinking not only of the statue group but also of Goritz's waiting tomb and the prayer inscribed on the altar that the intercession of Saint Anne and the Virgin will assure him eternal life): "Hail, august column, guest chamber of the gods, / Material for poets, toil of artists, / Surest hope and salvation for mortals."¹³

¹⁰For Colocci, see especially Ubaldini. For Pomponio's house, see Fanelli, 391–402.

¹¹For the reconstruction of the altar, see Bonito, 1980, 805–12; idem, 1983, 36–56, 356–431. For the iconographic program, see Bonito, 1982, 268–76; idem, 1983, 118–48; Pettinelli, 41–54.

¹²For the poems, see especially Ruysschaert, 45–60; Geiger, 145–61; Pettinelli, 41–54; IJsewijn, 211–31.

¹³"Salve augusta columna, hospitium deum / Vatum materies, artificum labor / Spes certissima mortalibus ac salus." Blosio Palladio, *Ad Corycii Columnam Ode Monocolos* vv. 17–19, *Coryciana*, G 1v.

Pierio Valeriano, too, wrote several epigrams for the altar. Here he tries to account for its spiritual power by recalling its source:

When you have everywhere so many lifelike statues, paintings, and bronzes in which even if there is not life, you would think there was, why do three statues drawn out of a single stone (Anna the grandmother, and the Virgin mother, and the infant God) so kindle the minds of men and inspire all the poets that Rome and the huge circuit of the world holds? Not Coricius, not Sansovino would claim this honor, although the one is famed for his generosity, the other for his skill. This power has been poured down from the heavenly light. Clearly, it is worth so much to have a sacred place. For the genius of Augustine and his eloquence and ardent piety and love of the good so inspire this mind from the peak of heaven, whence the virtue of men and the honor of the gods may not die.¹⁴

In Valeriano's poem the immortality of Goritz (and perhaps also of Sansovino) is assured by the monument, whose program is derived from the "ingenium Augustini." Here it is worth digressing to recall the old suggestion, recently restated by Bonito and Pettinelli, the Goritz might have consulted on his altar's program with the famous Augustinian, Egidio da Viterbo, who was a member of his sodality and lived next door to S. Agostino.¹⁵ Valeriano would have been well placed to know about it if he had, since Egidio had been his own friend and patron for many years. Indeed, his poem reflects both Egidio's thought and the message of Raphael's fresco.

The prophet holds in his hands a scroll with a quotation in Hebrew from Isaiah 26, verses 2–3: "Open the gates that the righteous nation which keeps faith may enter in. The mind is fixed on thee, thou dost keep him."¹⁶ The theme of the righteous nation, so prominently featured in the fresco, is a major element in Isaiah 26. Thus, in verse 15 the prophet goes on to announce that the nation will be increased: "Thou art glorified; thou hast enlarged all the

¹⁴"Cum tot ubique habes spirantia saxa, colores, / Aeraque, vita quibus ni sit, inesse putes, / Cur tantum tria ducta uno de marmore signa / Anna Avia, et Mater virgo, Puerque Deus / Ingenia incendunt hominum, stimulantque poetas / Quot Roma, atque ingens ambitus orbis habet? / Non hunc Corytius, non Sansovinus honorem / (Hic sumptu quamvis inclutus, ille manu) / Affectent, vis haec coelesti a lumine fusa est. / Scilicet est tanti sacrum habuisse locum. / Nanque Augustini ingenium, et facundia et ardens / Illa adeo pietas, atque amor ille boni / Hanc mentem inspirant, coeli de vertice, virtus / Unde hominum, unde Deum non moriatur honos." Pierio Valeriano, *Coryciana*, N 2v–N 3.

¹⁵Bonito, 1982, 268–76; idem, 1983, 136–38; Pettinelli, 43–44.

