The Emperor's Hat: City, Space, and Identity in Contemporary Accounts of Charles V's Entry into Bologna in 1529

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The Emperor's Hat: City, Space, and Identity in Contemporary Accounts of Charles V's Entry into Bologna in 1529

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FORMALLY ORGANIZED PROCESSIONS and festivities on and in the public space of the street were an important part of the life of the early modern city. Public display on the street was a vital component of everything from weddings to expiatory or celebratory religious rituals and from formal entries into cities of rulers and honored guests to rites of punishment.[1] Those in procession on the street, and those observing them, used such events to negotiate and fashion identities and political and social positions. Indeed, the act of being seen on the street was as important as the participants' presence on the street. In this article, it is the experience of seeing, hearing, and recording a major but temporary and ephemeral event on the street that I want to examine. In the process, I want to highlight some

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1. On city entries and civic processions, see, e.g., Bonner Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State: Triumphal Progresses of Foreign Sovereigns in Renaissance Italy, 1494–1600* (Florence, 1986); Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, eds., *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 1994); Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998). On public processions as validation of a marriage, see Nicole Belmont, "La fonction symbolique du cortège dans les rituels populaires du mariage," *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 33, no. 3 (1978): 650–55; Brucia Whittoft, "Marriage Rituals and Marriage Chests in Quattrocento Florence," *Artibus et Historiae* 3 (1982): 43–59, 46–50; Lyndal Roper, "'Going to Church and Street': Weddings in Reformation Augsburg," *Past and Present* 106 (1985): 62–101, 66–67; on the street and public space as locus for punishment, see, e.g., Guido Rebecchini, "Rituals of Justice and the Construction of Space in Sixteenth-Century Rome," in this issue.

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of the problems that we encounter when we seek to define and delineate such an event through the medium of historical "records" but also to see whether we can read such records in a richer and more nuanced way.[2]

On November 5, 1529, Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor elect, entered the city of Bologna to meet Pope Clement VII.[3] It had been agreed that this meeting should take place in Bologna because the city was accessible for Charles on his way from Spain to Austria and Germany, and it was still within the pope's dominion because it was the major and northernmost city of the Papal States.[4] It was also more neutral territory than Rome, especially so soon after the disastrous sack of the city carried out by Charles's troops in 1527.[5] Rome was also farther south than Charles's advisers wanted him to go at this critical point in the fortunes of northern and eastern Europe.[6] Politically, therefore, it suited both imperial and papal parties. The imperialists felt that the pope might be at something of a disadvantage

2. See, e.g., Fabrizio Nevola, "'Lieto e trionphante per la città': Experiencing a Mid-Fifteenth-Century Imperial Triumph along Siena's Strada Romana," *Renaissance Studies* 17 (2003): 581–606.

3. On the Bologna entry, see Gaetano Giordani, *Della venuta e dimora in Bologna del sommo pontifice Clemente vii per la coronazione di Carlo v imperatore celebrata l'anno mclxxx* (Bologna, 1842); William Stirling Maxwell, *The Entry of the Emperor Charles V into the City of Bologna on the Fifth of November MDXXIX: Reproduced from a Series of Engravings on Wood Printed at Venice in MDXXX* (Florence, 1875); Vicomte [Charles] Terlinden, "La Politique italienne de Charles Quint et le 'Triomphe de Boulogne,'" in *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris, 1960), 29–43, 35–36; Bonner Mitchell, *Italian Civic Pageantry in the High Renaissance* (Florence, 1979), 19–25, and *Majesty*, 137–41; Fernando Checa Cremades, *Carlos V: La imagen del poder en el Renacimiento* (Madrid, 1999), 147–53; Juan Carlos D'Amico, *Charles Quint, maître du monde: Entre mythe et réalité* (Caen, 2004), 68–102; Giovanni Sassu, *Il ferro e l'oro: Carlo V a Bologna, 1529–30* (Bologna, 2007), 27–53.

4. Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, trans. Ralph Francis Kerr, 40 vols. (London, 1891–1953), 10:56–75. The papal master of ceremonies, Biagio Martinelli, states that the request to meet in Bologna came from Charles V: "Veneris 17 sept. [1529] in nocte venerunt litterae ad Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Clementem VII Imperator volebat coronari Bononiae propter periculum Turcharum, qui invadebant Ungariam ut citius posset subvenire eius fratri Regi Ferdinando" (Biagio Martinelli, *Diarium caerimonialium . . . ab anno 1518 usque ad annum 1532*, British Library, Ms. Add. 8445, 104r). On the Bologna encounter and sojourn, see, e.g., Pastor, *History*, 10:75–99, 492–95; Terlinden, "Politique"; Chiara Sorgato, "Cinque mese di feste per Carlo V a Bologna," *Il Carrobbio* 6 (1980): 336–44; William L. Eisler, "Carlo V a Bologna e i suoi rapporti con gli artisti del tempo," *Il Carrobbio* 7 (1981): 140–46; Paolo Prodi, "Carlo V e Clemente VII: L'incontro di Bologna nella storia italiana ed europea," in *Bologna nell'età di Carlo V e Guicciardini*, ed. Emilio Pasquini and Paolo Prodi (Bologna, 2002), 329–45; Sassu, *Il ferro*.

5. On the sack of Rome, see Judith Hook, *The Sack of Rome, 1527* (London, 1972); André Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, trans. Beth Archer (Princeton, NJ, 1983); Anna Esposito and Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, "Rome during the Sack: Chronicles and Testimonies from an Occupied City," in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, ed. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Aldershot, 2005), 125–42.

6. Hayward Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos: Secretary of the Emperor Charles V* (Pittsburgh, 1960), 125–26.

since Bologna did not have the same sense of papal presence as Rome. However, for the pope Bologna had been more or less under the direct control of a papal legate since 1506, and, as for Rome, there seem to have been fears of the possible political machinations of Charles there.[7] The meeting was part of the process of bringing peace to Europe, after decades of conflict in Italy and France, through the Treaty of Barcelona agreed between pope and emperor June 29, 1529, and the Treaty of Cambrai of August 5, 1529, between the emperor and Francis I.[8] Charles was also coming to discuss with the pope the Turkish threat to the eastern edge of Europe. In addition, Charles had a very personal desire to come to Italy in order to mark fully his political position at the apex of European power: to achieve his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor at the hands of the pope.[9] In doing so he would be the first emperor to have been properly crowned since his great grandfather Frederick III in Rome in 1452, although the decision that the coronation would take place in Bologna rather than Rome would not be firmly made until some time after Charles's arrival in Bologna.[10]

Charles's formal entry into Bologna on November 5, 1529, and his subsequent coronation there by Clement VII on February 24, 1530, were the subject of a large number of contemporary accounts—letters, chronicles, and popular and more learned publications.[11] The entry was also the subject of a set of contemporary woodcut prints—*La cavalcata dell'Imperator Carlo Quinto nel suo ingresso in Bo-*

7. Giordani, *Della venuta*, 5, states that the place of the meeting was discussed in Piacenza and that the papal legates Cardinals Alessandro Farnese, Francesco Quihones, and Ippolito de' Medici decided on Bologna, as they feared Charles's power and his alliance with the Colonna and that he might take over Rome.

8. D'Amico, *Charles Quint*, 103–14.

9. The importance of this to Charles is suggested by his letters to and from Margaret of Austria, e.g., Alessandro Bardi, "Carlo V e l'assedio di Firenze," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 5th ser., 11 (1893): 1–85, 23–35; D'Amico, *Charles Quint*, 168, 219–20. Although, much later Charles gave the impression that the coronation was of little import to him: "he assumed the crowns that belonged to him, in the said city of Bologna" (Leonard F. Simpson, *The Autobiography of the Emperor Charles V: Recently Discovered in the Portuguese Language by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove* [London, 1862], 18).

10. See Pastor, *History*, 2:138, 149–57, on Frederick III's coronation. On the contemporary need for, and interest in, explanation of this rare event, see, e.g., Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa [von Nettesheim], *Caroli Quinti cum Hispaniarum tum duplicis Germaniae et Romanorum Archiregis, utriusque et in Longobardorum Regem, et in Romanorum Imperatorem Coronationis historia* (Antwerp, 1530); Girolamo Balbi, *Ad Carolum V Imperatorum de Coronatione* (Bologna, 1530); Diego Gracián de Alderete, *La coronacion imperial con todas sus ceremonia* (Alcalá de Henares, 1530); Reinhard Elze, *Die Ordines für die Weihe und Krönung des Kaisers und Kaiserin* (Hannover, 1960), 161–83. The sources are not clear on the precise date of the decision.