¹⁶The scroll includes only the beginning of Isaiah 26. 3. For the Hebrew text and interpretation, see Bonito 1983, 132–37. I am also indebted to my colleague Rabbi Samuel Lachs for his guidance in the interpretation of this passage.

borders of the land." Pettinelli has noted that contemporary commentaries on Isaiah 26 emphasize not only that the righteous will enter the gates of paradise but that their number will include all the nations of the earth, with the result that God will be still more glorified, being praised "not only in Judaea but from the rising to the setting sun."¹⁷

Egidio, very much in the spirit of the time, predicted that the messianic gathering in of the nations was being fulfilled through the new geographical discoveries and conquests that so conspicuously enlarged (or could be made to enlarge) the nation of the just.¹⁸ Moreover, as Bonito points out, Egidio in his *Scechina* discoursed at length on the Hebrew letter pe and the word *pethec* (the first letter and word on the scroll): "Pe is a feminine force with the generative ability to produce a Messiah and has charge of the subsequent Age of the Messiah. Pe represents His presence among men and the effects of that presence, which include the condemnation of the Hebrews who slaughtered Him, the introduction of a new Law, the embracing of the gentiles, and especially the reopening of the gate of heaven to the just."¹⁹

The gathering of nations in Goritz's sodality and in Valeriano's poem is a literary and convivial (and hence less lofty and universal) reflection of the messianic vision of Isaiah and Egidio. The ensemble of fresco, statues, and altar includes inscriptions in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin;²⁰ the poems in its honor were written in both

¹⁷" . . . nei commenti della Bibbia stampati tra fine Quattrocento e inizi Cinquecento . . . si aggiunge che il profeta parla in esso 'de reprehensione Iudaeorum et adventu Christi in carnem et eius passione, de vocatione gentium et de regno Iuda et Israel. Il brano di Isaia viene dunque sì interpretato nel senso dell'ingresso in paradiso dei giusti, ma si accentua anche il fatto che questi giusti provengono da tutti i popoli della terra poiché nel capitolo 26 il profeta parla 'de additione gentium ad populum israeliticum . . . et ex hac additione Deus fuit magis glorificatus in quantum non solum laudatus est in Iudea sed etiam a solis ortu usque ad occasum.' " Pettinelli, 44. Her sources are: (for the first gloss) *Biblia cum pleno apparatu summariorum, concordantiarum et quadruplici repertorii sive indicii numerique foliorum distinctione* (Basel, I. Petri et I. Froben, 1509); (for the second gloss) *Biblia cum glossa ordinaria Walafridi Strabonis aliorumque et interlineari Anselmi Laudunensi et cum postillis ac moralitatibus Nicolai de Lyra et expositionibus Guilelmi Britonis in omnes prologos S. Hieronymi et additionis Pauli Burgensis replicisque Matthiae Doering, edente Sebastiano Brant* (Basel, I. Froben et I. Petri, 1498).

¹⁸For conquest and the golden age in Egidio, see O'Malley, 265–338; Pettinelli, 44.

¹⁹Bonito, 1983, 137–38; and see also Bonito, 1982, 275.

²⁰The putti in the fresco hold an inscription in Greek capitals above Isaiah's head: "ΑΝΝΗ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΤΟΚΩ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΗ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΩ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΤΡΩΤΗ ΧΡΙΕΣΤΩ ΙΩ. ΚΟΡ." ("To Anne, Mother of the Virgin, to the Virgin, Mother of

Latin and Greek; and as Valeriano remarks, with almost Isaian or Egidian hyperbole: "All the poets of Rome and the huge circuit of the world" were inspired by Goritz's statues. Goritz himself is the embodiment of the gathering in of the nations to Rome as a religious and cultural homeland—the German transplanted to the Roman Academy (to say nothing of the Roman Curia), patron of both Roman poets and the German community in Rome, and bringing with him his Saint Anne, a saint and a statue type especially venerated in his homeland.²¹

It is clear from the poems in honor of Goritz's altar that his sodality emphasized the issue of nationality. The poets seldom fail to identify themselves by their city or nation—thus Pierius Valerianus Belluniensis, Janus Vitalis Panhormitanus, Petrus Mellinus Romanus, or even Huldericus Huttenus eques Germanus. And they frequently allude to Goritz's nationality as well, although they do so in ways that may give us pause. Thus, Janus Vitalis Panhormitanus: "Not Germany bore you, Coricius, in those snowy regions amid frozen barbarism, but the joyful stars, the joyful palace of heaven sent you to us from the distant regions of the gods."²² And here is Petrus Mellinus Romanus: "Corytus has raised up the gods with his hand and tongue. Luther has overturned them with word and deed. O what different characters Germany has produced! Piety and impiety have arisen in a single place. O Gods, if you see too little that is human in the counsel and deeds of both, exalt or destroy each of them in accordance with his deserts."²³ Goritz, the