11. See, e.g., Giordani, *Della venuta*; Vicente de Cadenas y Vincent, *Doble coronación de Carlos V en Bolonia, 22-24/II/1530* (Madrid, 1985), 175–250; Prodi, "Carlo V," 329; Roberto Righi, "Carlo V imperatore a Bologna: L'incoronazione del 1530 nelle cronache del tempo," in Pasquini and Prodi, *Bologna*, 487–501.

logna, printed in Venice on July 1 (probably 1530; figs. 1 and 2).[12] After the coronation, a whole series of printed accounts, especially in Italian and German but also in Spanish and perhaps other languages too, were produced immediately in Bologna, Antwerp, Madrid, and elsewhere.[13] The expectation of such publications is nicely highlighted by the Bolognese Ugo Boncompagni in 1530, who waited three weeks after the coronation to write to his Italian correspondent in Ingoldstat about the event because "pensava che si avessero a stampare, e ne avrìa mandato subito che se fossero stampate."[14] The postcoronation procession by Charles and the pope was depicted in two different sets of prints—woodcuts designed by Robert Péril, printed in Antwerp in 1530 with a privilege from Charles V and Margaret of Austria, and engravings by Nicolaas Hogenberg with a privilege from Charles, printed some time between 1530 and 1535.[15]

12. Stirling Maxwell, *The Entry*. A hand-colored version from the Paul and Marianne Gourary Collection of Illustrated Fête Books was sold at auction by Christie's in New York on June 12, 2009; on this, the final sheet clearly included the date 1530: "The cropped British Library set is included in an album assembled by Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo (1606–89), shelf-mark 134.g.10; the British Museum Print Room set lacks three sheets; the Map Room set of the University Library of Ghent is equally imperfect, but the Uffizi Gallery set in Florence is complete. . . . The imprint on the penultimate sheet of the Gourary set incorporates the complete date, while the Uffizi state omits the year and shows other small variations on most plates" (sale 2178, lot 35, Christie's, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/books-manuscripts/bologna-1529-nel-anno-1529-ad-5213865-details.aspx?intobjectid=5213865).

13. The accounts are short—usually around four pages—and anonymous. Many have no identification of printer or place of publication, e.g., *Hienach volgt kaiyserlich Maiestet Krönung. Geschehen inn Bononia, auff den vier und zwain tzigstenn tag Februarii. An Sanct Mathis tag. MDXXX* (Augsburg, 1530); *Il superbo apparato fatto in Bologna alla incoronazione della Cesarea Maiesta di Carolo V Imperatore de christiani* (n.p., [1530]); *Keyserlicher Maiestat beyde krönung, deren die Erste am xxii. mit eyner Eysznen. Die ander am xxiiii. Februarii mit einer gulden kron zu Bononia. Im M.D.XXX Jar geschehen sein* (n.p., [1530]); *La maravillosa coronacion del invictissimo y serenissimo cesar don Carlos emperador y rey nuestro señor, de la coronas que faltauan de Hierro y de Oro en la ciudad de Bolonia, por manos del papa Clemente septimo* (Seville, 1530); and *Prima e seconda coronatione di Carlo V, Re di Romani* (Bologna, 1530). Charles himself sent a broadsheet to his home city of Ghent with his "joyous news" recording the coronation and subsequent procession (Terlinden, "Politique," 37): *De blijde niemaren vander keyserlycke Majes[tei]t ende solemniteyt vanden croonemente* (Ghent, [1530]).

14. "I had thought that it would be printed, and I would have sent it as soon as it was printed": Ugo Boncompagni, *Lettera inedita del Bolognese Ugo Boncompagni poscia con nome immortale Gregorio XIII Sommo Pontefice Romano nella quale si descrive la incoronazione di Carlo v. imperatore seguita il 24 febbraio 1530 in Bologna*, ed. Gaetano Giordani (Bologna, 1841), 13—letter to Canon Fabio Arco da Narni; Cadenas y Vincent, *Doble coronación*, 230. All translations are mine unless specified otherwise.

15. Péril's series is twenty-four sheets. Two impressions appear to survive, one with handwritten texts in the Plantin Museum, Antwerp, and one with printed French texts in the Albertina, Vienna: Leon de Burbure, "Robert Peril, graveur du seizième siècle; sa vie et ses ouvrages," *Bulletins de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux Arts de Belgique* 38, 2nd ser., 27 (1869): 322–54; H. Nijhoff-Selldorf, "Der Triumphzug Karl des V^{ten} zu Bologna von Robert Peril, Antwerpen 1530," *Oud Holland* 48 (1931): 265–69. Hogenberg's series is forty sheets. A number of impressions of the Hogenberg prints appear to have been made. William Stirling Maxwell, *The Procession of Pope Clement VII and the Emperor Charles V after the Coronation at Bologna on 24th February MDXXX, Designed and Engraved by N. Hogenberg* (Edinburgh, 1875); Feliciano Paoli, ed., *"Il Trionfo di Carlo V," 1530* (Urbania, 1991),

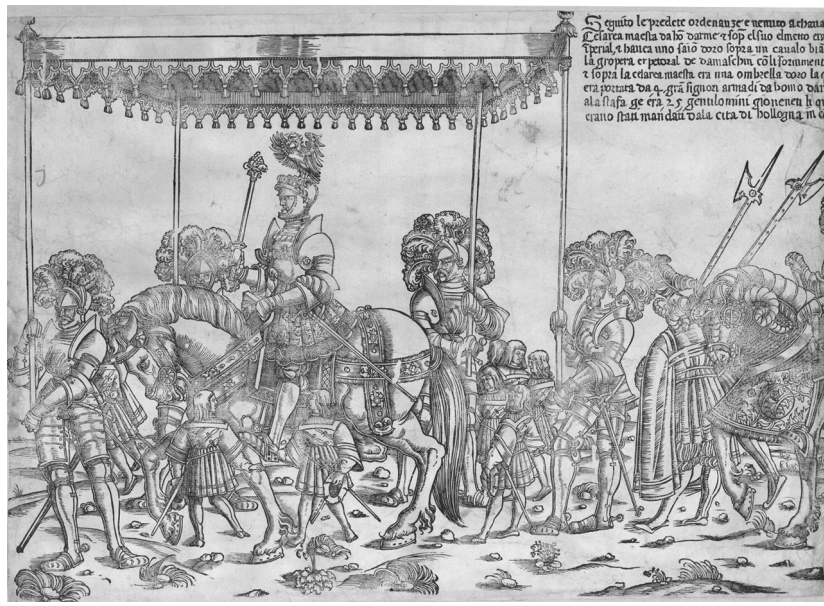

Figure 1. Charles V under his baldachin, *La cavalcata dell'Imperator Carlo Quinto nel suo ingresso in Bologna* (Venice, 1530), sheet 13, museum no. 1862,0208.5, (© Trustees of the British Museum, London.)

The entry and coronation have formed the subject of a number of publications in the last ten years, part of a surge of work marking the five hundredth anniversary of Charles V's death.[16] The predominant aim in scholarly accounts of the entry and coronation has been to seek to "reconstruct" the events and to

37–82; Christian von Heusinger, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Editionsgeschichte des Triumphzugs Kaiser Karls V. und Papst Clemens VII. nach der Kaiserkrönung am 24. Februar 1530 in Bologna von Nicolas Hogenberg. Mit einem Anhang: Der Holzschnittfries von Robert Peril," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 43 (2001): 63–108; a set sold by Christie's on June 12, 2009, was dated mid-seventeenth century and said to be from the final state of seven (sale 2178, lot 36, Christie's, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/books-manuscripts/bologna-1530-hogenberg-nicolaus-5213866-details.aspx?intobjectid=5213866).

16. See, e.g., Paoli, *Il Trionfo*; Konrad Eisenbichler, "Charles V in Bologna: The Self-Fashioning of a Man and a City," *Renaissance Studies* 13 (1999): 430–39; Guillermo Redondo Ventemillas and Diego Navarro Bonilla, "La coronación imperiale de 1530 en Bolonia," in *La imagen triunfal del emperador: La jornada de la coronación imperial de Carlos V en Bolonia y el friso del Ayuntiamiento de Tarazona*, ed. Mercedes Serrano Marqués (Madrid, 2000), 87–111; Felipe Martín-Ruiz, "Carlos V en Italia, 1529–1530," in *De la unión de coronas al Imperio de Carlos V*, ed. Ernest Belenguer Cebrià (Madrid, 2001), 3:537–65; Sassu, *Il ferro*; Mario Fanti, "Sull'incoronazione di Carlo V in San Petronio nel 1530: Una precisazione topografica e iconografica," *Strenna storica bolognese* 58 (2008): 243–56 (my thanks to Nicholas Terpstra for bringing this last work to my attention). On Charles V studies, see Wim Blockmans and Nicolette Mout, "The Harvest of a Celebration: What More Do We Need to Know about Charles V after the Year 2000?" in *The World of Emperor Charles V*, ed. Wim Blockmans and Nicolette Mout (Amsterdam, 2004), 1–11.

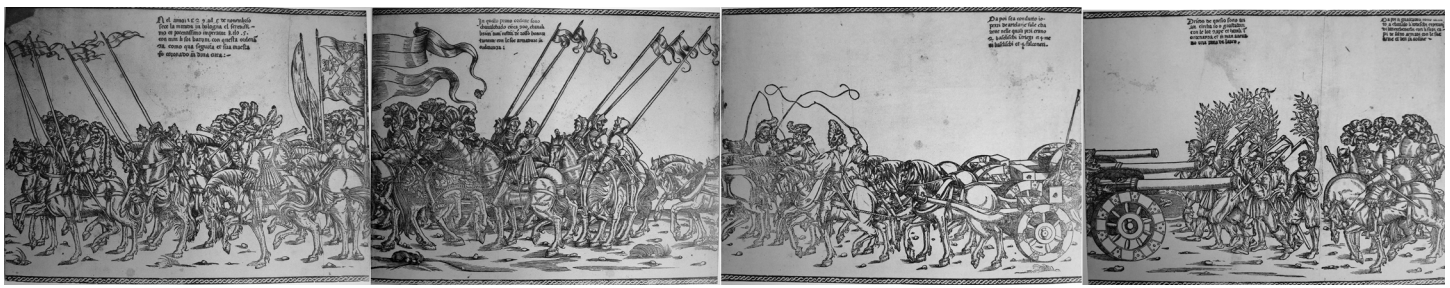

Figure 2. First four sheets of *La cavalcata dell'Imperator Carlo Quinto nel suo ingresso in Bologna* (Venice, 1530) (put together from Sir William Stirling Maxwell's 1875 facsimile).

determine the forms that the entry and coronation took.[17] However, I want to take a rather different approach. By focusing on immediately contemporary descriptions of the entry of Charles into Bologna, I will attempt an exercise that, in turn, raises issues about whether and how we might go about such a process of "reconstruction."

My aim in this article is to focus on interrogating primary sources that describe and depict the event more directly than I think has been done up to this point. Instead of seeking, as is the general practice, to create a "synthetic" account that attempts to reconstitute what the entry looked like and what happened (which often privileges one account over another), I want to go back to the primary sources to read them with a kind of "Period Eye."[18] My framework of the Period Eye—formulated by Michael Baxandall in his *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*—is that of seeking to place and attempt readings of texts and images within and in relation to the specific cultural, historical, and linguistic context in which they were created. I want to see what the texts themselves present to the reader, rather than try to force them to respond to questions that we, as modern historians, might like to have answered. As Baxandall, in a similar spirit, argued, "it is useless to complain if they [i.e., "thirty or forty words commonly used in the fifteenth century to distinguish kinds of interest in paintings"] do not distinguish or cover some quality in Renaissance art that now seems important."[19]

So, on November 5, 1529, in Bologna, what were those who witnessed and participated in the events interested in? What do multiple accounts of the event tell us about what the writers and publishers/printers wanted to tell and what recipients and readers wanted to know? What might be taken for granted, and what might need explanation? Can we reach a closer understanding by more careful consideration of what and how things were seen and described? One bigger issue that this approach raises, but that I will not attempt to resolve, is whether only "fractured" microhistories are possible with all their flaws, or what is the place of the grand narrative in our accounts of events like those in Bologna in 1529? Is there a satisfactory single viewpoint for the historian to establish for consider-

17. See, e.g., Tiziana Bernardi, "Analisi di una ceremonia pubblica: L'incoronazione di Carlo V a Bologna," *Quaderni Storici* 61 (1986): 171–99; Fernando Checa Cremades, *Carlos V y la imagen del héroe en el Renacimento* (Madrid, 1987), 245–58; Eisenbichler, "Charles V"; Fanti, "Sull'incoronazione." I also sought to do this in my explorations and presentations on the topic in 1997.

18. Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Oxford, 1972); cf. Nevola, "Lieto."

19. Michael Baxandall, "Prolegomena: Values, Arguments, System," in *Words for Pictures: Seven Papers on Renaissance Art and Criticism* (New Haven, CT, 2003), 1–26, 1.

ation of a spectacular, ephemeral event that unrolls through a city in space and time?

What kind of sixteenth-century texts are we talking about? Tiziana Bernardi, in her article analyzing Charles V's coronation in Bologna in February 1530, set up a broad distinction between papal and imperial interpretations and accounts and divided descriptions into two categories: "normative" (i.e., those which followed the official coronation manual for what was supposed to happen) and "descriptive" (i.e., eyewitness accounts).[20] She then further divided the eyewitness accounts into (1) the knowledgeable and the organizers who understood the significance of objects and actions, (2) eyewitnesses who had read the ceremonial book and who described or saw what that said, and (3) eyewitnesses who only described what they saw and had no understanding of the symbolism. While these broad categories are useful, I would argue that when you read the contemporary texts they are more diverse and nuanced than these categories might perhaps suggest. Bernardi also divided descriptive texts about the coronation into two categories: official accounts addressed to the public and eyewitness reports for family and friends. But I am not so certain that these categories and distinctions really stand up to scrutiny as having distinctly different forms, agendas, or, indeed, dissemination—whether in manuscript or print.[21]

Diversity in descriptions could arise in part, of course, from where people viewed an event—whether they were participants or spectators—and what they or the recipient of their account knew about or might be interested in. There is also the process by which observers recorded what they saw and how they saw it: on October 24, 1529, Matteo Dandolo, writing from Bologna to his father, Marco, in Venice, said in reference to the temporary decorated triumphal arch that had been erected for Pope Clement VII's entry into Bologna that day that "la brevità

20. Bernardi, "Analisi di una ceremonia pubblica."

21. Tizio Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa nel Roma del Cinquecento: Bibliografia—Antologia* (Rome, 1967), 18; in Rome, the first printed *avvisi* are dated 1526 (ibid., 19, 22—epistolary form); Carlos H. Caracciolo, "L'informazione a Bologna tra Cinquecento e Sicento: Il caso degli Avvisi a Stampa," in *Una città in piazza: Comunicasione e vita quotidiana a Bologna tra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. Pierangelo Belletini, Rosaria Campioni, and Zita Zanardi (Bologna, 2000), 77–90, 77; the first known printed Bolognese *avvisi* were those in relation to the 1530 coronation. Printed accounts of Charles V's European entries from 1520 onward seem to have been a spur to production. On the dissemination of information, see, e.g., Filippo De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Cambridge, 2007), 89–106, 122–27, 177–79, 183–87, 203–27, 238–48; although De Vivo is writing on Venice and dealing with slightly later and particular material he has much to say that is relevant in a broader context, as does the work of Rosa Salzberg on popular print and publication in sixteenth-century Venice.

del tempo et poca comodità de vederli non me li ha lassati pur leggere, non che prender in memoria."[22] So, too, on November 5 Vettor Soranzo, a Venetian chamberlain of Clement VII, wrote to his father, ser Alvise Soranzo, about Charles's entry that "questo è quanto ho potuto tener a mente di questo spectaculo."[23] A similar statement about memory and its limitations can be found in Vincenzo di Alvise Contarini's November 5 letter to his brother Tommaso in Venice: "Io vi ho ditto quello mi aricordo haver visto; per lettere di altri forse li tutto più particolaremente intendereti."[24] Soranzo highlighted that he had written about what he had seen: "il quale vene con questo ordine *per quanto ho potuto vedere*" (my emphasis).[25] While Federico, secretary of the Bishop of Pula, stated: "queste non l'ho potuto veder, però non so parlare."[26]

All these statements give a sense of authenticity and firsthand experience to these written accounts. But should we take these kinds of descriptions at face value? First, as devil's advocate, I want to question how some historians use such primary material. In 2003, John Shearman set out a clear exposition of problems with many historians' use of primary documentary material—noting in particular erroneous citations (especially of dates) and the misreading and misinterpretation of content, often through taking things out of context.[27] The practices of historians in relation to such material were also often dependent, he argued, on what Julius Schlosser had defined as "ingenious faith in documents."[28]

A particularly problematic kind of document is the eyewitness account. As has been clearly demonstrated in the field of law, eyewitness testimony is notoriously unreliable; controlled experiments have shown that the same event can be convincingly but differently experienced and perceived by those present.[29] Moreover, research has shown not only how extensive the creation of a witness's "false memories" of an event can be but also how one person's account of an event can

22. "the shortness of time and the difficulties of seeing it did not allow me to read it, let alone to memorize it": Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii*, 58 vols. (Venice, 1879–1902), 52:144.