God, and to Christ the Redeemer. Johann Goritz.") Below the statue is a Latin inscription: "Jesu Deo Deique Filio, Matri Virgini, Annae Aviae Maternae; Io. Corycius ex Germanis Lucumburg. Prot. Apost. DDD; Perpetuo Sacrificio Dotem, Vasa, Vestes Tribut MDXII." ("To Jesus God and Son of God, to His Virgin Mother, to Anna His Maternal Grandmother, Johann Goritz, a Luxemburgher from Germany, Apostolic Protonotary, gave and dedicated this. He donated an endowment, vessels, and vestments for a continual sacrifice. 1512.") There is a second Latin inscription at eye level: "Vestra locum ut pietas aliquem post reddat in astris has dedit in terris Corycius status." ("That your *pietas* may reward him with a place in the stars Goritz has given these statues on earth.")

²¹See Bonito, 1983, 68, 83.

²²"Non Germania te tulit, Coryti, / Illis in regionibus nivosis / Inter barbarium rigentiozem, / Verum sidera laeta, laeta coeli / Te te Regia misit e' repostis / Huc ad nos regionibus Deorum." Janus Vitalis Panhormitanus, verses 59–64, *Coryciana*, D 1v.

²³"Erexit superos dextra, linguaque Corytus, / Evertit superos ore Manuque Luther, / O quam diversos peperit germania mores, / Orta uno pietas, impietas loco est, / Di, factis si amborum humana parum esse videtis / Consilio, e meritis tollite utrumque suis." Petrus Mellinus, *Coryciana*, R 4.

“good German,” is exempted from German barbarity and Lutheranism—for now.

In the years of Goritz’s sodality, many hundreds of poems were produced. Many were attached to boards around the altar; others were recited at the celebratory feast in Goritz’s garden and fastened to its trees and ruins. In July 1524 Blosio Palladio published 399 of the poems (but still only a selection of the whole) in a little volume entitled *Coryciana*.²⁴ By that time, however, the ideals of Goritz’s monument and the conviviality of his sodality had been overtaken by two events that showed in their quite different ways the limits and vulnerability of Roman humanism: the Longueil affair and the papacy of Adrian VI.

Everyone knows the story of the young Belgian humanist who wanted to be a Roman citizen and found himself charged with high treason against Rome.²⁵ Christophe Longueil came to Rome in 1516, and he was soon taken up by several important members of both Goritz’s sodality and the Roman Academy, including Pietro Bembo, Jacopo Sadoletto, and Antonio Lelio Massimi. (His name appears on the roster of Goritz’s sodality, although no poem by him is preserved in the *Coryciana*.)²⁶ At the height of his popularity his detractors managed to discover and publicize the fact that ten years earlier he had delivered a speech demonstrating the inferiority of Italy to France. They translated the offending speech into Italian and circulated it widely to fan up anger against the young Belgian. Feeling ran high, and both Longueil and his supporters feared for his life.

The issue was to be decided at the seat of ancient Roman greatness and modern Roman government, the Campidoglio. Everyone who mattered in Rome, it seemed, was there. On one side were Longueil’s enemies—Blosio Palladio, Tommaso Pietrasanta, and Pierio Valeriano, with their pupil and surrogate, the young aristocrat Celso Mellini (brother of Pietrus Mellinus Romanus), whom they had primed to deliver the oration attacking the foreigner.²⁷ On the other side, Sadoletto and Lelio Massimi—but Bembo had gone

²⁴For the volume and its history, see Ruysschaert, 45–60.

²⁵For the Longueil affair, see especially Simar, 51–74; and Gnoli, 1891¹, 251–75, 691–716; idem, 1891², 34–63.

²⁶The list of the deceased members of Goritz’s sodality compiled c. 1548, probably by Paolo Giovio, is printed as Appendix IV in Ubaldini, 113–14.

²⁷For the adversaries of Longueil, see Gnoli, 1891¹, 691–98.

to Venice, and Longueil himself had discovered urgent business in Paris. The day ended with Mellini victorious, but only until published copies of Longueil's equally spirited oration arrived a few weeks later and secured his coveted citizenship.

Among the many issues of this strange affair, the most interesting, I think, is that of the modern proprietorship of ancient Rome. Longueil as a humanist—or as we should say now, classicist—felt and believed he was a Roman citizen by virtue of his learning and passionate interest in the past. His adversaries rejected his claim. Both sides, however, have antiquity as their frame of reference. Thus, Longueil claims to be a Roman citizen on the grounds that Caesar awarded the right of citizenship to the whole of Gaul. And thus, Mellini rebuts the claim on the grounds that Longueil's home, Cambrai, was in Germany, not Gaul, at the time of Caesar. Hence, he is not a Gaul but a *German*, and no Roman citizen, since the barbarous Germans never had title to Roman citizenship.²⁸

For Longueil Roman citizenship is not a matter of nationality but of character and sentiment. Writing to his aristocratic supporter Lelio Massimo in August 1520, he says: "But I don't know whom you would call a Roman citizen. To me, at least, a Roman citizen is that man, finally, or even that man *only*—not who displays the right of citizenship but who protects and upholds the dignity of such a great name by his virtue and greatness of spirit."²⁹ And in a list of his friends he describes Johann Goritz as "German by birth, but Roman by title and virtue."³⁰

These were definitions that many of Goritz's sodales were not big enough to accept, however much they subscribed to the theoretical inclusiveness of his altar and fellowship. Indeed, as we have seen, two of the poets who had written with the best understanding of Goritz's program, Valeriano and Blosio Palladio, were also among Longueil's greatest persecutors. Their behavior led Longueil to wonder about the fate of the sodality. In the same letter of August 1520 to Lelio Massimo quoted above he writes:

²⁸Simar, 71.

²⁹"Sed tu quem Ro. civem appelles, nescio. Mihi quidem cives est Rep. is denique aut etiam is solus est, non qui civitatis ius ostendet, sed qui tanti nominis dignitatem virtute animique magnitudine tueatur et sustineat." Longueil, 92v–93.

³⁰"Ioannem Goritium, ortu quidem Germanum illum, sed iure ac virtute Romanum . . ." Longueil, 33.

I would like you to write and tell me, did Goritz celebrate Saint Anne's day on its last anniversary with a feast and a gathering of learned men? Or did he stop holding his dinner altogether on account of last year's strife? Or, rather, did he not invite *that* sodality (you know the one I mean), and give a feast for the rest? I'm not asking how elaborately and luxuriously he received them (for I know the magnificence of the man), but what was said and done, and how crowded his banquet was with the sort of people who think they both are and are counted as members of the academy. I sometimes dread that he will make it up with them. On the contrary, when I think how marvelously those people approve his Epicurean gardens and feasts, and that he sets his table no less luxuriously than joyfully, I suspect no enmity is left.³¹

And of course Longueil's suspicions were justified. Goritz's feasts continued, and at least one of Longueil's persecutors, Blosio Palladio, remained on good terms with his host; for we must remember that it was Palladio who was entrusted with the editing and publication of the *Coryciana* in 1524.

The Longueil affair revealed the pettiness and parochialism of the Roman Academy, but the election of Adrian VI threatened its very existence.³² Leo X died unexpectedly on 1 December 1521, and on 9 January 1522 the cardinals named his successor, Adrian VI, an elderly Dutchman, after weeks of wrangling and stalemate, as Valeriano laments in a contemporary poem: "Adrian is made Pope by everyone's vote. / Yet (who would believe it?) against everyone's will. / This is the might of the gods (of the gods!). / This is the hidden will of the gods, / that those who despise the ship of state's power / may learn to obey the will of a viper, / that the cardinals who hated each other / might have a leader hated by all."³³ Pas-

³¹"De eodem Gorytio, illud mihi velim diligenter perscribas, ecquid sacrum Annae diem, anniversario illo studiosorum hominum conventu epulisque celebrarit? an vero propter anni superioris dissidium, coenas facere omnino desierit? an sodalitatem potius illam, scis quam dico, non vocarit? reliquis coenam dederit? Neque vero quam eos laute splendideque accaeperit, quaero, novi hominis magnificentiam, sed quid dictum, quid actum, quamque frequens convivium eo hominum genere fuerit, qui se academicos et esse et numerari existimant. Subvereor interdum, ut cum illis in gratiam redierit. Contra cum mihi in mentem venit, istis et coenas et hortos Epicuri mirum in modum probari, hunc autem mensas non sumptuose minus quam libenter instruere, iam nihil inimicitiarum reliquum esse suspicor." Longueil, 93v-94.