23. "this is as much as I could hold in mind of this spectacle" (ibid., 52:184).

24. "I have told you what I can remember having seen; from others' letters perhaps you will understand the whole thing in more detail" (ibid., 52:189).

25. "who came in this order, as far as I was able to see" (ibid., 52:182).

26. "these I wasn't able to see, so I don't know how to talk about them" (ibid., 52:198).

27. John Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources, 1483–1602*, 2 vols. (New Haven, CT, 2003), 1:3–10, 4, quoting and translating from Julius Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur: Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna, 1924), 253.

28. Shearman, *Raphael*, 1:4, quoting and translating from Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur*, 253.

29. Max C. Otto, "Testimony and Human Nature," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 9 (1918): 98–104.

affect and influence the recall and memory of it by others.[30] Matthew Gerrie, Louise Belcher, and Maryanne Garry, for example, discuss experiments involving people's recall of things that did not happen. In the experiment, subjects were asked to watch a film of a woman making a sandwich and were then asked to remember things about it.[31] In subsequent memory tests, 17 percent of things that did not happen in the film were "falsely remembered." In another version of the experiment, the researchers stated that "noncrucial" actions or information that was not seen in the film was more likely to be falsely remembered as having happened than "crucial" actions or information. The researchers' conclusion was that perhaps they could predict what might be falsely remembered in relation to any particular event. But as historians we need to ask, how can you determine what might be or have been crucial or noncrucial to any particular observer or individual viewer? So too, in relation to historical data, the unusual detail or a seemingly human note that breaks the expected formality of an event (which might be noted or described in a single or just a few descriptions) can be picked up by some historians without question as somehow truthful or revelatory as regards the authenticity of the details of an event.[32] We might, again, listen to Shearman, who noted that from historical documents "we tend to take what interests us, what we need so desperately, without consideration of the author's circumstances, contexts, purposes and motives, sources of information at hand, contingencies, practices, reliability in other cases, and so on. . . . We tend to talk of 'written sources' in reverential tones, without much reflection upon the fact that they are *written* sources, with all the circumspection and complexity that that emphasis must bring to mind."[33]

30. See, e.g., Elizabeth F. Loftus and Jacqueline E. Pickrell, "The Formation of False Memories," *Psychiatric Annals* 25 (1995): 720–25, 720; Fiona Gabbert, Amina Memon, and Kevin Allan, "Memory Conformity: Can Eyewitnesses Influence Each Other's Memories for an Event?" *Applied Cognitive Psychology* 17 (2003): 533–43; Elin M. Skagerberg and Daniel B. Wright, "The Prevalence of Co-witnesses and Co-witness Discussions in Real Eyewitnesses," *Psychology, Crime and Law* 14 (2008): 513–21.

31. Matthew P. Gerrie, Louise E. Belcher, and Maryanne Garry, "'Mind the Gap': False Memories for Missing Aspects of an Event," *Applied Cognitive Psychology* 20 (2006): 689–96.

32. See, e.g., Righi, "Carlo V," 498, in reference to a description in the anonymous *Relazione della coronatione di Carlo V imperatore fatta da Clemente VII in Bologna li 24 febbraro 1530*, Biblioteca di Archiginnasio, Bologna, ms. B. 1753, of Charles V sweating and harassed as he created knights in a ceremony at San Domenico, after his coronation in San Petronio. See D'Amico, *Charles Quint*, 198–99, on Girolamo Bontempo, who was in the service of Cardinal Luigi Pucci: "Il nous donne le point de vue d'un spectateur privilégié qui ne se préoccupe ni des symboles, ni du cérémonial, ni du maître de cérémonie, mais qui décrit les aspects suprenants, le chaos, les éléments inusuels, le faste des costumes et l'abondance de l'or. Nous nous trouvons face à l'émerveillement et à la surprise d'un spectateur dont la mémoire sera à tout jamais marquée par des événements si exceptionnels."

33. Shearman, *Raphael*, 1:4.

CHARLES V'S ENTRY INTO BOLOGNA

With the preceding in mind, I want to turn to Charles V's entry into Bologna. Clement VII had arrived in Bologna on October 24.[34] It was necessary for Clement to arrive in Bologna before Charles, so that the pope would be in position to receive the proper reverence due from all temporal rulers. On November 4, the day before his formal entry, Charles, as ceremonial dictated, was met some miles outside the city by specific groups at particular locations, including the Roman baronial leaders—the Colonna and the Orsini—and the College of Cardinals.[35] Thus Charles, with this specific allusion, was greeted as if he were outside Rome.[36]

On November 5, the formal entry into Bologna took place. A huge procession composed of contingents of Charles's troops, imperial and Italian nobles, and Bolognese, papal, and imperial officials accompanied Charles from the Porta San Felice along one of the main streets of Bologna to the Piazza Maggiore and the steps of San Petronio, the civic basilica dedicated to Bologna's patron saint (fig. 3). Here a platform had been constructed where the pope, cardinals, and others awaited Charles, who on his arrival kneeled in obeisance to Clement.[37]

34. Martinelli, *Diarium*, 104r–112v; Giordani, *Della venuta*, 6–9; Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:142–44, 144–45, 193; D'Amico, *Charles Quint*, 77–79.

35. For the ceremonial books, see Marc Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou le cérémonial papal de la première renaissance*, 2 vols. (Vatican, 1980–82), 1:191, chaps. 526–27; Martinelli, *Diarium*, 88r–90r. On the entry and its preparation, see Martinelli, *Diarium*, 114v–118v; *Eynreitung keiserlicher Maiestat auff die krönung gen Bononia* (n.p., after November 16, [1529?]); *Roemischer Kayserlicher Mayestet Einreytten gen Boloniga. Auch wie sich Baepstliche Hayligkait gegen seiner Kayserlichen Mayestaten gehalten habere* (n.p., after November 16, [1529?]); Louis-Prosper Gachard, ed., *Collection des souverains des Pays-Bas*, vol. 2, *Itineraire de Charles-Quint de 1506 a 1551: Journal des voyages de Charles-Quint, det 1514 a 1551 par Jean de Vandenesse* (Brussels, 1874), 85–94; [Luigi Gonzaga], *Cronaca del soggiorno di Carlo V in Italia dal 26 luglio 1529 al 25 aprile 1530*, ed. Giacinto Romano (Milan, 1892), 111–24; Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:180–99, 259–80; Ghislaine De Boom, "Voyage et couronnement de Charles-Quint à Bologne," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire/Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedemis* 101 (1937): 55–106, 55–83; Valerio Montanari, "Cronaca e storia bolognese del primo Cinquecento nel memoriale di ser Eliseo Mamelini," *Quaderni culturali bolognesi* 9 (1979): 5–64, 55–57; Cadenas y Vincent, *Doble coronación*, 175–80; D'Amico, *Charles Quint*, 68–76.

36. "les Colonnois avec leurs bendes; puis après les Ursins avec les barons et seigneurs de Rome et de Boulongne" (the Colonna with their banners; then afterwards the Orsini with the barons and lords of Rome and Bologna; Gachard, *Collection*, 85); "capo di loro il prior di Roma figliolo di mesier Jacomo Salviati, et 100 altri, di quali era capo il signore Lorenzo Cibo fradello del cardinal, qual cardinal è Legato di Bologna, li quali rapresentavano Colonesi et Orsini" (leader of them was the Prior of Rome son of messer Jacomo Salviati, and one hundred others, of whom the leader was signore Lorenzo Cibo brother of the cardinal, which cardinal is Legate of Bologna, these represented the Colonna and Orsini; Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:271). On the specific reference in the papal ceremonial book of the presence of the Roman baronial Colonna and Orsini families in imperial entries into Rome for coronation, see Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre*, 1:96, 124*.