³²For Adrian's election, see Pastor, 9:1-33.

³³"Votis Hadrianus omnium / fit Pontifex, sed omnibus / Quis credat? invitis. Deum vis haec Deum / Deum abditum hoc arbitrium est, / Ut, qui natantis dispuunt regnum trabis, / Parere discant Viperae. / Ut invicem qui se oderant Patres, ducem / Invisum haberent omnibus." *Hadriano Pont. Max. designato*, vv. 19-26, in Valeriano, 1550, 71v. See also *Sodalium Convictus Die Bacchanalium*, in the same volume, 74-75.

quino, not dressed as Apollo this time, put it more strongly: "O traitor of Christ's blood—thief! / College of traitors! You have betrayed / Our beautiful Vatican to German rage. / Why does your heart not burst with grief? / O ruined world, o age past all belief! / Vain thought!, through false longing strayed! / Rome's fair name, name fair in every age, / Is dust—barbarians' booty. A fief!"³⁴ And again, "If you wanted German stock—o college ever hostile to the good—why didn't you choose Goritz, for his hospitality of old, or Winkler, who loves you more?"³⁵

Adrian's election was a blow to Roman humanists, for he was known to be strict in his beliefs, ascetic by temperament, and unenthusiastic about art and secular letters. But in January 1522 he was in Spain, many months from Rome, a small if ominous cloud on the cultural horizon. He would not arrive in the city until August—"together with the plague," as Valeriano says.³⁶ Meanwhile, the Roman humanists continued on their way. Valeriano went on with the lectures on Catullus that he had begun in the last weeks of Leo X.³⁷ In July Goritz's sodality met to celebrate Saint Anne—and to worry about the future. Thus, Fabio Vigili prays: "O may the gods make our feasts numerous under Pope Adrian!"³⁸ And Silvio Laureli asks for the intercession of Saint Anne: "These are the fora of

³⁴"Soneto per la creatione dil Papa: O del sangue di Christo traditore, / Ladro Colegio che'l bel Vaticano / A la todescha rabbia hai posto in mano, / Come per doglia non ti scoppia el cuore? / O mondo guasto, o secol pien di errore / Per fallace desir, o pensier vano! / Caduto è a terra il bel nome Romano / E dato in preda al barbaro furore." Sanuto, 32:383. For this and other pasquinades on Adrian, see Silenzi, 217–22; Marucci, 1:291.

³⁵"Se di tedesca tigna avvevi brama, / o colegio del buon sempre nimico, / perche Corizio, per ospizio antico, / o Vincle non pigliavi, che più t'ama?" *Pasquinata 301*, vv. 1–4, in Marucci, 1:298.

³⁶"... pestilentia . . . quae cum Adriano Sexto advecta Romam invasit . . ." Valeriano, 1822, 13. And again: "peste Hadrianea," *ibid.*, 17. Antonio Tebaldeo characterizes Adrian as the plague itself. Thus in an untitled epigram on Adrian's death: "Inter tot tua templa unum, Roma, extrue Morti / Quae dirum e terris expulit Adrianum. / Ni facis, ingrata es: quondam a te praemia serpens / Haec eadem extincta peste minore tulit." Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3353, fol. 207 v. And again, in a mock epitaph: "Epitaphium Adriani: Hic iacet Adrianus, cave qui successeris illi / Continuo solium tangere. Pestis erat." Tebaldeo in Vat. lat. 3353, fol. 78 v. (Vat. lat. 3353 contains an anthology of epigrams collected by Colocci; for this and Colocci's other manuscripts, see Lattès, 308–44.)

³⁷See Gaisser, 1992, 257–58; *idem*, 1988, 45–53; *idem*, 1993, 108–45.

³⁸"[Talia habent Coryci convivia, vescitur illic / Quae superum in Terris Ius habet, alma cohors.] Dii faxint, stabili fato (qui saecula revexit / Aurea) sint sacro crebra sub Hadriano." Fabio Vigili, *In convivium celebre Corycianum, sub Hadr. Pont.*, verses 7–10, *Coryciana*, HH 2v.

Trajan; these are the gardens of Goritz. Here are the chosen and prominent men. Consider everything at its peak. May their former way of life return to the men; may the gardens remain forever green; may the men be dear to Pope Adrian. May we be able to enjoy both Goritz and the forum for a long time, I pray. May Anna the mother hear my prayer."³⁹

Not all prayers are answered. The humanists, "chosen and prominent men," as Silvio described them, were *not* dear to the new pope, who favored none of them—considering them "followers of Terence" and bad Christians—men who "eagerly celebrated the damned names of false gods in their imitation of the ancients."⁴⁰ But he did favor Goritz, who continued as before in his position in the curia. Goritz's popularity suffered accordingly. Although Pasquino had so recently regarded him as a "good German," other satirists were all too ready to align him with Adrian and the barbarians. Thus Francesco Berni in his *Capitolo di Papa Adriano*: "Look at these people, look at this Court! / What crowds of gallant courtiers! / Copis, Winkler, Goritz, and Trinchefort— / names to make a dog bark, / to make the dead wake, / at the sound of words hideous and strange."⁴¹ Goritz's old sodales, too, turned on him. Here is Antonio Tebaldeo, playing on the names Janus and Adrianus (the epigram is preserved in a section entitled "Maledicta" in one of Colocci's collections of epigrams):

On Adrianus and Janus
Adrianus favors Janus. Fair enough.
He does himself a favor—
Since Janus is half of Adrianus.⁴²

³⁹"Traiani haec fora sunt, sunt Horti Coryciani, / Sunt lecti Proceres; omnia summa puta. / Sic cultus Redeat prior his, Hortis viror insit / Perpetuus, sint cari Hadriano Proceres. / Sic liceat nobis, longum his, Corytoque foroque / Posse frui, o precor hoc audiat Anna parens." Silvio Laurelio, *De conventu, Coryciana*, HH 3.

⁴⁰Followers of Terence: "Ecce adest [Hadrianus] Musarum, et eloquentiae totiusque nitoris hostis acerrimus, qui litteratis omnibus, inimicitias minaretur, quoniam ut ipse dictitabat, 'Terentiani' essent." Valeriano, 1822, 69. Bad Christians: "Suspecta enim habebat poetarum ingenia utpote qui minus syncero animo de Christiana religione sentire, et damnata falsissimorum Deorum nomina ad veterum imitationem studiose celebrare dicerentur." Giovinio, 2:144–45.

⁴¹"Ecco che personaggi, ecco che corte, / Che brigate galanti cortegiane: / Copis, Vincl, Corizio e Trincaforte! / Nomi da far isbigottir un cane, / Da far ispirar un cimitero, / Al suon delle parole orrende e strane." *Capitolo di Papa Adriano* 31–36, in Berni, 62–69. For Berni's use of pasquinate in *Papa Adriano*, see Toscan, 117–34.

⁴²"De Adriano e Iano: Adrianus Iano merito favet. Ille sibi ipsi / Hoc prestat: Ianus dimidium Adriani est." Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3353, fol. 191 v. This

And Colocci himself: "Goritz and Luther are well-matched—both drunks, both German disgraces, equal in ambition and worthlessness."⁴³ And again: "Janus who dedicated a great altar to the heavenly ones, o gods, mocks you with a fictitious divinity. He loves the slut Anna, and cloaking his guilt with a name, has given these holy temples to you, but not to you."⁴⁴