37. On the platform, see, e.g., Martinelli, *Diarium*, 89v—ceremonial book: "in plano scalarum erit suggestum paratum ubi Papa in solio suo ornato et Card[ina]les, et alii praelati in sedibus suis cum aliis officialibus sedentes" (on the flat area at the top of the steps a platform will be prepared where

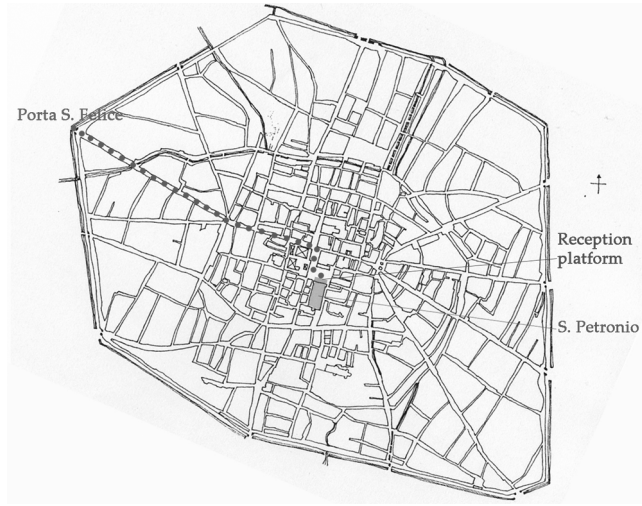

Figure 3. Plan of Charles V's entry into Bologna, November 5, 1529 (drawn by the author). Color version available as an online enhancement.

Given Charles's importance and the significance of the event, I think that we can say for certain that Charles himself was "crucial" and central to the occasion and therefore ought to be remembered well by those who were there and saw him. The accounts that I am now going to examine were written and sent to correspondents on the day of the entry itself or the next day; many of these reports were recorded in Marin Sanudo's Venetian diaries. Focusing just on these immediate accounts is a means to attempt to reduce the "contamination" that might occur in texts that were written or printed later, that is to say, composed with allowance for more "recollection"—"true" or "false"—and possibly drawing on others' descriptions. It is possible that there was a degree of discussion and "collusion" between the prominent observers present at the event or the promulgation of an official version, but this seems less likely in the descriptions written on the day itself or the day after the entry.[38] In table 1, I have focused on one detail: Charles

the pope in his decorated chair and the cardinals sitting, and other prelates in their seats with other officials); 116r, November 5, 1529: "quia tempus erat nubilosum et suspectum de pluvia quod super solium et sedem ac locum Imp[erato]ris fieret copertorium magno papilione ultra alios pannos aulaeos ne, si plueret, penetraret super Papam, et Imp[erato]rem pluvia" (because the weather was cloudy and there was a threat of rain [the pope wished] that above the dais and seat and place of the emperor should be a cover with a large canopy in addition to other gold hangings lest, if it should rain, the rain should reach down to the pope and emperor).

38. The possibility of collusion and an official account was suggested by an anonymous reader.

Table 1. Charles V's Entry into Bologna, November 5, 1529: Descriptions of the Emperor's "Hat"

Author of Account	Description	Translation	Source
Anonymous	"in capo una bareta di veludo negro senza pena"	on his head a black velvet cap without a feather	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:196
Monsignor Brevio, Venetian ecclesiastic	"con una baretta di veluto"	with a cap of velvet	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:189
Gaspare Contarini, Venetian ambassador,* on the reception platform at San Petronio†	"non havea l'elmo"	he was not wearing a helmet	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:180
Federico, secretary of the bishop of Pula (writing to the bishop?)	"una bareta di veluto"	a cap of velvet	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:198
Agostino di Marco Foscari, Venetian	"cum una bareta di veludo negro in capo"	with a black velvet cap on his head	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:185
Luigi Gonzaga: probably Luigi Gonzaga detto Borgoforte, cousin and secret counsellor of Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua‡	"una berretta di veluto negro con impresa d'oro"	a black velvet cap with a gold emblem	Gonzaga, *Cronaca*, 121
Marco Maio	"in testa una bareta di veluto negro cum ponteli d'oro, che tale l'ha portà sempre cum un penachio picolo bianco a la orechia manca"	on his head a black velvet cap with gold points, which he has worn always with a little white feather at the left ear	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:277
Antonio Marsilio (Bolognese?), perhaps connected to Marc'Antonio Marsili, one of the two Bolognese officials in charge of organizing the event§	"in capo havea beretta di veluto negro senza medaie nè penachio"	on his head he had a black velvet cap without medallion or feather	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:270
Giovanni Maria della Porta, ambassador of Francesco Maria della Rovere, duke of Urbino, writing to the duke	"con la bareta di veluto nero"	with a black velvet cap	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:190
Vettor Soranzo, a Venetian chamberlain to Clement VII, in the entourage of Cardinal Cornaro,‖ writing to ser Alvise Soranzo, his father	"in capo una baretta a la francese di veludo roso [raso?]"	on his head a French style cap of red [mistranscription for "voided"?] velvet	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:183

Note.—Accounts written and sent on November 5 or 6, 1529.

* Cadenas y Vincent, *Doble coronación*, 256.

† Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:180.

‡ Giordani, *Della venuta*, 26 n. 104; D'Amico, *Charles Quint*, 74 n. 27.

§ Marc'Antonio Marsili and Lodovico Rossi were assigned this task: Giordani, *Della venuta*, 4–5 Doc. 4; D'Amico, *Charles Quint*, 78; Sassu, *Il ferro*, 36—citing ASB, Liber partitorum ann. 1527–35, vol. 17, 89.

‖ D'Amico, *Charles Quint*, 72.

V's "hat." This example stands for the degree of variation in descriptions, both of details and of events, that we find when we start examining the written accounts carefully.

All these writers are certain that Charles did not wear a helmet, and nine say that he wore a simple cap. All nine are sure that it was made of velvet; one says that it was in "a French style"; six say it was "black" (although one says "red," this is probably a transcription error: *roso* [red/pink] for *raso* [voided]).[39] But, most significantly, two state that the cap was plain, of which both say specifically "senza pena," and one of these says "senza medaie nè penachio."[40] But Marco Maio is clear that the cap had gold details and a white feather over the left ear, and Luigi Gonzaga, that it had a gold emblem. So who was right? Maio, who seems to have accompanied Charles from his arrival in Genoa in August 1529, says that Charles had always worn this hat—but does that mean Charles actually did on this occasion? A number of these writers likely saw the emperor relatively close up. But, in a sense, that is beside the point since we have some emphatic, contradictory descriptions here, not just examples of things being omitted or not mentioned. Straightaway these examples should call into question our understanding of eyewitness accounts.

The visual record tells another story. The section of the 1530 Venetian prints of *La cavalcata* depicting the emperor and the text by the image affirm that "sop[ra] el suo elmetto era l'aquila i[m]perial" (fig. 1).[41] This is quite a different version from the written accounts. The first print in the sequence states: "Nel anno 1529 ad 5 de novembrio fece la intrada in bologna el serenissimo e potentissimo imperator k[a]rlo 5 con tutti li soi baroni con questa ordena[n]za como qua seguita et sua maesta fo coronado in ditta citta" (figs. 1 and 2).[42] All the images with their texts describing the various parts of the cavalcade can be paralleled with the written descriptions of the entry and details such as the depiction of Antonio da Lieva, Charles's Spanish commander, being carried also match with the accounts. So there are degrees of specificity between prints and textual descriptions that make it clear that this was not a totally abstracted depiction based on generic imagery of a contemporary military triumph. Perhaps in this case we need to think about the

39. My thanks to Tom Cohen for suggesting this at RSA 2010.

40. "without a feather," "without medallion or feather."

41. "and on top of his helmet was the imperial eagle": *La cavalcata dell'Imperator Carlo Quinto nel suo ingresso in Bologna* (Venice, July 1, [1530?]), no. 13.

42. "In the year 1529 on the 5th November the most serene and powerful emperor Charles V made his entry into Bologna with all his barons in the order as follows and his Majesty was crowned in this city" (ibid., no. 1).

potential market for the prints. Almost at the end of the sequence is printed: "Et questo se fa notto a tutte le natione. Stampata in venetia a di p[rim]o luio."[43] The prints may have been produced in Venice with the thought of a ready market in German and Flemish buyers (Charles's subjects) in the Venetian emporium and of export to northern Europe, even though the texts are in Italian, although these seem to have been separately carved.[44] It has also been suggested that the artist was German and that there may have been a lost earlier version cut in Germany.[45]

If our texts and images do not necessarily allow us to reconstruct a synthesized version of the event in which all the points and descriptions collide or agree, what kinds of things do they say? What seems to have been to the fore in terms of what they highlight or comment on? What emerges from them consistently as contemporary interests and concerns?

The dominant element in the twenty-one accounts written either immediately or within a couple of weeks of the entry as well as in the *Cavalcata* depiction of the entry was the type and number of troops. But even here there are variations in what and how things are described. For example, the number of cannons brought by Charles varies between ten and fourteen, and they are identified in differing fashions. Viewers were also aware of and interested in the presence of distinct national groups among Charles's troops—variously described as Germans, Landsknechts, Flemish, Burgundian, Spanish, Italian, and in one case Albanian—although these were not always consistent identifications.

Often, too, the identity of key individuals was noted—whether Spanish or Italian nobles or commanders or key figures in Charles's entourage, such as his Master of Horse or the pages who carried his ceremonial sword, and so on. Some authors noted the presence of individuals or entities representing the city of Bologna,

43. "And this is made known to all nations. Printed in Venice on 1 July" (*La cavalcata*, no. 15). Stirling Maxwell, *The Entry*, vi, found four sets of the prints. The British Library set apparently is a later impression (http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0092); on the date, see the curator's comment (no. 1862,0208.5, British Museum, London, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=683944&partId=1&searchText=1862,0208.5&page=1). A fifth set with the clearly visible date "p[rim]o luio 1530" was sold at Christie's in New York on June 12, 2009 (sale 2178, lot 35, Christie's, http://www.christies.com/lotfinderx/books-manuscripts/bologna-1529-nel-anno-1529-ad-5213865-details.aspx?intobjectid=5213865).

44. On the separately carved inscriptions, see no. 1862,0208.5, British Museum, London, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=683944&partId=1&searchText=1862,0208.5&page=1.

45. On a German artist, see sale 2178, lot 35, Christie's, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/books-manuscripts/bologna-1529-nel-anno-1529-ad-5213865-details.aspx?intobjectid=5213865; on a German or Italian artist and possible earlier edition, see the curator's comment, no. 1862,0208.5, British Museum, London, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=683944&partId=1&searchText=1862,0208.5&page=1.

including the large group of young Bolognese men who took it in turns to carry the ceremonial baldachin over Charles. The *Cavalcata* image of the emperor under his baldachin entirely omitted these unarmed Bolognese and replaced them with four fully armed figures, although the caption also referred to "25 gentilomini gioveneti . . . mandati dala cita di Bologna."[46]

Counting is a central aspect of most accounts, some of which are almost entirely concerned with numeration. But the numbers often vary.

The idea of order in relation to the procession as a whole, as well as its constituent parts, is at the heart of the accounts: phrases such as "in ordinanza," "bene in ordine," and "tutto a ordene" abound.[47] Order was presented as informing the clear grouping of sets of participants in the procession, hierarchy of social rank, organization within groups, the discipline of the troops, as well as the fine display that all this made. Very occasionally order is highlighted almost by contrast to its opposite, such as the Venetian ambassador Gaspare Contarini's comment on some lack of order on Charles's preentry arrival outside Bologna.[48] So, too, on the day of the entry, according to a letter to the bishop of Pula from his secretary Federico, a group of Spanish infantry were "mal armata et peggio vestita, de male presentia," in contrast to the German troops.[49] It was an opinion shared, for example, by Giovanni Maria della Porta, ambassador of the duke of Urbino.[50]

The other most consistent interest in the accounts, whether written for public or more private consumption, is clothing: what was worn, what kind of cloth it was made of, what colors, and sometimes the cut and styling. The ability to name and judge types of cloth on the part of a (wide) range of male viewers, I would argue, speaks to an important aspect of the pre-modern European mentality that has only recently begun to be given its due by scholars.[51] The color of clothes and

46. "25 young gentlemen . . . sent by the city of Bologna" (*La cavalcata*, no. 13).

47. "in order," "well in order," "all in order."

48. Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:180.

49. "badly armed and worse dressed, badly presented" (ibid., 52:197).

50. Ibid., 52:191.

51. Lauro Martines, "The Italian Renaissance Tale as History," in *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy*, ed. Alison Brown (Oxford, 1995), 313–30, 320–21, 323, raised this issue. Henri Zerner, "Looking for the Unknowable: The Visual Experience of Renaissance Festivals," in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, and Margaret Shewring, vol. 1 (Aldershot, 2004), 75–98, 76, noted "verbal accounts [of festive events] are also rather efficient at telling us about a visual aspect that we tend to neglect, namely costume. [A 1549 account] details the costumes of all the participants in the parade, with emphasis on the colours." On clothes, Carole Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, and Fine Clothing* (Baltimore, 2002), 3, 4, 96–103, 170–73, 179, 217, places such ideas about costume almost solely within a Florentine context; see Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 2010), which focuses principally on sixteenth-century Germany, while seeking to set

of objects is also frequently to the fore, although here vocabulary, and even perception, might shift somewhat between different viewers.[52] There is a clear sense in the procession of certain groups—whether military, secular, or ecclesiastical—wearing identifiably different clothes and colors, some of which were described as a "livrea."[53] For a few writers, the interest in clothes and cloth was a fascination with the huge array of cloth of gold and brocades on display and the splendid clothes of the elite members of the procession, but many of the reports are more detailed and more wide-ranging than just a focus on the elite. Of course it is evident that clothing was part of status and honor, but a decree from the Bolognese authorities and papal governor on the day before Clement VII's entry into the city highlights the issue of the clothing of those greeting a formal entrance: "si conforta et exhorta et commando a qualunque persona di che grado si sia che per quel giorno che la Santità di Nostro Signore farà sua entrata nissuno voglia vestire panni di corrotto o mestitia; ma deli più honorevoli che si ritrovaranno le persone, secondo le loro conditione havere."[54] Thus quality of clothing was clearly a reciprocal action: those receiving a powerful visitor to the city were

interest in cloth, clothes, and social relationships and interaction in a broader cultural framework. Valentin Groebner, "Inside Out: Clothes, Dissimulation, and the Arts of Accounting in the Autobiography of Matthäus Schwarz, 1496–1574," *Representations* 66 (1999): 100–121; and Gabriele Mentges, "Fashion, Time and the Consumption of a Renaissance Man in Germany: The Costume Book of Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, 1496–1564," *Gender and History* 14 (2002): 382–402, use the example of the sixteenth-century Augsburger Matthäus Schwarz's autobiographical *Book of Clothes* to discuss complexities in identity construction. The ongoing Lexis of Cloth and Clothing Project, University of Manchester, is undertaking a "transdisciplinary study" to create "an analytical corpus of medieval dress and textiles terminology of the British Isles" ca. 700–1450 (http://lexisproject.arts.manchester.ac.uk/research/index.html).

52. On color perception, see, e.g., Umberto Eco, "How Colour Conditions the Colours We See," in *On Signs*, ed. Marshall Blonsky (Oxford, 1985), 157–75; and John A. Lucy, "The Linguistics of 'Color,'" in *Color Categories in Thought and Language*, ed. C. L. Hardin and Luisa Maffi (Cambridge, 1997), 320–46; John Gage, *Color and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction* (London, 1999), 80, 82, on some aspects of color terms; Paul Hills, *Venetian Colour: Marble, Mosaic, Painting and Glass, 1250–1550* (London, 1999), 173–80, 186–88, on Venetians observing clothes; Frick, *Dressing*, 176–78, listing color names used for cloth in some fifteenth- to seventeenth-century Florentine sources; Robert Finlay, "Weaving the Rainbow: Visions of Color in World History," *Journal of World History*, 18 (2007): 383–431, 398–99, on some cloth colors.

53. "livery"; see, e.g., Gonzaga, *Cronaca*, 119; Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:144, 180, 182, 188, 189, 190, 193, 276.

54. "any person of whatever grade is encouraged and exhorted and commanded that on the day when Our Holy Father [the pope] makes his entry, no one should wish to wear ragged and dirty clothes; instead the most honourable that people have, according to their circumstances": Giordani, *Della venuta*, 9 Doc. 9—Archivio di Stato di Bologna (hereafter ASB), Liber Provisionum Bononiae ad anno 1529 ad 1535, 22.

expected, and here ordered, to dress up to the part, just as those formally entering the city were expected to put on a good display.[55]

Another keen point of interest on the part of many, which should come as no surprise to anyone who works on the pre-modern period, were the horses in the procession: type, color, and quality, as well as how well, or badly, they were being ridden.[56] As an illustration of this, table 2 shows how Charles's own horse was described with some variation—from very white to dapple gray.