The months after Adrian's arrival were dreadful. The plague raged intermittently through the autumn and winter. Stories circulated of the pope's dislike of the Sistine ceiling ("a bath-house of naked bodies," he is supposed to have called it) and of the Laocoon ("an idol of the ancients") and of his plans to burn all the antique statues for lime.⁴⁵ Valeriano, resuming his Catullus lectures, came to the first truly obscene poem in the collection and debated about whether he should omit it. His students were outraged at the thought, he claimed, and they lamented "that we have fallen back into the time of the Goths and the Vandals because it seems that just as they used to cut off the genitals of all the statues, so now anything titillating is taken out of books, too."⁴⁶ He seems to have given his lecture, but we will never be sure since he (or someone else) has cut out all the folios that would have contained it.⁴⁷ In March the pope banned the festival of Pasquino and threatened to execute anyone trying to celebrate it.⁴⁸

Not surprisingly, it seems that Goritz too found it prudent to cancel or postpone his annual celebration, for the invective epigrams of his erstwhile sodales in Colocci's manuscripts testify to an interruption that, though undated, seems most likely to belong

epigram is immediately followed in the manuscript by another by Tebaldeo almost like it: "De eisdem: Iure faves Iano, Adriane, ut pars nominis ille / Magna tui est, partem sic et honoris habet." For the manuscript, see note 36.

⁴³Coricio et Luthero bene convenit, ambo bibaces / Ambitione ambo nequitiaque pares." Lancellotti, 75 (= Vat. lat. 3388, fol. 84). See also Simar, 202.

⁴⁴Coelitibus Janus qui magnas nuncupat aras / O Dii, vos ficto numine ludificat / Annam adamat scortum et praetexens nomine culpam / Vobis, non vobis, haec sacra templa dedit." Lancellotti, 76 (= Vat. lat. 3388, fol. 144).

⁴⁵On the Sistine Chapel: "una stufa d'ignudi," Vasari, 5:456. On the Laocoon: Girolamo Negri, writing to Marc' Antonio Micheli on 17 March 1523, in Ruscelli, 1:113. A similar account is given by Giovinio, 2:148.

⁴⁶"Alii recidisse nos iterum in Gottica et Vandolica tempora lamentantur, quod videatur, veluti status omnibus illi virilia decutiebant, nunc quoque e libris, siquid pruriat, tolli." Vat. lat. 5215, fol. 194 v.

⁴⁷See Gaisser, 1988; and, for a fuller discussion, Gaisser, 1992, 136–45.

⁴⁸Pastor, 9:119. See also Negri in Ruscelli, 1:114–15; Sanuto, 34:194. See also Tebaldeo's epigram to Paolo Lampridio: "Ad Paulum: Pasquillo indicit quod, Paule, silentia textus / Adrianus: vitae conscius ille suae est." Vat. lat. 3353, fol. 192.

to 1523.⁴⁹ One, by Colocci, is entitled "To Coricius, postponing his feast": "Janus begs for a postponement until the first rains. Though he always spurns water, now he asks for it."⁵⁰ And again: "Janus, why do you desert your poets on winged foot? Why has flight snatched you from our eyes? Take the wings of Perseus and outrun the Apidanus and swift Tigris, swifter than the wind in your course. You have no way to escape. Iambic verse will follow you everywhere. Remember: poets have swift feet, too."⁵¹ The poets threaten to drive him to the grave with invective, and then, like Tebaldeo, pronounce mock epitaphs: "The wine jug no longer holds Goritz. Germany bore him. He believed that there were no gods; his life was squalid. He put up justice for sale. A fierce iambic satire drove him to the noose. The harlot Anna gave his tomb. Do you ask why he lies here? The savor and smell of Bacchanalian feasts was pleasing and dear to his heart while he lived."⁵²

Goritz's celebration was surely a casualty of the pope's joyless puritanism. Adrian might not have objected to Sansovino's sculpture (such treatments of Saint Anne were familiar in his homeland), but he would probably have disliked Raphael's Isaiah fresco with its bare-legged prophet and naked putti so like the fleshy figures he disdained in Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel. He would have been most offended, however, by the convivial and religious poetry that

⁴⁹Gnoli, arguing on the basis of Longueil's letter to Lelio Massimo (see note 31 above), believed that the interruption occurred in 1520 (Gnoli, 1938, 155-57).

⁵⁰"Ad Corycium procrastinantem convivia: Ad primas Ianus pluvias diludia poscit / Semper aquas solitus spernere, poscit aquas." Lancellotti, 75 (= Vat. lat. 3388, fol. 68 v.).