In many of the accounts there are comments on sounds. Some writers make overt mentions to the military drums, pipes, trumpets, and so on, the discharging of firearms and pieces of artillery, the ringing of church bells, and the shouting of the populace: "Cesare, Cesare," "Carlo, Carlo," "Imperio, Imperio."[57] Others imply sound by reference to the presence of those who made the sounds: for example, drummers, pipers, trumpeters. This soundscape was not necessarily as random, though, as such lists might imply. Biagio Martinelli, the papal master of ceremonies who accompanied the emperor from the Porta San Felice to San Petronio, states that there was singing by clerics after Charles kissed the cross proffered to him and was censed at the entrance to the city.[58] Luigi Gonzaga stated that artillery had been placed in different sites, in order to be fired during the entry, and claims that the shouts of "Caesar," "Empire," and "Charles" had been specified in a papal decree on the day as the only ones acceptable: "et fatto mettere in diversi lochi della terra molti pezzi de arteleria, la quale si havesse tutta ad scaricare nel entrare che faria sua Maestà dentro da Bologna . . . alle xviii hore fu fatto uno

55. For example, Giambattista de Gualtieri wrote to the Venetian messer Zaccaria Trevisano that the papal entry "non è stata tropo bela, ma dirove di quella di lo imperator che è stata assai bella" (was not very fine, whereas that of the emperor was quite fine; Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:193). The ambassador of Urbino, Giovanni Maria della Porta, writes to Duke Francesco della Rovere that he was not able to reach Bologna earlier "per la necessità che havevo di fermarmi in provedermi di qualche vestimenti da poter comparer tra li altri in questa entrata di Cesare" (because of the need that I had to stop and provide myself with some clothing so that I could be seen in the Emperor's entry; ibid., 52:190).

56. See, e.g., Michael Mallett, "Horse-Racing and Politics in Lorenzo's Florence," in *Lorenzo the Magnificent: Culture and Politics*, ed. Michael Mallett and Nicholas Mann (London, 1996), 253–62; Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker, "Introduction," in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, ed. Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (New York, 2005), 1–41; Elizabeth MacKenzie Tobey, "The Palio in Italian Renaissance Art, Thought, and Culture" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2005), 244–46, 248–53, 255–67, and "The *Palio* Horse in Renaissance and Early Modern Italy," in Raber and Tucker, *Culture of the Horse*, 63–90.

57. "Caesar, Caesar," "Charles, Charles," "Empire, Empire"—some or all of these are referred to in Martinelli, *Diarium*, 118r; Gonzaga, *Cronaca*, 114, 121; Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:196, 271; Montanari, "Cronaca," 57.

58. Martinelli, *Diarium*, 117v.

Table 2. Charles V's Entry into Bologna, November 5, 1529: Descriptions of the Emperor's Horse

Author of Account	Description	Translation	Source
Anonymous	"uno cavallo bianchissimo et molto bello"	a very white and most beautiful horse	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:195
Vicenzo Contarini	"un bel cavallo liardo . . . ma deferente da quel de heri [when Charles had arrived outside Bologna]"*	a beautiful dapple grey horse . . . but a different one from yesterday	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:188
Agostino Foscari	"un caval bianco"	a white horse	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:185
Federico, bishop of Pula's secretary	"un bellissimo cavallo"	a most beautiful horse	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:198
Antonio Marsilio	"una chinea bianca"	a noble white horse	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:270
Marco Maio	"un bellissimo cavallo liardo"	a most beautiful dapple grey horse	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:277
Luigi Gonzaga	"uno bellisimo cavallo zanetto di Spagna di pelo leardo tanto bello fatto che la Natura fuorsi non ne fece mai un altro simile. . . il nome del cavallo è Vergilio"†	a most beautiful Spanish jennet horse of dapple grey coat so beautifully made that perhaps Nature will never make another similar. . . the name of the horse is Vergil	Gonzaga, *Cronaca*, 121
Vettor Soranzo	"un cavallo gianetto bianco"	a white jennet horse	Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:183

Note.—Accounts written and sent on November 5 or 6, 1529.

* *Liardo*/*leardo* is defined in *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Florence, 1691), 3:944, as "del mantello di quel cavallo, che sia composto di color bianco, e di color nero." The modern translation of *leardo* as "roan" is not helpful since roan has a variety of meanings and possible colors.

† De Lannoy (who may have been in the service of Margaret of Austria, producing an account addressed to her and dated 1530) states that the horse was called "Virgenis" (De Boom, "Voyage," 77); for the possible identity of de Lannoy, see 55–56.

bando de parte dil Papa, che tutti et grandi et piccoli dovessero dil Popolo di Bologna andare incontro a Cesare, et tutti havessero da gridare 'Cesare, Cesare; Carlo, Carlo; Imperio, Imperio,' et non altro."[59] Although, Marco Maio, who did not write at all favorably of the Church, stated that the opposite had been decreed, referring to "tutte le prohibitione per cride publiche inanzi fate per ordine del papa che non se cridasse 'imperio.'"[60] The popular voice was thus perhaps to be heard countering the official voice on the street.

Some things were, though, apparently "invisible" to most of those describing the entry, even when they claimed, as Vincenzo Contarini did, that they had a place in the piazza—the destination of the procession—where "ho potuto veder il tutto."[61] Thus, only a very few mention the camp followers and baggage train—a couple describing it as entering the city in advance of the main body; another, that it came at the end of the procession.[62] Monsignor Brevio states that at the end of the procession were "le putane, ma poche et brutte."[63]

The "producers" of the event were, perhaps least surprisingly, practically invisible and unrecorded because they were unrecognizable by the majority of spectators. The resources and efforts that went into the creation of such an event were considerable. We know the names of those in charge, and we have some insights into some of their activities because one of the principal figures in the papal contingent was the papal master of ceremonies, Biagio Martinelli, and, like most in that role, he kept a diary. From this we learn that he accompanied Charles V from his entrance into the city and led the emperor up the steps of the reception platform at San Petronio.[64] But to read almost every other account, you would think that Charles went up the steps completely alone (according to Martinelli, he led the way for the emperor).[65]

59. "and many pieces of artillery were put in different places in the area, which all had to be fired when his Majesty made his entry into Bologna . . . at 18 hours there was a decree on the part of the pope, that all both the great and the low of the people of Bologna should go to meet the emperor, and all must shout 'Caesar, Caesar, Carlo, Carlo, Empire, Empire,' and nothing else" (Gonzaga, *Cronaca*, 114).

60. "all the prohibitions by public declaration made beforehand by order of the pope that people should not shout 'empire'" (Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:279).

61. "I was able to see everything" (ibid., 52:187).

62. Gaspare Contarini, in Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:180; and Gonzaga, *Cronaca*, 116; Antonio Marsilio, in Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:271. De Lannoy, in his 1530 account addressed to Margaret of Austria, placed the baggage train at the rear (De Boom, "Voyage," 79).

63. "the whores, but few and ugly" (Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:190).

64. Martinelli, *Diarium*, 117r–118v.

65. "Caesar super scalas et gradus ascendens me praecedente" (the emperor climbing the stairs and steps with me leading the way; ibid., 118r). Girolamo Bontempo (who was in the service of Cardinal Luigi Pucci) is the only other person who seems to see Biagio in his role of accompanying Charles

Perhaps most surprisingly, for modern readers, is the almost total absence of the "arcubus triumphalibus et aliis ornamentis" for which the Bolognese authorities set aside one thousand ducats on October 1 in preparation for the pope's and then the emperor's entry.[66] Of twenty-one reports from 1529 to 1530 that I have examined (and there are a few more), only four even note the existence of these constructions, of paintings, sculptures, and inscriptions: three give substantial descriptions, but two of these were not written or completed until a little after the event.[67] One printed account—produced in Seville on March 1, 1530, for a Spanish audience—did present the event as an antique-like "triumph" with arches, inscriptions, and statues and, unusually, focused on these rather than the procession: "Para mas honrar y mejor celebrar y engrandecer la pomposa entrada del nuestro César máximo, la ínclita ciudad de Bolonia hizo este aparato magnífico a imitación de los antiguos triunphos en que mandó hazer y construyr muchos arcos triumphales con memorables títulos en ellos y en las puertas ymágines y statuas."[68] However, if those few accounts had been lost, we might know little or nothing of this aspect of the entry. Nor would we know that the imagery and inscriptions expressed a clear political message from the pope to Charles V and from the Church to Christian Europe facing the threat of Turkish incursions.

The other element of the decoration of the city is the presence, or rather absence, of Bologna itself in the accounts of the entry.[69] It might be argued that Bologna's own architecture provided a ready-created processional space, flanked as many streets were by porticoes. The Strada Maggiore, the Strada San Felice (along which Charles would come), and other main streets had been deliberately developed and enhanced by the Bolognese Senate and the ruler Giovanni II

from the Porta San Felice to the platform: "havendo però sempre apresso missier Biagio mastro di le ceremonie di Nostro Signor, qual li insegnava come Soa Maestà haveva da far, et sempre vene soto il baldachin" (having, however, always next to him messer Biagio master of ceremonies of Our Lord, who instructed His Majesty on what he had to do, and was always under the baldachin; Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:266). On Bontempo in Pucci's service, see D'Amico, *Charles Quint*, 198.

66. "triumphal arches and other ornaments": Giordani, *Della venuta*, 4–5 Doc. 4; Sassu, *Il ferro*, 36—citing ASB, Liber partitorum ann. 1527–35, vol. 17, 89.

67. Marco Maio, in Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:278–79; Antonio Marsilio at 52:273–75; Girolamo Bontempo (November 15, 1529) at 52:263–68; de Lannoy (account completed by 1530), in De Boom, "Voyage," 81–82.

68. "For greater honor and to better celebrate and aggrandise the pomp-filled entrance of our great Caesar, the famous city of Bologna provided this magnificent festivity in imitation of the ancient triumphs in which were made and built many triumphal arches with memorable inscriptions on them and paintings and statues on the gates": *La maravillosa y triunfal entrada del Invictissimo Cesar Carlo V . . . en Boloña y del alto y estemado triunfo que le fue hecho* (Seville, 1530), transcribed in Checa Cremades, *Carlos V: La imagen del poder*, 147.

69. Compare Nevola, "Lieto," on the absence of Siena from accounts of Frederick III's entry to that city in 1452.

Bentivoglio in the second half of the fifteenth century, precisely for this sort of purpose.[70] But this architecture does not make an appearance in the accounts. A very few mention that the streets along which the procession passed were roofed with cloth all the way from Porta San Felice to Piazza Maggiore. One notes that there was greenery and the arms of the pope and emperor and that carpets adorned the windows of buildings.[71] All of this had been specified in a decree by the Bolognese authorities and papal governor on October 14, ensuring also that the streets down which the procession would pass should be cleaned, paved, and cleared, with heavy fines for noncompliance:

> Si fa bandire a tutti et a ciascuna persona che per honorare la venuta della Santità di N. S. et della Cesarea Maestà, dalla porta di Strà Maggiore per fin a quella di S. Felice per il dritto, debbiano nettare le strade dal fango, et d'ogni altro sorte di predizzo, terrizzo, et qualunque altra immonditia, et quella mandar via fuori di detta strada. Et selegar le strade dove non è selegato, o racconzare dov'è guasto. Et levar via le barbade, storade, et sporti posticii che sono per detti strade. Et così anchora levare li stelloni et morelli che sono in mezzo li portici, quali impediscono la larghezza di essi . . . sotto pena di ducati XXV d'oro.[72]

One or two descriptions mention that the windows along the streets were "tanto piene de homeni, de done et de populo."[73] Luigi Gonzaga refers more particu-

70. On the paving and clearance of these streets beginning in the 1460s, see, e.g., Cherubino Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna: Parte terza*, ed. Albano Sorbelli, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores 33, pt. 1 (Città di Castello, 1915–33), 181; Rolando Dondarini, "Gasparo Nadi, capomaestro bolognese, 1418–1504," in *I portici di Bologna*, ed. Francesca Bocchi (Bologna, 1990), 135–47, 144; Georgia Clarke, "Magnificence and the City: Giovanni II Bentivoglio and Architecture in Fifteenth-Century Bologna," *Renaissance Studies* 13 (1999): 397–411, and "Giovanni II Bentivolglio and the Uses of Chivalry: Towards the Creation of a 'Republican Court' in Fifteenth-Century Bologna," in *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner (Cambridge, 2004), 162–86, 170–76.

71. On cloths, see Gonzaga, *Cronaca*, 113; De Boom, "Voyage," 82. On greenery, see Gonzaga, *Cronaca*, 113. On carpets from windows, see Gonzaga, *Cronaca*, 113.

72. "It is declared to all and each person that to honour the arrival of the Holiness Our Lord and of his Imperial Majesty, that from the gate of Strada Maggiore to that of San Felice in a straight direction, they must clean the streets of mud, and of every sort of gravel, earth, and any other kind of rubbish, and this should be taken away from the said street. And to pave the streets where it is not paved, or repair where it is damaged. And to remove the chains, awnings, and projecting platforms that there are on these streets. And also to remove the little wooden posts and . . . little walls that are in the middle of the porticoes, which impede the width of them . . . under pain of a fine of 25 gold ducats": Cadenas y Vincent, *Doble coronación*, 103—transcription from ASB, Liber Provisionum Bononiae ad anno 1529. Also in Giordani, *Della venuta*, 5–6 Doc. 6; Sassu, *Il ferro*, 50 n. 42 (October 12)—citing ASB, Liber partitorum ann. 1527–35, vol. 17, 92.

73. "so full of men, women, and people" (Girolamo Bontempo, in Sanuto, *Diarii*, 52:264).

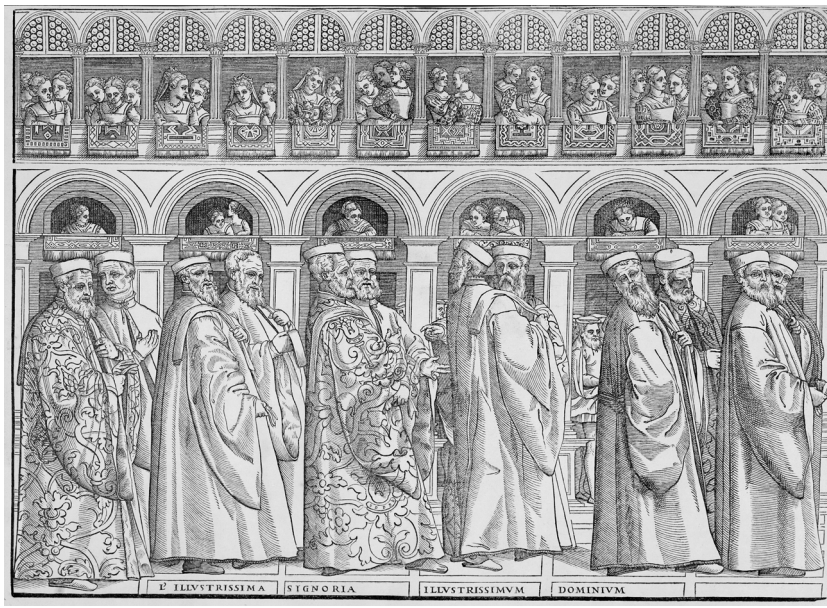

Figure 4. Sheet 1 of Matteo Pagano, *Procession of the Doge in Venice*, 1556–61. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, the Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.95.139(a)), the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, (© 2013. The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence.)

larly to "le finestre . . . dove havevano ad stare le Signore et Madonne ad vedere passare sua Maestà."[74]

Thus, the space and streets of the city are almost absent, as with the images in the *Cavalcata* prints. What is depicted in text and image is not the city of Bologna, or Rome, or anywhere, but a procession: a display of the various contingents of Charles's troops, nobles, and officials who made up the entry. In this, the literary and the visual representations do coincide: the groups are clearly defined, visually and literally distinct, emphasizing that what we have already seen was a notable element in the written and visual accounts—ordering and order. Thus, Bologna's part in Charles's "triumph" was an irrelevance, a contrast with the strategy in Matteo Pagano's mid-sixteenth-century prints of a Venetian dogal Palm Sunday procession (fig. 4). Bologna's presence in the entry—apart from occasional references to the Porta San Felice, the Piazza Maggiore, and San Petronio as route or destination—was articulated only via references to the Bolognese standard and

74. "the windows . . . where the gentlemen and ladies stood to see his Majesty pass" (Gonzaga, *Cronaca*, 113).

the active participation and role of the Bolognese elite and the university in the procession.

In conclusion, through close engagement with and in reading what primary texts actually say, rather than what we might like them to say, we can get a deeper sense of the texture of an ephemeral event, of contemporaries' experiences of it. So, too, we get a vivid sense of the interest of contemporaries—through the media of the handwritten letter and the printed page—in giving such an event form and life beyond the city and the day itself. It is self-evident that we need to be aware of political and personal agendas and viewpoints in what and how people write and depict things, especially when dealing with as highly a political and politicized event as an imperial entry. But, despite the potential complexities involved, by careful, contextual, and nuanced reading we can go further in decoding and unraveling both the deliberate and the unconscious choices and referents of Renaissance eyewitness accounts. We cannot necessarily represent what happened on the day as a grand narrative, and we cannot use the term "eyewitness," like "common sense," as shorthand for "authenticity," but we can gain a fuller sense of what mattered, or was seen to matter, in the public arena of the street, both for those present on the day and for those who were being informed about it in distant realms. When reading such accounts, we are left not with merely random data and disparate details but with richer and more informed access to contemporaries' concerns and interests and to the impact of such an event both locally and internationally.