⁵¹"In Janum corycium procrastinantem Coenam: Jane, tuos Vates cur deseris alite passu? / Cur fuga te nostris eripit ex oculis? / Sume alas Persei, et cursu non tardior Euris, / Iam praeverte citum Tigrin, et Apidanum. / Nulla fugae est ratio, quocumque sequetur iambus. / Sis memor et celeres Vatribus esse pedes." Lancellotti, 75 (= Vat. lat. 3388, fol. 66).

⁵²"Epit[aphium]: Nec Corythum amphora habet, genuit germania, nullos / credit esse deos, sordida vita fuit. / Ius fecit venale, ferox hunc egit Iambus / ad laqueum. Meretrix Anna dedit tumulum. / Quaeris cur iacet hic? Epularum nidor, odorque / Bacchiolum vivo gratus, et ex animo est." Antonio Tebaldeo in Vat. lat. 3353, fol. 200v. The same epigram appears in Ottob. lat. 2860, fol. 87. An anonymous epigram in Vat. lat. 2834 perhaps belongs to the same period, for although it makes no mention of Goritz's feasts, like the others, it refers to both iambs and nooses: "In Coritium Poetarum Cynedum Iocus: Insignes laqueis duae fuerunt / Sponsae, filia non pii Lycambe / Proscissa Archilochi mariti iambo, et / Sponsa barbara, avara, iniqua, mendax, / Inque adulterio novo reperta / Nuper Coritii a suis poetis." Vat. lat. 2834, fol. 36.

Goritz and his friends thought essential to the occasion, for he seemed to harbor a special revulsion for poets and all their works. Thus, Valeriano, looking back on Adrian in his dialogue *De litterarum infelicitate*, characterized him as "a most bitter foe of the Muses, of eloquence, of all elegance," and concluded: "He seemed likely (if he had lived any longer) to revive the time of the Goths in his onslaught against literature."⁵³ But although Adrian may have persuaded (or commanded) Goritz not to hold his feast in 1523, the sodality and its celebration had already been undermined by the narrowness and xenophobia of the feasters themselves.

Two last notes by way of an epilogue. Writing to Egidio da Viterbo in 1525, Valeriano asks which animal he wishes to have dedicated to him in the *Hieroglyphica*. "Imagine that you are reclining at Goritz's feast," he says. "What would you want served up to you?"⁵⁴ Egidio, the author (as we suppose) of the program of Goritz's altar, rejects Valeriano's convivial image—choosing a stork, unsuited for feasts. "I don't go to Goritz's any more," he says, "since they're always at each other's throats like centaurs."⁵⁵

Two years later Goritz was dead. "Captured and mistreated by his fellow Germans when the city was taken by the barbarians," as Valeriano tells us, he fled north, only to fall ill and die, "tormented with longing for his lost possessions and for Rome."⁵⁶

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⁵³Foe of the Muses: see note 40 above. Goths: "Dei beneficio altero Imperii anno decessit, qui si aliquanto diutius vixisset, Gottica illa tempora adversus bonas litteras videbatur suscitaturus." Valeriano, 1822, 69–70.

⁵⁴"Fac ex te sciam, quod praecipue animal tibi velis inscribi. Putes vero invitatum te ad Corytianas coenas, in quibus discumbent tecum Bembus, Sadoletus, Sanazarius, et plerique alii, quos a te summo opere diligi et a quibus te plurimi fieri non ignoro; ubi tamen ad tantum honoris extra ordinem tibi habendum sit, ut eius animalis, quod tibi apponi iusseris, ferculum accipias." *Hieroglyphica* 16 in Valeriano, 1602, 168.

⁵⁵"Animale mihi peculiare est coenis ineptum Ciconia. . . . Ego non ad Corytianas coenas, ubi quandoque quasi digladiatum pugna plusquam Centaurea." Egidio da Viterbo, in *Hieroglyphica* 16, Valeriano, 1602, 168.

⁵⁶"Capta a barbaris urbe, ipse quoque a Germanis suis captivus factus, . . . in gravissimam incidit aegritudinem, qua confectus, et Romae et perditarum rerum desiderio exulceratus occubuit." Valeriano, 1822, 68.

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